

TOWARDS A THEORY OF DIPLOMACY IN TIMES OF CHANGE

The Case of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark



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RESUMÉ

Den teknologiske udvikling ændrer verden på så mange måder, at det nærmest er umuligt at spå om fremtiden. Nye teknologier opstår og spredes hurtigere end nogensinde før, og har indvirkning på stort set alle områder af vores samfund og liv som vi kender det. Udgangspunktet for denne afhandling var en interesse i at forstå hvordan den teknologiske udvikling påvirker internationale relationer og hvilke konsekvenser det har for fremtidens diplomati. Det danske udenrigsministerium udpegede tidligere i år verdens første tech-ambassadør som en del af det såkaldte TechPlomacy-initiativ. Dette initiativ ses som en konkret respons på den teknologiske udvikling og som et forsøg på at imødegå de udfordringer den teknologiske udvikling skaber. Med udgangspunkt i det danske udenrigsministerium undersøger denne afhandling dette fænomen og hvordan vi kan forstå diplomati og den diplomatiske praksis i en tid præget af forandringer.

Undersøgelsen tager udgangspunkt i en historisk gennemgang af konceptet diplomati i den akademiske litteratur, der belyser hvordan den diplomatiske praksis har udviklet og ændret sig i løbet af historien. Der tegnes et billede af et koncept, der har en lang række forskellige betydninger og rummer en række forskellige elementer, metoder, og teoretiske tilgangsvinkler. Dette ses som et udtryk for et koncept og en praksis der har udviklet sig i takt med og afspejler et komplekst internationalt miljø i forandring. Afhandlingen går i dybden med tre af de mest centrale teoretiske tilgange til moderne diplomati, navnlig public diplomacy, economic diplomacy og digital diplomacy, for at belyse nøgleelementer af det moderne diplomati og hvordan det har ændret sig. På baggrund af den teoretiske gennemgang er der foretaget en kvalitativ analyse af empirisk data indsamlet ved fem interviews med udvalgte repræsentanter for det danske udenrigsministerium. Overordnet bekræfter analysen den forståelse og udvikling, der er illustreret i den akademiske litteratur, for så vidt at diplomati opfattes som et koncept og en praksis, der er karakteriseret af en bred vifte af aspekter og instrumenter. Ligeledes opleves både gradvise og radikale forandringer men samtidig også at nogle aspekter af diplomatiet er bevarede. Analysen identificerer en række aspekter, der er med til at forklare den diplomatiske forvandlelingsproces, hvilket er blevet samlet i en model der illustrerer hvordan diplomati forandres i både teori og praksis. Modellen tager udgangspunkt i *diplomati* og *verdenssamfundet* som to overordnede begreber, der eksisterer i en form for symbiose og

kan karakteriseres af række elementer, der påvirker hinanden og bidrager til at diplomati forandres.

Slutteligt diskuteres diplomatiets fremtid i forhold til, hvordan diplomati vil udvikle sig som koncept og som praksis. Konklusionen er, at diplomati fortsat vil være et centralt element i en global kontekst, der står over for en lang række udfordringer med at håndtere mere og mere komplekse agendaer i et mere og mere komplekst internationalt miljø. Konklusionen er også, at det internationale miljø, værktøjerne og metoderne for diplomati og den diplomatiske praksis på mange måder kommer til at ændre sig, til dels som følge af øget globalisering og til dels som følge af den teknologiske udvikling. Nye aktører bliver flere og mere indflydelsesrige, der kommer nye måder at indgå i diplomatiske relationer og diplomaten får brug for en bredere kompetenceprofil end tidligere. Alligevel vil diplomatiet forblive som vi kender det på mange måder. På den måde er nye initiativer, såsom det danske udenrigsministeriums TechPlomacy-initiativ, ikke nogle der kommer til at ændre diplomatiets kernefunktioner og på den måde revolutionere diplomati i hverken teori eller praksis. Derfor er konklusion også, at diplomati som koncept og praksis vil fortsætte med at udvikle sig på den måde det altid har gjort: ved at justere sig til ændringer i det internationale og det nationale miljø. På den måde er diplomati et paradoksalt koncept og en paradoksalt praksis – det er dynamisk og statisk på én og samme tid.

Nøgleord: diplomati, internationale relationer, techplomacy, tech-ambassadør, teknologisk udvikling, det danske udenrigsministerium

1.0 INTRODUCTION

1.1 PROBLEM AREA

In a world of crypto currencies, artificial intelligence, big data and machine learning, a lot of things are changing at a pace that makes it seemingly impossible to predict the future of tomorrow. New technologies emerge and spread at a faster pace than ever before, with implications for practically every aspect of society and life as we know it. Ironically, at a time when the world faces a potentially more dramatic combination of change and challenge than ever before, there is a lack of global leadership, and a growing realization that we are leaderless (Fletcher 2016:226). The notion is that the combination of increasing globalization and rapid technological developments are shifting power from states towards the private sector, creating a new power balance in international relations enabled by the digital innovations spreading across the world, blurring the boundaries between states and corporations. Some believe the answer to who might have the greatest influence on the 21st century is Google, and thus, states and governments around the world have to ask themselves: who might be the new emperors? If data is the most precious resource of the 21st century, the battle for it will be as contested as the battles for fire, axes, or gold (The Economist 2017). Information has always been important to states and governments. But it is shifting from being an element of statecraft to becoming an overarching concern, where information and data matters more than ever for reasons that did not exist even 20 years ago. At a point in time, where private corporations are the primary owners of data and where 90% of the world's data has been produced in just the last few years, states and governments around the world are facing a new reality in the very near future (IBM 2017). Thus, the next fifty years might just be the most important in history. The challenges related to the future are not just about digitalization and the Internet, but about how data and information, and the power that goes with it, is distributed. This is why diplomacy matters so much. Diplomats must help deliver the benefits of the digital century. But how can a concept and a practice as old as diplomacy be used to address the challenges of today and tomorrow? What is the use of diplomacy in times of change?

Historically, diplomacy is rooted in the Greek word for a twice-folded document, and as such, diplomacy is not exactly a new term. Traditionally diplomacy has been understood

as “*the means by which states pursue their foreign policies*” and thus the conduct of formal relations between states (Berridge 2002:3). Today, some argue that this idea of diplomacy is irrelevant and outdated, as it is equipped neither to address the complex challenges of the 21st century, nor to deliver the kinds of remedial policy that the globalization era requires, as described above (Copeland 2009:99). A few years ago, it was even proclaimed that diplomacy was dead (Cohen 2013). These considerations reflect what is seen as an infuriatingly vague term, where precise definitions are no longer considered adequate to describe neither the content nor the context of diplomacy (White 2005:388). Attempts to deal with a changing global environment have often resulted in a growing ambiguity, in terms of assigning the term *diplomacy* to a range of activities engaged in by diverse actors operating on the world stage (Hocking et. al. 2012:10). And thus, we see a great variety of approaches to understanding diplomacy in theory and practice, such as economic diplomacy, health diplomacy, public diplomacy, digital diplomacy, oil diplomacy, science diplomacy, drug diplomacy, eDiplomacy, peace diplomacy, dollar diplomacy – the list goes on and on. The number of approaches in academia and the general vagueness of the term should be seen in light of the substantial changes that have happened in the world of international relations, especially since the First World War. We operate today in a global environment that is vastly more challenging, complex, and demanding than the world of 1914. Thus, the subject matter of diplomacy has expanded from the high politics of war and peace to health, environment, development, science and technology, education, law and the arts, and diplomats are engaged in an expanding range of functions, from negotiation, communication, consular, representation, and reporting to observation, merchandise trade and services promotion, cultural exchange, and public relations (Cooper et. al. 2013). Revolutions in information and communication technology have historically had a profound impact on the relations between people, nations and institutions. In example, Gutenberg’s invention of a printing press with movable type, transformed the speed and volume at which information was gathered, collated and disseminated, just as the telegraph, telephone, radio and television have resulted in dramatic changes. However, none are quite on the scale of the implications of the digital revolution (Bjola & Holmes 2015:127). But where does diplomacy fit in the emerging patterns of early 21st century world politics? Is diplomacy as a concept and practice fundamentally changing to cope with these dramatic developments or is diplomacy really dead?

The starting point for this thesis was an interest in understanding how technological developments and the digital revolution are shaping the future of international relations. As

one of the most digital countries in the world, with regards to both economy and society, Denmark stands out as a highly relevant case for researching the approach to diplomacy in times of change (DESI 2017). The Danish government is highly aware of the changes that are taking place in international relations, and deem the unpredictability in international relation and politics to be greater today than what is has been for a long time (Regeringen 2017:6). This attitude is reflected directly in the actions that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has taken recently. With the appointment of the world's first Tech Ambassador as a part of a new initiative coined *TechPlomacy*, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is responding to the changing environment and taking on a novel approach to diplomacy. Being a part of the agenda and discussions in important political forums across the world, most recently the OECD Global Strategy Group Session on *Digital Transformation and the Danish TechPlomacy Initiative* in late November 2017, TechPlomacy might reflect how diplomacy as a concept and practice is changing in general. But how can we understand this new concept in the light of diplomacy as we know it? Is there a need for an entirely new conceptualization of diplomacy in these times of change?

1.2 PROBLEM STATEMENT

Based on the considerations presented in the problem area, this thesis is based on the following problem statement:

“How can we understand diplomacy in times of change in the case of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark?”

The thesis furthermore makes use of the following working questions to guide the research:

1. *How can we understand diplomacy historically as a concept and a practice?*
2. *How has diplomacy changed and in what way is it affected by technological developments?*
3. *How can we conceptualize diplomacy in times of change?*
4. *How will diplomacy develop as a concept and practice in the future?*

1.3 STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS

Overall, the thesis is divided into four individual sections. The first section outlines the methodological choices and considerations that have been a part of the overall framework for researching the problem statement. This section looks into topics such as research strategy, methods, analytical design and limitations. In the second section, the case of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark is explored in depth. This section looks into aspects of diplomacy in terms of the organizational set-up and the foreign and security policy among other things. The third section provides a thorough review of the academic literature in the field of diplomacy in both a historical and a contemporary perspective, which serves as the theoretical foundation for exploring the problem statement as well as a state-of-the-art insight into the field of diplomacy. The fourth, and perhaps most important, section of the thesis is the analysis which explores the problem statement through a qualitative analysis of quotes from interviews with selected representatives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark. Exploring the statements through themes found in the theoretical framework as well as in the empirical data, the analysis leads to the presentation of a model for understanding diplomacy in times of change. In the fourth and last overall section, a number of perspectives related to diplomacy and the findings of the thesis are discussed. Lastly, the findings of the thesis are summarized in an overall conclusion.

2.0 METHODOLOGY

This section presents the methodological aspects and considerations that have been made in this thesis in order to properly research the problem statement. In more detail, the section will touch upon the methodological considerations and choices of the thesis under the headlines of *research strategy and source selection, the case of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark, methods for collection and analysis of empirical data, analytical design* and lastly, the *limitations* that the topic, case and methodological choices of the thesis entail.

2.1 RESEARCH STRATEGY AND SOURCE SELECTION

The research strategy taken on in this thesis can be divided into three steps that are equally significant for answering the problem statement.

The first step involved the accumulation a critical body of knowledge on the topic of diplomacy. This was done conducting a thorough review of a variety of academic sources. By applying the snowballing method of reviewing and selecting literature, the process was led by the accumulated findings (Bryman 2012). This process was also taken on in order to establish potential gaps in the academic literature and to gain thorough insight into specific theories related to the concept of diplomacy. In order to structure the findings on the topic and understand the concept of diplomacy, the idea of a literature review served as a basis for constructing a theoretical framework, which contribute to properly presenting the concept and practice of diplomacy from the historical aspects of the past to the academic debates of today. The second step of the research strategy was to identify and substantiate a relevant case. The case of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was chosen for a number of different reasons presented in the problem area and later on in this section. In an attempt to properly assess the current state of the diplomatic practice of the particular case, the strategy was to find all types of relevant information and documents to substantiate the choice. Especially the recent appointment of a Tech Ambassador and the TechPlomacy initiative in general was a point of interest, as it is deemed a symbol of the diplomatic strategy taken on by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark. Information on the case was located in various types of sources, such as official documents, strategies and books published by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark, speeches by the

Minister of Foreign Affairs, interviews and podcasts with the Tech Ambassador found online and in a number of news clippings. The third step of the research strategy of the thesis was to align the findings of the academic literature with the findings related to the case. This was done through selecting relevant developments in the literature and doing an initial test of relevance on the case. This highlighted the relevance of the case and led the way for methodological choices related to the selection of analytical design and other methodological considerations, which are presented later in this chapter.

Throughout the analysis, the thesis makes use of both primary and secondary materials as sources (Bryman 2012). The primary material includes semi-structured interviews conducted with selected representatives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark as well as selected speeches, podcasts, quotes from interviews and public documents, while the secondary material includes books, journal articles, statistics and reports. The primary materials have been gathered through semi-structured interviews and found online and in selected newspapers, while secondary materials have been located in public and university libraries, academic journals online, scholarly databases and online accessible statistics databases.

The approach to collecting and handling the empirical data, as well as which type of research approach that is relevant for the selected case, was carefully considered in light of the assumptions and implications that the epistemological and ontological position entails (Brinkmann & Tanggaard 2015:22). The position in this thesis is based in the social sciences, in the sense that the thesis seeks to provide insight into social conditions by challenging an existing body of knowledge in the field of diplomacy. Through the ontological position that the world exists independently and is observed through the senses, the social reality is considered deep, complex and contextual. With these considerations as the fundamental starting point, the thesis takes on the epistemology of induction as an approach to research, with an aim of exploring a new emerging area within the discipline of diplomacy and generating new theory emerging from the empirical data (Boolsen in Brinkmann & Tanggaard 2015:241). The scientific approach is thus critical realism, and it is the notion that only certain things can be observed, because reality exists independently of our assumptions of it (Buch-Hansen & Nielsen in Juul & Bransholm Pedersen 2012:280).

2.2 THE CASE: THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF DENMARK

The thesis makes use of a single-case study in order to gain insight into a very broad academic field, the field of diplomacy, and in order to use the case as a basis for theory building. By choosing a single case, it is possible to qualitatively research a concrete and limited case at a certain point in time, allowing for a concrete output in terms of building a model based on the findings related to the case. The choice of a single case, however, means that all findings are highly dependent on the context and characteristics of the case (Den Store Danske 2017).

There are a number of reasons why the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark was selected as a case, as touched upon briefly in previous sections. Firstly and most importantly, the recent Danish appointment of the world's first Tech Ambassador, which has attracted quite a lot of attention in the media as a symbol of a new era of diplomacy, is very much in line with the initial interest and the problem area of the thesis. Secondly, Denmark is one of the most digitized economies and societies in the world and can in many ways be considered a first mover in the digital and technological area (DESI 2017). Thus, it is interesting to ponder whether the change in the approach to diplomacy and the diplomatic practice taken on by Denmark is an example of the future approach in general. Thirdly, in practical terms, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark is considered more likely to cooperate than other foreign ministries, as a result of the Danish fairly flat hierarchy structure of public institutions and due to the fact that the author of the thesis is a Danish national. Furthermore, there is a greater accessibility to public documents, strategies and interviews with representatives from the Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Danish than many others, as a result of a general Danish focus on having transparent and open public institutions.

