THE EUROPEAN UNION'S PUBLIC DIPLOMACY TOWARDS THAILAND

Miss Panward Jitpairoj

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements

for the Degree of Master of Arts Program in European Studies

(Interdisciplinary Program)

Graduate School Chulalongkorn University

Academic Year 2012

Copyright of Chulalongkorn University

การศึกษานโยบายการทูตสาธารณะของสหภาพยุโรปต่อประเทศไทย

นางสาว ปานวาด จิตต์ไพโรจน์

Thesis Title	THE EUROPEAN UNION'S PUBLIC DIPLOMACY TOWARDS THAILAND
By	Miss Panward Jitpairoj
Field of Study	European Studies
Thesis Advisor	Teewin Suputtikun, Ph.D.

Accepted by the Graduate School, Chulalongkorn University in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Master's Degree

…………………………………………..Dean of the Graduate School

(Associate Professor Amorn Petsom, Ph.D.)

THESIS COMMITTEE

…………………………………………..Chairman

(Professor Chaiwat Khamchoo, Ph.D.)

…………………………………………..Thesis Advisor

(Teewin Suputtikun, Ph.D.)

…………………………………………..Examiner

(Bhawan Ruangsilp, Ph.D.)

…………………………………………..External Examiner

(Tipparat Bubpasiri, Ph.D.)

ปานวาด จิตต์ไพโรจน์ : นโยบายการทูตสาธารณะของสหภาพยุโรปต่อประเทศไทย. (THE EUROPEAN UNION'S PUBLIC DIPLOMACY TOWARDS THAILAND) อ.ที่ปรึกษาวิทยานิพนธ์หลัก : ดร.ธีวินท์ สุพุทธิกุล, 126 หน้า.

ในสังคมยุคโลกาภิวัตน์ทุกสิ่งทุกอย่างบนโลกแม้กระทั่งอุดมการณ์ของมนุษย์สามารถโอนถ่ายระหว่างกันได้ อย่างง่ายและรวดเร็ว ความหมายของการสื่อสารและช่องทางในการสื่อสารมีความสำคัญมากขึ้น และหากพูดถึงใน บริบทของกิจการระหว่างประเทศ โลกาภิวัตน์และการพัฒนาของเทคโนโลยีทางการสื่อสารมีผลกระทบในวงกว้างต่อ กิจกรรมทางการทูต, ยุทธศาสตร์การดำเนินนโยบายต่างประเทศ, และจุดยืนของแต่ละประเทศในสังคมโลก ในกระแสโลกที่เปลี่ยนแปลงไปนี้นโยบายการทูตสาธารณะเป็นองค์ประกอบสำคัญของยุทธศาสตร์ทางการทูตสมัยใหม่ ในงานวิจัยนี้จึงมีวัตถุประสงค์เพื่อศึกษาเกี่ยวกับกิจกรรมการทูตสาธารณะของสหภาพยุโรปต่อประเทศไทย และ เป้าหมายที่สหภาพยุโรปดำเนินกิจกรรมการทูตสาธารณะเหล่านั้น รวมถึงศึกษาปัจจัยที่เป็นอุปสรรคต่อการดำเนิน กิจกรรมการทูตสาธารณะของสหภาพยุโรปต่อประเทศไทย ข้อมูลที่ปรากฏในงานวิจัยนี้ใช้เทคนิคการวิเคราะห์เนื้อหา (Content Analysis) ซึ่งได้จากการเก็บข้อมูลจากเอกสารที่มีอยู่และสามารถเข้าถึงได้ รวมถึงจากแหล่งข้อมูลที่มีความ น่าเชื่อถือ นอกจากนี้ในส่วนของข้อมูลด้าน ทัศนคติของประชาชนต่อสหภาพยุโรปได้มาจากการสัมภาษณ์แบบเจาะลึก (In-depth interview)

ข้อมูลที่พบจากการวิจัยชี้ให้เห็นว่า กิจกรรมการทูตสาธารณะของสหภาพยุโรปต่อประเทศไทย มุ่งเน้นที่ ภาคธุรกิจ, การศึกษา, การให้เงินช่วยเหลือ, การส่งเสริมสิทธิมนุษยชน, และวัฒนธรรม ซึ่งกิจกรรมเหล่านี้ให้ประโยชน์ แก่ทั้งสหภาพยุโรปและประเทศไทย ในส่วนของสหภาพยุโรปประโยชน์ที่ได้รับ ได้แก่ การสร้างอิทธิพล ต่อประเทศไทย, การสร้างภาพลักษณ์ที่ดีและความน่าเชื่อถือแก่รัฐบาลและประชาชนไทย, การพึ่งพาอาศัยซึ่งกันและ กันระหว่างประเทศไทยและสหภาพยุโรป และผลประโยชน์ทางเศรษฐกิจระหว่างกัน งานวิจัยนี้ยังพบว่าสหภาพยุโรป มุ่งเน้นการสร้างความสัมพันธ์กับรัฐบาลไทย, ผู้กำหนดนโยบาย, สื่อมวลชน, นักศึกษา, นักธุรกิจ และกลุ่มแนวโน้ม ที่จะเป็นผู้นำทางความคิดในอนาคต มากกว่าการสร้างความสัมพันธ์กับประชาชนทั่วไป โดยมีความพยายามในการ นำเสนอข้อมูลที่เป็นด้านบวกของสหภาพยุโรปแก่คนไทย เช่น คุณภาพชีวิตที่ดีและวัฒนธรรมอันเป็นเอกลักษณ์ ซึ่งถ่ายทอดผ่านกิจกรรมทางวัฒนธรรม นอกจากนี้ผลการวิจัยแสดงให้เห็นว่าคนไทยมีความรู้เกี่ยวกับสหภาพยุโรป และมีทัศนคติเชิงบวกต่อสหภาพยุโรป แต่กิจกรรมการทูตสาธารณะของสหภาพยุโรปนั้นยังไม่อยู่ในความสนใจของ คนไทยมากนัก เมื่อเทียบกับองค์กรระหว่างประเทศอื่นๆ เช่น ประชาคมอาเซียน หรือ ประเทศที่มีอิทธิพลมาก เช่น สหรัฐอเมริกา และสาธารณรัฐประชาชนจีน

สาขาวิชา ....ยุโรปศึกษา.............   ลายมือชื่อนิสิต ....

ปีการศึกษา ....2555.............   ลายมือชื่ออ.ที่ปรึกษาวิทยานิพนธ์หลัก ....

5487628320 : MAJOR EUROPEAN STUDIES
KEYWARDS : EUROPEAN UNION / PUBLIC DIPLOMACY / THAILAND
PANWARD JITPAIROJ : THE EUROPEAN UNION'S PUBLIC DIPLOMACY
TOWARDS THAILAND. ADVISOR : TEEWIN SUPUTTIKUN, Ph.D., 126 pp.

In the globalization era, everything in this world, even ideology, is fast and easy to transfer. The numbers of communication channels are significantly increasing. Thus, the globalization and the advancement of communication technologies have broadly impacted diplomatic activities, foreign policy strategies and position of each country in stressing itself towards global society. In this changing world, public diplomacy is a key element of diplomatic strategy. This research on 'The European Union's Public Diplomacy towards Thailand' has the main objectives to learn about the EU's public diplomacy campaigns towards Thailand and to learn about the reasons for the EU to carry out such campaigns. In addition, it also aims at learning about the factors that obstruct the campaigns. The information and facts in this research are analyzed with the content analysis technique which are collected from existing documents and some authoritative sources. In addition, the data concerning Thai people's attitudes toward the EU are obtained from the in-depth interview.

The findings from the research show that the EU's public diplomacy campaigns to Thailand concentrate on business, education, financial assistance, human rights and culture issues. These campaigns will benefit both Thailand and the EU. The benefits that the EU receives from its public diplomacy campaigns include the influences that it will have on Thailand, good reputations and images, inter-dependence between Thailand and the EU and some business advantages. It is also discovered that the EU focuses on building relationship with Thai government, policy makers, media, students, business people and those potent to be opinion leaders in the future, rather than the public. To support this, the EU is also trying to acknowledge Thai people of its good side, such as the quality of life, and unique culture, through many cultural events such as film and music festivals.

Furthermore, it is shown that Thai people know the EU and has some positive perceptions towards the EU. However, the EU's public diplomacy campaigns are not much recognized as those from other international agencies such as the ASEAN or influential nations such as the United States of America and China.

Field of Study: ……EUROPEAN STUDIES…..　　　Student's Signature:………………

Academic Year: …2012…..　　　　　　　　　　Advisor's Signature:………………

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ASEAN   Association of Southeast Asian Nations

EEAS   European External Action Service Department

EU   European Union

NGOs   Non-Governmental Organizations

PD   Public Diplomacy

CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, the researcher will discuss the background and significance of the research in order to give the overview of the directions that this research work is carried on. Then, the research objectives, question, scope and conceptual framework will be discussed. Afterward, the researcher will give the outline of this research paper and define the terms frequently mentioned in this paper.

1.1. Background and Significance of the Research

In the globalization era, everything in this world, even ideology, is easy to transfer. The number of communication means and channels are significantly increasing. In general, we communicate to other people in order to persuade someone to do something that we want them to do, to give or provide information, to find information as well as to express our emotions.[1] Likewise, the communication among nations has the general objectives that are the same as the communication in the individual level. However, the communication in the international scale has some features that differentiate it from the communication in the individual scale- international communications emphasize on getting the results that the communication nation(s) want(s) by using all the available resources.

According to the fact that every country has its own national attributes in order to become advantageous over others countries, national resources

---

[1] No Author, Communication theory [Online], 2011. Source http://communicationtheory.org/why-do-we-communicate/

within a country are significant to stress its influence and its position in the global society. Mostly, countries that have strong military and economic power will have ability to bargain over those with inferior military or economic power. For instance, the United State has advantage in military and economic power so the US can use both of them to put pressure on opponents. However, not only does a state rely on economic and military powers but it also uses soft power which is the communication with foreign audiences in order to gain the outcomes it wants. Thus, soft power can be a national attribute as well. According to Joseph S. Nye, the 'Soft Power' is "the capability of a state to obtain the outcome it wants, through attraction and persuasion rather than reliance on methods of payment or coercion."[2] Nye stated that soft power goes far beyond the power of coercion but it is the power of attraction and cooperation between a host and its audiences.

The concept of soft power is related to the concept of public diplomacy, which is now broadly regarded as a crucial arm of external relations. For Nye, it is clear that public diplomacy is a key mechanism of soft power that enables users to get others to comply with its purposes or ideals and to acquiesce what it wants. Thus, public diplomacy is not similar to traditional diplomacy because its aim is to communicate with foreign audiences in order to inform and influence them by using the messages that the advocate wants and including any actor within international sphere. Meanwhile, the traditional diplomacy only focuses on government-oriented diplomacy.

---

[2] Joseph S. Nye, Jr. Soft Power: The Means to Succeed in World Politics (New York: Public Affairs, 2004), Page 1.

The Murrow Center of public diplomacy described public diplomacy as;[3]

"[…] deals with the influence of public attitudes on the formation and execution of foreign policies. It encompasses dimensions of international relations beyond traditional diplomacy; the cultivation by governments of public opinion in other countries; the interaction of private groups and interests in one country with another; the reporting of foreign affairs and its impact on policy; communication between those whose job is communication, as diplomats and foreign correspondents; and the process of intercultural communications."

As mentioned above, globalization and the advancement of communication technologies have broadly impacted diplomatic activities, foreign policy strategies and position of each country in stressing itself towards global society. In this changing world, public diplomacy is a key element of new diplomatic strategy. As for the European Union, it has been developing its diplomacy for several years. The first reason why the EU has developed its public diplomacy is that public diplomacy is always related to the EU's foreign policy. In addition, the image of the EU in the global society is a neutral organization participating in any global issue such as green environmental, financial assistance, development aid, educational funds and so forth. To disseminate the information concerning these policies and activities to the public, the EU requires public diplomacy. The other reason is that public diplomacy can affect the power of society and the

---

[3] The Murrow Center, The epicenter of the challenging field of public diplomacy; what is public diplomacy?[Online], 12 October 2011. Source http://fletcher.tufts.edu/Murrow/Diplomacy

attitudes of others to the EU, which will increase their abilities to express interests and values globally.[4] Public diplomacy in the senses of the EU is "…creating a supportive foreign environment for a country's foreign policy by understanding, informing and influencing an external audience."[5] Hence, public diplomacy can be considered as a tool that enables the EU to have significant impacts and influences to the world. The stress point is that the EU public diplomacy emphasizes on 'building relationships' by engaging conversation with a foreign public in order to create mutual understanding and fundamental influence perceptions. The citizens, the media, NGOs, think-tanks, researchers, social and economic partners, private sector agents are the foreign audience targets whose significance is to advance foreign policy objectives and to shape public opinions.[6]

The first co-operation between Thailand and the EU began in 1980, when Thailand was signatory in the 1980 EC-ASEAN Co-operation Agreement, which emphasized on commercial, economic, and development co-operation between EC and ASEAN.[7] However, EU-Thailand co-operation as bilateral co-operation agreement is currently being negotiated which the objective is aimed to strengthen economic and commercial relations.[8] In economic term, the EU is the third most significant trading partner and export destination for Thailand,[9] after the US and Japan, thus, EU gives priority to Thailand focusing on trade co-operation rather than other issues.

---

[4] Dov Lynch, "Communicating Europe to the World: what public diplomacy for the EU?," in EPC Working Paper No. 21, (Brussels: European Policy Center, 2005), Page 23.

[5] Ibid., Page 14.

[6] Aurélie Courtier, The Challenge of Public Diplomacy for the European External Action Service [Online], 2011. Source www.eipa.eu

[7] The Delegation of European Union Commission to Thailand, "The Delegation at 30," EUtoday, 34 (June 2009): 6

[8] The European Union Commission, Thailand-European Community Strategy Paper for the period 2007-2013 [Online], 17 February 2012. Source eeas.europa.eu/thailand/csp/07_13_en.pdf

[9] Action Fiche for Thailand [Online], 2011. Source ec.europa.eu/europeaid/documents/aap/2011/af_aap_2011_tha.pdf

Nevertheless, the good images and credibility of the nation are important in building confidence with trading partners and the likelihood of commercial success are greater. Thus, public diplomacy is vital for the EU and Thailand to create mutual trust. However, according to results of the study in Thai public's perception of the EU, which was a part of the ESIA project,[10] it can be implied that the EU's roles in Thailand's perception are positive but not so significant. The EU attempts to make itself visible in the international stage as one of the most significant player in world politics but Thailand has not perceived this image. The EU is in the fifth rank of the most important overseas partners for Thailand, after China, the United State, Japan, and the ASEAN countries.[11]

The result is that, in practice, the EU does not influence to Thailand, as it should have. In other words, the EU has gained less public awareness from and has had fewer influences on Thai citizens' perceptions. Even though the EU has attempted to promote soft power itself for several years, public awareness of Thai people towards the EU is still in a low level. Therefore, it is interesting to find the limitations that can hinder the implementation of the EU public diplomacy towards Thailand.

---

[10] Apirat Petchsiri, Trip Kirtiputra, and Rachanirom Raveepaopong, "Thailand: The EU Eclipsed?", in The EU through the eyes of Asia, Martin Holland, Peter Ryan, Alojzy Z. Nowak, and Natalia Chaban., editors (2007), Pages 220-221.
[11] Ibid. Pages 221.

1.2. Research Questions

From the research objectives discussed above, the author can set the research questions that must be answered. These questions are:

1. What public diplomacy campaigns that the EU has been carrying out towards Thailand and why has it been doing so?
    1.1. What public diplomacy campaigns that the EU has been carrying out towards Thailand?
    1.2. Why has the EU been doing so?
2. What were obstacles for the EU's public diplomacy campaigns to Thailand?

1.3. Arguments

As for the "What public diplomacy campaigns that the EU has been carrying out towards Thailand and why has it been doing so?" question, the researcher has an argument that the major campaigns of EU delegation to Thailand include educational supports in the form of English language training programs, financial aid for crisis management, observation of political matter in the country, representative of the Member States, and promotion activities on cultural programs that these activities have been carried out in order to promote EU's public diplomacy. In contrast, the campaigns of the European Union's public diplomacy to Thailand do not have much relation and do not give priority to the media. The reason why the EU is carrying out its public diplomacy campaigns might be to make

Thai government give the member states of the EU some privileges. However, it should be examined what privileges the EU can get from Thailand.

As for the "What were obstacles for the EU's public diplomacy campaigns to Thailand?" question, the researcher has an argument that the EU might not be effective in carrying out its public diplomacy campaigns to Thailand. The major factor that is suspected to occur to the EU's public diplomacy campaign is the lack of strategic communication. As a result, many Thai people do not know what the EU's public diplomacy campaigns are nor do they understand the EU's dispositions in carrying out its public diplomacy campaigns. This is because the EU emphasizes on the public diplomacy campaigns in specific scales. For examples, the EU has the policy to facilitate Thai exporters by giving some taxation exempts. This policy is very beneficial for Thai exporters but the EU does not publicize this policy. Thus, the ones who know that the EU has this policy are the exporters whose products are exported from Thailand to the member countries of the EU. Another major problematic issue is that the EU does not play important roles in helping Thailand. Thailand's significant business partners are China, Japan and the United States of America. In addition, the public diplomacy campaigns that the EU has been carrying out are outshined by those carried out by the United States of America. This means the United States of America also gives financial supports, trading supports and linguistic supports as the EU does but Thailand and its citizens seem to be aware of and reliant to the assistances from the United States of America more than those from the EU. This point is to be proven by the findings from this study.

1.4. Research Objectives

The main objectives of this research are:

1. To learn about the purposes of the EU in carrying out its public diplomacy towards Thailand;

2. To learn about the public diplomacy campaigns that the EU has carried out towards Thailand;

3. To learn whether EU's its public diplomacy towards is recognized by Thai people or not; and

4. To learn about the obstacles for the EU's public diplomacy campaigns to Thailand.

1.5. Research Scope

In this research project, the researcher will focus on the facts and opinions concerning the EU's public diplomacy campaigns proposed by reliable media sources and renowned scholars and experts in political sciences. The researcher will collect these facts and opinions until the end of July, 2012 before concluding what have been discovered.

Afterwards, the researcher will study on Thai people's perception on these public diplomacy campaigns by the EU by surveying on Thai people's perceptions. This has to be finished within June, 2012.

Finally, the researcher will make conclusion by using the facts and findings from these two phases of the study in order to answer the aforementioned research questions.

1.6. Conceptual Framework

In this research work, the researcher will study all the related matters on the bases of some theories such as Soft power and Public diplomacy Theory and also the Media and Message Exposure Theory because it has been proposed that the communication is a great mean that each state relies on in order to communicate to other states or the public.

Soft power is a state's ability to influence others' attitude and behaviours to do what it want, which relies on intangible assets such as culture, norms, political values, and institutions. Soft power can be reflected through a state's public diplomacy activities which is a state's instrument to produce such enticement and to communicate with the publics of others countries through media disseminations, financial assistances, information exchanges and so forth. In this study, the researcher will use the 7 basic principles of public diplomacy proposed by Nicholus Cull. These 7 principles are (1) public diplomacy begins with listening; (2) public diplomacy must be related with policy; (3) public diplomacy is beyond domestic audiences; (4) effective public diplomacy needs credibility with view to exchange diplomacy; (5) public diplomacy should concerned an international news broadcasting and regional opinion-makers; (6) public diplomacy is not always 'about you'; and (7) public diplomacy is everyone's business. These 7 principles are cited by the former vice-president of European Commission Margot Wallstrom when she gave her speech at Georgetown University, in 2008.

In that occasion, Wallstorm added 3 more principles to Cull's 7 basic principles of public diplomacy. These 3 principles are (8) public diplomacy is effective only when it is publicized; (9) public diplomacy should reflect the identities, values and dispositions of the practitioner; and (10) public diplomacy should be carried out on the basis of gender equality.[12] In this research work, these 10 principles are used as the bases for the analysis on the EU's public diplomacy towards Thailand.

Since the 10 principles of public diplomacy discussed before emphasize on publication of the public diplomacy campaigns, it is necessary to consider the knowledge and principles concerning mass communication as foundations for the analysis on the EU's public diplomacy. This research focuses on media exposure which is Thai people's opening themselves to mass media. This include the features of the media that Thai people are frequently exposed themselves to. At the same time, the message exposure in this study is the reasons why Thai people receive some contents from media. These reasons can be for entertaining themselves, for learning new things, for shaping and building their identities and opinions, or for having some issues to be discussed with other people.

As for the conceptual framework for this research, it can be explained that the researcher assumes that the EU's public diplomacy campaigns for Thailand will make Thailand and Thai people react to them in various ways such as to recognize them, to appreciate them and to aware of some images that the EU wants to create for itself. In addition, it is also assumed that the news concerning the EU's public diplomacy campaigns

---

[12] Margot Wallstrom, <u>Public Diplomacy and its role in the EU's external relations</u> (Washington DC: Georgetown University, 2008), Pages 2-4.

and Thai people's exposure to media and such news and the media through which the news is disseminated will affect their awareness and perception to such campaigns. In other words, if Thai people receive the news concerning the EU's public diplomacy campaigns, they will at least aware of these campaigns and might perceive some images that the EU wants to create for itself.

1.7. Research Outline

This research paper will consist of 5 chapters the details of which are given below.

In **the first chapter**, the author will discuss the background of this research, research objectives, research questions, conceptual framework, research time frame and the definitions of important terms frequently used in this research.

The second chapter will include all the theories that the author uses as the foundation of this research.

As for **chapter 3**, it will include the discussions concerning the research methodology such as the type of the research, the types of data used in this research work, the sources of data, the data collection tool, and the way to interpret and analyze the obtained data.

In **chapter 4**, the author will be discussed in order to answer question number one of the research and to prove the research argument. Therefore, this chapter is divided into four parts, namely, the part of the meaning of the European Union's public diplomacy, the part of the role of the European

Commission Delegation, the part of the answer to the question as well as the part of the EU's public diplomacy towards Thai public.

The **chapter 5** of the research paper will include the answer of question number two of the research.

The **chapter 6** of the research paper will include the conclusion of the findings from this research, and the suggestion for other researchers who want to do research works related to the topic of this research.

1.8. Term Definitions

The EU or the European Union is an economic and political partnership among 27 countries in Europe initiated after the World War II.[13]

The Public Diplomacy is a state or an international group's attempt to influence public attitudes by using the formation and execution of foreign policies.[14]

Media Exposure is the reasons why people select some media and ignore others.[15]

Message Exposure is the reasons why people receive some messages and ignore others.[16]

---

[13] European Union, The History of the European Union [Online], 11 May 2012. Source http://europa.eu/about-eu/eu-history/index_en.htm
[14] The Murrow Center, The epicenter of the challenging field of public diplomacy; what is public diplomacy? [Online], 12 October 2011. Source http://fletcher.tufts.edu/Murrow/Diplomacy
[15] Joseph R. Dominick, The Dynamics of Mass Communication, (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1990), Pages 34-37.
[16] ibid., Pages 40-44.

CHAPTER II
LITERATURE REVIEW

This study on the European Union's public diplomacy is based on the international politics theory of the state's power. There are several kinds of power in international politics that are important for a state as tools to impact others' behaviors to gain the outcomes the state wants.

The power in international relations can be categorized to hard power, soft power, and also smart power.[1] As for hard power, it is a state's attempts to influence others by using threats and money. This type of power, although can assure the compliance from the influenced states, may not make the influenced states voluntarily do what they are influenced to do. Another type of power is soft power, which relies on the attraction. In other words, a state will give helps or favourable things to others in order to influence them to do what it wants. The other type of power is smart one, which is the mixture of the two other types of power. Thus, this type of power uses both persuasion and payment to gain the outcomes ("sticks and carrots").[2] However, since this study concentrates only the utilization of soft power by the EU, the author will focus only on this type of power.

Soft power is a state's ability to shape others' attitudes and behaviours into the ones that the state wants. Not only does soft power includes the capability of persuasion but it also encompasses the capabilities of seduction and attraction. This means a state will influence others by winning their (and their people's) hearts and minds through

---

[1] Ernest J. Wilson. "Hard Power, Soft Power and Smart Power" The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science 616 (13 Feb 2008): 115.

[2] Joseph S. Nye, Jr. "Public Diplomacy and Soft Power," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science 616 (13 Feb 2008): 95.

intangible assets that it has such as culture, norms, political values, and institutions. The utilization of soft power is always reflected through a state's public diplomacy activities which is a state's instrument to produce such enticement and to communicate with the publics of others countries through media disseminations, financial assistances, information exchanges and so forth. It may say that soft power is measured by behavioral outcomes whilst public diplomacy is measured by resource; and also both of them are linked together.[3] In this chapter, the author will discuss the theories and principles concerning the public diplomacy in order to portray what a state or international agency can do in order to attract and seduce other states. In addition, the author will discuss the overview of the EU's public diplomacy campaigns, as well as the relationship between European Union and Thailand in terms of the public awareness.

2.1 Theory on Soft power and Public diplomacy

For some decades, there have been many academic works discussing the meanings and practices of public diplomacy. However, there are always rooms for further research projects because most of the research projects conducted in the past had experienced the difficulty in evaluating the outcomes of public diplomacy.[4]

To avoid any misevaluation, this research will solely focus on public diplomacy as a tool that a state uses to influence its foreign audiences through the promotion of national interest, and the

---

[3] Joseph S. Nye, Jr. "Public Diplomacy and Soft Power," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science 616 (13 Feb 2008): 96.
[4] Eytan Gilboa. "Searching for a Theory of Public Diplomacy," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science 616 (13 Feb 2008): 57-58.

development of public awareness.[5] In addition, the messages that the state delivers and the state's images that others perceive will be taken into account as a mean to evaluate the achievement of the public diplomacy campaign.

The public diplomacy has been defined by many scholars and experts in the politics and international relations. In his work entitled '*Diplomatic Persuader: New Role of the Mass Media in International Relations*', John Lee[6] stated that everybody lived in an era of public diplomacy in which people-to-people communications were more important than the communications between and/or among governments. Lee proposed that public opinions could be used for forcing the government to obey.[7] Thus, communicating with people was very important for new diplomatic era. Besides, in the late 1970s until the late 1980s, the public diplomacy became more important. The US's government at that time put "relatively straightforward efforts to disseminate information that accorded with the US viewpoint to the largest possible audience in the greatest number of countries."[8] This perspective led to the occurrence of a number of studies focusing on the integration of public diplomacy with larger foreign policy interests.[9] Thus, it can be mentioned that the scholars and practitioners in the beginning period of public diplomacy precisely focused on the significance of communication with people in order to shape public opinions and to achieve foreign policy.

[5] Mladen Andrlić and Andrea Gustović-Ercegovac. "Strategic Public Diplomacy," in The International Conference of the 13th CEI Dubrovnik Diplomatic Forum, (Zagreb: Diplomatic Academy, 2010), Page 7.
[6] John D. Lee, Diplomatic Persuader: New Role of the Mass in International Relations, (Florida: Krieger Publishing Company, 1968). Page xii.
[7] Ibid., Page xii.
[8] Jarol B. Manhiem. Strategic Public Diplomacy and American Foreign Policy: The Evolution of Influence (Oxford: Oxford Unveristy Press, 2004). Page 7.
[9] Stacy Michelle Glassgold. Public Diplomacy: The Evolution of Literature (Annenberg: USC School for Communication, 2004). Pages 4.

The more current literatures, written from the late 1980s to mid 1990s, put more emphases on the relationship between communication and diplomacy. In addition, the new diplomacy focused on interactions among administrations, foreign public opinions, and communication technology which would raise the value of the communication of ideas.[10] In his '*American Communication in a Global Society*' work, Glen Fisher stated, "government actions must be increasingly responsive to the views and judgments of their peoples, particularly as media services make their impact and as public groups articulate their concerns more effectively."[11] By his statements, Fisher demonstrated that the public was important because it sent messages to the government and receive reactions from whom. Likewise, Fisher also emphasized on the role of non-governmental actors, which became 'a part of international relations process'[12] and shared the government responsibilities in terms of, but not limited to, negotiation and decision-making.

Even though there had been several research projects and literatures focusing on public diplomacy, the definition of public diplomacy in the modern world was still unclear. It has been difficult to define what Public Diplomacy is. Towards the end of 1990s, there were attempts to describe the term 'public diplomacy' as a tool of political power. A work by Joseph Nye-*Bound to Lead: The Changing Nature of American Power*, published in 1990s, was the first academic paper that tried to explain the word 'Soft Power'. In another work of his, entitled '*Soft power: the means to success in World Politics*', Nye further developed the concept and described the relations between soft power

---

[10] Stacy Michelle Glassgold. Public Diplomacy: The Evolution of Literature (Annenberg: USC School for Communication, 2004). Pages 7.

[11] Glen Fisher, American Communication in a Global Society (New York: Ablex Publishing, 1987), Page 8.

[12] Ibid., Page 8.

and public diplomacy. Furthermore, having examined the meanings of public diplomacy, Nye believed that soft power is "the ability to get what you want by attracting and persuading others to adopt your goals"[13] and public diplomacy is the key instrument to translate soft power into action. For Nye, public diplomacy acts as an attractive power to shape the preferences of others; this implies that it persuades others' minds in order to reach its purpose by cooperation rather than coercion. At this point, cooperation not only focuses on government-to-government level (G2G) but it also focuses on government-to-individual and/or non-governmental organization level (G2P). In addition, not only is the duty of public diplomacy to create their national images but it is also to induce others notions to acquiesce their policies. Nye stated that it is hard to run a large group of people only by commands but a ruler can get results that it wants without threats by obtaining cooperation from people.

Citing Nye's ideas in her paper- ***The Routledge handbook of Public Diplomacy***, Nancy Snow[14] agreed with the concept of soft power that Nye had proposed and appended the outcomes from her research work which indicated that the most fundamental public diplomacy was analyzed from a state's position that will reflect the way that state wants to show and through perceptions of citizen. Nancy also added another important idea, which focuses on people to people level (P2P) that emphasizes on transitional of cultural, linguistic and new media, all of which can lead to more achievement.

---

[13] Joseph S. Nye, Jr. <u>Soft Power: The Means to Succeed in World Politics</u> (New York: Public Affairs, 2004), Page x.
[14] Nancy Snow, "Rethinking Public Diplomacy," Chap. 1 in <u>The Routledge Handbook of Public Diplomacy</u>, Nancy Snow and Philip M. Tayor, editors (New York: Routledge, 2009), Page 6.

Having studied on the history of public democracy, Nicholas J. Cull proposed that public diplomacy is 'an international actor's attempt to manage the international environment through engagement with a foreign public'[15] and that it had evolved for a long time. Cull also proposed that the term 'public diplomacy' was first mentioned by the *New York Times* in 1871 in its report on a Congressional debate. Also, during the Great War time the term 'public diplomacy' was used to explain new diplomatic practices of German's submarine warfare policy.

However, the concept of public diplomacy has embedded in foreign policy for more than ninety-year. In the late 1990s, the term 'public diplomacy' was widely used in common for explaining foreign policy strategies. In the modern world, the term 'public diplomacy' was coined in 1965 by Edmund Gullion whose concept is;[16]

> "Public diplomacy… deals with the influence of public attitudes on the formation and execution of foreign policies. It encompasses dimensions of international relations beyond traditional diplomacy; the cultivation by governments of public opinion in other countries; the interaction of private groups and interests in one country with another; the reporting of foreign affairs and its impact on policy; communication between those whose job is communication, as diplomats and foreign correspondents; and the process of intercultural communications"

---

[15] Ibid., Page12.
[16] The Murrow Center, what is Public Diplomacy [Online], 16 October 2011. Source http://www.publicdiplomacy.org/1htm

In his work- ***Public Diplomacy before Gullion: The Evolution of a Phrase***, Nicholas Cull[17] indicated that Gullion created the modern meaning of public diplomacy, which stresses on the new diplomatic practices beyond traditional diplomacy, interaction and communication with global actors. This new meaning of the term also improves foreign awareness and so forth. Nonetheless, this modern meaning is not a neologism. Furthermore, Cull commented that practitioners and scholars should consider that how do their interlocutors understand or interpret the meaning of public diplomacy in order to comprehend in the same way.

The concepts of public diplomacy and soft power discussed before are used as the fundamental knowledge on the public diplomacy campaigns that the EU has towards Thailand. These concepts enable the author to understand what actions of the EU should be included in its public diplomacy campaigns. However, these concepts do not bare any evidence of their applicability to the real cases. Therefore, in the next section, the public diplomacy practices suggested by some experts and scholars in international relations will be discussed.

2.2 Public diplomacy in Practice

Public diplomacy in practice is the relevance and implementation of soft power theory, including all activities (with either success or failure) that have been practiced in history by states and institutional actors in order to enhance relations between practitioners and foreign public receivers.

---

[17] Nicholas J. Cull, Public Diplomacy before Gullion: The Evolution of a Phrase [Online], 2006.
Source USC Center on Public Diplomacy:http://uscpublicdiplomacy.org/index.php/newsroom/pdblog_detail/
060418_public_diplomacy_beforegullion_the_evolution_of_a_phrase/

Many scholars attempted to investigate the performance of public diplomacy and to evaluate public diplomacy by focusing on roles, environments, and purposes of public diplomacy. To 'contact' foreign public was the most primitive role of public diplomacy. Otherwise, to 'influence' foreign public's mind or to gain mass audience awareness is the role of new public diplomacy. The environment always changes in each period of time. At present time, we are in social networking and digital era; thus, Internet is a very important instrument to gain its outcomes than traditional way such as radio or newspapers. Nevertheless, the purpose of public diplomacy is still the same—*to manage the international environment*. The following figure 1 shows the old and new paradigms of public diplomacy whereby readers can compare and contrast the ideas of the public diplomacy in the two eras more easily and clearly.

Dominant Characteristics	Old PD	New PD
1. Identity of international actor	State	State and Non-state
2. Tech. Environment	Short wave radio Print newspapers Land-line telephones	Satellite, Internet Real-time news Mobile telephones
3. Media environment	Clear line between domestic and international news sphere	Blurring of domestic and international news sphere

4. Source of approach	Outgrowth of political advocacy and propaganda theory	Outgrowth of corporate branding and network theory
5. Terminology	'International Image' 'Prestige'	'Soft power' 'Nation Brand'
6. Structure of role	Top down actor to foreign peoples	Horizontal, facilitated by actor
7. Nature of role	Targeted messaging	Relationship-building
8. Overall aim	The management of the international environment	The management of the international environment

Table1. The Old Public Diplomacy and The New by Cull[18]

The table above shows the difference between old public diplomacy and new public diplomacy in terms of dominant characteristics. As shown, the identity of international actor for old public diplomacy stressed on state actor; on the contrary, the new public diplomacy stresses on both state and non-state actors. As for environmental, technology and media environment absolutely changes. New innovations are lead to new techniques of public diplomacy which can affect its outcomes. Also, the role of old public diplomacy was to dispatch messages to foreign public by government, but at present time the role is to support relationship-building from state and non-state actors to public's soul. However, the overall aim of new public diplomacy is the same that the previous one has.

---

[18] Table from: Nicholas J. Cull, Public Diplomacy: Lessons from the past (Los Angeles: Figueroa Press, 2009), Page 14.

Although, the public diplomacy was modified by environment, technology, and so forth, the new public diplomacy did not quite abandon the old one. In the Cull's work, he tried to combine the old and the new public diplomacy together and noted the framework for measuring the success of public diplomacy.

Furthermore, Cull had also examined the lessons learnt from the past and identified the five components of successful public diplomacy. In his work- ***Public Diplomacy: Lessons from the past***, Cull[19] referred that successful public diplomacy consists of five key components. These components are: (1) listening, (2) advocacy, (3) cultural diplomacy, (4) exchange diplomacy, and (5) international news broadcasting.

Cull explained that the best public diplomacy is a two-way communication that needs to focus on listening rather than speaking. He proposed, "Listening is an actor's attempt to manage the international environment by collecting and collating data."[20] Listening is a systematical way to collect and analyze the opinions of foreign public in order to understand theirs minds as well as what they hear in order that the communicator can adapt its messages accordingly.

Another component is advocacy. Advocacy is an information work, which involves an international communication activity and attempts to promote particularly policy, idea, and interest in the minds of foreign public.[21] The third component is cultural diplomacy, which is "an actor's attempt to manage the international environment through making

---

[19] This book is completed work of 'lessons learnt from the past of public diplomacy' but
Cull's former works had already given some explanation; see also: Nicholas J. Cull, Public Diplomacy: Lessons from the past (Los Angeles: Figueroa Press, 2009). Page 10.
[20] Nicholas J. Cull, "Public Diplomacy: Taxonomies and Histories," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science 616 (2008): 32.
[21] Cull's word 'Advocacy in public diplomacy is an actor's attempt to manage the international environment by undertaking an international communication activity to actively promote a particular policy, idea, or that actor's general interests in the minds of a foreign public' from Public Diplomacy: Taxonomies and Histories (2008)

its cultural resources and achievements known oversea and/or facilitating cultural transmission abroad."[22] Its duty is to export its values, cultures, and traditional to foreign public with the intention of enhancing mutual understanding. Its core tools include institutions and cultural agency as a cultural work and exchanges organization.

The forth element is exchange diplomacy. It is the reciprocity to its citizens overseas for a period of study and/or acculturation.[23] It is grounded on the concept of mutuality which is the vision of an international learning experience leading to win-win situation of both parties. The last component is international broadcasting, which is "an actor's attempt to manage the international environment by using the technologies of radio, television, and the Internet to engage with foreign publics."[24] IB work can coincide with the other components; for instances, listening in foreign broadcast, advocacy in policy broadcast, cultural diplomacy in its cultural content, and exchange in program and personnel broadcasters.[25] Cull stressed that public diplomacy must represent a vital linked between foreign opinion and policymaking process. It means that one should be concerned about foreign perspectives toward one's nation and should improve one's weakness not only through implementation process but also policymaking process.

Cull is not the only scholar who proposed the components of public diplomacy because McClory,[26] basing his discussion on Nye's idea of soft power components, proposed that soft power consists of 5 key elements, namely, business/innovation, culture, government, diplomacy

---

[22] Nicholas J. Cull, Public Diplomacy: Taxonomies and Histories, Page 33.
[23] Nicholas J. Cull, Public Diplomacy: Taxonomies and Histories, Page 34.
[24] Ibid., Page 35.
[25] Ibid., Page 35.
[26] Jonathan McClory, The New Persuaders II: A 2011 Global Ranking of Soft Power. (London: The Institute of Government, 2011). Pages 8-11.

and education. This means a state's public diplomacy campaigns should focus on assistances for or intervention into the target states in the aspects of these 5 elements. Meanwhile, public diplomacy can be related to the other 4 elements of soft power because business/innovation, culture, government and education are the means through which a practitioner can create its soft power on target nations. In addition, the public diplomacy is a mean that a practitioner uses in order to make the public of the target nations aware of its soft power, i.e., to know what it does for them.

The public diplomacy that concerns business and innovation can include the import/export taxation and customary omission. The cultural public diplomacy can include the conservation of cultures, traditions and local wisdoms. As for the government-concerned public diplomacy, it can include the political assistance such as the facilitation of political conflict mediation in a target state. At the same time, the diplomacy element can include some diplomatic measure such as to allow tourists from target states to visit the state that carries out the public diplomacy campaigns without the need for visa. Furthermore, the educational public diplomacy is the assistance in terms of finance or knowledge and technology that contribute to the education and academy of the target states.

McClory's 5 elements of soft powers are practiced by many organizations such as the United Nations (UN). This is because the UN also has public diplomacy campaigns that concern, culture, government, media, technology and non-state affairs such as school visits.[27] This means McClory's approach of 5 elements of soft power can be used for examining the public diplomacy of the EU. However, in this study, the soft power element will be divided into 5 categories, namely, business

---

[27] University of Southern California. Public Diplomacy [Online], 2012. Source
http://uscpublicdiplomacy.org/index.php/tags/tag/united+nations

(trade), education, culture, government (financial aids) and non-state affair (humanitarian works).