2.3 METHODS FOR COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS OF EMPIRICAL DATA

In order to explore the problem statement in depth, the thesis makes use of the qualitative method of qualitative interviews. Qualitative interviews are a useful method for gaining knowledge about personal experiences and daily lives, and is deemed the most efficient and relevant way of gaining insight into change processes in diplomacy in theory and practice for a number of reasons (Brinkmann & Tanggaard 2015:21). The thesis considers the qualitative interviews as a guided conversation between the researcher and the interviewee, since the interviews are conducted in a semi-structured manner. The choice of semi-structured interviews was taken, as it is considered to allow a more flexible

structure and natural flow in the interview space, which allows for deeper insights as well as more detailed answers (Bryman 2012:470). Furthermore, the semi-structured interviews a method for data collection was chosen to ensure an organic flow of the conversation, while simultaneously ensuring that all relevant topics were covered over the course of the interview. Qualitative interviews are also considered very suitable for obtaining detailed information where the problem statement is open-ended, as is the case of this thesis, because it allows for a range and variety of possibly relevant answers. Yet another reason for selecting qualitative interviews as a method for collection of empirical data is the nature of the case. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs cannot be considered a particularly open organization, with regards to the attitudes to every aspects of diplomacy, and there are a very limited amount of readily available sources on the current state of affairs with regards to diplomacy. With the use of qualitative interviews, it is possible to gain a thorough insight into the current diplomatic practices in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark, which might otherwise be fairly difficult to obtain.

The theoretical approach to the interviews are based on Steinar Kvale and Svend Brinkmann's ideas about the qualitative interview as an active process of knowledge-production in the relation between the interviewer and the interviewee (2009:34). The use of qualitative interviews will provide a snapshot of the current diplomatic practices in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark through the analysis of the statements made in the interviews by the representatives.

2.4 ANALYTICAL DESIGN

The analytical design of the thesis builds on the findings of the review of the academic literature in light of the selected case and the empirical data. The review resulted in four general topics that have been selected as the overall themes for the analysis: *Diplomacy in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark*, *Changes in Diplomacy and the Diplomatic Practice*, *Strategies and Methods for Coping with Change* and *the Future of Diplomacy*. The gathered empirical data, in the form of five semi-structured interviews with representatives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark, is analyzed according to the method of qualitative analysis. Through the analysis of the collected empirical data combined with the information gathered about the case, the theoretical backdrop is used as a means for understanding the current development and state of the diplomatic practice in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark. Thus, by exploring the empirical data on the basis of the theoretical findings, the theoretical assumptions are tested. On the basis of

challenging the established theoretical foundation, the thesis presents a model that seeks to explain and capture the process of change in the diplomatic practice in the case of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark.

2.4.1 GATHERING OF EMPIRICAL DATA

The empirical data serves as the foundation of the analysis that leads to the findings of the thesis, and hence a lot of methodological considerations relate to the gathering of the empirical data. Overall, the analysis is conducted on the basis of five qualitative semi-structured interviews with representatives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark conducted ultimo 2017. The interviews are with different representatives, which are all considered highly relevant for gaining a deeper understanding of the diplomatic practices in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark and how they change.

As interviews are very time-consuming, careful attention has been given to the selection of interviewees who are deemed to have the knowledge and experience necessary to give relevant and useful answers with regards to the problem statement of the thesis. The selection of interviewees thus involved a number of selection criteria to ensure the relevance of the interviewee with regards to the topic of the thesis, a broad geographical representation and a deep insight into the diplomatic practices and conceptualizations in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark.

First of all, it was a selection criterion that all interviewees represent the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark, since only employees of the Ministry are deemed relevant for the analysis of the Danish diplomacy in action. Secondly, it was a selection criterion that all interviewees could be regarded as dealing with diplomatic practices in their position in the Ministry. Thus, only high-level interviewees were deemed relevant for participating in the interviews. Thirdly, it was a selection criterion that many different geographical locations were represented in the interviews. Hence, representatives of the Ministry currently or previously residing in most parts of the world were invited to participate in the interviews. Furthermore, interviewees were selected based on a criterion of relevance for the topic of the thesis. This is understood as insight and proximity to the changing diplomatic environment with regards to TechPlomacy, Digital Diplomacy and trends in the tech and digital space in general.

Based on the listed criteria, a total of seven representatives were invited to participate in an interview on the topic of “Danish Diplomacy in Times of Change”:

Name	Title	Relevance
Casper Klynge	Tech Ambassador of Denmark, based in Silicon Valley	The Tech Ambassador is the “spearhead” of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark’s TechPlomacy and efforts in the tech-era. Klynge is also a former ambassador to Denmark in Indonesia.
Kim Højlund Christensen	Ambassador, Royal Danish Embassy in Brasilia, Brazil	In this position, the ambassador administrates the official connections to Brazil as well as Venezuela, Surinam and Guyana, but he also heads Innovation Centre Denmark Sao Paolo, and thus represents Danish diplomacy in many ways in South America.
Helle Meinertz	Deputy Head of Mission, Royal Danish Embassy in Beijing, China	The biggest Danish representation in the world is in China, resembling the importance of the diplomatic efforts. As one of the biggest markets in the world, the Danish diplomatic practices and circumstances in China are highly relevant to consider. Meinertz has previously been assigned to missions in Munich and New York.
Jonas Bering Liisberg	Director of Foreign Policy, The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark, Copenhagen	In his position in the management of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark, Liisberg has a thorough insight into the Danish diplomatic practices. Having been with the Ministry since 1997 and having taken on positions abroad, i.e. in Brussels and Beijing, he is considered a central representative.
Charlotte Slente	Ambassador, Royal Danish Embassy in Tel Aviv, Israel	As one of the world’s leading hubs for research, innovation and startups, diplomatic efforts in Israel and specifically Tel Aviv are very relevant in light of the TechPlomacy initiative. The role of ambassador includes heading the Innovation Center Denmark Tel Aviv. Furthermore, Slente has previously been ambassador to Bolivia and Ecuador as well as manager for citizen service and development policy in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark.
Jesper Møller Sørensen	Political Director, The Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Denmark, Copenhagen	In his position in the management of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark, Sørensen has a thorough insight into the Danish diplomatic practices. Having been with the Ministry since 1997 and having taken on positions abroad, i.e. in Turkey, Washington, Afghanistan and Pakistan, he is considered a central representative. Affairs of Denmark.

Lina Gandløse Hansen	Consul General in Munich and Director of Innovation Center Denmark in Munich	As Denmark's biggest trade partner, perspectives on the diplomatic practices in Germany are very relevant, and as Munich is deemed the "Silicon Valley of Europe", this particular context is specifically relevant. Hansen has previous experience from mission in Paris and Washington, primarily within the economic diplomatic efforts.
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The seven selected representatives were contacted directly through email, as email is the only available contact information that it has been possible to locate directly to the representatives. At the same time, taking time differences and the nature of the request into account, the request is deemed most effectively communicated through email. In the email, the extent and topic of the interview was briefly presented, and a small amount of background for the thesis was provided to give context. Furthermore, a few dates were suggested for the representative to consider for the interview. An anonymized version of the email can be found in Appendix 1. The success criterion for the number of invited representatives to participate in the interviews was four, since the invited representatives are considered an elite group of people with very busy schedules. This notion is illustrated in the automated replies to the e-mail invitation presented in Appendix 2, which arrived instantly from three out of seven representatives. With four interviews, the amount of empirical data is deemed to be sufficient for conducting a qualitative analysis of the Danish diplomatic practices and conceptualizations, and as most representatives have broad experience in the Ministry, the participation of any four is considered sufficient.

In order to ensure that answers to the central themes of the thesis were collected in the interviews, the interviews were carefully prepared. The preparation involved the production of an interview guide to ensure that the questions covered the topics of the thesis and to ensure the collection of relevant and useful data in the semi-structured interviews. The interview guide was designed to introduce the interviewee to the topic gradually, and ensure that the conversation was open and had a gradual build-up and a natural flow. The interviews were opened with a number of introductory questions about the representative, which was followed by a number of interpretive questions related to the overall understanding of diplomacy, after which the interview flowed more freely, but still according to the structure outlined in the interview guide (Bryman 2012:478). In the wording of the questions outlined in the interview guide, it was carefully considered that no closed or leading questions were asked. In the interviews it was stated that no answers are considered right or wrong, and follow up questions were asked to fully understand and expand the interviewee's position on the different topics.

Sample questions that were included in the interview guide:

- *How do you understand diplomacy and the diplomatic practice in general?*
- *How is diplomacy a part of your job?*
- *How has diplomacy changed while you have been with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark - if at all?*
- *How do you think that the Danish diplomatic practices are going to change in the future?*
- *What do you think about the TechPlomacy initiative?*

The full interview guide for the semi-structured interviews that have been conducted for this thesis can be found in Appendix 3.

All interviews were conducted over telephone or Skype and recorded. Furthermore, the interviews and communication with the representatives in general have been conducted in Danish, as both researcher and interviewee have Danish as their mother tongue. The choice of Danish as the communication language is deemed to ensure that the flow and the statements made in the conversations are as natural and instantaneous as possible. Even though most of the representatives use English as a communication language to some extent in their jobs, it is deemed that speaking Danish creates a certain level of trust and allows the conversation to flow freely. Although several measures have been taken to ensure an open and trusting environment in the interview situation, it is important to note that the representatives are first and foremost representatives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark, and thus represents the interests and opinions of the Ministry. Thus, it is assumed that negative aspects might be emphasized less than more positive aspects and that there generally is a lack of radical opinions in the statements made by the representatives in the interviews. As mentioned, all interviews were recorded, after which they were all individually transcribed. The transcribing process initiates an extensive and repeated examination of what have been said in the interviews, and is a natural starting point of a qualitative analysis of the empirical data (Bryman 2012:482). The process of transcribing the interviews also gives a direct insight into the individual statements that are made by the representatives in relation to the different themes, patterns and wordings that can be identified in the text. In the transcribing process everything has been reproduced precisely as it has been said in the interviews.

The fully transcribed interviews can be found in the appendixes:

- Interview 1 Jesper Møller Sørensen, Political Director: Appendix 4
- Interview 2 Jonas Bering Liisberg, Director of Foreign Policy: Appendix 5
- Interview 3 Lina Gandløse Hansen, Consul General, Munich: Appendix 6
- Interview 4 Charlotte Slente, Ambassador, Israel: Appendix 7
- Interview 5 Laura Nielsen *on behalf of* Kim Højlund Christensen, Ambassador, Brazil: Appendix 8

2.4.2 ANALYSIS OF EMPIRICAL DATA

In the analysis of the empirical data, the method of qualitative analysis of the interviews has been selected. With this method, the aim is to draw out knowledge and meanings from the interviews, and structure and conceptualize the findings through the topics discovered in the academic literature as well as in the research of the case. This method has been selected, as it will help draw out aspects of diplomacy and the diplomatic practice that are especially interesting with regards to building a theory on the process of change in diplomacy in theory and practice. In the work with the empirical data and the interviews, it became clear that some elements were not covered by the themes found in the academic literature and the case, and thus further themes were added to the analysis in order to properly unfold and research the ideas of diplomacy and diplomatic practice found in the interviewee's statements. In this sense, the work with the empirical data also steered the themes in the analysis, as key themes have been extracted directly from the qualitative data.

The most central tool for the analysis is the selection of quotes from the interviews. The quotes are selected due to their relevance and mentioning of keywords or points, and seeks to establish that the theoretical concepts can be applied to the empirical data. In general, the quotes are selected based on their ability to shed light on aspects of diplomacy and the diplomatic practice, as well as on a subjective foundation where the researcher select quotes that are deemed relevant and capable of contributing to answering the problem statement of the thesis. In the use of the quotes, the text is translated from Danish to English. This gives rise to validity considerations, as the empirical data in the shape of interviews are the basis of the analysis. Hence, the quotes have been carefully translated in order to ensure validity. This is done to ensure that all aspects related to meaning and discourse is translated as correctly as possible, and in

order to avoid a strong case of translator's subjectivity, a common pitfall associated directly with validity concerns (Bryman 2012).

2.5 LIMITATIONS

The impact of the methodological choices is immense and has direct implications for the structure, findings and outcome of any given project. Being aware and content with these choices are central for understanding the implications that they have, and taking the necessary reservations when it comes to presenting and evaluating the findings as they emerge. Being aware of how the methodological choices affect the outcome is thus an important aspect of a research project, as is recognizing that some of the identified limitations might have been avoided whereas others are merely important to keep in mind when reflecting on the findings.

In any research project based on qualitative analytical findings, subjectivity is a central aspect that must be taken into account. As the analysis essentially builds on quotes, statements and theoretical underpinnings selected by the researcher, the analytical findings should be considered in the context and with the implicit assumptions that any researcher possesses. In this sense, the researcher risks unconsciously steering the analysis in a given direction, due to implicit assumptions, knowledge and prejudices. The subjective evaluation of relevance is unavoidable and crucial for the analysis, but also potentially affects the outcome in a direct way. Thus, the researcher must keep this dynamic in mind at all times, and seek to avoid reproducing any assumptions in the work with the analysis.

The concept of TechPlomacy is very new, and has not yet reached academia, and thus the attempt to conceptualize TechPlomacy as an element of diplomacy in times of change has been somewhat challenging. Furthermore, there is no clear theory of diplomacy in the literature, and no common academic ground on how it develops and why. Several academics have tried to create a thorough review, but there are no theories on how the developments in society in general reflect on diplomacy and the diplomatic practice of foreign ministries. Hence, it is difficult for this thesis to "stand on the shoulder of giants", as the theory-building on this topic is practically non-existent, in terms of conceptual models, despite the old academic tradition of conceptualizing diplomacy and the relatively broad academic interest in the subject. Thus, an attempt to build a model or a theory on the interaction between societal change and the change in the diplomatic practice based on a

narrow and limited case of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark, presents very low generalization capabilities and will need further investigations to establish any form of universality of the findings.

3.0 DIPLOMACY IN THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF DENMARK

In this section the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is reviewed in terms of organization, policy areas and recent initiatives. This is done through the investigation of a number of official publications by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark and the Danish government, as well as official websites and news-clippings from various sources. Thus, this section seeks to establish the foundation of the case, which will be challenged in a theoretical review as well as by the statements made in the interviews presented in the analysis. The section is divided into three sections: *Organizational Setup*, *Danish Foreign and Security Policy* and *TechPlomacy Initiative*.

3.1 ORGANIZATIONAL SETUP

The first Danish diplomatic mission was placed in Stockholm in the beginning of 1621, and throughout the 17th century Denmark established missions in Haag, London, Vienna, Paris, and Moscow (Struwe 2014:37). It was not until 1770 that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark was established in Copenhagen (Marcussen 2017:56). Today, Denmark has a total of 105 representations located all over the world, as outlined in the illustration on the following page:



(Illustration: Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark 2017a)

The organization of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark is divided into two overall categories: staff serving at home and staff serving abroad. In total, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark employs 2.542 people of which 759 are based in the Ministry in Copenhagen and 1.783 are based in different types of missions abroad. Of the 1.738 people employed abroad, 1.371 are employed on local contracts. The Ministry employs around 400 with diplomat status (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark 2016b).

The different types of missions in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark are:

- Embassies: usually placed in capitals and often covers more than a single country.
- Missions at International Organizations: ensures Danish interests at international organizations, such as the European Union and the United Nations.
- Consulate Generals and Consulates: missions placed in important cities around the world.
- Trade Offices: placed in areas where Denmark has considerable commercial interests.
- Innovation Centers: services to Danish companies and knowledge institutions with an aim of strengthening Danish innovation, research and education.

- Honorary Consulates: subordinated to a Danish embassy, manages consular tasks locally (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2017b).

The various types of missions are placed all over the world, but all belong to the same organization and general management.

The mission statement of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark is:

“To work for the interests and values of Denmark in the world in a way that promotes the freedom, safety and prosperity of the Danes as well as a more peaceful and just world with development and economic growth for all.” [Translated from Danish] (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark 2017c)

In addition to the mission statement, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark operates with five values that serve to guide the work in a more general way. The first value is *musicality*, which is understood in the sense that it takes musicality to sense the tone in debates and negotiations in different languages at home and abroad, which helps ensure successful political and practical results. *Dynamic* is the second value, which is understood as a fundamental trait for the Ministry to act instantly in times of need. *Professionalism* is the third value, and refers to professionalism as a condition for precision and quality in strategizing and case-handling. The fourth value is *job satisfaction*, in the sense that job satisfactions is considered a condition for creating commitment, initiatives and high standards. The fifth and last value is *openness*, which is seen as a condition for strengthening the communicative role of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark at home as well as abroad (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark 2017c).

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark has a big and active presence on most of the biggest social media platforms, such as Facebook, LinkedIn, Twitter and Instagram. The Ministry and some of its subdivisions, i.e. DANIDA and The Trade Council, has official Facebook pages in Danish and most embassies each have an individual page in English. Most ambassadors and consul generals have personal Facebook accounts. Some use their profiles actively and professionally, whereas others have closed, private accounts. On LinkedIn the trend is similar. The Ministry has an overall official account that is used actively and most subdivisions, such as Invest in Denmark and The Trade Council have the same. A lot of the employees of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs are linked to the account of the Ministry, and the updates are frequent on all pages. On Twitter, the Ministry of

Foreign Affairs of Denmark is even more active with several tweets and re-tweets per day. Some embassies also have their own platforms here, but most commonly ambassadors and members of management take part in the activities on Twitter through personal profiles. Tweets and posts across all platforms are popularly hashtagged #workingforDK. Lastly, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark does not have an official profile on the social media Instagram, but some missions do, i.e. the Royal Danish Embassy in Egypt (denmarkinegypt) and the Royal Danish Embassy in Philippines (denmarkinph). On Instagram there are more than 1.200 post tagged with the hashtag of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark, #workingforDK, but most are tagged by private individuals that are associated with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark in one way or another. In summary, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark has a great social media presence, and accounts across the biggest platforms are used actively and frequently.

3.2 DANISH FOREIGN AND SECURITY POLICY

The Danish Foreign and Security Policy is one of the most central documents for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark, as it openly describes the strategic course for the years to come, alongside initiatives and political obligations set out by the Danish government.

Prior to the publication of the current Danish Foreign- and Security Policy, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark published a review called *Danish Diplomacy and Defense in Times of Change* which sought to describe the challenges and opportunities that policymakers in Denmark should take into account. In the publication it was described that the fundamental purposes of diplomacy will remain the same, but the means and working methods will need to be adjusted as foreign policy issues become more diverse and interconnected, and as new players enter the field (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark 2016a:7). The answer to the review arrived with the publication of *The Strategy for Foreign and Security Policy 2017-2018*, which was published by the Danish government in June 2017 (Regeringen 2017). At the official presentation of the strategy, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Anders Samuelsen stated in his speech:

“The strategy is valid for 2017-2018 and will be followed up by a new strategy annually. In a world with immense changes, there is a need for continuously strengthening our priorities and conjoining the Danish international commitment.”
[Translated from Danish] (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark 2017e)

In the strategy, the Danish government singles out five pillars that are considered central to ensuring the interests of Danish Foreign- and Security Policy in the coming years: *Migration, instability and terrorism*; *Security in the vicinity*; *Brexit and the future of EU*; *Globalization - economic and technological diplomacy*; and *the Arctic* (Regeringen 2017:5). The content of the Danish Foreign- and Security Policy is strictly divided into the themes of the five pillars. In general, the five pillars illustrate the broad responsibilities, opportunities and challenges that the Danish government has identified as the most important to address at this point in time. The five pillars represent five very different topics, but nonetheless, some of the methods that are taken into account somewhat similar. This illustrates the complexity of the issues, but the opportunities of a collective approach as well.

In brief, the first pillar *Migration, instability and terrorism* is considered in light of the increased migration flows and the number of refugees in the world, where the Danish government strongly believes in the possibilities of European and International cooperation. The second pillar addresses the issue of ensuring *Security in the vicinity* of Denmark. The Danish government, and hence the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark, will ensure this through a security policy commitment to NATO, laying down a strict line towards Russian aggressions and through dialogue on the Arctic as an area of stability. The third pillar deals with the issue of *Brexit and the future of the European Union*. The Danish government will work for a strong European cooperation, as they consider it the best way of maintaining Danish interests. The fourth pillar is the topic of *Globalization and economic and technological diplomacy*. The Danish government wants to ensure that the Danes generally profit from globalization and the technological developments in the world. The fifth and last pillar concerns *the Arctic*, and the work with ensuring a peaceful and stable environment. The Danish government wants to pursue this goal through dialogue with other Arctic states, by strengthening research opportunities and protecting the environment, while simultaneously developing the economic opportunities for the inhabitants. All five pillars are accompanied by a number of concrete initiatives that the Danish government will take on to ensure that the ambitions inherent in each of the pillars are met (Regeringen 2017).

3.3 TECHPLOMACY INITIATIVE

In January 2017, the Danish Minister for Foreign Affairs, Anders Samuelsen, gave a speech at the conference on *The Future Foreign Service* hosted by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark. Here, he announced that the Ministry would introduce a new initiative that he referred to as *TechPlomacy*:

“The tech development holds great opportunities – and challenges – for all of us. We need to be on the right side of the digital history. Starting now, Denmark will make the digital and technological development a strategic priority across Denmark’s Foreign Policy and Foreign Service. In short, what I call “TechPlomacy” will be one of the new guiding principles for Denmark’s Foreign Policy and Foreign Service in the years to come.” (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark 2017f)

Shortly after, and without issuing much further information, the job posting for the position of the world’s first Tech Ambassador was posted. In the job posting, some of the ideas behind the initiative came into the light. An important trait of the Tech Ambassador was that he or she should be able to navigate effortlessly in classic diplomatic arenas as well as in broad commercial networks. In many ways, the job posting described a position with elements of classic diplomatic tasks as well as more commercial tasks:

“We expect you to:

- *have practical experience and a thorough understanding of international politics, as well as national and international decision making processes*
- *have a broad national and international network, that you can utilize in the development of the TechPlomacy”* [Translated from Danish] (Appendix 9)

With the presentation of the Foreign and Security Policy in May 2017, a lot more context was given to the reasons and ambitions behind the launch of the TechPlomacy initiative. In the publication, it is written the Danish government wants to lift Denmark’s international approach to the technological area to a coordinated foreign policy priority, that extends beyond the purely commercial and with a designated Tech Ambassador as spearhead, aims at building closer relations at the highest level with the global tech environment. Thus, TechPlomacy is expected to concern foreign- and security policy, development policy and export- and investment promotion as well as a number of sector specific policy areas (Regeringen 2017:22). The initiative is a central strategic effort by the Ministry of

Foreign Affairs of Denmark, as evident by the TechPlomacy-Initiative being listed as one of the political top priorities in the annual report on the Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2017 (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark 2016b:20).

4.0 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The concept of diplomacy is far from new and as the world society has developed, so has the concept of diplomacy. The early ideas of diplomacy did not foresee concerns with the environment, collective security, cyber space and technology, and as such, the concept has developed from being merely a tool for solving territorial conflicts to something more and something else. Tracing the historical roots of the concept helps provide an understanding of what diplomacy has been and how it has developed, and contributes to a fuller understanding of the concept in a historical context. This section discovers the history and evolution of diplomacy from the earliest historical traces to the current academic debates. This is done through a review of the academic literature on central strands of diplomacy theory, constructing a theoretical framework for conceptualizing diplomacy in the past, present and future. The overall topics of the *historical roots of diplomacy, the congress of Vienna and the rise of modern diplomacy, and diplomacy in the 21st century* are used as structural themes in the review. Lastly, the theoretical considerations related to conceptualizing the future of diplomacy as discussed in the academic literature is outlined in the section *the future of diplomacy*.

4.1 HISTORICAL ROOTS OF DIPLOMACY

States, the international state system and the diplomatic practice are basic features of modern political life, but it has not always been just so. States are historical institutions, and as such there were no clearly recognizable sovereign states before the sixteenth century, even though the state system is practically global in its extent today (Jackson & Sørensen 2007:8). There is, however, evidence of political systems that resembled sovereign states long before the modern age, and they had all sorts of relations with each other. Thus, the historical origin of international relations in a more general sense lies deep in history and can practically only be a matter of speculation. Thinking about the origins of international relations more conceptually, however, it is considered a time when people began to settle down on the land and form themselves into separate territory-based political communities. The first examples of these communities date back more than 5.000 years, and it is believed that a form of communication emerged between these autonomous political communities. This communication can be regarded as the first traces of diplomatic practice, focused primarily on aspects of peace, war, conflict and cooperation

(Jackson & Sørensen 2007:9). Hence, many scholars trace the concept of diplomacy back to the Greek city-states, since the diplomatic practices was a central necessity in this particular context. The Greek city-states had a central ambition of maintaining peace between the numerous small Greek city-states, and thus diplomacy as a concept and in practice was very different from today.

The Roman Empire was in existence somewhat simultaneously with the Greek civilization, but was a republic, not a democracy, and thus diplomacy was mostly used for legal and commercial purposes (Osiander 1994; Hamilton & Langhorne 2011). With the fall of the Roman Empire and the rise of the Byzantine Empire, there was a shift in the absolute dependence on military strength and a new, sustained focus on diplomatic measures. Since the Byzantine Empire was not hegemonic, it was bound to maintain relations with its neighbors through other means than coercion and threats, which had been the preferred strategies of the Roman Empire, and thus diplomacy began to become institutionalized. The institutionalization, however, refers mostly to strategic bribes, matrimonial alliances and dividing neighbors and pitting them against each other. But even these practices required trustworthy information, and as such, the Byzantine Empire can be considered one of the first intelligence agencies in the world (Hamilton & Langhorne 2011:22).

With the fall of Constantinople in 1453, the Byzantine Empire came to a definitive end. In the following century, diplomatic practices were further developed by the Italian city-states, who sought cooperation through diplomatic means as a response to collective threats from the Ottoman Turks and France. As a result of a fragile balance of power between the Italian city-states and a general sense of mistrust among the states, resident ambassadors were installed across the city-states. By the time the Thirty Years War broke out in 1618, most European states of the time had adopted the system of permanent embassies and resident ambassadors. Several aspects of this system remain relevant in international relations till this day (Mattingly 1955:115). During the sixteenth century, there was a general absence of peaceful conditions in the western part of Europe, as kingdoms constantly sought power to ensure the maintenance of their position in regional politics. Furthermore, religious change gave way to war. This context characterized by tensions and wars called for an alteration and intensification of the diplomatic relations and practice. Most importantly, there was a call for immunity of the diplomats, as they were representatives of a monarch and very vulnerable to conflict between the kingdoms. In addition to introducing the concept of diplomatic immunity, the practice of negotiations of trade was institutionalized (Kissinger 1994:744).

The historical end-point of the medieval era and the starting point of the modern international system, very generally speaking, is usually identified with the Thirty Years War and the Peace of Westphalia which brought it to an end in 1648 (Raymond 2002:65). With 194 belligerents signing the Treaty of Westphalia, many scholars consider it the first sign of the emergence of the modern state system of international politics and international relations (Langhorne 2000:33). With the signing of the Treaty of Westphalia, states were now considered the only legitimate political systems of Europe, based on their own separate territories, their own independent governments and their own political subjects. The state system has several characteristics. First of all, it consisted of adjoining states whose legitimacy and independence was mutually recognized. Second, the recognition of states did not extend outside the European state system, and third, the relations of European states were subject to international law and diplomatic practices (Jackson & Sørensen 2007:14). This period is thus considered to mark shift from medieval to modern and the transition of European society from feudalism to a system of sovereign territorial states. Broadly speaking, the Treaty of Westphalia thus established a number of principles that have endured and remained at the heart of contemporary international politics and relations, one of which was diplomacy.

4.2 THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA AND THE RISE OF MODERN DIPLOMACY

The Great War of 1914-1918 was a pivotal moment for diplomacy and the diplomatic practice. Before the war, little strain had been put on the traditional diplomatic machinery; in many ways it had a monopoly on foreign policy, partly because of the principles established in the Treaty of Westphalia several decades prior. However, with the outbreak of the First World War, this monopoly that traditional diplomacy had on foreign policy was fundamentally challenged, since the diplomatic system that had dominated Europe for over 200 years had failed to prevent a war (Langhorne 1998:1). With the spread of democracy a demand for a more transparent type of diplomacy emerged, and in combination with increased trade and economic relations, the notion of international relations became a more and more important priority for states. With the establishment of the League of Nations in 1920, the world saw an entirely new symbol of diplomatic practice, and a strong indication for the interest in strengthening international relations. The primary aims of the League of Nations were collective security and disarmament, but it was also a great outlet for conducting diplomatic activities in general. Issues of global or regional concern were more relevant to discuss in multilateral arenas than merely bilateral, as had typically been the case previously. It was the belief that the framework of a multilateral organization,

exemplified by the establishment of the League of Nations, would prevent aggressions from any nation, but sadly, this proved wrong with the outbreak of the Second World War. With the end of the Second World War, the United Nations was established in 1945, in a new and more ambitious attempt to institutionalize diplomacy (Ziring et. al. 2005).