According to the ideas of both Cull's and McClory's, it can be concluded that the elements or components of public diplomacy can be considered in different ways. Cull's components mainly concern the factors that allow a state's public diplomacy campaigns well known to the target states. At the same time, McClory's components encompass the issues that a public diplomacy practitioner should focus on in order to be able to design the public diplomacy campaigns that are effective on target states.

In addition, Cull had written another journal in which he explained seven principles of effective public diplomacy in practice. These seven principles are; (1) public diplomacy begins with listening; (2) public diplomacy must be related with policy; (3) public diplomacy is beyond domestic audiences; (4) effective public diplomacy needs credibility with view to exchange diplomacy; (5) public diplomacy should concerned an international news broadcasting and regional opinion-makers; (6) public diplomacy is not always 'about you'; and (7) public diplomacy is everyone's business.[28]

To clarify these 7 principles of Cull, the researcher will cite the explanation of these principles made by the former vice-president of European Commission Margot Wallstrom,[29] who turn these principles into practical and comprehensible suggestions. For the first principle- 'Public diplomacy begins with listening', it means policy makers and practitioners should be aware of the citizens' needs and wants. In

---

[28] Nicholas J. Cull, "Public Diplomacy: Taxonomies and Histories," <u>The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science</u> 616 (2008): 32.

[29] Margot Wallstrom, <u>Public Diplomacy and its role in the EU's external relations</u> (Washington DC: Georgetown University, 2008), Pages 2-4.

addition, they must open themselves for all facets or opinions including those they do not wish to listen such as negative comments. As for the second principle- 'Public diplomacy must be related with policy', it means public diplomacy policies and campaigns must be carried out in order to let people understand the governmental policies so that people can judge whether they need such policies or not.

The 'Public diplomacy is beyond domestic audiences' principle means the public diplomacy policies and campaigns should target more than the citizen of the country of their origin. For example, the EU's public diplomacy policies and campaigns cover ASEAN member states and those that are not the members of the EU.

The next principle or the 'Effective public diplomacy needs credibility with view to exchange diplomacy' means the good public diplomacy must be practical, which makes it different from propaganda. Thus, policy makers and practitioners must be realistic and sincere in carrying out their public diplomacy campaigns. As for the fifth principle- 'public diplomacy should concerned an international news broadcasting and regional opinion-makers', it means all the related stakeholders of the public diplomacy campaigns, as well as the public and the press, must be informed of the campaigns. The sixth principle or the 'Public diplomacy is not always about you' principle means public diplomacy policies and campaigns can cover any people in the world, not only the domestic citizens of the involved nations. This means the coverage of public diplomacy can always be extended in order to include new groups. Cull's last principle or 'Public diplomacy is everyone's business' means public

diplomacy can involve everyone in this world, not limited to those directly involved in certain issues.[30]

Apart from Cull's 7 principles of public diplomacy, Wallstorm also added 3 more principles of good public diplomacy. These additional principles are regarded as the eighth, the ninth and the tenth principles in this study.

The eighth principle is 'public diplomacy is effective only when it is publicized'. This means the public diplomacy campaigns must not be carried out just within limited areas. Rather, it must be widespread so as to reach the public, not just particular groups of people. The ninth principle is 'public diplomacy should reflect the identities, values and dispositions of the practitioner'. This means public diplomacy policies and campaigns must reflect the actual 'self' of the practitioner. In other words, the practitioner must be sincere when running its public diplomacy campaigns. The last principle is 'public diplomacy should be carried out on the basis of gender equality' which means the public diplomacy must aim to tackle the problems that women face such as poverty, life security and social injustice.[31]

The principles of the public diplomacy in practices discussed in this section suggest many useful issues to be considered in this study. These issues will be the bases for the analyses in this study.

The first issue to be considered is that the public diplomacy campaign concerns the policy of the nation that practices it. Thus, the practitioner must have some policies towards its target nations. Secondly, a public diplomacy campaign can incorporate policies in several aspects,

---

[30] Margot Wallstrom, Public Diplomacy and its role in the EU's external relations (Washington DC: Georgetown University, 2008), Pages 2-4.
[31] Ibid., Pages 2-4.

for examples, business/trading, culture, education, technology and environment. A practitioner can choose what aspects that are appropriate for its public diplomacy campaign. The next issue is that a public diplomacy campaign must lead to the benefit exchange. Therefore, the practitioner will give some assistances and supports to its target nations and receive some privileges or advantages from them at the same time.

The final issue is that not only does a public diplomacy campaign incorporate some international relations policies but it should also incorporate mass communication tactics that enable the practitioner to make the people in its target nations aware of its public diplomacy campaign.

2.3 The European Union's public diplomacy

As for the European Union's view, public diplomacy is the top priority for EU's public communication strategy. The German foreign ministry, Auswartiges Amt stated that 'in Europe public diplomacy is viewed as the number one priority over the whole spectrum of issue.'[32] This quotation underlines an essential of public diplomacy in the sense of the EU's diplomatic relations.

Public Diplomacy plays a crucial role in the external relations of the European Union and ties with the EU foreign policy goals. At present time, global challenges such as climate change, global security, global economy, disease and poverty in developing world, etc., are the unsolved problems that become important issues in the global scale. To address these challenges requires multilateral coordination consisting of partner

---

[32] Ambassador K.T. Paschke, Report on Special Inspection of 14 German embassies in the Countries of the European Union (Berlin: Auswartiges Amt, 2000)

countries, international organizations, and official and citizen supports.

The EU attempts to position itself on the international stage as one of the most important players in world politics.[33] The EU's role of creating foreign public awareness makes itself become regarded as a major soft power actor in the areas of climate change, human rights, development and humanitarian aid and so forth.[34] Most recently, the Lisbon Treaty states, that in international affairs, the EU would be guided by and would seek to promote the values on which the Union is founded, including democracy, human rights, fundamental freedoms and the rule of law.[35] To reach its foreign policy goals, the EU tries to use multiple instruments, such as diplomatic action, engaging, informing, and building relation toward target audiences, with both internal and external affairs.

2.3.1 Key players of the European Union's public diplomacy

According to EU Delegation to the United States in *EUinsight Magazine*,[36] the duties of EU public diplomacy to the EU's target in an internal affair is to improve public awareness and comprehend itself among member states. European Commission is responsible for monitoring public opinions, promoting EU actions and the policies, encouraging an informed public debate, and supporting educational exchange programs among Member States in order to promoting

---

[33] According to Joseph Nye in 'Soft Power': "The European Union as a symbol of uniting power carries a good deal of soft power. Polls conduct in July 2002 found that a majority of Americans had a favorable image of the European Union, and ranked in fourth for its influence in the world behind the US, Britain and China" and Mai'a K. Davis Cross, "EU Foreign Policy and the Challenge of Public Diplomacy," in presented at the European Consortium of Political Research IR Conference, (Stockhome, 2010), Page 2.

[34] The European External Action Service, Lisbon Treaty enhances EU international role [Online], 2012. Source http://eeas.europa.eu/delegations/un_geneva/eu_un_geneva/index_en.htm

[35] (Article III-193 (1), Article I-2 and I-3) As numbered in the draft Constitutional Treaty.

[36] The European Union delegation to the USA, EUinsight [Online], July 2010. Source www.eurunion.org/**eu/** images/stories/euinsightpubdipl-7-10.pdf

European cultures and structure of the Union as a whole.[37] Meanwhile in external affairs, the EU established more than 140 EU Delegations and Offices around the world to increase the public awareness on the EU, to communicate and make audiences understand EU policies, initiatives, and messages, as well as to create relationship with international actors.[38]

Some scholars such as Iskra Kirova and Philip Fiske de Gouveia suggested that the key players of EU public diplomacy are EU Commission and Directorates General (DGs). Fiske de Gouveia stated, "the Commission particularly is already engaged in public diplomacy activities through third-country delegations, the activities of the external Directorate-generals, and the Euro-Med Partnership among others."[39] He suggested that the Council and Parliament was limited in current public diplomacy, while the Commission and its external directorate-generals (DGs) are major key actors. Their roles are to disseminate information and the flow of facts and figures; to enhance bilateral communications; and to convey objective messages in the form of key messages adapted to particular audiences.

Concerning the EU Delegation in US, Iskra Kirova illustrated that the duties of EU Commission are to conduct all of the EU external policies and to assign to the DGs in order to adapt policies into practice. She examined that to engage with public among Member states and Candidate countries, to expand the EU's presence and engagement in its new neighbors, and to communicate and inform the EU's messages among foreign public are the responsibilities of the DGs.

---

[37] David Spence, "The EU and international diplomacy: A role for the Commission," Public Policy and Administration 19 (2004): 4-5.
[38] The European External Action Service, EU Delegation [Online], 2012. Source http://www.eeas.europa.eu/delegations/index_en.htm
[39] Philip F. de Gouveia and Hester Plumridge, European Infopolitik: Developing EU Public Diplomacy Strategy (London: Foreign Policy Center, 2005), Page 14.

For example, the Directorate Generals Communication performs its tasks to promote and advocate EU norms and values, or to be more specific, a sense of common European identity among the diversity of nationalities; and to maintain a strong connection between the citizens of its Member states and its institutions. Furthermore, the Commission's public diplomacy efforts are headed by the DG External Relations (known as DG RELEX) which is responsible for projecting the Union's identity oversea. However, the DG RELEX, the Commissioner for external relations and the other DGs work closely together.

As mentioned above, the special characteristics of the EU public diplomacy is that the scholars, who want to studies EU public diplomacy, should consider not only in the multiple levels of public diplomacy in particular inside and outside EU, but also the multiple actors and practitioners involving in EU foreign policy and initiative.

The aforementioned knowledge on the EU's public diplomacy leads to the understanding of what the EU's public diplomacy campaigns concentrate on, how it carries out its public diplomacy campaigns, and what it wants from its public diplomacy campaigns.

From the facts and knowledge discussed above, it can be concluded that the EU's public diplomacy campaigns in the global scale emphasize on environment and human rights issues. In addition, the EU also addresses the issues of democracy and laws in its public diplomacy activities. As for the way the EU carries out its public diplomacy campaigns, the facts discussed above reveal that the EU has its delegations to represent it in many countries around the world. These delegates promote the EU's public diplomacy campaigns by making their audiences aware of the EU's public diplomacy campaigns and activities.

The above facts also show that the EU carries out its public diplomacy campaigns in order to retain its close relations with its target nations. In addition, it also aims to promote the identities of itself and its member states in the citizens of its target nations. There three issues will also be examined in this study. They will be set as the foundations on which the questions in the survey questionnaire and the interview script are based in order to collect the information and data that can be processed and analyzed into the answers to the research questions.

In the next section, the discussion will be more specific because it will concern the actual public diplomacy practices of the EU and their effectiveness. The discussion will incorporate both the overall public diplomacy campaigns of the EU and its campaigns in Asia.

2.4 The EU's Public diplomacy in practice

In the last ten years, EU public diplomacy has been cited with different academic terms. Some talked about EU public diplomacy in terms of 'propaganda', 'cultural diplomacy', 'information activities', as well as 'information communication'. As mentioned, the role of EU public diplomacy that the scholars should be concerned about was interpreted and separated into two levels, i.e., domestic affairs and international affairs. Many scholars mentioned that before Lisbon Treaty, EU public diplomacy clearly emphasized on to communicate within Member states and European continent.

Steffen B. Rasmussen and Eva Gross illustrated that public diplomacy of the EU has been most prominent with successful foreign policy towards its member states and candidate countries –so called *enlargement policy*.

In Rasmussen's work- ***Discourse Analysis of the EU Public Diplomacy Messages and Practices***,[40] suggested that EU public diplomacy needs to strengthen communicate with its member states in order that the EU needs to stress its existence, its legitimacy and its common policy. In addition, all member states lacked of ability to control information flows about themselves or theirs activities at that time; therefore, the EU must take responsibility for being a center of public diplomacy and communicate public diplomacy efforts of its member states to external audience.

Eva Gross's work- ***The limits of European Soft Power***,[41] demonstrated that the EU's success in inspiring the European nations to become a member of the Union is the strength of EU's soft power. Economic prosperity, the image of EU as a peaceful project after the end of World War II, and also the prospect of belonging to Europe in a large part are the motivation for countries continue to want to join the EU and for the EU to become a bigger and more important agency.

Not only does the EU work for its member countries but it also extends its roles to cover other countries. The EU has its delegations responsible for its public diplomacy campaigns in other countries whilst

---

[40] Steffen B. Rasmussen, "Discourse Analysis of the EU Public Diplomacy Messages and Practices," in <u>Discussion Papers in Diplomacy</u>, Ingrid d'Hooghe and Ellen Huijgh, editors (The Hague: Clingendael, 2009), Page 15

[41] Eva Gross, <u>The limits of European Soft Power</u> [Online], 2012. Source www.kiep.go.kr/include/filedown.jsp%3Ffname%3D20081031_1_2%2520Gross1.pdf

its headquarters in Brussels, Belgium, is responsible for the activities within the member countries of the EU.[42]

2.4.1 The European Union's public diplomacy campaigns towards ASEAN

Since this research work focuses on the EU's public diplomacy campaigns towards Thailand, it is necessary to discuss the EU's public diplomacy campaigns towards ASEAN member countries which mainly focus on Malaysia, Thailand, the Philippines and Vietnam. In her work, Portela[43] proposed that the EU's public diplomacy activities for ASEAN member countries that are most perceived are those concerning business (such as the ASEM) and education (such as language training).

The first cooperation between Thailand and the EU began in 1980 when Thailand signed in the 1980 EC-ASEAN Cooperation Agreement, which emphasized on the cooperation between the two institutes in terms of commerce, economy and development.[44] The exclusive and bilateral cooperation between the EU and Thailand is being negotiated. The cooperation between the EU and Thailand aims to create their close relations in terms of economy and commerce.[45] As for the economic cooperation, the EU is the third most significant trading partner and export destination of Thailand, after the US and Japan.[46] Therefore, the

---

[42] Delegation of the EU to Thailand, Thailand-EU Cooperation Facility Phase II (Tech II) [Online], 12 June 2012. Source http://eeas.europa.eu/delegations/thailand/thailand_eu_coop/index_en.htm

[43] Clara Portela, "The Perception of the European Union in Southeast Asia: Low Priority Statuses and Activity," Asia Europe Journal 8 (2010): 149-160.

[44] The Delegation of European Union Commission to Thailand, "The Delegation at 30," EUtoday, 34 (June 2009): 6

[45] The European Union Commission, Thailand-European Community Strategy Paper for the period 2007-2013 [Online], 17 February 2012. Source eeas.europa.eu/thailand/csp/07_13_en.pdf

[46] Action Fiche for Thailand [Online], 2011. Source ec.europa.eu/europeaid/documents/aap/2011/af_aap_2011_tha.pdf

EU's public diplomacy campaigns towards Thailand especially focuses on the trade rather than other issues.

However, the Delegation of the EU to Thailand[47] still reported that the EU's public diplomacy campaigns for ASEAN and Thailand are in four aspects, namely, (1) trade and investment, (2) education, science and technology, (3) environment, energy and sustainable development, and (4) good governance.

As for the trade and investment aspect of the EU's public diplomacy, it includes three major areas. The first area of the three is the customs. The EU implements globally accepted customs standards determined by the World Customs Organization (WCO). In addition, the EU also gives to Thai government the advice concerning the compliance to this customs standard. The second area is taxation. The EU reduces the tax barriers for many industries. Thus, Thai exporters can access to the European market more easily. The other area is the access to European market. The EU set some standards that Thai exporters should comply with in order to be certified that their products have good quality. This facilitates Thai exporters to sell their products in European countries.[48]

As for the aspect of education, science and technology, the EU assists Thailand to improve the educational system in Thailand in order that the educational system in Thailand will be as good as that of other developed ASEAN countries. In addition, the EU also cooperates with many research agencies in Thailand in developing research works in many fields.[49]

---

[47] Delegation of the EU to Thailand, <u>Thailand-EU Cooperation Facility Phase II (Tech II)</u>
[48] Ibid.
[49] Ibid.

Concerning the aspect of environment, energy and sustainable development, the EU takes many actions. As for the environmental issue, the EU collaborates with Thailand in order to make Thai people aware of the climate change and global warming issues. At the same time, the EU also encourages Thailand to pay more attentions to clean and cheap alternative energy. These two activities are supposed to lead to the sustainable development of Thailand.[50]

As for the good governance aspect, the EU is now planning to address some issues concerning human rights such as capital punishment, human trafficking and refugee wellness. However, at the present time, the EU puts its emphasis on the issue concerning the human rights of the refugees in the borders of Thailand.[51]

The good images and credibility of the nations are vital in building confidence and trust among partners and alliances. Hence, The EU's public diplomacy campaigns towards Thailand also aim to create the mutual trust between the two parties. However, the ESIA reported that Thai people have positive perception to the EU's roles towards Thailand, but they do not think that the EU's roles towards Thailand are so significant. This is because the EU has been trying to build its image as one of the most important players in world's politics but Thai people do not think that its roles are significant. The EU is reported to be in the fifth position of the most important overseas partners of Thailand, after China, the United States, Japan and the ASEAN member countries.[52]

---

[50] Delegation of the EU to Thailand, Thailand-EU Cooperation Facility Phase II (Tech II)

[51] Ibid.

[52] Apirat P., Trip K., and Rachanirom R., "Thailand: The EU Eclipsed?", in The EU through the eyes of Asia, Martin Holland, Peter Ryan, Alojzy Z. Nowak, and Natalia Chaban., editors (2007), Pages 220-221

From the information from the Delegation of the EU to Thailand, it can be seen that the major aspects that the EU emphasizes on in carrying out its public diplomacy campaigns towards Thailand are the aspects of trade, education and human rights. Thus, this research will emphasize on Thai people's awareness to these three aspects of the EU's public diplomacy campaigns.

Furthermore, as proposed by Cull, it is apparent that the awareness to a state or agency's public diplomacy campaigns is remarkably related to communication and audiences. Thus, in the following sections, the concepts of target audience analysis, i.e., demographic statuses, media exposure and message exposure, will be discussed as fundamental knowledge for this study.

2.5 Communications and Audience Analysis: Demography, Media Exposure and Message Exposure

The effectiveness of mass communication relies on how well communicators can define their target audiences.[53] Thus, in this section, the principles on some factors, namely, demographic statuses, media exposure and message exposure, which can affect audiences' attitudes and behaviours.

Bumrunk Sukhaphan[54] mentioned in his study on *Message Exposure and University Students' Knowledge on Prevention from Addictive Drugs* that audiences' demographic statuses, namely, genders, ages and educations, are important because these demographic features

---

[53] Adul and Dolaya Jaturonkhakul, <u>Consumer Behaviour</u> (Bangkok: Virat Edutainment, 2006)
[54] Bumrunk Sukhaphan, <u>Message Exposure and University Students' Knowledge on Prevention from Addictive Drugs</u> (Bangkok: Thammasat University, 2007), Page 15

significantly affect audiences' attitudes and behaviours. For examples, children and teenagers tend to prefer entertaining messages to serious ones whilst older audiences like acknowledging messages. At the same time, female audiences tend to be emotional whilst the male ones are more pragmatic. This is the reason why female audiences like to read novels more than the male who tend to read anything that they can have material benefits from. As for education, educated people tend to analyze the message they receive before trusting or ignoring them whilst one with inferior educations tend to believe in what they like.

Apart from demographic statuses, Sukhaphan[55] also mentioned that people are also exposed to different media in different manners depending on the convenience and availability of such media. Concerning this matter, Phornchit Sombatphanich[56] mentioned in her work- ***Advertising Media Selection by Consumers***- that the media that the majority of Thai audiences, notwithstanding their ages or any other feature, are most exposed to television, newspaper and magazine.[57] The reasons why these media are more exposed to than others because they are easy to obtained and give comprehensible, useful and entertaining messages.