The Congress of Vienna was another attempt to establish a balance of power in the region, which was adopted by the United Nations in Vienna and put into motion the 24th of April 1961 (Marcussen 2017:27). The content of the Congress of Vienna is a codification of the set of rules that allow nation states with different languages, cultures, traditions, norms and beliefs to have relations to one another. As such, it reflects the diplomatic practice that gradually developed in Europe from the 17th century and onwards, and in many ways, the Congress of Vienna can thus be considered the constitution of the modern diplomatic practice (Langhorne 1992:5). The Congress of Vienna outlines the purpose and aspects of diplomatic missions and describes central principles of diplomacy, such as the sanctity of the diplomat, and the notion that all parties recognize this sanctity as mutual and key to the fact that diplomatic relations between countries can even exist (Marcussen 2017:33). Thus far, the international system, which have lasted the longest without a major war, is the one following the Congress of Vienna. This is attributed to aspects of combined legitimacy, shared values, and balance-of-power diplomacy (Kissinger 1994:811). In short, the Congress of Vienna is thus considered the central starting point of modern diplomacy as we know it.

Modern diplomacy has many different characteristics, and has been described and conceptualized in different ways by a great number of scholars and practitioners. As a collective starting point, the academic literature on modern diplomacy considers the diplomatic environment as one where traditional state-to-state diplomacy is no longer the sole conduit of diplomacy. In the academic literature, the modern diplomatic environment is generally believed to consist of five elements, where the 193 states that currently exist are merely one element (United Nations 2017). The second element of the diplomatic environment is the non-governmental organization (NGO). Some NGOs have direct political purposes, some have humanitarian functions and others economic or technical purposes. Collectively, however, they seek to influence government policies and advocate to fill gaps in policy execution. The third element of the diplomatic environment is the multinational corporation. Today, many of the biggest multinational corporations have turnovers that far exceed the gross domestic products of many nations, suggesting the possibility of affecting the ability of sovereign state actors to control their own economy,

and thus effectively, their state (Kegley & Wittkopf 2003:141). The fourth element of the modern diplomatic environment is the international government organization. These are most commonly created by states to solve shared issues, and the diplomatic activities associated with international government organizations typically have a multilateral nature. The fifth element of the modern diplomatic environment is more of a phenomenon that influences the environment and the way in which the diplomatic practice takes place; the revolution in information and communications technology (Kramarenko & Krutskikh 2003:115). Technological advances have, among other things, created new organizational processes, altered hierarchy and power relations and made information itself a crucial source of national power and influence. In this sense, information is power, and modern information technology is spreading information more widely than ever before (Nye 2004:1). As such, this has affected both the content and the conduct of diplomacy as well as the diplomatic environment in general. These five elements, states, NGOs, multinational corporations, international government organizations and the revolution in information and communications technology, are all identified as central elements of modern diplomacy in the academic literature, and each play a significant role in understanding modern diplomacy.

A central concept of modern diplomacy identified in the academic literature is soft power. Soft power is based on the notion that power among the advanced democracies is less tangible and less coercive today than it has been in the past (Nye 2004:30). The soft power capabilities of a country rest primarily on three resources: its culture, in terms of areas where it is attractive to others, its political values, in terms of when the country lives up to them at home and abroad, and its foreign policies, in terms of when they are seen as legitimate and having moral authority (Nye 2004:11). In a diverse world, it is, however, argued that both military, economic, and soft power is relevant. The notion is that they are relevant in different degrees in different relationships, and as such, the importance of soft power is believed to have increased dramatically. With the information revolution, virtual communities and networks that cut across national borders have emerged as well as massive transnational corporations and NGO's, many of which are believed to possess soft power of their own, as they attract citizens into coalitions that cut across national boundaries. In example, NGOs possess soft power as an effect of their role as a "global conscience", which represent broad public interests beyond the boundaries or borders of any individual state. Thus, NGOs are developing new norms directly by pressing governments and business leaders to change policies, and indirectly by altering public perceptions of what governments and firms should be doing. In this sense, their ability to

attract followers, especially enabled by the information revolution, increases their soft power and increases the need for states and governments to take NGOs into account as allies as well as adversaries (Nye 2004:90).

In short, modern diplomacy popularly traces back to the Congress of Vienna and is characterized by a number of different elements, which generally symbolize the increasingly important role of non-state actors, information and communication technology and soft power.

4.3 DIPLOMACY IN THE 21st CENTURY

Some strands of modern diplomacy have been conceptualized, researched and applied to a greater extent than others by academia, diplomats and practitioners in general. In this subsection of the theoretical framework, three of the most central and currently relevant theoretical approaches to diplomacy in the 21st century are presented. Each approach represents important aspects of the conceptualization of diplomacy and dominant diplomatic practices, and are known as *public diplomacy*, *economic diplomacy* and *digital diplomacy*.

4.3.1 PUBLIC DIPLOMACY

The shorthand definition of public diplomacy that most effectively conveys the essence of the term is that it involves 'getting other people on your side'. As such, public diplomacy is about influencing other people's opinions and attitudes, where the 'people on the other side' are considered multipliers of opinions and future opinion leaders of high potential, but also ordinary people who have direct access to all sorts of information. This means that public diplomacy is in essence an act of international communication taking place between a group of public citizens and a state or organization that would not appear to be 'domestic' (Kelley in Snow & Taylor 2009:82). Furthermore, many scholars see public diplomacy as the instrumentalization of soft power (Melissen 2006:2).

The term public diplomacy was first applied to the process of international information and cultural relations in 1965 by Edmund Gullion, a retired American diplomat. The term made little headway in the international scene until the years immediately following the Cold War, when the challenges of real-time television news, the emerging Internet and the role of ideas in the political changes sweeping the world convinced central Western nations that

image making and information had a new relevance in international relations (Cull 2009:17). Its practice required a radical rethinking of foreign policy practice. Traditional diplomacy had always been directed at other governments and their agents and tended to require absolute secrecy, but public diplomacy is by nature open and requires a greater degree of transparency to flourish. At some point, the idea of public diplomacy mostly referred to propaganda, but today it is seen as something else entirely (Snow & Taylor 2009:21).

Today, the term public diplomacy refers to the mechanisms and means used by an international actor, whether a government, international organization, nongovernmental organization, or even an individual, to advance foreign policy by engaging, informing and influencing foreign publics. Public diplomacy is thus directed towards the citizens of other nations, and is about promoting national interests through influence, meaning changing public opinion, beliefs, behavior, expectations, and perspectives (Snow and Taylor 2009:112). This mission can be accomplished through influence through *direct*, *support* and *indirect* means. *Direct means* changes behavior, opinions and beliefs directly, and involves public pressure to enact direct change. *Support means* support other tools of foreign policy, such as economic, diplomatic and military actions, and finally *indirect means* are used to create a situation and common understandings to advance national objectives (Snow and Taylor 2009:112).

The term also refers to the models of public diplomacy, and in the academic literature there are several. Overall, however, there are three models of public diplomacy which help explain the significant variation in perceptions of public diplomacy activities, and exemplifies how public diplomacy activities has developed over time: the *Basic Cold War* model, the *Non-state Transnational* model, and the *Domestic PR* model. As the term public diplomacy emerged during the initial years of the Cold War in the midst of the enormous destructive power of nuclear weapons, it was evident that information and persuasion campaigns would be the principal weapons utilized in the global ideological and strategic struggle. Thus, the *Basic Cold War* model resembles public diplomacy as antagonistic relationships to achieve long-term results in foreign societies. With the emergence of new players in international affairs and an increasing interdependence among the actors, public diplomacy developed to account for something more and something else: the activities of groups, NGOs and individuals across national boundaries, as conceptualized in the *Non-state Transnational* model. In the *Domestic PR* model, public

diplomacy involves governments hiring PR firms and even lobbyists in the target country to achieve its aims (Gilboa 2008:60).

Furthermore, public diplomacy is believed to consist of five overall components: *listening*, *advocacy*, *cultural diplomacy*, *exchange* and *international broadcasting* (Cull 2008:31). *Listening* is a central component, as it is seen as a precedent for all successful public diplomacy. Listening is an attempt for an actor to manage the international environment by collecting and collating data about publics and their opinions, and using that data to redirect policy or a wider public diplomacy approach. *Advocacy* is the attempt to manage the international environment by undertaking an international communication activity to actively promote a particular policy, idea, or a general interests in the minds of a foreign public. This could include press relations and informational work. *Cultural diplomacy* is the attempt to manage the international environment through making its cultural resources and achievements known abroad and/or facilitating cultural transmissions abroad. *Exchange diplomacy* is an attempt to manage the international environment by sending citizens abroad and reciprocally accepting citizens from abroad for a period of study and/or acculturations. Lastly, *international broadcasting* is an attempt to manage the international environment by using the technologies of radio, television and the Internet to engage with foreign publics (Cull 2008:32-35). Some states have emphasized particular components of public diplomacy over others in their approach, but the notion is that the ideal structure of a public diplomacy approach would balance all components, and allow each the space and funding to make a contribution to the whole, even if this is seldom the case. The effectiveness of each form of public diplomacy means and components as presented above, hinges on credibility, but different types of credibility for each component, which makes it necessary to establish a broad approach to public diplomacy. In example, a source of credibility for the component *listening* is the validity of methods used, for *advocacy* it is the proximity to government, for *cultural diplomacy* it is the proximity to cultural authorities, for *exchange diplomacy* it is the perception of mutuality and for *international broadcasting* it is the evidence of a good journalistic practice. Furthermore, the timeframe and flow of information varies for the different components. Where the timeframe for *advocacy* is often short term, the time frame for *exchange diplomacy* is very long term. Thus, there is a need to coordinate between each component, and connect research to policy making (Cull 2008:36).

Another common characteristic of public diplomacy that is mentioned by scholars repeatedly is the two-faced nature of the practice: public diplomacy is facing inwards and

outwards at the same time. In other words, public diplomacy serves as a window into a society as well as a window out. Thus, the sense of national identity of citizens, and also how they feel about their country, helps project a country's identity abroad (Melissen 2006:2). Public diplomacy is tailor-made to the needs of different countries that have given it greater priority in their approach to diplomacy for a variety of reasons. The efforts may for instance support long-term foreign policy objectives, but it may also aim at boosting a country's exports and foreign inward investment. It may also assist small powers punch above their weight on the world stage, help them in articulating their own identity, or may be instrumental in conveying a commitment to a stable international society and peaceful multilateral order. Others believe that public diplomacy may help correct disturbing stereotypical images among foreign audiences or counter negative perceptions abroad as a result of incidents and/or crises in domestic society. The bottom line is that public diplomacy is a do-it-yourself business, but the work particularly is to test where short-term public diplomacy can support foreign policy objectives. The rule of thumb is that there should be no tension between a country's public diplomacy and its actual foreign policy (Melissen 2006:4).

In summary, works on public diplomacy range from notions of propaganda and nation branding to cultural programs, arts diplomacy, elements of marketing, public relations and much more. Many of these concepts are entire academic fields of their own, and are related to public diplomacy in different ways. Some concepts are considered to be a part of public diplomacy, just as public diplomacy is part of these concepts in many ways (Szondi 2009:37; Melissen 2006:16).

4.3.2 ECONOMIC DIPLOMACY

The emergence of explicit concepts of economic diplomacy is a relatively recent development in the field of diplomacy, but as such economic diplomacy is not new, it has merely changed considerably over time, as is the case with the concept of diplomacy in general (Lee & Hocking 2010: 1221). Diplomacy has always been concerned with commerce to some extent, and today some even consider ambassadors as a country's chief commerce promotion officers (Lee & Hudson 2004:349). However, with the end of the Cold War, the meaning and importance of economic diplomacy changed considerably. As Western nations witnessed the historic changes taking place in the aftermath of the Cold War, they wanted to help countries escaping from communism by establishing working democracies and market economies. With no real alternatives to the market-

based system favored by the Western nations, the International Monetary Fund and the World Trade Organization became truly universal organizations. The economic interdependence, which had previously been constrained by the Cold War, expanded quickly, and governments opened their economies to external competition, by taking down barriers allowing for trade across borders, direct investments and ultimately foreign exchange transactions and capital flows (Bayne & Woolcock 2017:19).

The increasing globalization of the economy is said to have resulted in heavy demands for the economic diplomatic practice; its range has increased greatly, penetrating deeply into domestic policies, developing ex-communist countries have been integrated into the world system and the relative power and resources of governments have been shrinking. Hence, governments have sought for ways to develop and improve their decision-making and negotiation capabilities, which has resulted in a sustained and increasing focus on economic diplomatic measures (Bayne & Woolcock 2017:25). Thus, economic diplomacy is a central priority for states in most regions of the world seeking to enhance prosperity today. As such, economic diplomacy today is thus concerned with international economic issues. As a result of the increasing economic interdependence and globalization process, economic diplomacy is becoming more complex, deals with a great variety of issues and involves many different actors, and goes deeply into domestic decision-making processes. There is also a greater need to find negotiated solutions to challenges through economic diplomacy, i.e. climate change and stable financial systems, in order to achieve domestic policy objectives (Lee & Hocking 2010: 1225).

Economic diplomacy is a process that has bilateral, regional and multilateral dimensions, each of individual importance. Bilateral economic diplomacy plays a major role in economic relations, and includes bilateral agreements on trade, investment, employment, taxation, as well as a wide range of formal and informal economic issues between two countries. Regional cooperation is of growing importance in economic diplomacy, as national interests and economic liberalization are served well particularly within the context of a particular region. Multilateral economic diplomacy takes place within the framework of numerous international organizations, such as the World Trade Organization. Irrespective of these dimensions, economic diplomacy is said to encompass the overall strategies that states take on to strengthen the national economic position abroad, be it in a bilateral, regional or multilateral context. These strategies can include elements of nation branding, export promotion, consultancy related to investments and much more, but the general end goal is to advance economic interests and ultimately the export possibilities of the national

state (Ronit & Marcussen 2014). Economic diplomacy is, however, also designed to influence policy and regulatory decisions of foreign governments, and thus goes beyond merely trade and investment aspects. The agenda of economic diplomacy is comprehensive and complex and includes issues related to trade and import-export relations, promoting of national economic interests abroad, negotiating agreements on economic and trade cooperation, informing and updating potential foreign investors on investment opportunities, as well as cooperating in order to eliminate problematic divergences and harmonizing standards in various sectors (Saner & Yiu 2001:12).

Economic diplomacy uses a full range of instruments. It embraces a whole spectrum of measures from informal negotiation and voluntary cooperation, through soft types of regulation, to the creation and enforcement of binding rules. Progress is usually made by persuasion and mutual agreement, though economic diplomacy can also be confrontational, in the form of sanctions. A review of the contents of the major academic works in the field of diplomacy, uncovers that economic diplomacy is generally defined as the use of traditional diplomatic tools, as discovered in previous sections, such as intelligence gathering, lobbying, representation, negotiation and advocacy to further the foreign economic policies of the state (Bayne & Woolcock 2017:21). Furthermore, there are six factors which are believed to shape economic diplomacy: relative economic power, international organizations and regimes, markets, interests and bargaining, institutions and the notion of ideas and persuasion (Bayne & Woolcock 2011:6). Newer approaches to economic diplomacy recognize that diplomacy cannot be compartmentalized into separate economic and political activities and that, in practical terms, most countries would find such a separation simply unworkable. In all countries economic diplomacy is a key strand in diplomatic strategy and it therefore becomes necessary for states to develop an integrated or coordinated approach to diplomacy (Hocking 2004:42).