As mentioned above, audiences will expose themselves to media and messages because of some reasons such as comprehensibility, usefulness and entertainment. These reasons of audiences for opening themselves to messages are called 'message exposure' which consists of many elements.

---

[55] Bumrunk Sukhaphan, <u>Message Exposure and University Students' Knowledge on Prevention from Addictive Drugs</u> (Bangkok: Thammasat University, 2007), Page 15
[56] Ibid., Page 107.
[57] Phornchit Sombatphanich, <u>Advertising Media Selection by Consumers</u> (Bangkok: Thammasat University, 1997), Page 17.

In her work, Ubolrat Siriyuwasak[58] proposed that the reasons why audience open themselves for some messages are to avoid reality or to entertain themselves, to enable themselves to have relationships with other people in the society or to have some issues to discuss with other people, and to build up their identities such as attitudes, beliefs, values and behaviours that reflects their 'selves'.

In addition, Joseph R. Dominik[59] mentioned in his work entitled **'The Dynamics of Mass Communication'** that an audience receives messages for many purposes, namely, to follow up some important or interesting events, to learn about opinions from others, to learn what they can obtain such as to learn from an advertisement about new available products, to shape his/her attitudes, beliefs and behaviours, and to entertain himself/herself .

From all the aforementioned knowledge, it can be concluded that the audiences will expose themselves to media and messages by dint of many factors such as their demographic statuses, the availability and convenience of the media and the usefulness of the messages. These factors will be examined in this study in order to see how the EU has succeeded in promoting its public diplomacy in Thailand and why it has so. Therefore, in this paper, the EU's public diplomacy towards Thailand to be studied is the 'contact' that the EU makes through its delegation to Thai public. This is the primary role of the public diplomacy. The EU's public diplomacy to be studied in this paper is carried out through 5 major categories of campaigns, namely, business, education, financial

---

[58] Ubonrat Siriyuvasak, Basic Mass communication: Mass Media, Culture and Society (Bangkok: Chulalongkorn University, 2004), Page 33.
[59] Joseph R. Dominik, The Dynamics of Mass Communication (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1990), Pages 40-44.

aids or governance, humanitarian works, and culture. These 5 categories of campaigns are the most practiced ones by many international organizations such as the EU and the UN. Therefore, in this paper, these 5 categories of campaigns will be studied on in order to see whether they enable the EU to accomplish its public diplomacy objectives or to make Thai people aware of it and have good attitudes towards it or not.

CHAPTER III
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

In this chapter, the author will discuss they details of the methodology of this research work including the type of research, the type of data used, the population and samples, the sampling technique, the type of data, the data collection tool (the research tool), the data collection process and the validity test for the research tool.

3.1 Type of Research

In this research, the **qualitative research method** is applied because it allows the author to obtain in-depth information and insights on the studied topic. As for this study, the researcher intends to use the interview in order to collect the in-depth information on the topic from a small number of participants.[1] Furthermore, the author also uses the documentary research discipline in order to collect in-depth information concerning the EU's public diplomacy from existing text books, journals, articles and some other literatures concerning the topic.[2]

Apart from the research type and the methods used in this research project, in the next part, the author will discuss the types of the data to be obtained in this research project.

---

[1] Dörnyei, Zoltán, <u>Research Methods in Applied Linguistics: Quantitative, Qualitative and Mixed Methodologies</u> (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), Page 70.
[2] Paul D. Leedy and Ormrod, J. E., <u>Practical Research: Planning and Design</u> (New Jersey: Pearson Prentice Hall, 2005), Page 77.

3.2 Type of Data

The data needed in this research are categorized into two types. The first type is the primary datum and the other is the secondary one.

Primary data are the data that the author collects while working on a research project. They are collected especially for that particular research project. Thus, they are up-to-date, exactly fit the research, and can be used to answer all the research questions.[3] Primary data can be collected via qualitative research techniques and the quantitative research ones. The qualitative research techniques include the observation, the in-depth interview and the focus-group interview. At the same time, the quantitative research techniques are the survey, the experiment and the observation.[4]

As for this research, the author intends to use the interview technique for obtaining the knowledge on the EU's public diplomacy campaigns for Thailand to learn about Thai people's attitudes toward the EU.

The other type of data is secondary data. Secondary data are those that have been collected, prepared, processed, analyzed and/or synthesized by other researchers in the past. In most cases, these data are used as the knowledge, principles and theories on which a researcher bases the conceptual framework of a new research work. Secondary data can be obtained from various sources such as text books, articles, online articles, journals, and many others.[5]

---

[3] Ibid., Page 179.
[4] Paul D. Leedy and Ormrod, J. E., <u>Practical Research: Planning and Design</u> (New Jersey: Pearson Prentice Hall, 2005), Pages 180-183.
[5] Ibid., Pages 140-142.

In this research, the author uses secondary data as the theoretical foundation in drawing the conceptual framework that governs and direct all the activities included in the course of this research.

Next, the author will discuss the populations of this research and the samples used in this research, which the primary data are collected.

3.3 Research Populations and Samples

As for this research work, the author decides to study on the EU's public diplomacy campaigns for Thailand by interviewing a small number of samples, who attend the EU film festival held in May, 2012.

As for the number of the participants to this qualitative study, Dörnyei[6] suggested that the number of the participants need not be great. There can be only one participant if he/she can provide in-depth information on the studied issue. Thus, the author decides to collect in-depth information from a few experts in politics and international relations.

In the following part, the author will discuss the way used for selecting the samples who will be interviewed in this research.

---

[6] Zoltán Dörnyei, <u>Research Methods in Applied Linguistics: Quantitative, Qualitative and Mixed Methodologies</u> (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), Page 70.

3.4 Sampling Technique

Knowing how many samples should be studied, the author has to apply a sampling technique in order to select the studied participants. As for this research, the author decides to use the Purposive Sampling technique whereby the author will select the participants with desirable features, i.e., those with in-depth knowledge of the EU. This sampling technique enables the author to obtain the information from the valuable participants.[7]

3.5 Data Collection Tool (Research Tool)

After determining how to get the sample, the next step that the author undertakes is to design the tool to be used in the interview. This tool has to enable the author to collect all the essential information from the samples.

In this research, the author decides to use an individual interview script to interview the participant(s).

After discussing the tool to be used for gathering the data from the chosen participants, in the next section, the author will discuss the way to collect the data from the participants. The details of the data collection process applied to this research are discussed in the next section.

---

[7] Paul D. Leedy and Ormrod, J. E., <u>Practical Research: Planning and Design</u> (New Jersey: Pearson Prentice Hall, 2005), Page 305.

3.6 Data Collection Process

To obtain the desirable information, all the interviews will be held when the interviewed participant(s) are free from work and it will take about an hour or a little more or less. Throughout an hour interview, the author will facilitate the interview by encouraging the participants to express their opinions. This requires a great deal of competency in interpersonal skills because the author has to get the participants to speak out without guiding their opinions.[8] Furthermore, the author must respect the privacy of the participants. Thus, if the participants do not want to reveal themselves, the researcher must hold their identities as the secrecy.[9]

Before actually carrying out the survey, the researcher has to test the validity of the interview script to be used in this research project. The information on this matter is discussed below.

3.7 Validity

As for the individual interview script used in the qualitative study, it is suggested that some experts in the linguistic and other related fields should review all the questions used in the interview scripts in order to see whether it can be used for obtaining the information that is really needed.[10]

---

[8] David Nunan, <u>Research Method in Language Learning</u> (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), Page 36.
[9] Zoltán Dörnyei, <u>Research Methods in Applied Linguistics: Quantitative, Qualitative and Mixed Methodologies</u> (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), Page 82.
[10] David Nunan, <u>Research Method in Language Learning</u> (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), Page 37.

CHAPTER IV
THE EU'S PUBLIC DIPLOMACY CAMPAIGNS TO THAILAND

The Lisbon treaty, entered into force in 2009, stated that, in international affairs, the EU would be guided by and would seek to promote the values on which the Union is founded, including democracy, human rights, fundamental freedoms and the rule of law.[1] To reach its foreign policy goals, the EU tries to use multiple instruments, such as diplomatic action, engaging, informing, and building relation toward target audiences. Thus, public diplomacy plays a crucial role in the external relations of the European Union and is linked with EU foreign policy goals.

This chapter will discuss the EU's public diplomacy campaigns towards Thailand and its objective of each campaign. The author will analyze the information obtained from the research by using the framework as discussed in chapter I, including Soft power and public diplomacy theory. Furthermore, It will demonstrate the underlined pattern of the EU's public diplomacy to Thailand. This pattern is characterized by its focus on specific groups and its campaigns cover many issues which they can cover several groups of Thai people and thus can be said to cover Thai public.

The study on many existing literatures both primary and secondary sources concerning the EU's public diplomacy towards Thailand leads to the understanding that the EU's public diplomacy towards Thailand is comprised of many campaigns concerning several aspects. These

---

[1] (Article III-193 (1), Article I-2 and I-3) As numbered in the draft Constitutional Treaty.

campaigns are divided into five categories, namely, business/trade, education/technology, finance, human rights and culture.[2]

However, since the study on the EU's public diplomacy is still new in Thailand, and there have been only few academic works and analyses on it; it is necessary for the author to explain the public diplomacy of the EU, in general. This will give the clearer picture of the public diplomacy that the EU has framed.

4.1 Public diplomacy of the EU

The EU is not a state. Rather it is a supranational independent institution that is comprised of 27 member states. Its major disposition is to promote peace, democracy, legal compliance, human rights and equality among its member states.[3] This unique nature of the EU lead to its public diplomacy which is different from that practiced by nations or states. This difference is that the EU needs to promote its public diplomacy internally (among its member states) and externally (for non-member states). As a result, public diplomacy is important to the international communication of the EU.

As for the internal public diplomacy, the EU is greatly successful in it. This success is reflected through the European countries' recognition to the EU as an international European organization that aims to retain peace and benefits among its member states. Economic

---

[2] These five categories adapted from Serena Kelly's work. Her slide presentation, namely European Commission Delegations and EU Public Policy: Political Stakeholders' Perceptions from the Asia-Pacific, states that the duties of the EU Delegation to home countries/regions consist of the role as a source of information and as an interlocutor. And it was also mention in an informal interview Press and Information Attaché of the Delegation of the EU to Thailand, interview by author, conduct by email and face-to-face interview, Bangkok, 25 April 2012. See also: European Commission Delegations and EU Public Policy: Political Stakeholders' Perceptions from the Asia-Pacific [Online], 2012. Source www.eusaap.org.nz/docs/panel06/Serena.pdf
[3] The European Union Official website, Basic information on the European Union [Online], 2012. Source http://europa.eu/about-eu/basic-information/index_en.htm

prosperity, the image of EU as a peaceful project after the end of World War II, and also the prospect of belonging to Europe in a large part are the motivation for countries to continue to join the EU and for the EU to become a bigger and more important agency.

Before the Union was established, the idea of uniting Europe was aroused by the destructive world wars during the first half of 20th century which created serious damages to Europe. The wars stimulated the European countries to create the conditions for lasting peace.[4] Since 1950, the EU has been consistently evolving by accepting new member states in a continuous and systematic manner. Thus, at present, it has 27 member states in total, from the first six members at the beginning. Furthermore, there are also many non-member states in Europe eager to join the EU. There are at least eight countries, namely, Croatia, Turkey, Bosnia, Serbia, Macedonia, Albania, Montenegro, and also Iceland willing to join the Union in the next enlargement.[5] This is because all powerful states in Europe such as the UK, France, Germany and Italy are members of the EU. This makes the organization become stronger and more effective in helping its member countries get more benefits. The reason why the EU could obtain a great number of member states was that it had effective internal public diplomacy which was reflected through the activities it did for creating benefits to its member countries. These activities were globally known, so many non-member European countries want to join it.[6]

---

[4] Europa, Europe in 12 lessons [Online], 2011. Source http://europa.eu/abc/12lessons/lesson_1/index_en.htm
[5] BBC News, EU Enlargement: the next eight [Online], 4 July 2012. Source http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-11283616
[6] Ibid.

Even though its internal public diplomacy is greatly success, the EU's external public diplomacy is in the starting phase. In response to this, the EU had established the European External Action Service Department (EEAS) since the Lisbon Treaty came into force on 1ˢᵗ December 2009 and EEAS started its operations on 1ˢᵗ December 2010.[7] It is responsible for international communication and external public diplomacy and also cooperation with the EU Commission. According to its structure, the EEAS has 140 Delegations around the world working on behalf of the people of Europe and representing the European Union as a whole.[8] The establishment of the EEAS is the first step that the EU takes in order to build positive relationships with many states around the world. For example, the EEAS mission to Africa was create good relationships between the EU and African countries by promoting the development of local people's life standards, which is one of the most precise activities of the EU Delegation.

The evolution of public diplomacy has changed from behavioural goals to cognitive goals, from monologue to dialogue, from coercion to building relationship, and from government-oriented to people-oriented.[9] According to Szondi's work, table 2 is comparison between traditional public diplomacy and 21ˢᵗ century public diplomacy which it can describes the transformation of public diplomacy from historical context to current context.

---

[7] EU observer, Ashton names EU foreign-service priorities at low-key launch even [Online], 2 December 2010. Source http://euobserver.com/institutional/31413

[8] The European Union official website, The role of Delegation [Online], 2012. Source http://www.eeas.europa.eu/delegations/un_geneva/about_us/delegation_role/index_en.htm. And it also mentions on The European Union official website, The European External Action Service [Online], 2012. Source http://www.eeas.europa.eu/background/organisation/index_en.htm

[9] Gyorgy Szondi, Public Diplomacy and Nation Branding: Conceptual Similarities and Differences (The Heage: Clingendeal, 2008), Page 10.

	Traditional public diplomacy	21st century public diplomacy
Condition	Conflict, tensions between states	Peace
Goals	To achieve political change in target countries by changing behaviour	Political and economic interest promotion to create receptive reputation of the country abroad
Strategies	Persuasion Managing publics	Building and maintaining relationships Engaging with publics
Direction of communication	One-way communication (Monologue)	Two-way communication (Dialogue)
Research	Very little, if any	PD based on scientific research where feedback is also important
Message context	Ideologies Interests Information	Ideas Values Collaboration
Target audiences (public)	'general' public of the target nation; Sender and receivers of messages	Segmented, well-defined publics + domestic publics; Participants

Channels	Traditional mass media	Old and new media; often personalized
Budget	Sponsored by government	Public and private partnership

Table 2. Traditional and 21st century public diplomacy compared by Szondi[10]

In Szondi's work, he also states that the European Union's public diplomacy is an example of the 21st century public diplomacy while many countries' public diplomacy still follows the traditional model which emphasizes on the creation of political changes, the expansion of ideologies, and one-way communication to foreign government and public as a whole. For the EU, public diplomacy is "…creating a supportive foreign environment for a country's foreign policy by understanding, informing and influencing an external audience."[11] The stress point is that the EU public diplomacy emphasizes on 'building relationships' by engaging conversation with a foreign public in order to create mutual understanding and fundamental influence perceptions. Furthermore, the citizen, the media, NGOs, think-tanks, researchers, social and economic partners, private sector agents are the major foreign audience target groups whose target groups are significance to advance foreign policy objectives and to shape public opinions.[12] However, the EU carries out its public diplomacy campaigns in order to retain its close

---

[10] Gyorgy Szondi, Public Diplomacy and Nation Branding: Conceptual Similarities and Differences (The Heage: Clingendeal, 2008), Page 11.

[11] Dov Lynch, "Communicating Europe to the World: what public diplomacy for the EU?," in EPC Working Paper No. 21, (Brussels: European Policy Center, 2005), Page 14.

[12] Aurélie Courtier, The Challenge of Public Diplomacy for the European External Action Service [Online], 23 December 2011. Source www.eipa.eu

relations with its target nations and to promote the identities of itself and its member states in the target nations.

However, there have been many empirical evidences that reveal that the EU's public diplomacy, in general, focuses primarily on the elite of the target nations. These elite are the government and authorities, policy makers, students with the ability to speak English and potential to study abroad, business people, media, researchers and those with potential to be opinion leaders of the society in the future. Throughout this chapter, these characteristics of the EU's public diplomacy will be reflected in details.

4.1.1 The European Union's public diplomacy in Practice

The EU's public diplomacy practices can be reflected through the speech that the former Vice-President of the EU Commission Margot Wallstrom gave at Georgetown University in 2008.[13] In that occasion, Wallstrom emphasized Cull's 7 basic principles of public diplomacy. There are (1) public diplomacy begins with listening; (2) public diplomacy must be related with policy; (3) public diplomacy is beyond domestic audiences; (4) effective public diplomacy needs credibility with view to exchange diplomacy; (5) public diplomacy should concerned an international news broadcasting and regional opinion-makers; (6) public diplomacy is not always 'about you'; and (7) public diplomacy is everyone's business.

---

[13] Margot Wallstrom, Public Diplomacy and its role in the EU's external relations (Washington DC: Georgetown University, 2008), Pages 2-4.

Furthermore, she also added three more principles which reflect the EU's public diplomacy. These three principles are (8) public diplomacy is effective only when it is publicized; (9) public diplomacy should reflect the identities, values and dispositions of the practitioner (i.e., the EU); and (10) public diplomacy should be carried out on the basis of gender equality. That is the EU's public diplomacy should be delivered to the public of the target nations, reflect the needs, wants and self of the EU and support women. Some of these 10 principles are the bases of the analyses made in this research.

In addition, McClory, a political science scholar,[14] basing his discussion on Nye's idea of soft power components, proposed that soft power consists of 5 key elements, namely, business/innovation, culture, government, diplomacy and education. In other words, these five aspects can be used by a nation that wants to influence its target publics.

In this research work, some of these principles are compared with the practices of the EU Delegation to Thailand. The main approaches to be used include the emphasis on the public, not specific groups (Cull's principle 3 and Wallstorm's principle 8), the emphasis on the policy makers (Cull's principle 5), and the reflection of the practitioner's values and dispositions (Wallstorm's principle 9).

4.2 Delegation of the European Union

According to the EU's public diplomacy model, the EU applied the 21ˢᵗ century public diplomacy model to its Commission delegation services. Some scholars consider the public diplomacy conducted by the

---

[14] Jonathan McClory, The New Persuaders II: A 2011 Global Ranking of Soft Power. (London: The Institute of Government, 2011). Pages 8-11.

European Commission delegations to be a lot stronger than traditional diplomacy. Michael Bruter[15] in his work- ***Diplomacy Without a State: The External Delegations of the European Commission*** states that diplomacy of the delegation is 'consumer oriented', in the sense that the primary focus of the delegations' task directed to non-governmental and public audiences. It is also involved local businesses, local NGOs, and local media and academia in order to raising awareness of European policies and initiatives.

However, since the EU carries out its external public diplomacy campaigns through its delegations to the target countries, it is necessary to discuss the EU's delegations and the one to Thailand in this section.

4.2.1 The Role of the European Union Delegations

The delegations of the European Union are central to the EU's external public diplomacy. Meanwhile, the EU's officials working at the headquarters in Brussels are responsible for the EU's internal public diplomacy. Therefore, the EU's delegations are assigned with the responsible for external public diplomacy.[16] Furthermore, the officials at the EU's Brussels-based headquarters are responsible for establishing the overall policies that all the EU-related organizations have to follow. At the same time, the EU delegations to specific regions or countries use these policies as the foundations for establishing action plans that especially fit particular areas.

---

[15] Michael Bruter, "Diplomacy without a state: The External Delegations of the European Commission," Journal of European Public Policy 6, 2 (1999): 183-185.
[16] The European Union Official website, EU Delegations [Online], 2012. Source
http://eeas.europa.eu/delegations/index_en.htm

The delegations are so important that the EU allocates around two-thirds and three-quarters of its annual external budget to the delegations' works.[17] Furthermore, based on the plan presented to Brussels' office and the priority of each country, the annual communication budget for each delegation is determined at the beginning of the year. For example, the greatest sum of annual budget is allocated to the EU's delegation to the US whilst the smallest sum will be granted to the delegation to a small country that is not the EU's target for its public diplomacy.

With the differences in terms of budgets and staff numbers, it is difficult to depict the exact activities of the EU's delegations. However, it can be said that the Delegations' works depend on the budgets and concentration of the EU, as well as the circumstances in each of the target countries. In addition, the delegations have to identify target audiences for the EU's public diplomacy towards each target nation[18], so that they can choose the most appropriate communication initiatives in order to disseminate the EU's public diplomacy to the target public. The target audiences are not only the government and media but they are also opinion leaders and also influential figures.[19] Even though target audiences of the delegations vary, the delegations have to communicate with some opinion leaders such as press, NGOs and academics. Furthermore, the delegations also aim at working with the youth. The delegations' communication tactics also vary. Each delegation can use a wide range of communication means such as newsletters, personal mails,

---

[17] Mai'a K. Davis Cross, <u>EU Foreign Policy and the Challenge of Public Diplomacy</u>, Page 19.
See also: European Union, "Section x European External Action Service," in <u>DRAFT General budget of the European Union for the financial year 2012 Volume 10</u>, (Brussels: European Union, 2011), Page x/3.
[18] EuropeAid Cooperation, "Communication and Visibility: 2.2 Key Audiences and Target Group," in <u>Communication and Visibility Manual for European Union External Actions</u> (Brussels: European Union, 2010), Page 7.
[19] Ibid., Page 7.

e-mails, websites, events (such as fairs, conferences and competitions), the co-financing with some media, and the broadcast of its own media.[20]

Apart from the communication, the delegation has the task to link the target groups with the EU. This means local people can reflect their ideas, opinions and suggestions to the EU via the delegations. On the other hand, local people can learn about the EU (including its policies and campaigns) from the delegations as well.

The communication tactics of the EU's delegations can be divided into two types. The first type is to tell the target audiences what the EU is doing or aiming to achieve. This tactic is neutral and straightforward. The other type is to tell target audiences about the EU's success in doing all activities. This second tactic sounds like the propaganda because it prioritizes only the success of the EU's operations. While the first type of communication can be seen on the EU's official websites and documents, the other are also incorporated in the EU's websites, journals conducted by the EU's staff, as example, or speeches given by representative of the EU in different occasions.[21]

The EU's delegation to a target country especially aims at creating bilateral cooperation between the EU and that country. This means the delegation has to collaborate with local actors and activities in tackling the local issues or problems. However, this is not the only task of the delegation because it also has to work on global issue such as the global warming, peace and people's welfares.

---

[20] EuropeAid Cooperation, "Adjusting the communication and visibility plan to the action," in <u>Communication and Visibility Manual for European Union External Actions</u> (Brussels: European Union, 2010), Page 17-22.
[21] This is an expression from official pamphlets such as The EU Delegation to Thailand, "The Delegation at 30," <u>EU today</u> 34 (June 2009), Page 6-9. And also EuropeAid Cooperation, "Adjusting the communication and visibility plan to the action," in <u>Communication and Visibility Manual for European Union External Actions</u> (Brussels: European Union, 2010), Page 17-22.

4.2.2 The Delegation to Thailand

The EU's delegation to Thailand was established in 1979. During 1979 and 2009, the EU's delegation was known as the Delegation of the European Commission. After the Lisbon Treaty came into force in 1 January 2009, the Delegation of the European Commission was changed into Delegation of the European Union to Thailand. Even though the name was changed, the responsibilities and roles of the delegation of the EU to Thailand remained the same as they had been since the establishment of the delegation's office in 1979. Originally, the Delegation of the European Commission covered the EU's public diplomacy activities in several countries in Asia such as Bangladesh, Bhutan, Burma, Cambodia, India, Indonesia, Malaysia, Nepal, Pakistan, Singapore, Sri Lanka, Thailand, the Philippines and Vietnam (some of the aforementioned countries are covered later). This delegation office aimed at creating the collaborations between the EU and the ASEAN in several aspects such as economic, educational and social works.

After the enactment of Lisbon Treaty in 2009, there were some changes in certain elements of the structure. For instance, the delegation extended its focus to Cambodia, Laos and Myanmar in addition to the aforementioned countries. Even though the delegation has extended its coverage to three more countries, it still focuses on promoting the political and economic relations between Thailand and the EU by maintaining extensive relations with governmental institutions and by increasing awareness of the EU, informing the public of the development of the EU and to explain and defend individual EU policies, and also

participating in the implementation of the EU's assistance programmes.[22] The EU Delegation to Thailand is concerned about several humanitarian issues in Asia, such as to assist Burmese refugees in Thailand.[23]

The delegation also promotes the bilateral collaborations between Thailand and the EU. In 2006, Thailand had faced with military coup, which led to the EU's action to consider the new scope of cooperation with Thailand including political dialogue. After that, the '*Partnership and Co-operation Agreement*' (PCA) was negotiated and the delegation is responsible for this agreement.[24]

From the information above, it is apparent that the EU's Delegation to Thailand has been working on economic and humanitarian issues in Thailand and many other countries in Asia for more than three decades. Some of the most precise examples of the EU's work are the economic summit between the EU and the ASEAN (ASEM) and the assistances for the Burmese immigrants around the Thai-Burmese frontier. The delegation's works cover many agenda which will be discussed in the next part.

---

[22] The EU Delegation to Thailand official website, The Role of the EU Delegation [Online], 2012. Source http://eeas.europa.eu/delegations/thailand/about_us/delegation_role/index_en.htm
[23] The EU Delegation to Thailand, "The Delegation at 30," EU today 34 (June 2009), Page 6-9.
[24] The EU Delegation to Thailand official website, Thailand [Online], 2012. Source http://www.eeas.europa.eu/thailand/index_en.htm

4.3 Objective of public diplomacy Towards Thailand by the European Union

In carrying out its public diplomacy campaigns, the EU has the main objectives and goals that it needs to accomplish. These objectives are to promote the inter-regional collaborations between the EU and the ASEAN and between the EU and Thailand. The accomplishment of these objectives will lead to some other benefits to the EU. In the later parts of this chapter, these benefits will be discovered.

4.3.1 Goals of the EU's public diplomacy in Business/Trade

The EU Delegation to Thailand has been informing Thai business community of the EU business and its cooperation activities with Thailand in order to increase awareness to the EU as one of the major power in business sector and to create mutual trust between the EU and Thailand which it can bring benefits to the EU and Thailand in a long-run, as well as to make mutual understanding which it can produce a positive attitude among them. The Business Information Center of the EU Delegation to Thailand was established to disseminate the messages that the EU wants to let Thai business community know either facts or activities.[25] As part of public diplomacy, the EU uses many newsletters, booklets, social network, Internet and informative publications as tools to interact and communicate with its target audiences.[26] For instance, the EU and ASEAN organized a study trip for business segment people to

---

[25] Business Information Center, The EU Delegation to Thailand official website, <u>About us</u> [Online], 2010. Source http://www.bicthailand.eu/content/about-us

[26] Business Information Center, The EU Delegation to Thailand official website, <u>About us</u> [Online], 2010. Source http://www.bicthailand.eu/content/about-us

ASEAN countries which was known as Business focus ASEAN (BFA). The concept of BFA is attempt to link public diplomacy with business networking together. The aim of BFA is expansion the vision and the idea of the great EU and ASEAN model of life in order to inspire, encourage, and boost young generations aware of the EU and ASEAN in business issue.[27] Although the main purpose of the EU's public diplomacy in business issue is not aiming to win hearts and minds of Thai people, it can inform its messages to the target audiences in order to create better understanding between Thai business community and the EU.

4.3.2 Goals of the EU's public diplomacy in Financial Aids

The EU's public diplomacy campaigns that concern the financial aids have many objectives depending on the types of the aids.[28] For example, the financial assistance given to Thailand for helping the Tsunami victims in 2004 has the main objective to promote the EU's humanitarian works. At the same time, the EU's financial assistance given to Thailand for developing education system and technological knowledge aims to promote the EU's excellence in the related fields.

This is beneficial for the EU because public diplomacy is a type of the implementation of soft power. This soft power will make the Thai government be considerate to the EU and comply with the EU's instructions and requests in order to retain the good relationships between itself and the EU.

---

[27] FH KREMS, BFA 2010, EU-ASEAN public diplomacy – Business networking (Integrated Report) [Online], July 2010. Source http://www.scribd.com/doc/98178802/BFA-2010-EU-ASEAN-Public-Diplomacy-Business-Networking-Integrated-Report

[28] Actionaid, The EU Budget 2014-2020 [Online], 2012. Source http://www.actionaid.org/eu/what-we-do/development-finance/eu-budget-2014-2020

4.3.3 Goals of the EU's public diplomacy in Education and Technology

This respect of the EU's public diplomacy towards Thailand is one of the most precise. This is because there have been many forms of collaborations between the EU and Thailand in terms of education and technology. These collaborations include the joint-research project between Thai universities and European ones[29] and the EU's scholarship programme for Thai students, researchers and/or university employees.[30]

This policy is beneficial for the EU because many Thai people perceive that the countries that are member states of the EU have good educational systems. As a result, many Thai students want to study abroad in Europe.[31] This means a great deal of income that many universities and academic institutes in Europe can generate. This is because, part from the scholarships granted by EU, many Thai students study in Europe on their expenses or on the expenses of Thai government or other donors.

Not only does this policy benefit the EU but it also benefits Thailand and its people. This is because it improves the education system and technological knowledge and competence of Thai people and academic institutes.[32] In addition, it also give Thai students chances to

---

[29] Worawit Janchai, Laurent Veillard, and Komsak Meksamoot, The Collaborative Cooperative Education Program between Thai and EU in the Field of Industrial Information Technology (Chiang Mai: Chiang Mai University, 2011), Pages 1-8.

[30] The European Commssion Eramus Mundus Scholarship [Online], 2012. Source http://ec.europa.eu/education/study-in-europe/doc/thailand_en.pdf

[31] 20 Thai people respondents, Questionnaire on the EU Film Festival 2012, survey by author, Bangkok, May – June 2012.

[32] Worawit Janchai, Laurent Veillard, and Komsak Meksamoot, The Collaborative Cooperative Education Program between Thai and EU in the Field of Industrial Information Technology (Chiang Mai: Chiang Mai University, 2011), Pages 1-8.

study abroad in order to obtain more knowledge in the studied fields and experiences from living alone in foreign countries.

4.3.4 Goals of the EU's public diplomacy in Humanitarian Works

The humanitarian work is a task that the EU is most emphatic on. As it has always emphasized, the EU carries out its public diplomacy campaigns that concerns humanitarian issues in order to create the equality in the global society.[33] In addition to the aforementioned benefit, Dr. Mai'a K. Davis, EU diplomatic expertise, stated that the EU is also able to build positive images for itself as a major normative power with significant influence in the area of humanitarian aid, […], human rights, and development.[34] For instance, humanitarian relief from the EU can reflected through Thai people's perception towards the EU as a friendly organization. In addition, Thai people believe that the EU is sincere to Thailand. These positive images are important because they make the EU look trustworthy. As a result, instructions and suggestions from the EU will be listened to. This means the EU can influence other nations or organizations by dint of its positive images.

---

[33] The European Commission official website, Humanitarian Aid and Civil Protection [Online], 2012. Source http://ec.europa.eu/echo/about/index_en.htm
[34] Mai'a K. Davis Cross, "EU Foreign Policy and the Challenge of Public Diplomacy," in presented at the European Consortium of Political Research IR Conference, (Stockhome, 2010), Page 19.

4.3.5 Goals of the EU's public diplomacy in Culture

As for the EU's cultural public diplomacy towards Thailand, it is seen that its main objective is to let Thai people know the backgrounds of the EU and its member states, to create a better understanding of the European Union, as well as to engage with Thai public.[35] In addition, it is also apparent that the cultural events held by the EU or the representatives of the EU's member states in Thailand concern entertainments and arts such as movies and music. This is helpful because it can attract many Thai people. Many Thai people like entertaining messages.[36] Furthermore, they like European movies, especially the awarded ones which are not shown in mainstream cinemas.[37]

This public diplomacy policy of the EU is successful because Thai people are aware of European cultures. They find that European cultures are unique and interesting. In addition, they believe that people in European countries have quality of lives. Furthermore, many Thai people want to learn more about European countries. These attitudes of Thai people give the EU good chances to do other public diplomacy campaigns on them.

In the following sections, the public diplomacy campaigns of the EU, through its delegations to Thailand, will be discussed. These campaigns are divided into 5 categories, namely, business/trade, financial aids, education/technology, human rights and culture. Together with the

---

[35] Philip F. de Gouveia and Hester Plumridge, Europe Infopolitik: Developing EU Public Diplomacy Strategy (London: Foreign Policy Center, 2005), Page 2. And it was also mention in an informal interview Press and Information Attaché of the Delegation of the EU to Thailand, interview by author, conduct by email and face-to-face interview, Bangkok, 25 April 2012.

[36] 400 Thai people respondents, Questionnaire on attitudes towards the EU, survey by author, Bangkok, June 2012.

[37] 20 Thai people respondents, Questionnaire on the EU Film Festival 2012, survey by author, Bangkok, May – June 2012.

explanation of the activities, the analyses on such activities, which are based on Cull's 7 principles, Wallstorm's 3 principles in addition to Cull's, and McClory's 5 aspects of soft power, will be made.

4.4 The European Union's public diplomacy campaigns to Thailand

4.4.1 The EU's public diplomacy in Business and Trade

The EU uses its soft power to win Thai people's hearts through business cooperation. This cooperation is done through the Business Information Center of the EU Delegation to Thailand.[38] There are four services that this center carried out. These four services are providing EU market access information, building capacity of Thai business, promoting EU-Thailand cooperation programmes, and raising the profile of the EU.

In terms of public diplomacy, this center is involved because to increase the visibility of the European Union in Thailand comes to be a part of its service.

The EU Delegation to Thailand has been encouraging Thai business people to learn about business cooperation measures by issuing many newsletters, booklets, and informative publications, as showing its information on its official website. These make the target audiences aware of its business and trade-related soft power that the EU uses for making Thai business people have good attitudes towards it.[39]

---

[38] Business Information Center, The EU Delegation to Thailand official website, About us [Online], 2010. Source http://www.bicthailand.eu/content/about-us
[39] Ibid.

In doing this, the EU joins the Federation of Thai Industries (FTI), the Thai Chamber of Commerce (TCC) and the Thai Bankers' Association (TBA) to form the Thai European Business Association (TEBA). This association has the objectives to disseminate the news and information concerning the businesses and trade in Europe to Thai entrepreneurs and to disseminate the information of Thai businesses and investment in Thailand to European entrepreneurs. This TEBA is a mean that the EU can use for carrying out its public diplomacy to promote its business and trade-related soft power.[40] In addition, the EU also promoted European investment in Thailand by establishing the European ASEAN Business Centre (EABC). This business center has the main commitment to promote Thai-European business relationships by giving information concerning the investment in Thailand to European entrepreneurs which enables Thai government to generate more money.[41] In addition, the center aims to carrying out policy and advocacy work, providing support to European businesses with trade-related information, organizing key events to foster opportunities for European businesses in Thailand and raising public awareness from both Thai business people and the European.[42]

Although, the primary purpose of business and trade assistance is not public diplomacy, business issue, in the sense of practical, certainly has public diplomacy implementations. On fundamental level, it can represent direct interaction and communication with foreign public, as well as it can disseminate some information that the EU wants to promote in order to increase mutual understanding between Thai business people

---

[40] TEBA, The Thai-European Business Association [Online], 2012. Source www.thaieuro.biz/
[41] EABC, The Thai-European Business Centre in Thailand [Online], 2011. Source www.eabc-thailand.eu/
[42] The European-ASEAN Business Center in Thailand, 2012 European Business Position Paper (Bangkok, 2012), Page 3.

and the EU's regulations. For example case, the creation of the EABC in Bangkok has led to promotion the EU's laws and regulations to other countries including Thailand and this promotion will bring to a correct understanding towards the EU's business and a positive attitude towards the EU.[43]

The positive attitude that Thailand has towards the EU is that the EU is an important market for Thailand because of the great number of its population and the great purchase power of its population.[44] The EU's member states that are important trade partners for Thailand include Germany, the UK, the Netherlands, France and Italy. Furthermore, Thailand is aware that the EU has been developing inter-regional economic collaborations between the ASEAN and the EU and has good economic relationships with Thailand.[45]

Furthermore, in 2011, the Commission of Investment Support of Thailand approved many European investments in Thailand which was in the fourth rank after the ASEAN countries, Japan and China. At the same time, many Thai businesses, especially, restaurants, food and beverage businesses, paper factories, fashion and jewelry businesses, ironsmiths, retailers and agricultural businesses did businesses in the EU's member states.[46]

The reason why it can be concluded that the EU's business-related soft power is that this soft power aims to make Thai business people have positive attitudes towards the EU and to increase mutual understanding,

---

[43] The European-ASEAN Business Center in Thailand, Advocacy Objectives and Benefits [Online], 2012. Source http://www.eabc-thailand.eu/policies-and-activities/advocacy-objectives-benefits-2
[44] The EU Delegation to Thailand official website, Trade and Investment [Online], 2012. Source http://eeas.europa.eu/delegations/thailand/thailand_eu_coop/trade_and_investment/index_en.htm
[45] Ministry of Foreign Affair of the Kingdom of Thailand, Interrelationship with foreign countries and other regions [Online], 2012. Source http://www.mfa.go.th/main/th/world/
[46] Ibid.

which are shown through the business and trade collaboration between the EU and Thailand.[47]

From the information discussed above, it is apparent that the EU's business cooperation to Thailand can make Thai government become friendly to it. As a result, Thai government helps the EU promote its campaigns (Thai-EU FTA). In addition, the EU also promotes itself through the media such as promotional documents and official websites. Furthermore, it also establishes some programmes such as EABC and TEBA which make Thai government and business people more aware of its business and trade-related soft power. This is not a surprising fact because Cull also proposed that the public diplomacy must aim at the opinion leaders who will lead to the acceptance by the entire public.[48] In this case, the opinion leaders are the big business people who benefit from the EU's business assistance campaign.

4.4.2 The EU's public diplomacy in Finance

Apart from tariff preferences, the EU also gives financial aids to Thailand. Financial aids are the money that the EU gives to a target country in order to help that country tackle a particular issue that the EU considers as an important one.[49] The financial assistance that the EU gives to Thailand is in the form of the on-demand financial aids whereby Thailand can request for financial aids from the EU case-by-case. This means the EU is not obliged to give financial supports to Thailand in the

---

[47] Ibid.

[48] Nicholas J. Cull, "Public Diplomacy: Taxonomies and Histories," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science 616 (2008): 32.

[49] Actionaid, The EU Budget 2014-2020 [Online], 2012. Source http://www.actionaid.org/eu/what-we-do/development-finance/eu-budget-2014-2020

consistent or continuous manner because it can determine the necessity of each particular case.

As a matter of fact, the budget of the EU is allocated every seven years. This plan is called the Multi-Annual Financial Frameworks (MFF). At the current time, the EU is practicing its 2007-2013 MMF while planning for the one for 2014-2020.[50]

In general, the EU's fund is allocated to five areas. The first area is the sustainable development in the EU member states. The allocated budget for this area is 45% of the entire budget. The second area is the sustainable development and protection of natural resources in the EU's member states. This area gains 42% of the entire budget. The third area which accounts for 1% of the entire budget is for citizenship, freedom, security and justice in the EU's member states. Another 6% of the entire budget is allocated for its administration. The rest 6% of budget is allocated for the development of countries that are not the EU's member states.[51]

During 2002 and 2006, EU had allocated 10 million Euros in order to foster two activities. The first of which was the technical assistance and capacity boosting for Thai trade, investment and other related areas. The other is the development of public health and health services through the EU's intervention in Thailand's health reform. In addition, in 2004, there was a catastrophic Tsunami event that caused great damages to Thailand. With the concerns about this tragic event, the EU provided 150 million baht to help the Bank of Agriculture and Agricultural

---

[50] Actionaid, The EU Budget 2014-2020 [Online], 2012. Source http://www.actionaid.org/eu/what-we-do/development-finance/eu-budget-2014-2020
[51] Ibid.