As was the case with the concept of public diplomacy, economic diplomacy also has related fields of academic inquiry. Topics such as trade diplomacy, commercial diplomacy, network diplomacy and multi-stakeholder diplomacy are often mentioned, and several scholars have imported analytical tools from other academic fields to highlight the influence of economic actors and economic interests in diplomatic processes and practices (Lee & Hocking 2010:1217).

4.3.3 DIGITAL DIPLOMACY

The concept of digital diplomacy is built on aspects of public diplomacy and soft power and refers to traditional digital channels for diplomacy, such as radio or television, but also newer means of communication, such as the Internet, YouTube or social media platforms (Bjola & Holmes 2015:130). Conceptually, digital diplomacy has been used interchangeably with other terms such as e-diplomacy, cyber diplomacy, virtual diplomacy, diplomacy 2.0 and twiplomacy in the academic literature in the field, but for the sake of simplicity, these terms are all considered more or less synonymous with digital diplomacy.

Digital diplomacy is a concept that reflects the diplomat's adaptation to new digital tools in terms of both business and mindset. As such, digital diplomacy is the diplomatic reaction to the digital revolution (Fletcher 2016:10:108). Among some of the definitions that have been proposed so far, digital diplomacy is conceptualized as the use of the Internet and information communications technology in order to carry out diplomatic objectives or to solve foreign policy problems (Bjola & Holmes 2015:35). Thus, digital diplomacy should be understood and employed as a novel and practical extension of the soft power and public diplomacy concepts presented previously, but conceptually as a theoretic field of its own.

Three related elements characterize the discussion about digital diplomacy found in the academic literature. First of all, the tools of the digital age create new issues and practices, and simultaneously redefine existing ones. With text and visuals from all sorts of news organizations, ranging from bloggers and YouTubers to powerful global media conglomerates, the arena in which issues are being framed and communicated has become an increasingly complex policy milieu that transcends domestic and international policy environments. Secondly, hybridity is in many ways the norm in the current media and diplomatic environments. The evolution of communications technologies rarely involves a direct replacement of one form by another. More typically, existing forms of communication adapt to the emergence of new technologies. In example, the element of networking in diplomacy has arguably developed this way. There are many different types of networks that the diplomat should take into consideration today, such as the more traditional permanent and specific local and professional networks, but must also increasingly take social and virtual networks into account. All types of networks are relevant and important for a diplomat in the world of today, and some even exist as hybrid-networks across and within traditional networks (Marcussen 2017:189). Thirdly, the challenges posed by digital technologies demand strategies for dealing with the integration of *online* and *offline* environments. In the past, a skilled diplomat might have been able to

reach hundreds or possibly thousands of individuals through external engagement, via newspapers, radio and television. Social media, the Internet and the increasing global connectivity of all things *online* have changed this dynamic, which requires new strategic considerations for the digital diplomatic practice (Hocking & Melissen 2015:3; Bjola & Holmes 2015:18).

In comparison with more conventional means of communication, social media and the Internet in general presents three key advantages for conducting public diplomacy. It is a highly effective instrument for delivering information, it makes possible for the intended message to reach deep into the target audience, and it enables a two-way conversation between diplomats and the foreign public (Bjola & Holmes 2015:87). As a result, digital diplomacy activities are believed to be able to perform three important dimensions of public diplomacy; digital agenda setting, digital presence expansion and digital conversation generating (Bjola & Holmes 2015:72). Thus, digital diplomacy is increasingly playing a major role in political outcomes. At the policy level, the dimension of social media affects the ways that diplomats essentially do their jobs. Digital tools shape both the day-to-day practices as well as the realm of possibility for future practices, and ultimately allow diplomats to evaluate what will be possible to predict, and respond to, in the future. At an institutional level, a number of diverse organizations in the diplomatic field, foreign ministries as well as NGO's and multinational corporations, are being reshaped and reimagined due to the revolution in digital technologies (Bjola & Holmes 2015:200). Thus, digital diplomacy reflects changes in diplomacy in terms of both the diplomatic *processes*, geared towards the functions of diplomacy, and the diplomatic *structures*, focusing on the institutions of diplomacy (Hocking & Melissen 2015:27). Furthermore, the availability and easy access to an increasing amount of data provides tremendous opportunity for diplomats, from engaging with activists in closed societies to countering the efforts of Jihadist groups. Thus, an important aspect of digital diplomacy, and the problem that diplomats face today, is not too little data, but too much. In the academic field, this situation is referred to as information overload, data asphyxiation or cognitive overload. Effective use of the increasing amount of the data that is available to the diplomat requires sophisticated use of visual analytics that help practitioners to transcend human cognitive limitations in processing information (Bjola & Holmes 2015:25).

In short, digital diplomacy brings with it both opportunities and challenges. On the one hand, it is providing countries with more data and information and allowing diplomats to reach broader targets faster, cheaper and more easily. On the other hand, a number of

risks and challenges are associated with the use and reliance on social media as a tool of diplomacy, such as the risk of information leakage, hacking and the Internet's culture of anonymity. Nonetheless, the opportunities largely appear to overshadow the challenges (Adesina 2017:11). Digital diplomacy is changing practices of how diplomats engage in information management, public diplomacy, strategy planning, international negotiations and even crisis management (Bjola & Holmes 2015:4). As the integration of social media and other aspects of digital diplomacy into the diplomatic practice is still fairly recent, it is safe to assume that current academic studies have only begun to scratch the surface of what digital diplomacy is and how it works.

4.4 THE FUTURE OF DIPLOMACY

As exemplified by the previous sections, diplomacy is a concept that has a multitude of meanings and has developed very significantly over time. With characteristics of the diplomatic environment of the 21st century including the expansion in the number and variety of international actors, the development of a new international security agenda, the resurgence of more traditional geopolitical agendas and the expansion of regulatory diplomatic agendas, the diplomatic environment is marked by change and uncertainty to a great extent (Hocking et. al. 2012:5). But what is the future of diplomacy and the diplomatic practice according to scholars in the field of diplomacy?

The current debates in the academic literature are about whether the subject matter of diplomacy is fundamentally changing or whether it is not. Using a chessboard analogy, some argue that there are merely new pieces emerging on to the board, while others argue that diplomacy has developed to include the management several games on several different boards simultaneously, that might not even be games of chess. In this respect, the diplomatic process is seen as a continued fusion of domestic and foreign policy, caused primarily by the internationalization of previously domestic issues, the erosion of the concept of domestic jurisdiction, transnational boundary-crossing transactions and globalization of economies (Barston 2013). Thus, contemporary diplomacy is characterized by a paradox; it is becoming internationalized as a respond to an increasing range of international players, economic interdependence and international policy issues, but at the same time, there is a growing attention to national interests in the diplomatic practice, making it difficult to grasp whether diplomacy as a practice and concept is merely changing in some aspects or is undergoing a complete transformation.

The technological developments and digitization of societies and economies is changing most aspects of societies, relations and more, as has been discussed in previous sections. It creates huge opportunities and challenges, and many believe that diplomatic action is needed in order to ensure national interests related to security aspects, as well as economic and political considerations. In this sense, some see diplomacy as central tool for the future, in a context that is seen as a case of the “survival of the digitally fittest” (Barston 2013; Fletcher 2016:10). Some argue that the major source of financial power in the global 21st century belongs to companies, and thus believe that the state as an actor has slipped down the hierarchy in terms of significance. In this perspective, multinational corporations have become increasingly powerful and is ultimately ending the power of the state, in the sense that the economic strength of the multinational corporations combined with international networks, outstrip and outperform traditional diplomatic services, which makes companies more influential than many states (Riordan 2003:9). Recently, Fortune Magazine has published a study, which shows that the three largest companies in the world have assets worth \$550 billion and employ more than 1,8 million people, contributing further to the image of companies being more and more influential and powerful in a global political context (Fletcher 2016:222). Hence, the belief the some scholars share, is that the next fifty years are going to be some of the most important in history, as we are going have to find ways to solve the challenges of the digital world and how information and the power that goes with it is distributed. Diplomacy is believed to central in this process (Fletcher 2016:226).

A very central aspect in the debates about the future of diplomacy is the impact of globalization. The process of globalization is considered central to diplomacy, as it affects the international agenda, most importantly in the manifestation of increased interdependence among nations. Most scholars considers globalization as the central driving force in altering the nature of international relations and the overarching process which binds together all the other factors effecting changes in diplomatic practices, in terms of accelerating global economic, technological, social and political interdependence and change.

4.5 PART CONCLUSION

In the review of the academic literature in the field of diplomacy, it has become clear that diplomacy is a concept and a practice that has many facets, applications and has changed considerably over time. Diplomacy is one of the oldest state institutions and it has survived

many previous paradigmatic changes in the international system through innovation and continuous change.

In summary, five central characteristics of the changes in the diplomatic environment have been found in the academic literature; first of all, the environment is characterized by a rapid expansion in the numbers and types of actors, ranging from governments to multinational corporations, NGOs, intergovernmental organizations and more. Secondly, the domain and scope of the diplomatic practice has expanded to include a broad spectrum of public policy and government activities. Thirdly, globalization processes have affected the levels in at which the diplomatic practices take place, from the local to the bilateral, regional, multilateral and even global. Fourth, the apparatus and machinery of diplomacy has also changed considerably to include digital tools and digital setups. Lastly, the modes, types and techniques of diplomacy has characterized the changes of the diplomatic environment, in the sense that strategic planning is much more complex, and requires new approaches to ensure success. These elements of change are evident in the many approaches to diplomacy discovered in the theoretical framework, such as three of the most prominent strands of modern diplomacy covered in depth in the section, public diplomacy, economic diplomacy and digital diplomacy.

In light of the dynamic nature of the field of diplomacy uncovered in this theoretical framework, it is safe to assume that scholars will continue to try to capture the essence of a field characterized by change. As we have witnessed, there is no universal understanding and conceptualization of diplomacy and diplomatic practices, it is rather a case of a concept in constant development.

5.0 ANALYSIS

The section will analyze how we can understand diplomacy in times of change in the case of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark. Through a selection of relevant quotes from the conducted interviews with representatives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark, the analysis will shed light on diplomatic practices in the Ministry, how they have changed so far and are currently changing. The section starts off by looking into the overall definitions of diplomacy found in the empirical data, to give an initial indication of the conceptualization of diplomacy and the aspects of diplomacy in practice experienced in the case, as compared to the theoretical framework. The empirical data is then analyzed under the overall headline of *Changes in diplomacy and the diplomatic practice*, structured according to the theoretical themes of diplomacy discovered in the literature, namely *public diplomacy*, *economic diplomacy* and *digital diplomacy*. This is done to assess how the conceptual changes identified in academia are reflected in the experiences of the practitioners of diplomacy in the case of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark. Next, the empirical data is analyzed to draw out the strategies and methods that are taken on to cope with the changes discovered in the previous section. This is done under three headlines, which represent themes that have been identified in the empirical data and lie beyond the theoretical framework, namely *Creating Synergies and Leading the Way*, *TechPlomacy Initiative* and *Corporatization of State Functions*. This is done to draw out concepts, methods and ideas related to diplomacy and the diplomatic practice, which will serve as the foundation for conceptualizing the process of change in diplomacy in the case of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark. Lastly, the analysis looks into the future of diplomacy as it is reflected in the empirical data, in order to explore how the developments of the past might relate to the developments of the future, and to create insight into the nature of the change processes taking place in the case of diplomacy. This is done through the notions of *Structural Change*, *The Diplomatic Environment*, *The Multilateral System* and *The Tech Aspect*. The analysis continuously reflects on its findings and how they relate to the theoretical framework, in order to identify key elements of the process of change in diplomacy and ultimately present a model of the process of conceptual and practical change in diplomacy.

5.1 DIPLOMACY IN THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF DENMARK

In the theoretical framework, it was established that there are many different definitions of diplomacy, reflecting the changing nature of the concept and practice. Thus, it is interesting to look into the definitions of the representatives of the case, to see how they might exemplify this range of definitions, and to look into whether there are common elements that are generally agreed upon.

Overall, the concept that is consistently mentioned in the interviews is *interests*. It is mentioned in different ways, such as *the country's interests*, *protection of interests* and *represent interests*, but all have more or less the same meaning. In this sense, it appears that interests are at the core of diplomacy. This is especially obvious in some cases:

"Well, it [diplomacy] is fundamentally a question of protection of interests. I mean, we work for Denmark's interests" [Translated from Danish] (Sørensen, Appendix 4:lines 66-68)

"Overall, you could say that diplomacy is about looking after your own country's interests in the country that you are working in, when you are an ambassador." [Translated from Danish] (Slente, Appendix 7:lines 25-26)

Some definitions go a little beyond the notion of *interests* to include other aspects as well, such as *the outside world*, *relations* and *connections*, but ultimately it can be said that the most central aspect, repeated consistently in the interviews, is *interests*, as further emphasized by these statements:

"I understand it [diplomacy] as a field that is about relations between a nation and the outside world. And there are a lot of different tasks in diplomacy, of both reactive and proactive character. All with an aim of protecting the interests of the country in the relation to the outside world." [Translated from Danish] (Lisberg, Appendix 5:lines 38-41)

"When you are employed as a diplomat, or when you are employed in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, your task is to represent Danish views and interests and connect Denmark to the country that you are in (...). So it is, what to say, Denmark's point of contact to other countries and the outside world." [Translated from Danish] (Hansen, Appendix 6:lines 29-33)

Thus, the central concept of *interests* is evident in theory as well as in practice, reflecting the fundamental aim of diplomacy in the past as well as today, in the sense that *interests* has always been at the core of the diplomatic practice and concept, but the content and nature as well as the environment in which they are protected, reflected and represented have changed.

5.1.1 ASPECTS OF DIPLOMACY

The diverse nature of the concept of diplomacy is evident in the theoretical framework and reflects the practical reality according to the empirical data. In the interviews, it became evident that there are many aspects of diplomacy and the diplomatic practices of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark that should be taken into account, as evident by the following statement:

“Diplomacy describes the mutual relationship between countries, and the diplomatic practice is about maintaining the good relations to other countries - with regards to politics, economy, culture, technology, research etc.” [Translated from Danish] (Nielsen, Appendix 8:lines 2-4)

In addition to covering many aspects, there is also an emphasis on the broad variety of instruments that diplomacy makes use of in the interviews. This ranges from classic diplomatic instruments, such as the political dialogue and the representation through embassies and ambassadors, to the hard instruments, such as the security instruments in terms of military resources among other things, to instruments such as the development and humanitarian aid, economic instruments and the newer and more soft instruments, as described in the theoretical framework. This notion is particularly emphasized in this quote:

“(...) what I’m trying to say, is that we have a broad variety of instruments, from the dialogue to the very hard, to the very soft, and promotion of economic incentives, which are all used to place Denmark as strongly as possible in the diplomatic relations.” [Translated from Danish] (Sørensen, Appendix 4:lines 91-95)

The interviews furthermore gave insight into the practical recognition of a vague term. The typical response to diplomacy as a concept was that it is a very broad and diverse term, which covers many aspects and instruments as described above. The need for

systematizing and concretizing is thus not only evident in the theoretical approach to the concept, but also in the practical approach, as evident here:

“When I travel and talk about what it is that diplomacy does and can, what kind of toolbox we are working with, I have two-three, I have three general words I usually use, in order to systematize it.” [Translated from Danish] (Sørensen, Appendix 4:lines 263-266)

The three words that are used by Sørensen, but also by other representatives, to describe and systematize the concept of diplomacy are *network*, *culture* and *protection of interests*. The latter, *interests*, has been discussed above, but the elements of *network* and *culture* are also repeatedly mentioned as central elements of diplomacy in the interviews:

“What characterizes diplomacy in comparison to other types of protection of interests, I would say is - is about cultural understanding, communication and most often a very long perspective, in which continuity is an important element.” [Translated from Danish] (Lisberg, Appendix 5:lines 41-43)

In summary, diplomacy is perceived as a concept and a practice characterized by a broad range of aspects and instruments in theory as well as in practice.