Cooperatives (BAAC) develop the five Tsunami-affected provinces in Thailand, namely Phuket, Phang-Nga, Kra-Bi, Ranong and Trang.

As for the case-by-case financial assistance, the EU gave financial assistance in order to help Tsunami victims generate incomes. In addition, the assistance also went to the Tsunami-affected communities so that they could improve their economy and conserve local environments. These assistances were granted to all the needy in the transparent fashion and without any gender or racist discrimination campaign because the EU uses its soft power by giving Thai government financial assistance. This could make Thai government considerate to the EU.

As for a period from 2007 to 2013, the EU has set a funding project whereby it offers financial helps to its member states and non-member states of EU (external assistance). The EU's external assistance programme is established in order to give financial aids to the countries that are not the member states of the EU. This financial assistance programme aims to promote the cooperation among industrialized countries and to promote democracy and human rights in the world[52].

The EU's plan for 2007-2013 aims at building EU- Thailand cooperation in several aspects, such as environment, public health, graduate education, technology and economy.[53] Therefore, it can be seen that the financial assistance that the EU has been consistently giving to Thailand is an exercise of its soft power on Thai government. McClory suggested that a practitioner can influence the government of its target country instead of the entire public.[54]

---

[52] Europa Media, EU Funds [Online], 2012. Source http://www.2007-2013.eu/by_scope.php
[53] Delegation of the European Union to Thailand, Technological and Financial Cooperation [Online], 2012. Source http://eeas.europa.eu/delegations/thailand/eu_thailand/tech_financial_cooperation/index_th.htm
[54] Jonathan McClory, The New Persuaders II: A 2011 Global Ranking of Soft Power. (London: The Institute of Government, 2011). Pages 9-12.

From the facts discussed here, it is apparent that the EU attempts to build its images of transparency and human rights concerns, which are the images that the EU has always been promoting. This can be said to be the government-concerned public diplomacy campaign because the EU uses its soft power by giving Thai government financial assistance. This could make Thai government considerate to the EU and eventually comply with the EU.

4.4.3 The EU's public diplomacy in Education

As for the educational collaboration between the EU and Thailand, it is reported that the EU has the collaborations with Thailand in order to improve the linguistic skills and the knowledge on some technologies of Thai people. These collaborations are made between academic institutes in the EU's member countries and those in Thailand with the supports from the EU and Thai government.

From 2005 to 2006, the EU had allocated 3.2 million Euros to the collaboration between the EU and Thailand to promote education system through the Eramus Mundus programme. Eramus Mundus is a programme that promotes higher education in Europe and third-world countries. This programme incorporates many activities such as to establish joint programmes in post-graduate level, to build inter-institutional cooperative partnerships among European academic institutes and those in third-world countries, to support individual students, researchers and university staff who want to study or work in the aforementioned inter-institutional academics, and to cooperates with

any organization that works on higher education in order to build positive images of the educational system in Europe.[55]

An example of the EU-Thai collaboration in education and technology is reflected through the collaboration between Chiang Mai University (Thailand) and L' Université Lumière (France) in improving the teaching in the field industrial information technology which can improve the educational system of Thailand.[56]

Apart from the collaboration to improve technology and education, the Eramus Mundus programme also grants scholarships for Thai students. Since 2004, there have been more than 300 Thai students receiving scholarships from the programme. The scholarships can be for short term (3 months) and long term (3 years) ones, depending on the studies. Each Thai student who earns a scholarship from this programme can receive up to 24,000 Euros per annum (for a master student) or 60,000 Euros up to 130,000 Euros per annum (for a student of a three-year joint doctorate programme).[57]

As for the cooperation in the bigger scale or with the ASEAN a member of which is Thailand, the EU collaborates with it as well. The ASEAN-EU University Network Programme was operating from 2000 to 2006, with the aim to promote higher education in the region and to boost the efficiency of the universities in the region. This programme funded 20 partnership projects and held some inter-regional conferences.[58]

---

[55] The European Commission, Eramus Mundus Programme [Online], 2012. Source
http://eacea.ec.europa.eu/eramus_mundus/programme/about_eramus_mundus_en.php
[56] Worawit Janchai, Laurent Veillard, and Komsak Meksamoot, The Collaborative Cooperative Education Program between Thai and EU in the Field of Industrial Information Technology (Chiang Mai: Chiang Mai University, 2011), Page 1.
[57] The European Commission, Eramus Mundus Scholarship [Online], 2012. Source
http://ec.europa.eu/education/study-in-europe/doc/thailand_en.pdf
[58] The European Commssion, Development and Cooperation- EUROPAID [Online], 2012. Source
http://ec.europa.eu/europaid/where/asia/rehional-cooperayion/higher-education/index_en.htm

An obvious result from this programme was that in 2008, there were more than two million students in 164 higher education institutes around Thailand. Furthermore, during 2006 and 2009, Thailand sent around 6,000 Thai students to study in many EU member states such as the UK, France, Italy, Germany and the Netherlands.[59]

At the moment, the EU is collaborating with the ASEAN in developing the education in ASEAN countries such as Thailand, the Philippines and Vietnam. This collaboration is called the TECII programme which concentrates on the development of higher education system in target countries and the EU-ASEAN collaboration in science and technology.[60]

As for Thailand, the TECII programme continues promoting higher education by encouraging the establishment of inter-regional cooperation among academic institutes, networks and standard agencies in order to improve the quality of educational system in Thailand. Furthermore, it also emphasizes on the research and technological development by establishing the collaborations among research centers that will develop and improve technological knowledge for several industries in Thailand.[61]

Considering Cull's principles of public diplomacy which suggested that the public diplomacy should be concentrate on the opinion leaders,[62] one can say that the educational campaign of the EU's public diplomacy policy is greatly efficient because when studying in EU countries or receiving educational assistances from the EU, the

[59] Delegation of the European Union to Thailand, Education, Science and Technology [Online], 2012. Source http://eeas.europa.eu/delegations/thailand/thailand_eu_coop/education_science_and_technology/index_en.htm
[60] Ibid.
[61] Ibid.
[62] Nicholas J. Cull, "Public Diplomacy: Taxonomies and Histories," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science 616 (2008): 32.

beneficiaries have inevitable chances to learn about the EU's way of thinking, life style, culture and so on. This means Thai students who study in the EU's member states will wear the EU's shoes when considering all the issues. These students will also be the opinion leaders in the related fields because the majority of them are working for governmental organizations. Therefore, they will spread the EU's ways in their organizations which are responsible for issuing the national policies in the related fields. This means the EU's scholarships granted to Thai students can be a tool that the EU can use for controlling Thailand's policies in the future.

In addition, many EU countries have become hubs for certain branches of knowledge and sciences such as France for fashion. Therefore, it can be said that the EU's public diplomacy campaigns related to education category is efficient campaign. This will bring a great sum of money to many institutes in Europe. Furthermore, this means not only Thai students who attain the EU's scholarships but also Thai students in common who will think like the EU. Therefore, in the future, both the opinion leaders (policy makers) and followers will have the ideas that are agreeable to those of the EU.

4.4.4 The EU's public diplomacy in Human Rights and Development

The most precise human right works of the EU is its assistance for foreign refugees around the borders of Thailand. The EU puts efforts and money in establishing refugee camps and developing the life quality of

these refugees. In addition, the EU also helped Thailand during the great flood in 2011.

In the global scale, the European Union is the biggest donor of humanitarian aid that provides more than 50% of humanitarian aid in the world.[63] This reflects the EU's major disposition to promote human rights protection in the world.

To do this, the EU established the European Community Humanitarian Office (ECHO) in 1992. ECHO is a major organization in the world that works on human rights issues in the world. ECHO's works include assistances for refugees, children, people in the countries that have wars, people suffering from gender discrimination and oppression, poor people who need health services and those who are in need for water and sanitation. Therefore, ECHO works on several issues such as environment conservation, food assistance, disaster response, need assessment and human rights protection.[64]

As for Thailand, ECHO has its office in the country. This office works on the humanitarian issues in Thailand as well as in Asia. The major actions that ECHO takes for Thailand include the humanitarian aids for Burmese refugees in Thailand. This humanitarian activity of ECHO is the most precise one because the organization has been emphatic on this matter. The ECHO's humanitarian aids for Burmese refugees in Thailand include the assistances in terms of food, medicine, shelters, health and sanitation.[65]

---

[63] The European Commission, Humanitarian Aid and Civil Protection [Online], 2012. Source http://ec.europa.eu/echo/about/index_en.htm
[64] Ibid.
[65] Ibid.

Apart from the Burmese refugees in Thailand, ECHO also helps Thailand when the country faces some catastrophic disasters such as the great flood in 2011. In 2011, ECHO allocated two million Euros for Thailand. This two million Euros was allocated from the overall ten million Euros that ECHO allocated for all flood-victim countries, namely, Cambodia, Laos, Thailand, the Philippines and Vietnam.[66]

The human rights issue has been a main theme of the EU's public diplomacy policy because the EU always promotes the rights of the minority, human equality, democracy and government's transparency (especially in election). To sum up, the EU has been emphatic on the good governance principle. However, in accordance to the interviewed Thai people, they do not learn much about the EU's activities from the news or mass media. Rather, they have heard a great deal about the UN's activities. This means Thai press does not pay much attention to this campaign of the EU because the UN has been playing more precise roles in giving criticism and suggestion on Thailand governance. In most cases, the UN's opinions and suggestions concerning Thai politics would attract both Thai and international media than those from the EU.

4.4.5 The EU's public diplomacy in Culture

As for the cultural dissemination, the EU promotes the cultures and lifestyles of the citizens of its member states through the arrangement of the annual film festival in which awarded or unique European films are shown to Thai people for free. This event is held in order that Thai people will be aware of good European films and that they will learn about

---

[66] The European Commission, Humanitarian Aid and Civil Protection [Online], 2012. Source http://ec.europa.eu/echo/about/index_en.htm

European cultures through the films and other additional activities incorporated in the film festival such as some kinds of promotions for the EU's member states.

Actually, the EU has been arranging many annual cultural festivals. The most famous examples are the EU Film Festival which has been held annually for 20 years[67], the EU Eco Film Festival and The 'la Fete de la Musique' event.

Even though the film festivals are always held in Bangkok, the 'la Fete de la Musique' event of the Music Festival, which is annually held by the French Association (L'Alliance Française), is held in different places each year. Even though Bangkok is the regular host of this festival, 6 other provinces, namely, Chiangmai, Chiangrai, Prajuabkheereekhan (Hua Hin District), Surat Thani (Samui Island), Khonkhaen and Phuket, have hosted this festival. Moreover, the cultural organizations such as the Goethe Institute, Alliance Française and the British Council have worked for decades to improve and facilitate people-oriented communications between the EU member states and foreign countries.

From the information discussed in this part, it can be seen that the EU has been promoting the entertainments of its member states. Such entertainments are movies and music which are the messages that Thai people like because they like entertaining messages.[68] Furthermore, these cultural activities can attract many Thai people because they like European cultures and always want to learn about them.[69] Therefore, this campaign is greatly effective than other issues because 'cultural activities are seen by public diplomacy advocates as enormously important avenues

---

[67] The EU Delegation to Thailand, "The Delegation at 30," EU today 34 (June 2009), Page 8.
[68] 400 Thai people respondents, Questionnaire on attitudes towards the EU, survey by author, Bangkok, June 2012.
[69] 20 Thai people respondents, Questionnaire on the EU Film Festival 2012, survey by author, Bangkok, May – June 2012.

for otherwise diverse citizens to understand each other and integral to the international cultural understanding, which they state is a key goal of modern public diplomacy strategy.'[70]

Apart from the campaigns and activities discussed before, the EU is planning to extend its public diplomacy campaigns towards Thailand to cover the environmental, the energy and the global warming issues. It is now negotiating with Thailand in order to find out what each of them should do in order to collaborate with each other.

4.5 Pattern of the EU's public diplomacy towards Thailand

The information obtained in this study reveals that the EU's public diplomacy focuses on specific group, for example, its educational campaigns focus on Thai students, researchers and academic institutions whilst the EU's business cooperation with Thailand just benefits Thai exporters who export their products to the EU's member countries. However, since the EU's public diplomacy campaigns cover many issues, they can cover several groups of Thai people but it does not cover to the majority of Thai people.

It is also discovered that the most important groups that the EU's public diplomacy campaigns focus on are the government, the policy makers and business people. The reason why the EU does not concentrate much on Thai people is that it has just begun its public diplomacy campaigns, so it just wants to create good relationships with Thai government and opinion leaders. However, an Attaché of the EU

---

[70] Public Diplomacy Alumni Association, <u>what public diplomacy is and is not</u> [Online], 2012. Source
http://publicdiplomacy.org/pages/index.php?page=about-public-diplomacy#traditional

Delegation to Thailand stated in the informal interview that "since the EU is planning to expand its campaigns, many other groups of Thai people will be covered in the future."[71]

The above statement can be proven with the EU's Delegation to Thailand's communication strategies which focus more on Thai public. The delegation communicates more to Thai public through various innovative channels such as social network. These communication channels are useful for the EU because they enable the EU's Delegation to Thailand to promote the EU' public diplomacy campaigns.

Furthermore, the EU is trying to reach Thai public through entertainment such as movies and music. Through many institutes such as L'Alliance Française and Goethe Institute, the EU holds many cultural events in order to make Thai public aware of the good side of European countries such as interesting lifestyles and good quality of educational systems. This will enable the EU's Delegation to Thailand to carry out the EU's public diplomacy campaigns towards Thai public more easily in the future.

Therefore, the EU is encouraging all Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) in Thailand to suggest their ideas on the development issues that the EU should undertake. In addition to CSOs, all other stakeholders' ideas and suggestions are always welcome.[72]

This means EU is following Cull's principles of public diplomacy, which suggests that a policy maker or practitioner should listen to the public's voice. Therefore, the EU's encouragement for all stakeholders to

---

[71] Press and Information Attaché of the Delegation of the EU to Thailand, interview by author, conduct by email and face-to-face interview, Bangkok, 25 April 2012.

[72] Delegation of the European Union to Thailand, Education, Science and Technology [Online], 2012. Source http://eeas.europa.eu/delegations/thailand/press_corner/all_news/news/2012/201202327_01_en.htm

provide to its suggestions on the development issues will make the EU's public diplomacy become really beneficial for both the EU and Thailand.

In principally, The EU's public diplomacy as follows Wallstorms' approach emphasizes on prioritizing the entire public of the target nation but the EU's public diplomacy in case of Thailand has dissimilarity from the principle approach. Its pattern is focusing on to increase cooperation between the EU and specific group especially elite group and the Thai government rather than to create the EU's awareness of the majority of Thai people. However, the EU is also prioritizing on listening to the opinions of the public and using such opinions as the fundamental data to determine the actions to be carried out in order to make Thai people have good attitudes towards it.

4.6 The EU's public diplomacy and Thai Public

Apart from the EU's public diplomacy the details of which are discussed in the former section, the recognition and awareness of Thai public to the EU's public diplomacy is also an interesting matter to be discussed. This is because public diplomacy that is effective should be really public. This means, according to Cull, it needs to be informed to the public and should benefit the public. Therefore, in this section, the awareness of Thai public to the EU's public diplomacy will be discussed.

As for the images of the EU, Thai people believe that the EU's member states have close and strong relations with each other. In addition, they also believe that the member states of the EU have good life quality and educational systems. Thai people also know the EU's member states because of their histories such as the World War I and the

World War II. During the period of this study, Thai people are much aware of the economic crises that take place to some of the EU's member states and affect other members of the EU as well as non-EU member countries. Furthermore, Thai people also know that the EU is rivaling with the United States of America in order to be the leader in economy and trading.[73]

Even though Thai people know many aspects that concern the EU and its member states, they do not know about the EU's public diplomacy campaigns towards Thailand. They do not know that Thailand is one of the Most Favoured Nations (MFN) of the EU. Thai people do not know that the EU can give Thailand the on-demand financial aids nor do they know that the EU gave financial assistance to Thailand during the great flood in 2011.[74]

This might be because these campaigns of the EU are not directly related to the majority of Thai people. Thus, although the EU publicizes these campaigns, Thai people might not be interested in them because they are not related to the lives of the majority of Thai people nor do they benefit Thai people's lives.[75]

It is also discovered that Thai people are aware of the roles and influences for other organizations and countries such as the ASEAN, the United States of America, China and Japan. These organizations and countries seem to have closer relations to Thailand. In addition, Thai people tend to be interested in them more than the EU. For example, in 2015, Thailand, as a member state of the ASEAN, will join the ASEAN Community. This incident is a talk of the town. Many people, scholars

---

[73] 20 Thai people respondents, Questionnaire on the EU Film Festival 2012, survey by author, Bangkok, May – June 2012.

[74] 400 Thai people respondents, Questionnaire on attitudes towards the EU, survey by author, Bangkok, June 2012.

[75] Ibid.

and press are discussing this matter. As a result, during this period, the importance of the ASEAN outshines the roles and activities of other international organizations.[76]

Additionally, the trades between Thailand and member states of the EU are limited to certain products and/or services and generate limited incomes. On the contrary, the trades between Thailand and its important partners such as the United States of America, Japan and China cover various products and/or services with high market values. Thus, Thai people are aware of the importance of these countries more than the EU.[77]

Furthermore, it is also discovered that the EU is improving its public diplomacy campaigns towards Thailand because it is negotiating with Thai government and related agents in order to determine what other aspects such as environment and energy should be addressed in its public diplomacy campaigns and what Thailand can do in order to collaborate with the EU.

This means, the EU is determining what it really wants from Thailand. As a result, its current public diplomacy campaigns toward Thailand aim to creating the positive relations between itself and Thai government and exporters, which are the elite in the society. As for the Thai public, the EU just carries out its public diplomacy campaigns towards them in order to make Thai people know about its institute, member states and the overall images of the region such as the effectiveness educational system, the unique way of life and the good life quality.

---

[76] 20 Thai people respondents, Questionnaire on the EU Film Festival 2012, survey by author, Bangkok, May – June 2012.
[77] 20 Thai people respondents, Questionnaire on the EU Film Festival 2012, survey by author, Bangkok, May – June 2012.

The other cause of Thai people's unawareness of the EU's public diplomacy campaign that Thai journalists seldom interest the EU. Rather, they concentrate more on the UN, the ASEAN and some influential countries such as the United States of America, China, Japan and Korea. As a result, the majority of Thai people are aware of the activities carried out by these institutes or countries more than those carried out by the EU.[78]

Even worse, many of the EU's member states, such as Greece, Italy and even the UK, are facing economic problems.[79] Many media, both Thai and foreign ones, are reporting these economic crises that occur to the EU's member countries. These issues are hot and many people have to keep their eyes on them because they could affect their lives. For examples, an exporter needs to know about the crises in order to determine the export of his products to a member state of the EU whilst a student who wants to study abroad in a member state of the EU has to closely follow the tidings in order to make a plan for himself. Since the news and tidings concerning the economic crises that the EU is facing are relevant to Thai people's lives, they are remarkably exposed to such news and tidings. As a result, they might not believe that the EU could help Thailand as much as it wants to.[80]

From all the facts and information discussed above, it is apparent that there are many other matters related to the EU's public diplomacy campaigns that are out of the focus of this research work. This means there are rooms for further study on this matter. In addition, the future is unknown to us. Hence, the study on the same matter, even using the same

---

[78] Ibid.
[79] Graeme Wearden, Eurozone crisis as it happened: ECB warns of slower growth; UK trade deficit widens [Online], 2012. Source http://www.guardian.co.uk/business/2012/aug/09/eurozone-crisis-ecb-credit-crunch-china
[80] 400 Thai people respondents, Questionnaire on attitudes towards the EU, survey by author, Bangkok, June 2012.

research methodology or exactly same variables, is also worthwhile because there will definitely be changes in the world, in Thailand and in the EU. Therefore, in the future, the study on this matter is still necessary.