5.1.2 THE DANISH WAY

To effectively assess the process of change in terms of both practice and theory with regards to diplomacy, it seems appropriate to look into how the case of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark might differ from the general diplomatic environment in terms of both structures and methods.

The most evident point of difference in the case of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark is found in the organizational setup and the cross-sectoral approach to foreign affairs. This is evident by the organizational setup where commercial, political, educational and economic entities are integrated in the diplomatic structure of the Ministry and the representations in the world. This point of difference is recognized as a characteristic of the Danish way of conducting diplomacy and foreign affairs in general in the interviews as well:

“Something else that we work with slightly differently (...), is that we have integrated several policy areas in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which in other countries are outside of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. What I’m thinking of is, in example, our work with economic diplomacy and our commercial cooperation.” [Translated from Danish] (Slente, Appendix 7:lines 122-126)

Another point of difference can be found in the sheer size of Denmark and hence the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark. As a small country on the international stage, there are both upsides and downsides. Even though Denmark might not possess the equivalent numbers and sizes in terms of economy, population, companies, and representation in the world, as the countries that they usually cooperate, compete and benchmark with, the size is seen as a strength, in the sense that there is a greater ability to be more agile and adaptable to changes in the international environment:

“I think, that for our Ministry of Foreign Affairs (...), that because we might be a bit smaller than those we compare ourselves to, we are more agile and adaptable to changes in our organization and our strategy (...)” [Translated from Danish] (Hansen, Appendix 6, lines 100-103)

Hence, the case of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs should be considered in the light of the these characteristics, i.e. in terms of both size and structure as well as the implications of these characteristics, when conceptualizing diplomacy in times of change.

5.2 CHANGES IN DIPLOMACY AND THE DIPLOMATIC PRACTICE

In the theoretical framework, it became evident that diplomacy as a concept and a practice has undergone change in many ways, as exemplified by the existence of a very diverse range of approaches and strands of diplomatic theory. The question that the academic literature seeks to answer through re-conceptualizing the term is essentially how diplomacy is changing, how this changes the diplomatic practices and whether there is a need for a whole new concept as a result of these changes. In this section, the empirical data is analyzed according to the strands of diplomatic identified in the theoretical framework, in order to gain insight into the alignment between theory and practical experience in the case of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark. This insight will be a part of the fundamental understanding of the process of change in diplomacy, and

constitute a starting point for building a model to explain the process of practical and conceptual changes in diplomacy.

As a starting point, the general perception identified in the interviews is that diplomacy as a practice most definitely has changed. The discussion is then how and in what ways that change is evident, and whether it represents a general shift in the diplomatic practice to become something else entirely. Overall, the belief is that the changes that have happened up to this point do not represent a revolution or an expression of something radically different:

“I would say, fundamentally, there has not been a revolution in this field. But there are certain developments that I have noticed (...)” [Translated from Danish] (Lisberg, Appendix 5:lines 75-76)

Hence, the traditional practices of diplomacy has merely developed, not become obsolete or replaced by an entirely new practice. The change is argued to have taken place below the structural level, in the sense that the structural level of diplomacy has remained the same. Thus, the changes are perceived to have happened with regards to the methods and instruments of diplomacy, as explained in this statement:

“And when we speak on that level [the structural level] (...), then you might say that there has not been any changes in diplomacy. We have always done it, it was this way a 100 years ago, and it is this way today (...). But if you dig deeper, and say who is it that we are talking to, how do we communicate with them, and that sort of thing, there I would say that diplomacy is developing” [Translated from Danish] (Sørensen, Appendix 4:lines 287-292)

Another important overall observation of change found in the interviews, is the emergence of new actors in the international environment. This element is mentioned consistently as a central aspect and driver of the changes that are taking place in the diplomatic practice as well as in the diplomatic environment in general:

“In the past years, it has become evident that many other types of actors have emerged.” [Translated from Danish] (Slente, Appendix 7:lines 222-223)

This development means that diplomatic relations in an increasing extent includes other actors, such as non-governmental organizations, multinational corporations, international organizations, universities, research organizations, religious organizations, tech corporations and more. This characteristic is very consistent to the findings of the theoretical framework, which also argue that the classic entities of diplomacy is being challenged in the international environment:

“There will be some actors in international relations that aren’t the classic entities that we are familiar with, states and international organizations, or more broadly, multinational corporations, but technological corporation that are global and generate an economy that surpass that of even midsize nations’ annual gross domestic products.” [Translated from Danish] (Lisberg, Appendix 4:lines 151-156)

“In these cases [Innovation Centre Denmark and other types of new representations], it is universities and research institutions and big companies, so it is some other actors that diplomats work with, than it might have been a decade or two ago.” [Translated from Danish] (Hansen, Appendix 6:lines 55-58)

In this sense, the practical experience of diplomacy found in the empirical data follows along the lines of the theoretical findings, in terms of the emergence of new actors on the international stage being a central element of the change that has taken place.

5.2.1 PUBLIC DIPLOMACY

In terms of the aspects of change related to the theoretical underpinnings found in public diplomacy, there are a few relevant observations to be made with regards to the empirical data. First of all, the changes that have happened to the means and methods of communication is a change that is perceived to have had a massive impact on the diplomatic practice in the case of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark, as explained here:

“What has happened in the past 22 years is not exactly minor things, when we speak of communication, which must be said to be the main instrument in diplomacy.” [Translated from Danish] (Lisberg, Appendix 5:lines 90-91)

This change is believed to be fueled by the developments in technology, through the introduction of a number of new and more efficient means and methods for communicating, such as the telefax, telephones and emails, which has practically replaced the day-to-day paper-trail in the diplomatic practice:

“And obviously, it [change in diplomacy] is about the technology.” [Translated from Danish] (Lisberg, Appendix 5:line 89)

In this sense, the Danish diplomatic practice is perceived to have become much more visible and transparent. This can be seen in the use of various types of media, a new way and unprecedented extent of participation in the public debates domestically and abroad, but also in the fact that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark now publish an official foreign- and security policy. These aspects are all elements that can be found in the theoretical approach to public diplomacy, and thus this perceived change found in the empirical data, is directly reflected in the theoretical framework. The term public diplomacy is even used directly in this statement, describing the changes that diplomacy has undergone:

“(...) it is not just inward to the Danish public, but also in their countries of residence, where they take part in the public debate or events in a much more visible way. So it is a more visible, extrovert, public diplomacy.” [Translated from Danish] (Lisberg, Appendix 5:lines 86-89)

The change in public diplomacy aspects presented above includes changes in the use of all types of communication, as presented in the theoretical section. One of the elements of communication that are completely new, is the introduction of social media as an instrument of the diplomatic practice:

“I’m thinking about all that we call the communication agenda, such as social media and the way we use it, has become an instrument that we use actively today in a very different and proactive way than what we did 20 years ago when I started in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.” [Translated from Danish] (Sørensen, Appendix 4:lines 96-100)

Thus, some changes in terms of the public diplomacy concept, are merely gradual changes, such as the speed and content of communication and the increased

transparency in the diplomatic practices, whereas others are complete new elements of the diplomatic practice, such as the pro-active use of social media and the strategic emphasis on being more visible.

5.2.2 ECONOMIC DIPLOMACY

The aspects of economic diplomacy, as presented in the theoretical framework, are very evident in the case of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and in the empirical data, in the sense that the commercial and economic objectives are openly pursued. This changed most significantly in 2000, when the Trade Council, the Danish commercial department of international relations, became an integral part of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, as explained further in the following quote:

“I think it is fair to say, that since the trade council became a part of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in year 2000, that the diplomatic toolbox, what to day, has become bigger, and ensures Danish economic interests in what is now being called economic diplomacy and has gotten a bigger and bigger significance in the diplomatic practice. And that is probably the biggest change.” [Translated from Danish] (Hansen, Appendix 6:lines 48-52)

The instruments changed with the introduction of economic diplomacy, as explained above, and were taken on in many different ways. A recent example of how the approach to diplomatic practice in an economic perspective has changed in the case of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark is the introduction of strategic partnership with growth economies. This is an example of using diplomatic practices to open doors and changing the perception and reputation within certain sectors in order to strengthen economic and commercial interests, as presented in the following quote:

“(...) a great example is our work in China and other new economies, where we have built strategic partnerships over the course of the last years, which is basically about how we establish a partnership between our countries that opens the eyes (...) of what Denmark can offer on the commercial agenda.” (Slente, Appendix 7:lines 133-136)

This idea behind this instrument and other economic diplomatic measures, is thus to increase commercial relations, investments, trade and general awareness that ultimately

benefits the Danish companies and Denmark in general, through leveraging the traditional, diplomatic channels, as recognized here:

“(...) the idea is, that eventually it will result in increased commercial relation, and increased numbers for trade, increased numbers for investments, that benefits the Danish private sector.” [Translated from Danish] (Slente, Appendix 7:lines 139-142)

In summary, the changes that are conceptualized in the theoretical approach of economic diplomacy are to a large extent part of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark. In a sense, the presence is so radical that many of the representatives barely mention the changes in the diplomatic practice related to economic diplomacy in the interviews, which indicates that this change to some extent has become normalized in the diplomatic practices of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark.

5.2.3 DIGITAL DIPLOMACY

In terms of digital diplomacy, some of the aspects have already been touched upon in the previous sections, such as the technological developments in communications, and how that has changed public diplomacy and the importance of digitization for Denmark in a commercial perspective.

However, when talking about digital diplomacy and the digital revolution specifically, there is a sense that the elements of change that have been witnessed so far in the diplomatic environment will become more widespread and continue to affect in an even greater extent. The instruments, such as Twitter, Facebook and other types of social media is thus seen as signs of a development that will contribute to changing the diplomatic practice in a structural manner, to include other types of actors and audiences:

“I would say that the way that, I have a Twitter profile, and I used Facebook a lot when I was ambassador, I mean the Facebook page of the embassy, that’s the way we communicate. But I think it’s deeper than that, I think it’s more structural than that.” [Translated from Danish] (Sørensen, Appendix 4:lines 114-117)

But the effect that can be conceptualized under the notion of digital diplomacy extends further. It is also a matter of media and media relations. In the digital age, there is a perception of the media driving the diplomatic agenda to a much larger extent than

previously. This affects the diplomatic practices in the case of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark, as they are now expected to respond faster to events all over the world than ever before, in various ways. This effect is evident in the following quote:

“I simply cannot remember, that 20 years ago, we would sit and constantly have to deal with something that is going on somewhere. And then instantly two journalists call, you need to get the minister on TV2-News, make a draft of one thing and another. The way that the media drives the agenda, affects our jobs.” [Translated from Danish] (Sørensen, Appendix 4:lines 146-150)

This development is considered an effect of the general digitization of societies, which has increased the speed of the interactions in the diplomatic environment, in terms of how fast news travel and how quickly the diplomatic system has to respond to the situation itself as well as to the media.

In general, the digital diplomacy aspects of change found in the theoretical framework are thus very evident in the case of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in terms of the perceived change in communication means and methods, the use of new media and the ideas of increased expectations to the speed and transparency of diplomatic practices.

5.3 STRATEGIES AND METHODS FOR COPING WITH CHANGE

As evidenced in the analysis so far, there are many ways in which the diplomatic environment and practice has changed in the case of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark in accordance to the findings in the theoretical framework. What is yet to be explored, is how these changes are met. In the empirical data, a multitude of concrete strategies and methods for coping with change in a diplomatic context can be identified in the case of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark.

An overall strategy is found in the attempt to increase influence through different measures, in order to have a bigger influence, and hence power, than what might otherwise have been the case, in terms of multilateral cooperation and negotiation as well as other diplomatic relations. This strategy is one that is considered to be successful by representatives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark, as evidenced by this quote:

“Compared to the size of our country and our population, we are a very big actor of the area of foreign policy (...)” [Translated from Danish] (Slente, Appendix 7:lines 158-159)

The notion is that it is possible to affect this balance of power and influence through different measures. In example, the development aid is used as a strategic commitment, where Denmark focuses on a limited number of countries, where there is a strong and sustained effort and commitment. This results in strengthening the Danish voice in other arenas, such as multilateral organizations as an effect of this commitment and the knowledge and insights that are derived from it. This dynamic is described in one of the interviews here:

“(...) some of that commitment rubs of (...) where Denmark, due to the foreign political commitment in our partner countries, (...) and that strengthens our voice with regards to the normative practices in the multilateral track.” [Translated from Danish] (Slente, Appendix 7: lines 164-170)

In this sense, it is evident that there are several methods and strategies taken on in the case of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark for coping with change in the diplomatic practice. Some, as the ones identified above, relate to more classic diplomatic aspects, whereas others are characterized by a novel approach to diplomacy, as will be explored in the forthcoming sections.