CHAPTER V
FACTORS HINDER THE EU'S PUBLIC DIPLOMACY
CAMPAIGNS TOWARDS THAILAND

There are many factors that obstruct the EU's public diplomacy campaigns towards Thailand. These obstacles make Thai people know little about the EU's public diplomacy and perceive unfavourable images of the EU. The knowledge of these obstacles are derived from the informal interview with a representative of the EU Delegation to Thailand who is Press and Information attaché of the EU Delegation to Thailand, the interviews with Thai attendants of the EU Film Festival in May 2012 and the survey on 400 Thai people who know the EU.

5.1 What were obstacles for the EU's public diplomacy campaigns to Thailand?

The first obstacle is the nature of the EU's public diplomacy campaigns. An attaché of the EU Delegation to Thailand stated in the informal interview, "… the EU's public diplomacy campaigns are neither consistent nor related to the Thai public. Rather, the EU emphasizes on specific groups such as business people, authorities and the minorities."[1]

It is also necessary to note that the EU's public diplomacy campaigns towards Thailand are not directly beneficial to the majority of Thai people because they emphasize on certain groups of Thai people. For examples, the EU's business facilitation for Thailand just benefits Thai exporters who export their products to the EU's member countries

---

[1] Press and Information Attaché of the Delegation of the EU to Thailand, interview by author, conduct by email and face-to-face interview, Bangkok, 23 April 2012.

whilst the EU's educational collaborations with Thailand just benefit scholars in the related fields. Besides, some public diplomacy campaigns that the EU has towards Thailand such as the on-demand financial aids and the assistance during the great flood in 2011 are inconsistent. This means the EU will help Thailand when Thailand requests for helps and when it considers that a particular case is appropriate for its intervention or help. As a result, Thai people do not pay attentions to the EU's public diplomacy campaigns.[2]

Furthermore, he indicated that the second obstacle of the EU's public diplomacy is that the EU is not importance in the senses of Thai people. He stated that "…this is because the EU is neither a state nor multilateral organization which means that the institution often have been explained in comparison with the national institutions of a country so the importance of the EU has been reduced by the state institutions or other organization."[3] Also, Thailand has closers relations with the ASEAN and some countries such as the United States of America, Japan and China because these countries have stronger influences towards Thai economy and society than the influences from the EU.[4]

According to the result from the interview with 20 Thai attendants of the EU Film Festival in May 2012, these interviewed attendants stated that Thai people do not think that the EU is important the same as the ASEAN, the United States of American, Japan and China. Thus, they pay

[2] Press and Information Attaché of the Delegation of the EU to Thailand, interview by author, face-to-face interview, Bangkok, 23 April 2012.

[3] Press and Information Attaché of the Delegation of the EU to Thailand, interview by author, conduct by email and face-to-face interview, Bangkok, 23 April 2012.

[4] 20 Thai people respondents, Questionnaire on the EU Film Festival 2012, survey by author, Bangkok, May – June 2012.

more attentions of the public diplomacy campaigns carried out by these organizations and countries than those carried out by the EU.[5]

And lastly but most importantly, he stressed that the obstacle of the EU's public diplomacy campaigns is the media and message exposures of Thai people, as well as Thai media paid little attention to the EU. An obvious case is the EU's boycott of some Thai products which caused anger among Thai business people because Thai press focused on this incident. However, when the EU gave back the GSP to many products from Thailand, Thai press did not pay attention to it. Thus, many Thai people still have negative perception in cooperative with the EU's business and some people do not know about the EU's activities. This means the EU (and its delegation) in terms of relationship with Thai media is in a low level. As a result, the EU cannot control the news that Thai media publicized.[6]

The statement above can be proven with the survey on 400 Thai people who know the EU. This survey indicated that Thai people expose themselves to free and global media that they are frequently exposed to. In addition, they like messages that entertain them, inform them of the current incidents, enable them to have topics to discuss with other people, give them some benefits and enable them to build some attitudes and characteristics that they desire to have.[7] This obstacle makes Thai people have negative perceptions to the EU's economic and financial statuses

---

[5] 20 Thai people respondents, Questionnaire on the EU Film Festival 2012, survey by author, Bangkok, May – June 2012.

[6] Press and Information Attaché of the Delegation of the EU to Thailand, interview by author, face-to-face interview, Bangkok, 23 April 2012.

[7] 400 Thai people respondents, Questionnaire on attitudes towards the EU, survey by author, Bangkok, June 2012.

because the news concerning the EU that is broadcast by both Thai and international press are related to the economic crises that some of the EU's members states. Thus, Thai people do not think that the EU is capable of giving financial supports to Thailand.[8]

Furthermore, it is also discovered that Thai people do not recognize the EU's public diplomacy campaigns. This might be because the EU emphasizes only on the communication to Thai government and the related agents, not to the public. Therefore, the EU should have more communications with the public in Thailand. For example, the EU communicates its business campaigns with only Thai traders and business people, so Thai public do not know much about it. However, it has some documents revealed that the EU is trying to improve its public diplomacy campaigns by trying to incorporate the issues of environment conservation, energy saving and global warming. These issues are related to Thai people and have to be continuously tackled. Thus, if the EU can include these issues in its public diplomacy campaigns towards Thailand in the near future, it will be more recognized by Thai people and its images will be better. The current state of affair is that the EU and Thailand are negotiating with each other in order to find out what kinds of contributions that they should make to these campaigns.[9]

From all the aforementioned knowledge, it can be concluded that the obstacles discussed here are seen by the EU delegation to Thailand as the factors that affect the EU's public diplomacy implementation towards Thailand. Therefore, the next chapter will make the conclusion of this study and it will offer the suggestions for the further research.

---

[8] 400 Thai people respondents, Questionnaire on attitudes towards the EU, survey by author, Bangkok, June 2012.
[9] Ibid.

CHAPTER VI
CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTIONS

In this chapter, the researcher will make the conclusion of this study which includes the reason why this study is carried out, the theories on which this study is based, the research methodology and the findings from the study. Furthermore, the suggestions for practitioners and other researchers will also be given at the end of this chapter.

6.1 Conclusion

This research project is a study on the EU's public diplomacy towards Thailand. The main objectives of this research project are to learn about the EU's public diplomacy campaigns towards Thailand, to learn about the reasons for the EU to carry out such campaigns, and to learn about Thai people's recognition to the EU's public diplomacy campaigns and the factors that obstruct the campaigns.

This research will benefit both practitioners and students who are interested in public diplomacy campaigns because the results from this research project will lead to the understanding of what factors that a public diplomacy campaign should focus on and how to overcome the obstacles that might occur to the public diplomacy campaign.

From the information discussed in this paper, it is apparent that the study of public diplomacy is essentially thematic. The most popular themes of public diplomacy campaigns include business, education, financial aids and governance, humanitarian works and culture. These

themes are regarded as the area of the soft power.[1] These instruments of soft power are used to create positive attitudes of the public of the target nations towards the practitioner of the public diplomacy campaign. This soft power make the public of the practitioner's target nations have positive attitudes towards it. In addition, the public diplomacy campaign will succeed only when the practitioner disseminates its activities to the target nations' publics. The information has to be conveyed to the audience as broad as possible, not only limited groups of audiences.[2] Moreover, it is also suggested that the practitioner of the public diplomacy campaign must use the media that fit the target audiences. The media that the practitioner should use in order to carry out its public diplomacy campaigns are free public media such as newspapers, television broadcasting[3] and the Internet.[4]

At the same time, it is important for the practitioner to disseminate the messages that fit the target audiences' needs and interests. In this study, it is discovered that the messages that audiences in general are interested in are those that are entertaining, beneficial, popular and relevant to the audiences' lives.[5]

In this study, it is also concluded that the public diplomacy campaign can also aim at specific groups such as press, business people and the authorities or opinion leaders. This is because these groups can

---

[1] Jonathan McClory, The New Persuaders II: A 2011 Global Ranking of Soft Power (London: The Institute of Government, 2011), Pages 8-10.

[2] Margot Wallstrom, Public Diplomacy and its role in the EU's external relations (Washington DC: Georgetown University, 2008), Pages 2-4.

[3] 400 Thai people respondents, Questionnaire on attitudes towards the EU, survey by author, Bangkok, June 2012.

[4] 20 Thai people respondents, Questionnaire on the EU Film Festival 2012, survey by author, Bangkok, May – June 2012.

[5] 400 Thai people respondents, Questionnaire on attitudes towards the EU, survey by author, Bangkok, June 2012.

influence the public in a long run.[6] Furthermore, it is also precise that the EU has focused only on educated people. Even though this group of people is a major group in big cities, they cannot represent the entire Thai population or the people with inferior educations in rural areas. This means the EU's delegation to Thailand fails to follow what Wallstorm[7] has suggested- to make public diplomacy publicized or informed to the public in all areas, not only in big cities.

A survey on Thai perception of the EU leads to the findings that the majority of Thai people who know about the EU are the educated ones. This is because it is shown that the majority of the samples studied in the survey are those with bachelor's degrees. In addition, the majority of Thai people who know about the EU are private company employees, business owners and students. This concurs with the knowledge on the EU's public diplomacy discussed before in the former chapter, which reveals that the EU's public diplomacy emphasizes on trade facilitation and educational collaboration.[8]

As for the media and message exposure, it is also revealed that Thai people like the media that they can receive for free, are frequently exposed to and are international. This means the free television programmes might be the media that Thai people are most exposed to because they are free and frequently received by the people. However, the other media such as magazines and newspapers can also be free because in some places such as libraries and cafeterias, there are free magazines and newspapers available for visitors. However, in such cases, the

---

[6] Press and Information Attaché of the Delegation of the EU to Thailand, interview by author, face-to-face interview, Bangkok, 23 April 2012.

[7] Margot Wallstrom, Public Diplomacy and its role in the EU's external relations (Washington DC: Georgetown University, 2008), Pages 2-4.

[8] 400 Thai people respondents, Questionnaire on attitudes towards the EU, survey by author, Bangkok, June 2012.

frequency of the audiences' exposure to them might be low because they will receive such media only when they visit those places. Unlike these free magazines and newspapers, most Thai people can receive TV media at home. As for the global media, it is also reported that Thai people like the global or international media. This trend is reflected through the increasing number of foreign TV programmes and magazines that Thai companies buy the licenses and broadcast in Thailand. [9] Concerning the perceptions of the EU's works, it is discovered that Thai people are not much aware of the EU's campaigns for Thailand that are related to financial supports, business facilitation and educational collaboration. However, the EU's human rights works on foreign refugees around Thai borders are known by Thai people.

From all the points made here, it is apparent that Thai people perceptions to the EU's public diplomacy campaigns and images are greatly related to their exposures to media and messages. This is because since 2011, the EU has been reported to face economic crises. Since Thai people tend to be exposed to international media and messages that concern the contemporary issues, they know about these crises that the EU has been facing. As a result, they do not think that the EU can be much helpful to Thailand. [10]

The result from the interview with 20 Thai attendants of the EU Film Festival in May 2012 discovers that the major reason why Thai people are not aware of the EU's public diplomacy campaigns towards Thailand is that the EU does not emphasize on promoting itself on TV

---

[9] Ibid.

[10] 20 Thai people respondents, Questionnaire on the EU Film Festival 2012, survey by author, Bangkok, May – June 2012.

media which are the media that most Thai people are exposed to because they are free and frequently available. As a result, Thai people do not know what the EU has been doing for Thailand. Consequently, Thai people do not believe in the EU's capabilities of helping Thailand.[11] However, it is revealed that Thai people are aware of the EU and its member states in the wider scale such as the good educational systems in the EU's member states. However, when it comes to the points concerning the EU's public diplomacy campaigns towards Thailand, Thai people do not know much about them. The most known activity is the film festival because Thai people like to consume the media that they are accustomed to and that convey the messages that are entertaining, enabling the audience to have issues to discuss with other people, and helping the audiences to actualizing themselves. It is also found that the genders, ages and educational backgrounds of Thai people do not significantly affect their exposure to media and messages.[12]

Furthermore, it is also discovered from the case of the EU that some public diplomacy campaigns need not be publicized. However, it must be informed to the target groups or the direct beneficiaries. This is because these beneficiaries themselves will speak for the practitioner or will tell other people in the society that they receive helps from the practitioner. This is definitely more convincing and credible than propaganda.[13]

As for the future of the EU's public diplomacy towards Thailand, it revealed that the EU is still negotiating with Thai government and other

---

[11] 20 Thai people respondents, Questionnaire on the EU Film Festival 2012, survey by author, Bangkok, May – June 2012.
[12] Ibid.
[13] Press and Information Attaché of the Delegation of the EU to Thailand, interview by author, face-to-face interview, Bangkok, 23 April 2012.

related organizations in order to find out what to be included in its public diplomacy campaigns towards Thailand and what results it should receive from the implementation of its public diplomacy campaigns. In the future, Thai people might know more about the EU's activities because the EU is planning to address some environmental and energy issues in Thailand.

From all the information discussed in this paper, it is apparent that public diplomacy is a mean that a country or international organization uses in order to implement its soft power on target nations. From the case of the EU, it is learnt that public diplomacy campaigns can involve many aspects. However, it is important to realize that public diplomacy always requires practitioners to spend or to give out its money. This means a nation or organization that wants to use public diplomacy to influence its target must have money or be able to provide helps to its targets.

6.2 Suggestions

In this section, the author will give suggestions on the policies of the EU's public diplomacy towards Thailand. These suggestions are made on the bases of the findings from this research, together with the theories, principles and facts cited in the literature review.

The first suggestion is that the EU should make itself known. The survey on Thai perception of the EU[14] reveals that the respondents perceive only general information of the EU such as European football match, central currency (EURO), European art and culture, and so forth

---

[14] 400 Thai people respondents, Questionnaire on attitudes towards the EU, survey by author, Bangkok, June 2012.

but they do not perceive much in details such as they do not know what countries are the member states of the EU and they do not know what are the main purposes of the Union, etc.

The second suggestion is that the EU should promote its public diplomacy campaigns towards Thailand. This is because the survey on Thai's perception[15] shows that the respondents know that the EU's works concern the wellness, security and stability of its member states. In addition, the findings from the quantitative study reveal that the studied samples know little about the EU's public diplomacy campaigns towards Thailand.

As a matter of fact, the EU has carried out many concrete public diplomacy activities concerning economy, education and human rights. Concerning the economy or business, the EU gives many privileges to Thailand. It regards Thailand as one of its Most Favoured Nations (MFN) whereby Thai exporters enjoy omission of some tax barriers. As for the education, the EU has also collaborated with Thailand in carrying out some academic projects such as to give Thai people linguistic training. As for the human rights work, the EU has been assisting the foreign refugees around Thai borders.[16] Thus, it is apparent that the EU has covered enough elements of soft power that Cull proposed.[17]

It is also revealed that the EU's human rights work is most recognized by Thai public. This is beneficial because the studied samples believe that they think that the EU has good wills to Thailand. However,

---

[15] 400 Thai people respondents, Questionnaire on attitudes towards the EU, survey by author, Bangkok, June 2012.
[16] Delegation of the EU to Thailand, Thailand-EU Cooperation Facility Phase II (Tech II) [Online], 12 June 2012. Source http://eeas.europa.eu/delegations/thailand/thailand_eu_coop/index_en.htm
[17] Nicholas J. Cull, "Public Diplomacy: Taxonomies and Histories," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science 616 (2008): 32.

the EU should also promote other activities that concern economy and education, which will make it become trustworthy for Thai people.

The problems discovered from the survey on Thai's perception[18] are that the studied samples are still unaware of the EU's economic and educational activities. Also, the studied samples do not think that the EU is able to solve the problems of Thailand or to suggest ways to develop both Thailand and its member states, nor do they think that the EU is considerably influential to Thailand. Likewise, the survey[19] also points out that the respondents believe that the most influential agency to Thailand is the ASEAN. At the same time, they also reveal that the influence from the EU is not different from other countries such as the United States of America, Japan, China and Korea.

To promote all of its activities, the EU should understand what media it should use and how to communicate to Thai audiences in order to succeed in informing them of its campaigns.

It is also reported that the attendants of the EU's Film Festival learnt about the event from printed media such as the advertising in magazines and newspapers, and the posters. In addition, the survey on EU film festival[20] reveals that the studied samples easily expose themselves to the media that are available for free, that they frequently receive and that are globally popular. Concerning this matter, Sombat phanich[21] had studied on the popularity of certain types of media and discovered that Thai people are most exposed to television, newspaper and magazine.

---

[18] 400 Thai people respondents, Questionnaire on attitudes towards the EU, survey by author, Bangkok, June 2012.
[19] Ibid.
[20] 20 Thai people respondents, Questionnaire on the EU Film Festival 2012, survey by author, Bangkok, May – June 2012.
[21] Phornchit Sombatphanich, Advertising Media Selection by Consumers (Bangkok: Thammasat University, 1997), Pages 64-70.

Therefore, the EU should promote itself by holding a film festival that anybody can attend for free. In the festival, it can inform attendants of its organization and activities by holding some exhibitions in the area that every attendant has to pass by.

In addition, since printed media is reported to be effective, the EU should use them in order to promote itself and to disseminate the information that is necessary for creating the environment, beliefs and values that it needs to create for its targets. The printed media can be brochures, leaflets or booklets that the target audiences can keep and read whenever they want to.

In addition to the type of media, the suggestion will also cover the tone of the messages conveyed through such media. Since Thai people like to learn about European culture, the EU should rely on this respect. In addition, it is also reported that Thai people open themselves for the messages that entertain them, acknowledge them, enable that to have topics to discuss with other people, and help them building up their identities. Therefore, it is necessary for the EU to prepare some media such as printed media and Internet website that contain the information that suit each of all purposes. For example, it might prepare fact sheets or Internet webpage that contains information on taxation system and privileges for Thai exporters. At the same time, it might prepare some booklets and webpage that contain interesting facts or stories about its organization and delegates, or its state members for anybody interesting in European culture.

This is advisable because it is discovered that Thai people know the EU in the overall picture. They know why the EU is established and what activities it does in the global scale. Furthermore, Thai people know

something about Europe such as the history and the overall economic system. Thus, it is not a difficult task for the EU to create the desired international environment.

Furthermore, since the EU has been collaborating with the ASEAN for a long time in the form of ASEM, it should emphasize on this activity by holding the summit in Thailand. This will be a good chance for the EU to get itself promoted by Thai press for free because during the summit period, Thai press will inform the public about the collaboration between the EU and the ASEAN, including Thailand.

The other point that is also critical is that many Thai people are not sure whether the financial condition of the EU is good. Worse than that, some other samples do not think that the financial condition of the EU is good. This might be because of the news concerning the economic crises that have been happening to many countries in Europe. Thus, it is advisable for the EU to show its targets that it can control all the crises happening to its member states. This will raise the trustworthiness of the EU.

REFERENCES

Actionaid. The EU Budget 2014-2020 [Online], 2012. Available from :
    http://www.actionaid.org/eu/what-we-do/development-finance/eu-budget-
    2014-2020

Ambassador K.T. Paschke, Report on Special Inspection of 14 German embassies in
    the Countries of the European Union Berlin : Auswärtiges Amt, 2000.

Andrlić, M. and Gustović-Ercegovac, A. Strategic Public Diplomacy. In The
    International Conference of the 13th CEI Dubrovnik Diplomatic Forum.
    Croatia, 2010, pp. 1-160. Zagreb: Diplomatic Academy, 2010.

Article III-193 (1), Article I-2 and I-3 As numbered in the draft Constitutional Treaty.

BBC News. EU Enlargement: the next eight [Online]. 14 July 2012. Available from :
    http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-11283616[2012, August]

Bruter, Michael. Diplomacy without a state: The External Delegations of the
    European Commission. Journal of European Public Policy 6, 2
    (1999): 183-185.

Chiang Mai University. Correlation [Online]. 2012. Available from :
    http://intraserver.nurse.cmu.ac.th/mis/download/course/lec_567730_lesson_07
    .pdf[2012, May]

Cross, M.K.D. EU Foreign Policy and the Challenge of Public Diplomacy. In
    presented at the European Consortium of Political Research IR Conference,
    pp. 1-27. Stockholm, 2010

Cull, N.J. USC Center on Public Diplomacy, Public Diplomacy before Gullion: The
    Evolution of a Phrase [Online]. 2006. Available from :
    http://uscpublicdiplomacy.org/index.php/newsroom/pdblog_detail/060418_pu
    blic_diplomacy_before_gullion_the_evolution_of_a_phrase/[2011, Nov]

Cull, N.J. Public Diplomacy: Lessons from the past. Los Angeles: Figueroa Press,
    2009.