5.3.1 CREATING SYNERGIES AND LEADING THE WAY

Another strategy for coping with change in the diplomatic environment is evident in the structural setup of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark. Like many other Ministry there is a strategic focus on creating synergies between the efforts in different diplomatic aspects, such as the political aspects, the economic aspects and the commercial aspects. In this sense, a small country like Denmark can establish good commercial or economic relations, which can be used as an outlet to discuss political topics traditionally handled in more traditional diplomatic settings, such as human rights. This dynamic can also work the other way around, as exemplified by this quote:

“We will have a bit more focus on how the elements internally in our work can support each other better, so the political work (...) becomes relevant in relation to

some of the more economic agendas we wish to pursue." [Translated from Danish] (Slente, Appendix 7:lines 153-156)

This strategic focus on creating synergies between the different elements of diplomacy and utilize the full potential of the diplomatic setup is an example of a response to a changing diplomatic practice. In general, the Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs is taking on strategies and methods that can be characterized as novel and innovative. This is done in an attempt to play a bigger role on the international stage, and be a part of setting an agenda internationally, and in this sense lead the way forwards for the diplomatic practice in general. In the case of the TechPlomacy initiative, which is discovered in depth below, there is a special emphasis on its ability to gain traction and position Denmark globally, as evident by this quote:

"What it is fundamentally about, which I think has been really inspiring in this beginning of the work, is to see how much Denmark can be a part of setting an agenda. I will probably make myself unpopular by saying that it isn't everyday that Denmark is a part of setting such a notable imprint and setting an agenda on the foreign policy stage, but that is the case here." [Translated from Danish] (Klynge in Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark 2017g)

In this sense, the empirical data shows that the Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark is not afraid to experiment in order to cope with the changes in the diplomatic environment:

"[TechPlomacy is] (...) an example of us experimenting a little, and that we don't necessarily know the answers to the questions that we are asking, but we know that we have to ask these questions because of the technological developments." [Translated from Danish] (Klynge in Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark 2017g)

Thus, the belief is that the setup needed will have to be designed to be able to take on many different types of tasks, in a delicate mix of different methods:

"I don't think it is a case of 'either-or', I believe in a 'both-and' solution, where we will be able to do a bit of everything" [Translated from Danish] (Hansen, Appendix 6:lines 91-92)

5.3.2 TECHPLOMACY INITIATIVE

The TechPlomacy initiative is in many ways considered a strategic effort for coping with the changes in the diplomatic environment. With a global mandate and physical offices multiple places in the world, the approach is considered very innovative and as a foundation for handling the challenges that the world is facing, with regards to the technological development and the challenges it causes, through a formalized diplomatic approach. In this sense, the TechPlomacy initiative is considered as a prime example of how the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark is adjusting to change, as evident in the empirical data:

“The appointment of the first tech ambassador, that is a good example of us asking the question, what is that diplomacy, what is it Danish foreign policy will be characterized by in the future.” [Translated from Danish] (Sørensen, Appendix 4:lines 122-125)

“That [TechPlomacy] is a great example of how the conditions around us change” [Translated from Danish] (Lisberg, Appendix 5:line 151)

In the interviews, it is clear that this effort should be considered with the challenge of regulation in mind. The regulation of societies and markets with regards to the technological developments is considered a central reason for initiating the TechPlomacy initiative, because it is one of the areas where there is a huge lack, and because regulations are the tool that ultimately controls how citizens, societies and markets are affected:

“In example, part of what we are struggling with in many countries is how to regulate our societies, with all the new technology that is arriving and this disruptive development that is taking place, where the technological developments constantly makes quantum leaps, where we can’t necessarily fathom what the implications are for the citizens, and how we should regulate this field.” [Translated from Danish] (Slente, Appendix 7:lines 192-196)

Thus, the initiative is seen as a strategic effort to cope with the changes and challenges related to the technological developments. And the experience, as evidenced in the

empirical data, is that there is a massive interest globally in discussing this topic and the challenges that we are facing in the public sector as well as in the private sector:

“The experience is (...) that there is a huge interest, also in the private sector, in taking this dialogue [about the tech area].” [Translated from Danish] (Klynge in Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark 2017g)

Furthermore, the initiative is considered as an opportunity for Denmark to listen in on the developments in the tech field, in order to have more knowledge about the central challenges and opportunities that the developments create for Danish authorities and companies:

“What this initiative is also about, is that we are kind of a listening-post or a lighthouse in the big world, which can also be a part of bringing home knowledge to Danish authorities and Danish companies about what is coming and how we can prepare for it.” [Translated from Danish] (Klynge in Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark 2017g)

In light of this statement, it can thus be said that the TechPlomacy initiative is a very proactive diplomatic effort that reflects an experimental attempt to cope with expected and experienced change. In the interviews, however, a certain degree of hesitation was present, with regards to the concrete methods and outcomes of the initiative. This is evident in these quotes in particular:

“There are big expectations - nationally as well as internationally - to TechPlomacy, which is highly relevant for the Danish diplomacy. The initiative is new and should have the opportunity to produce concrete outcomes.” [Translated from Danish] (Nielsen, Appendix 8:lines 23-25)

“It’s still a project that has to be concretized, but it is a way for us to become sharper on the developments there are and to get talking to some of these big actors, where we are otherwise kind of assuming the role of the observer.” [Translated from Danish] (Lisberg, Appendix 5:lines 164-166)

As such, the notion is that the initiative still needs to deliver concrete outcomes and deliver on the expectations before the success of it can be established.

5.3.3 CORPORATIZATION OF STATE FUNCTIONS

One of the reactions that Ministry of Foreign Affairs in general have faced in response to the ways that they have adapted to the changing diplomatic environment, is that it reflects a process of corporatization of state functions. The notion is that there is an ongoing shift in the way in which the relationship and nature of states and corporations are understood, in the sense that the lines between them are becoming increasingly blurred. This idea is evident in the way that the TechPlomacy initiative is being presented:

“It will be crucial for our success, that we not only prove that we are creating more value for the ‘Corporation of Denmark’, but also manage to establish some initiatives quite quickly that will make our work specific and understandable.”
[Translated from Danish] (Klynge in Wittorff 2017)

Thus, the new type relationship and dialogue that is a part of the TechPlomacy initiative is considered problematic in some aspects. This change in the nature of the relationship and dialogue is generally recognized in the empirical data:

“This dialogue, and there is no, I believe, simple and correct answer to that discussion, but we have felt that the big technological giants (...) they are a bit weary for some help and some answers to how the authorities sees this. So I would say that it is a drastically different dialogue we have with them, than what we have had before.” [Translated from Danish] (Sørensen, Appendix 4:lines 243-248)

In this sense, there is an explicit recognition of the process that is taking place with regards to the changing role and character of the companies in international relations and diplomatic practices in general. The notion is that the direct recognition of companies in diplomatic relations is an indication of the corporatization of states and the diffusion of political integrity. However, this change is not considered as a major cause for worry, as evident in this statement:

“Are we making them more important, than what is good for them, than what we are interested in, in relation to a political integrity that they otherwise would not have possessed, by entering into a diplomatic dialogue with them? I don’t really think so, I think it depends entirely on the content.” [Translated from Danish] (Liisberg, Appendix 5:lines 184-187)

The belief is thus that the issues related to the process of corporatization of states lies in the content of the diplomatic dialogue that is taking place with non-state actors, and not in the structure. However, the empirical data does recognize the issue of maintaining a diplomatic position and not be swayed by the beliefs and interests of the corporations in this dialogue:

“We should not be blind to the fact that the companies’ also has an interest in affecting us in return, and say, well we have listened to your point of view, and now we want you to listen to our point of view (...), and in that case we obviously need to stick to not communicating their attitudes forward uncritically.” [Translated from Danish] (Lisberg, Appendix 5:lines 200-205)

Furthermore, there is a strong belief that the democratic institutions and the general public are strong enough to see through any attempts to misguide or misinform, as a direct response to the dialogues that are taking place as a result of the process of the perceived corporatization of states:

“I do think that our democracy and our public is strong enough to see through it, I don’t think that we will end up in the pockets of the big companies.” [Translated from Danish] (Lisberg, Appendix 5:lines 205-207)

A different and very interesting response found to this critique in the empirical data, is that of the Tech Ambassador himself. Klynge believes that the critique related to the process of corporatization of states completely misses the mark, in the sense that the technological developments are causing geopolitical consequences that forces Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the actors in the international environment in general to take on new approaches to address the challenges that are coming in a more formalized manner:

“Some are giving us critique for elevating the private-sector to not democratically-elected actors, and I think that critique misses the mark, because whether we like it or not, the tech companies are extremely influential (...). So if you zoom all the way out and look at the world anno 2017, I think it’s true, if you look a decade or so ahead in time, that it is really the technological developments that will dominate and affect how the relationship is between states (...).” [Translated from Danish] (Klynge in Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark 2017g)

In summary, the empirical data has shown that there are many different strategies and methods for coping with change taken on by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark. Some strategies and methods are more innovative than others, but generally they reflect a small and dynamic nation seeking to punch beyond its weight and make its mark on the international agenda.

5.4 THE FUTURE OF DIPLOMACY

Looking to the future is a necessary but tricky thing to do in every field, not just in the case of diplomacy. In this section, the empirical data is analyzed in order to explore how the developments of the past might relate to the predictions for the future. The analysis will create an impression of the nature of the diplomatic change processes taking place in the case of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark.

5.4.1 STRUCTURAL CHANGE

In general, the empirical evidence points towards elements of diplomacy that will remain the same. As found in previous sections, the field is not considered to have undergone a revolution, rather some aspects of the diplomatic practice have developed considerably, while others are fundamentally the same. This perception is clearly evident in these quotes:

“I think that the human contact, the meeting between colleagues and representatives from other countries and the international system in general, that builds on a separation in countries, some institutions and international organizations that connects us in different ways on different topics, I think that we will fundamentally see that in 20 years as well.” [Translated from Danish] (Lisberg, Appendix 5:lines 127-131)

“So I would say that diplomacy, like everything else, is changing, but there are some overall codes that have remained the same.” [Translated from Danish] (Sørensen, Appendix 4:lines 303-305)

Thus, many of the structural elements are expected to remain the way they are, while other aspects are expected to change. Many of the tasks that the diplomat and the diplomatic system are responsible for today, are also expected to stay the same, in the

sense that there will always be crisis in the world and thus the need to secure peace and multilateral cooperation:

“I definitely think that the image of actors will expand, but that does take away the fact that diplomats also to a high extent, and still mostly, works a lot with handling the crises and hotspots of the world, and securing peace and stability, ensuring cooperation in bilateral organizations, and ensuring bilateral cooperation with the most important of Denmark’s partner countries.” [Translated from Danish] (Hansen, Appendix 6:lines 73-77)

However, there is a strong recognition of the fact that other aspects of the diplomatic practice is bound to change, in terms of both tasks and tools, and that there is a need for preparing for these changes:

“(...) I think that we have to prepare for a gradual change in the tasks and toolbox of the diplomat.” [Translated from Danish] (Hansen, Appendix 6:lines 63-64)

5.4.2 THE DIPLOMATIC ENVIRONMENT

The change that has been identified as the biggest in the past years is also expected to have a great influence on the future: the emergence of new actors in the international environment and international relations. This means that it is expected that the diplomatic practice will develop to include a variety of new actors in recognition of the increasingly limited capabilities of states to control the international environment. This aspect is mentioned in several interviews, and very clearly in the following statement:

“The developments of new actors in the multilateral and the international cooperation, necessitates that we look elsewhere, that not all diplomatic tasks can be solved in a narrow government-to-government, nation-to-nation cooperation anymore.” [Translated from Danish] (Slente, Appendix 7:lines 238-241)

But it is not just a question of new actors emerging. It is also a question of the existing ones developing into something else:

“(...) the actors that are setting the tone on the international stage, they are developing.” [Translated from Danish] (Slente, Appendix 7:lines 216-217)

As such, the changing types of actors in the international environment are considered a central aspect of the future of the diplomatic context.

5.4.3 THE MULTILATERAL SYSTEM

A more concrete notion of the future is that of the multilateral system. Posed more as a question, the mentioning of the future of the multilateral system is seen in light of the immense pressure that the system has been under in the past years. The types of pressure that are referred to in the empirical data include the US and president Donald Trump, the rise of the Chinese economy and the increasingly authoritarian tendencies that can be seen from Russia and Turkey. The pressure could result in changes in the structure and efficiency of the multilateral system, which could have a whole range of implications, including immense implications for diplomacy and diplomatic practice. The reflections related to the future of the multilateral is presented clearly in this quote:

“And it’s clear, that the pressure that the multilateral system is under these years for a number of reasons (...), questions how the multilateral organizations are working, etc., etc., what might happen with diplomacy there in the future.”
[Translated from Danish] (Sørensen, Appendix 4:lines 166-170)

Thus, it is more of a question of what could happen, as opposed to a prediction for the future of the international environment.

5.4.4 THE TECH ASPECT

The element that is expected to change the future of diplomacy and the diplomatic practice to the greatest extent is the technological development. The tech aspect is expected to influence both the methods and structures of the diplomatic practice, and as such have an even greater impact on the field than what is already the case. This perspective is reflected in the following quote:

“(...) you might call it the technological- or the digital revolution, right, that will come for sure, that agenda is going to influence the foreign policy in the years to come as well, and maybe even more so.” [Translated from Danish] (Sørensen, Appendix 4:lines 110-113)

In the empirical data, it was evident that the technological aspect is central to the ideas of diplomacy in the future. The mentioning of disruption indicates, that technology is expected to be the main driver of change in diplomacy:

“There is a potential of a fundamental disruption of some of the diplomatic channels.” [Translated from Danish] (Lisberg, Appendix 5:lines 126-127)

Furthermore, the speed of the technological development means that it is not possible to keep up on the regulatory and legal aspects. This process always lacks behind a little bit, but the perception is that this is changing, because the speed of the technological developments is accelerating, as explained in the following statement:

“I think that we simply have to consider it. We have to consider it as a country, as Denmark, but we also have to consider it in an international context (...), how to handle this technological development. Because I think that the alternative, which is really that it is the tech corporations that are a part of defining the rules of the game for the new technology, I don't think that we should see as the right way forward in all aspects.” [Translated from Danish] (Klynge in Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark 2017g)

This creates implications for the ownership of the agenda, and creates a risk that the ownership of the agenda falls out of the hands of the traditional diplomatic entities. Thus, the general perception found in the empirical data, is that other countries will follow Denmark's lead, in terms of pursuing the TechPlomacy initiative:

“I think so because Denmark has got it right, in establishing this new role as Tech Ambassador, simply because of how the world is, at this point in the end of 2017.” [Translated from Danish] (Klynge in Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark 2017g)

In fact, this prediction is already beginning to come true, with the announcement in late November 2017, that France has appointed an Ambassador for Digital Affairs (Diplomatie.gouv.fr 2017).

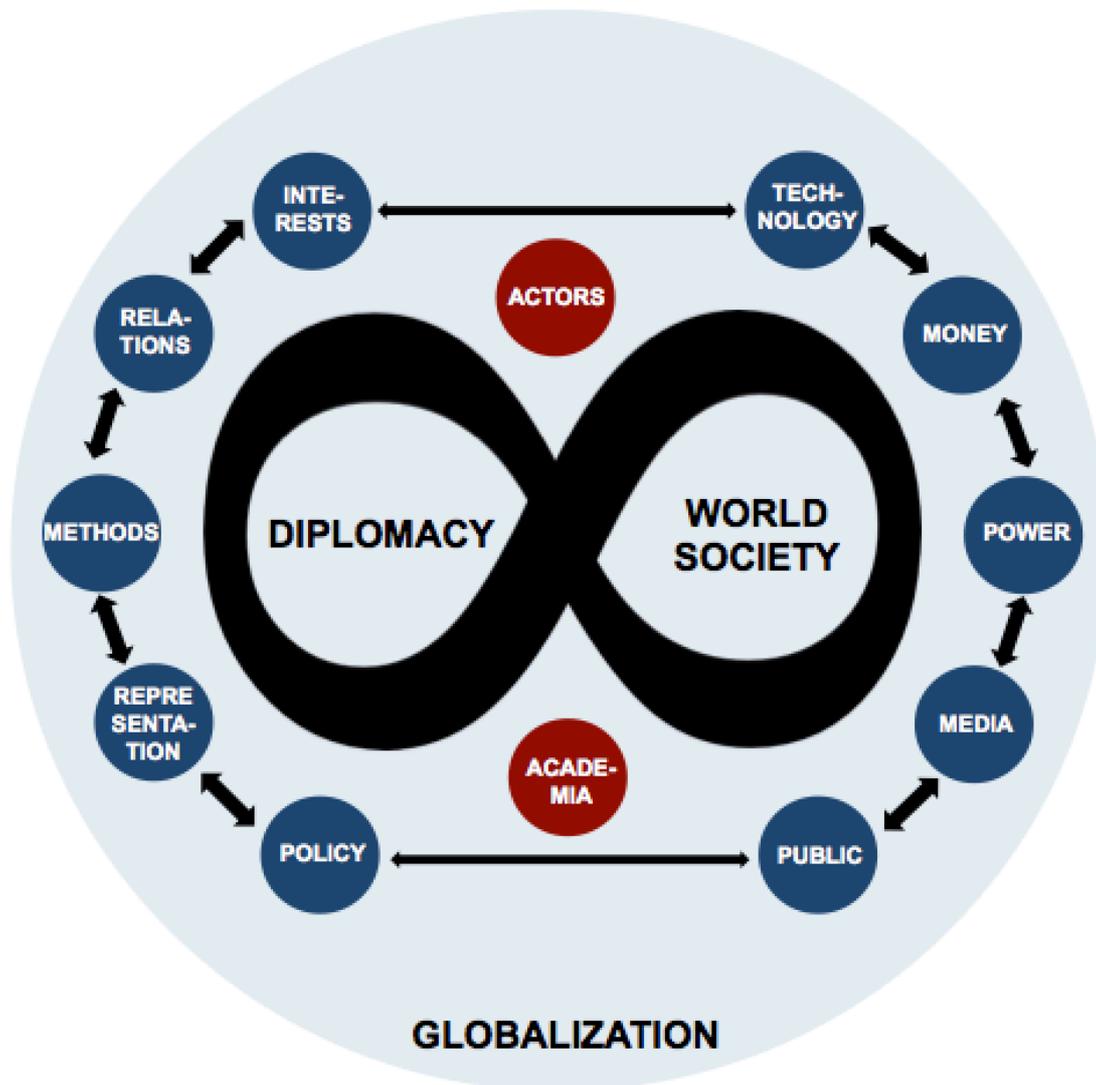
5.5 TOWARDS A MODEL OF DIPLOMACY IN TIMES OF CHANGE

The findings of the analysis illustrate that there are many aspects that contribute to explaining the process of change in diplomacy. Thus, an attempt to construct a model of this process must take the central findings into account, and include the various aspects and considerations that have been discovered through the analysis of the empirical data. In doing this, it becomes evident that such a model must include a number of aspects that are drivers and subjects of change at the same time.

Overall, the notion is that diplomacy is a field affected greatly by globalization and all that globalization entails. Thus, a model of the process of change in diplomacy is considered in the general context of *globalization* processes. Diplomacy can generally be said to be affected by the changes in world society, and the various elements that characterize the world society, as the findings of the analysis has shown. Thus, the two fundamental dimensions of a model of the process of change in diplomacy must be the concept and practice of *diplomacy* on one hand, and *world society* on the other. These two domains continuously influence each other in a various ways.

Furthermore, there are two separate entities, which are central to the understanding of the process of conceptual and practical change. These are the *actors* and *academia*. One of the central findings of the analysis is that the actors of the diplomatic context are central to the change process, and thus the actors are understood as a general entity that represents different types of actors at different points in time. Academia is central for the conceptual understanding of diplomacy and how it relates to world society, and in many ways, academia is a contributing factor in terms of driving change in the field of diplomacy in conceptual terms.

Lastly, the analysis has found that there are a number of key elements of world society and diplomacy that are key to understanding the process of conceptual and practical change in diplomacy. These elements are *interests*, *relations*, *methods*, *representation* and *policy* for the diplomacy domain, and *technology*, *money*, *power*, *media* and *the public* in the domain of the world society. These elements are all linked, in the sense that changes in one aspect, changes the others in various ways. And thus, a model for understanding the process of conceptual and practical change in diplomacy has been established:



Model 1: The Process of Conceptual and Practical Change in Diplomacy, author's creation

5.6 PART CONCLUSION

From the establishment of modern diplomacy with the Congress of Vienna till today, diplomacy as a concept and practice has undergone quite a transformation, which is more than confirmed by the findings of this analysis. Through the use of selected quotes from interviews conducted with representatives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark, this analysis has drawn out conceptual understanding in relation to theoretical framework as well as perspectives on the process of change in diplomacy. The findings of the analysis is that the change that has been observed in practice is fairly aligned to that reflected in the academic literature. By including the future perspective, the analysis sought to close the loop, in terms of understanding the process of change, and to

conceptualize this process as gradual as opposed to revolutionary. The overall finding of the analysis is that diplomacy as a concept and a practice remains relatively stable, and thus it cannot be concluded that the field has experienced a revolution. It can, however, be concluded, that several aspects and methods of diplomacy has changed dramatically, and that diplomacy is developing to include a more diverse set of functions and tasks than has previously been the case.

6.0 PERSPECTIVES

This section presents perspectives on the findings of the analysis and looks to the implications and challenges related to diplomacy in theory and practice in the future. The section begins with reflecting on a future where we might be looking at states as corporations, such as the *Corporation of Denmark*. It then turns to reflect on the possibility of experiencing a counter-reaction to the dramatic changes that characterize the digital age. Ultimately, the section reflects on how diplomacy is changing and might look in the future, and in what way the model of changes in the process of conceptual and practical diplomacy may help Ministry of Foreign Affairs understand and overcome the challenges that these changes impose on diplomacy.

6.1 THE CORPORATION OF DENMARK?

An important perspective of the process of change that is taking place with regards to diplomacy is the notion previously discussed as the corporatization of states. This development is a central critique of most new diplomacy initiatives, as it is considered an expression of the ongoing equation between corporations and states. This process is considered highly problematic, as it implies that money is power, and that ultimately political influence follows economic power. This dynamic is thus seen as a starting point for a number of undesirable developments. Initiatives such as the TechPlomacy initiative presented by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark, is a good example of an initiative that has received this critique, as discussed previously. In the analysis it was discovered that the approach that the TechPlomacy initiative symbolizes is considered highly necessary for addressing future challenges, and that the critique misses the mark, because it does not see this necessity. But is diplomatic measures really the best means to address the issues related to technological developments, if it results in increasingly blurry lines between states and corporations? On one hand, it can be argued that TechPlomacy and similar efforts merely contribute to dispersing the diplomatic integrity and ultimately diffusing the power in the international system from state actors towards the private sector and the technological corporations in particular, but on the other hand, there are many reasons for addressing the issues that are a part of the technological agenda within the diplomatic framework. Whether the diplomatic entity is the most appropriate for taking on this task and whether we are in fact approaching a future with blurred lines

between states and corporations, where we will refer to the *State of Facebook* and the *Corporation of Denmark* is yet to be seen. But discussing the role of diplomacy in the technological era and watching how states increasingly take on strategies similar to those found in corporate life, is a good place to start, and an important perspective in understanding the future of the diplomatic context. Furthermore, some aspects of the developments in diplomacy and technological developments in general can be considered as hype that will slowly be normalized in a less dramatic fashion than what it is made out to be currently. Thus it is important to ask the question of whether TechPlomacy and the development that it represents is merely hype. That, however, does not seem to be the case with TechPlomacy, as we have witnessed the appointment of yet another state official as ambassador to the digital field; the French Ambassador for Digital Affairs. But some of the aspects that this trend symbolizes might still be overstated. However, in the sense that companies still rely heavily on states to regulate and manage judicial affairs of the markets, there is still a state-based gateway, and thus states can maintain a great control over some aspects of the developments if they are quick to adopt regulations and policies for the technological developments that raise red flags or generally are a cause of concern. On the other hand, the implications of many of the technologies that are emerging remain to be seen, and it is thus very tricky to successfully navigate in the rules and regulations. Thus, we are in many ways at a standstill. Who will dare to take the next move?

6.2 COUNTER-REACTIONS

Another interesting perspective on future of diplomacy is that of the possibility of counter-reactions to the developments we have witnessed over the past decades. As digital technology and methods are utilized and emphasized to a greater and greater extent in almost every aspect of the diplomatic practice, it is interesting to reflect on the possibility of a counter-reaction. As has been argued, the surge in data production and digital means of communication has made it challenging to navigate and sort important information from not so important information, in the sense that the information society has taught us that even great messages gets lost in the crowd. Thus, it is possible that we will see a counter-reaction in the field of diplomacy, where face-to-face meeting becomes more important than ever, as a direct result of the increasingly clouding in information, messages and data. The value of face-to-face interactions is that they provide information about the sincerity of intentions, difficult to obtain through other modalities. As such, personal interactions allow for exchanging information not only through what is being said but also

through what is not being said, i.e. through facial expressions, body language, tone of voice and even unconscious movements or reactions. These aspects all provide clues to sincerity and intentions, which are considered highly important, especially for diplomatic relations. Furthermore, in a time of WikiLeaks and a continuous tightening of public law, it is not always the best policy to just send an email anymore, as even that represents challenges and risks in terms of hacking and errors, but also in terms of the risk of having written words twisted or taken out of context. It is thus possible, that we will witness an increased emphasis on diplomats meeting in person, in order to ensure the sincerity, clarity and confidentiality of a message. In this sense, it can be said that it is likely that the winds of change caused by the technological and digital revolution will blow both ways, and we might see some type of renaissance in the classic diplomatic tool of meeting face-to-face.

6.3 THE FUTURE OF DIPLOMACY

Reflecting on the future of diplomacy is tricky. As evident in the findings of the analysis, some aspects of diplomacy and the diplomatic practice change dramatically whereas others remain fairly unchanged. It is thus with great uncertainty, that any predictions as to what might happen to diplomacy in theory as well as in practice can be made. Regardless, it is still very interesting to attempt to predict the future.

The overall concern with diplomacy as a concept and practice with regards to the future is to what extent it will be a part of the future in the way that we know it and what it might look like. In this respect, it can be said that diplomacy is definitely here to stay, and arguable will have a very central role in dealing with the challenges of the future, in the sense that the functions and methods of diplomacy are in great demand for managing increasingly complex agendas in an increasingly complex international environment. What it might look like as a practice is a different discussion all together. As has been found in this thesis, many of the aspects of diplomacy will remain fairly the same. States will still be important actors in the international environment, and the central actors in international relations, but the diplomatic framework is developing, in terms of the emergence of new types of actors entering the field. Furthermore, the ways of conducting diplomacy is bound to change in a number of ways. The processes of diplomacy will become more complex, and reflect a number of different patterns of diplomatic relations. As the areas of international policy increase, additional and new types of actors and stakeholders will be included in the diplomatic framework, and the diplomatic aim will increasingly be to influence agendas and

frame global debates. Diplomats will not cease to exist as long as states are the key players on the world stage. However, the skills required of the diplomats are changing, as was found in the analysis. A diplomat will need to possess traditional diplomatic skills, such as language and cultural understanding, but increasingly a number of other more diverse skills will be needed to be a successful diplomat. The diplomat will need to have a much bigger toolbox than ever before. Some aspects point to diplomacy as essentially being a sophisticated method of change management. Certainly, diplomacy involves a certain type and amount of conduct between international actors, but the success or failure of these relations is largely dependent on the diplomat's ability to identify and recognize evolving power structures and dynamics, correctly interpret aspirations in light of the contextual and the particular circumstances, carefully assess the limits of the capacity to adjust to change and to actively enlist the support of others in promoting or resisting change.

7.0 CONCLUSION

The starting point for this thesis was an interest in understanding how technological developments and the digital revolution are shaping the future of international relations, at a point in time where new technologies emerge and spread at a faster pace than ever before. Thus, this thesis set out to research how we can understand diplomacy and the diplomatic practice in times of change in the case of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark.

By tracing the historical roots and developments of the concept, the concept of diplomacy has been explored in depth. It was uncovered how the diplomatic practice has changed and evolved over the course of history, and a somewhat vague concept with a multitude of conceptualizations and theoretical approaches emerged. It was noted, that some even perceive diplomacy as a concept that is inadequate of assessing and addressing the challenges of a complex international environment. Through the investigation of three of the most central theoretical approaches to diplomacy in the 21st century, namely public diplomacy, economic diplomacy and digital diplomacy, a number of key aspects of modern diplomacy and diplomatic practice was drawn out. Generally, a number of characteristics of the changes that have taken place in the diplomatic environment were noted, in terms of the number and types of actors, the domain and scope of the diplomatic practice, the levels at which the diplomatic practice takes place, the tools of diplomacy, as well as the methods of diplomacy and the diplomatic practice.

Through the analysis of empirical data collected through interviews with selected representatives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark, a foundation for conceptualizing diplomacy in times of change was established. In general, the analysis found that diplomacy is perceived as a concept and a practice characterized by a broad range of aspects and instruments in theory as well as in practice. Overall the practical experience of diplomacy found in the empirical data follows along the lines of the theoretical findings, in the sense that some changes are perceived as merely gradual changes, whereas others are complete new elements of diplomacy and the diplomatic practice. The findings of the analysis illustrate that there are several aspects that contribute to explaining the process of change in diplomacy, being both drivers and subjects of change. The findings have been gathered in a model for understanding the

process of conceptual and practical change in diplomacy, which includes the two overall entities of *diplomacy* and *world society* which exist in a constant symbiosis, consisting of a variety of aspects and elements, such as *interests, relations, methods, technology, power, and the public*, and affected practically and conceptually by *actors* and *academia*, all in the context of *globalization*.

The remaining question is how diplomacy will develop as a concept and a practice in the future. In this respect, the conclusion of this thesis is that diplomacy is here to stay, and most likely will have a central role in dealing with the challenges of the future, since the functions and methods of diplomacy are in great demand for managing increasingly complex agendas in an increasingly complex international environment. But the environment, the toolbox and the methods are going to change considerably, primarily as a result of increasing globalization and technological developments. New actors will become much more important in the international environment, there will be a number of different ways of engaging in diplomatic relations, and the diplomat will need a broader skill set. However, the overall notion of diplomacy will continue to remain fairly unchanged. As such, TechPlomacy and related novel initiatives will not revolutionize diplomacy, nor will it alter its key functions, i.e. what diplomacy *does*. A revolution suggests that the new practice brushes aside or replaces the old, which is simply not the case. In example, wars, terrorists, physical borders and nuclear security will not instantly cease to exist because of a technological evolution. In this sense, the conclusion must be that what is happening to diplomacy as a concept and a practice is what has always happened: diplomacy is responding to changes in the international and domestic environment, and in this sense, diplomacy is a stable and dynamic concept and practice at the same time. Using the model of *The Process of Conceptual and Practical Change in Diplomacy* presented in this thesis will help practitioners and scholars alike to understand and prepare for the challenges of the future.

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