Cull, N.J. Public Diplomacy: Taxonomies and Histories. The Annals of the American
    Academy of Political and Social Science 616 (Feb 2008) : 31-54.

Courtier, A. The Challenge of Public Diplomacy for the European External Action
    Service [Online]. 2011. Available from : http://publications.eipa.eu/en/
    eipascope/downloadarticle/&tid=1789[2011,Dec]

Delegation of the EU to Thailand. Thailand-EU Cooperation Facility Phase II (Tech II) [Online]. 2012. Available from : http://eeas.europa.eu/delegations/thailand/ thailand_eu_coop/index_en.htm[2012, June]

Delegation of the European Union to Thailand, Business Information Center. Tariff Preference (GSP) [Online], 2010. Available from : http://www.bicthaailand.eu/rules/tariff-preferencegsp[2012, June]

Dominik, J.R. The Dynamics of Mass Communication. New York : McGraw-Hill, 1990.

Doorn, S.V. Attaché Press and Information. Delegation of the European Union. Interview. 25 April 2012.

Dörnyei, Z. Research Methods in Applied Linguistics: Quantitative, Qualitative and Mixed Methodologies. Oxford : Oxford University Press, 2007.

EABC. The Thai-European Business Centre in Thailand [Online]. 2011. Available from : www.eabc-thailand.eu/[2012, August]

Eytan, G. Searching for a Theory of Public Diplomacy. The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science 616 (Feb 2008): 55-77

EU observer. Ashton names EU foreign-service priorities at low-key launch even [Online]. 2 December 2010. Available from : http://euobserver.com/institutional/31413[2012, July]

Europa Media. EU Funds [Online]. 2012. Available from : http://www.2007-2013.eu/by_scope.php[2012, April]

EuropeAid Cooperation. Adjusting the communication and visibility plan to the action. In Communication and Visibility Manual for European Union External Actions. pp.17-22. Brussels: European Union, 2010

EuropeAid Cooperation. Communication and Visibility: 2.2 Key Audiences and Target Group. In Communication and Visibility Manual for European Union External Actions. pp.7-8. Brussels: European Union, 2010

European Commission, Directorate-General for Trade. Generalized System of Preferences (GSP) [Online]. 2012. Available from : http://ec.europa.eu/trade/wider-agenda/development/generalized-system-of-preferences/index_en.htm[2012, June]

European Union. The History of the European Union [Online]. 2012. Available from : http://europa.eu/about-eu/eu-history/index_en.htm[2012, May]

FH KREMS. BFA 2010, EU-ASEAN public diplomacy – Business networking (Integrated Report) [Online]. July 2010. Available from : http://www.scribd.com/doc/98178802/BFA-2010-EU-ASEAN-Public-Diplomacy-Business-Networking-Integrated-Report

Fisher, G. American Communication in a Global Society. New York : Ablex Publishing, 1987.

Glassgold, M.S. Public Diplomacy: The Evolution of Literature. Annenberg : USC School for Communication, 2004.

Gross, E. The limits of European Soft Power [Online]. 2012. Available from : www.kiep.go.kr/include/filedown.jsp%3Ffname%3D20081031_1_2%2520 Gross1.pdf[2012, Jun]

Gouveia, F.P. and Plumridge, H. European Infopolitik: Developing EU Public Diplomacy Strategy. London: Foreign Policy Center, 2005.

Gutch, K.D. European Commissioner of Trade. Remarks at the press conference on the review of the Generalized System of Preferences [Online], 2012. Available from : http://trade.ec.europa.eu/doclib/docs/2011/may/tradoc_147895.pdf [2012, August]

Jaturonkhakul, A. and Jaturonkhakul D. Consumer Behaviour. Bangkok : Virat Edutainment, 2006.

Janchai, W., Veillard, L., and Meksamoot, K. The Collaborative Cooperative Education Program between Thai and EU in the Field of Industrial Information Technology. Chiang Mai: Chiang Mai University, 2011

Lee, J.D. Diplomatic Persuader: New Role of the Mass in International Relations Florida : Krieger Publishing Company, 1968.

Leedy, P.D. and Ormrod, J. E. Practical Research: Planning and Design. New Jersey : Pearson Prentice Hall, 2005.

Lynch, D. Communicating Europe to the World: what public diplomacy for the EU?. In EPC Working Paper No. 21, pp. 1-36. Brussels : European Policy Center, 2005.

Manhiem, B.J. Strategic Public Diplomacy and American Foreign Policy: The Evolution of Influence. Oxford: Oxford Unveristy Press, 2004.

McClory, J. The New Persuaders II: A 2011 Global Ranking of Soft Power. London: The Institute of Government, 2011.

Ministry of Foreign Affair of the Kingdom of Thailand. <u>Interrelationship with foreign countries and other regions</u> [Online]. 2012. Available from : http://www.mfa.go.th/main/th/world/

No Author. <u>Communication theory</u> [Online]. 2010. Available from : http://communicationtheory.org/why-do-we-communicate/[2011,Oct]

Nye, J.S.Jr. Public Diplomacy and Soft Power. <u>The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science</u> 616 (Feb 2008) : 94-109.

Nye, J.S.Jr. <u>Soft Power: The Means to Succeed in World Politics</u> New York : Public Affairs, 2004.

Nunan, D. <u>Research Method in Language Learning</u>. Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 1992.

Petchsiri, A. Kirtiputra, T. and Raveepaopong, R. Thailand: The EU Eclipsed?. In Martin, H. Peter, R. Alojzy, Z.N. and Natalia, C. (ed.), <u>The EU through the eyes of Asia</u>, pp. 195-222. Singapore : Asia – Europe Foundation, 2007.

Portela, C. The Perception of the European Union in Southeast Asia: Low Priority Statuses and Activity. <u>Asia Europe Journal</u> 8 (2010) : 149-160.

Press and Information Attaché of the EU Delegation to Thailand, interview by author, conduct by email and face-to-face interview, Bangkok, 23 April 2012.

Rasmussen, B.S. Discourse Analysis of the EU Public Diplomacy Messages and Practices in I. d'Hooghe and E. Huijgh (ed.), <u>Discussion Papers in Diplomacy</u>, pp. 1-41.The Hague: Clingendael, 2009.

Siriyuwasak, U. <u>Basic Mass communication: Mass Media, Culture and Society</u>. Bangkok : Chulalongkorn University, 2004.

Snow, N. Rethinking Public Diplomacy. In N. Snow and P.M.Tayor (ed.), <u>The Routledge Handbook of Public Diplomacy</u>, pp. 3-11. New York :   Routledge, 2009.

Sombatphanich, P. <u>Advertising Media Selection by Consumers</u>. Bangkok : Thammasat University, 1997.

Szondi, G. <u>Public Diplomacy and Nation Branding: Conceptual Similarities and Differences</u>. The Heage: Clingendeal, 2008

Sukhaphan, B. <u>Message Exposure and University Students' Knowledge on Prevention from Addictive Drugs</u>. Bangkok : Thammasat University, 2007.

Spence, D. The EU and international diplomacy: A role for the Commission. <u>Public Policy and Administration</u> 19 (2004): 4-5.

TEBA, <u>The Thai-European Business Association</u> [Online], 2012. Available from : www.thaieuro.biz/[2012, August]

The Council of the European Union. <u>Council Regulation (EC) No 732/2008</u>. Brussels: The Council of the European Union, 2008

The Delegation of European Union Commission to Thailand. The Delegation at 30. <u>EUtoday</u> 34 (June, 2009): 1-24.

The European-ASEAN Business Center in Thailand. <u>Advocacy Objectives and Benefits</u> [Online]. 2012. Available from : http://www.eabc-thailand.eu/ policies-and-activities/advocacy-objectives-benefits-2[2012, August]

The European Commission. <u>Eramus Mundus Scholarship</u> [Online]. 2012. Available from : http://ec.europa.eu/education/study-in-europe/doc/thailand_en.pdf [2012, July]

The European External Action Service. <u>EU Delegation</u> [Online]. 2012. Available from : http://www.eeas.europa.eu/delegations/index_en.htm[2012, June]

The European External Action Service. <u>Lisbon Treaty enhances EU international role</u> [Online]. 2012. Available from : http://eeas.europa.eu/delegations/un_geneva/ eu_un_geneva/index_en.htm[2012, July]

The European Union Delegation to Thailand official website. Business Information Center. <u>About us</u> [Online]. 2010. Available from : http://www.bicthailand.eu/ content/about-us[2012, August]

The European Union Delegation to the USA. <u>EUinsight</u> [Online]. July 2010. Available from : www.eurunion.org/eu/images/stories/euinsightpubdipl.pdf [2012, June]

The European Commission. <u>Humanitarian Aid and Civil Protection</u> [Online]. 2012. Available from : http://ec.europa.eu/echo/about/index_en.htm[2012, July]

The European Union official website. <u>Basic information on the European Union</u> [Online]. 2012. Available from : http://europa.eu/about-eu/basicinformation /index_en.htm[2012, June]

The European Union official website, <u>The role of Delegation</u> [Online]. 2012. Available from : http://www.eeas.europa.eu/delegations/un_geneva/about_us/ delegation_role/index_en.htm[2012, August]

The Murrow Center. The epicenter of the challenging field of public diplomacy; what
is public diplomacy? [Online]. 2011. Available from :
http://fletcher.tufts.edu/Murrow/Diplomacy[2011, October]

The European-ASEAN Business Center in Thailand. 2012 European Business
Position Paper Bangkok, 2012.

UNCTAD. About GSP [Online]. 2012. Available from : http://unctad.org/en/Pages/
DITC/GSP/About-GSP.aspx

University of New England. Standard Deviation [Online]. 2012. Available from :
http://www.une.edu.au/WebStat/unit_materials/c4_descriptive_statistics/stand
ard_deviation.htm[2012, May]

University of Applied Sciences, FH KREMS. Business Focus ASEAN Report of the
Visit to Thailand and Malaysia 5th – 20th September. Australia, 2009

Wallstrom, M. Public Diplomacy and its role in the EU's external relations
Washington DC : Georgetown University, 2008.

Wearden, G. Eurozone crisis as it happened: ECB warns of slower growth; UK trade
deficit widens [Online]. 2012. Available from : http://www.guardian.co.uk/
business/2012/aug/09/eurozone-crisis-ecb-credit-crunch-china[2012, July]

Wilson, J.E. Hard Power, Soft Power and Smart Power. The Annals of the American
Academy of Political and Social Science 616 (February 2008): 110-124.

20 Thai people respondents, Questionnaire on the EU Film Festival 2012, survey by
author, Bangkok, May – June 2012.

400 Thai people respondents, Questionnaire on attitudes towards the EU, survey by
author, Bangkok, June 2012.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: Opinion Survey

Opinion survey to the EU Film Festival 2012

on May 31st – June 10th 2012

Direction: Please give information by ticking the mark 'x' or writing on the questionnaire provided in order to evaluate perception of Thai people towards the European Union in terms of public diplomacy's campaign which is provided by the European Union Delegation. This survey is a part of Master Degree Thesis in European Studies from Chulalongkorn University.

คำชี้แจง : โปรดให้ข้อมูลโดยทำเครื่องหมาย 'x' หรือเขียนตอบในที่ที่กำหนดให้ เพื่อใช้ ในการประเมินการรับรู้ของคนไทยเกี่ยวกับสหภาพยุโรป ในบริบทของกิจกรรมส่งเสริมการทูต สาธารณะของสหภาพยุโรป ซึ่งจัดขึ้นโดยตัวแทนสหภาพ ยุโรปในประเทศไทย แบบสำรวจนี้ เป็นส่วนหนึ่งของวิทยานิพนธ์ ระดับมหาบัณฑิต สาขายุโรปศึกษา จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย

1. General information of respondents / ข้อมูลทั่วไปของผู้ตอบแบบสอบถาม

Sex / เพศ

[   ] Male / ชาย

[   ] Female / หญิง

Age / อายุ

[   ] Under 15 years old / ต่ำกว่า 15 ปี

[   ] 15-25 years old / 15-25 ปี

[   ] 26-35 years old / 26-35 ปี

[   ] 36-45 years old / 36-45 ปี

[   ] 45 up / 45 ปี ขึ้นไป

Education / การศึกษา

[   ] High School / มัธยมศึกษาตอนปลาย

[   ] Graduate / ปริญญาตรี หรือ เทียบเท่า

[   ] Post Graduate / สูงกว่าปริญญาตรี

[   ] Other please identify / อื่นๆ โปรดระบุ………………………………………

Nationality / สัญชาติ

[   ] Thai / ไทย

[   ] Other please identify / อื่นๆ โปรดระบุ………………………………………

Occupation / อาชีพของคุณ

[   ] Student / นักเรียน นักศึกษา   [   ] Scholar / นักวิชาการ

[   ] Private work / ธุรกิจส่วนตัว   [   ] Press / สื่อมวลชน

[   ] Other please identify / อื่นๆ โปรดระบุ………………………………………

2. About the European Union Film Festival 2012 and the way of the EU to disseminate its campaign to the public
ข้อคำถามเกี่ยวกับเทศกาลภาพยนตร์จากประเทศในสหภาพยุโรป ประจำปี 2012
และวิธีการกระจายข่าวสารข้อมูลของสหภาพยุโรป ต่อสาธารณชน

Where do you get information about this event from? please identify
คุณได้รับข้อมูลเกี่ยวกับกิจกรรมนี้ที่ไหน? โปรดระบุอย่างละเอียด

[   ] Missive from the Union / จดหมายข่าวจากยุโรป

[   ] Informative poster / โปสเตอร์ประชาสัมพันธ์ (where? Please identify).......

…………………………………………………………………………………..

[   ] Informative person / การแจ้งข่าวโดยบุคคล

[   ] Internet / อินเตอร์เน็ต (which website? please identify).........................

[   ] Radio / วิทยุ (which channel? please identify)…………………..............

[   ] Advertisement / สื่อโฆษณา (where? please identify)……………..........

[   ] Other please identify / อื่นๆ โปรดระบุ………………………………………

Why are you interested in this event?

ทำไมคุณถึงสนใจกิจกรรมนี้

3. About the perception of Thai people to the European Union

ข้อคำถามเกี่ยวกับการรับรู้ของคนไทยต่อสหภาพยุโรป

Which overseas countries or regions, you think, are the most important partners for Thailand?

คุณคิดว่าประเทศใดหรือภูมิภาคใดที่เป็นคู่เจรจาที่สำคัญต่อประเทศไทย
ในเรื่องความร่วมมือระหว่างประเทศมากที่สุด

[   ] South East Asia / ประเทศในกลุ่มเอเชียตะวันออกเฉียงใต้

[   ] EU as a whole including 27 countries / สหภาพยุโรป

[   ] China / ประเทศจีน   [   ] France / ประเทศฝรั่งเศส

[   ] Germany / ประเทศเยอรมัน   [   ] India / ประเทศอินเดีย

[   ] Japan / ประเทศญี่ปุ่น   [   ] Korea / ประเทศเกาหลี

[   ] UK / สหราชอาณาจักร   [   ] USA / สหรัฐอเมริกา

[   ] Other please identify / อื่นๆ โปรดระบุ...

When thinking about the term 'the European Union', what things come to your mind?

เมื่อคิดถึงสหภาพยุโรป ไม่ทราบว่าคุณคิดถึงอะไร

> (blank box)

How would you rate the state of the relationship between Thailand and The European Union? Would you say its.........

คุณจะพิจารณาความสัมพันธ์ระหว่างประเทศไทย กับสหภาพยุโรป ว่าเป็นอย่างไร

[   ] Improving / พัฒนา   [   ] Steady / คงที่

[   ] Worsening / แย่ลง   [   ] Difficult to say / พูดยาก

How would you rate the significance of the European Union towards Thailand with the following numbers, on a scale of 1 to 5, where 1 is not significant at all and 5 is very significant

คุณเห็นว่าสหภาพยุโรปมีความสำคัญต่อประเทศไทยมากน้อยเพียงใด

ตามลำดับ 1-5 โดยให้หมายเลข 1 คือสำคัญน้อยที่สุด และ 5 คือ สำคัญมากที่สุด

	1	2	3	4	5	
Not significant at all	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	Very significant
ไม่สำคัญเลย						สำคัญมาก

Thank you for your cooperation

ขอบคุณในความร่วมมือค่ะ

APPENDIX B: Questionnaire

Questionnaire (แบบสอบถาม)

Direction: This questionnaire consists of four parts, namely, the Personal Data, the Media and Message Exposure part, the Knowledge on the EU's Public diplomacy Campaign part and the Attitudes towards the EU's Images part.

The Personal Data part consists of questions concerning your own personal data. Please choose the answers that most fit your profiles.

To answer the questions in parts 2, 3 and 4, please select the degree of agreement that fits your true feelings, attitudes, opinions and/or behaviours.

The degree of agreement is classified into five levels as follow:

5	means	Extremely Agree;
4	means	Agree;
3	means	Neutral (neither agree nor disagree);
2	means	Disagree; and
1	means	Extremely Disagree.

Please answer all the questions in this questionnaire. All the information and data that you have given will be kept confidential.

The researcher would like to take this chance to express the hearty gratitude for your efforts and time spent on this questionnaire.

คำชี้แจง: แบบสอบถามฉบับนี้ประกอบด้วย 4 ส่วน ได้แก่ ส่วนของข้อมูลส่วนตัว ส่วนของการเปิดรับสื่อและการเปิดรับสาร ส่วนของการรับรู้เกี่ยวกับนโยบายการทูตสาธารณะของสหภาพยุโรป และส่วนของทัศนคติต่อภาพลักษณ์ของสหภาพยุโรป

ส่วนของข้อมูลส่วนตัวประกอบด้วยคำถามเกี่ยวกับข้อมูลส่วนตัวของท่าน กรุณาเลือกคำตอบที่ตรงกับความเป็นจริงมากที่สุด

สำหรับส่วนที่ 2, 3 และ 4 กรุณาเลือกระดับความเห็นด้วยต่อข้อความต่าง ๆ ที่ตรงกับความรู้สึก ทัศนคติ และพฤติกรรมของท่าน

ระดับความเห็นด้วย มี 5 ระดับ ดังต่อไปนี้:

5	หมายถึง	เห็นด้วยอย่างยิ่ง;
4	หมายถึง	เห็นด้วย;
3	หมายถึง	เป็นกลาง (ไม่เห็นด้วยแต่ไม่คัดค้าน);
2	หมายถึง	คัดค้าน; และ
1	หมายถึง	คัดค้านอย่างยิ่ง

กรุณาตอบคำถามทุกข้อในแบบสอบถาม (ยกเว้นส่วนของข้อเสนอแนะ) ให้ครบถ้วน ข้อมูลของท่านจะเก็บรักษาเป็นความลับ

ในโอกาสนี้ ผู้วิจัยใคร่ขอบพระคุณท่านที่ได้สละเวลาอันมีค่ายิ่งของท่านในการตอบแบบสอบถามฉบับนี้

Part 1: Personal Data (ข้อมูลส่วนตัว)

1. Your gender (เพศของท่าน):   ____ Male (ชาย), ____ Female (หญิง)

2. Your age (อายุของท่าน):   ____ Not older than 20 years (ไม่เกิน 20 ปี),

                                          ____ 21-30 years (21-30 ปี),

                                          ____ 31-40 years (31-40 ปี),

                                          ____ 41-50 years (41-50 ปี),

                                          ____ More than 50 years (50 ปี ขึ้นไป)

3. Your occupation (อาชีพของท่าน): ____ Governmental Employee/State Official (ลูกจ้างรัฐ/ข้าราชการ),

                                          ____ State Enterprise Employee (ลูกจ้างรัฐวิสาหกิจ),

                                          ____ Private Company Employee (ลูกจ้างบริษัทเอกชน),

                                          ____ NGO Employee (พนักงานองค์กรภาคเอกชนที่ไม่แสวงผลกำไร),

                                          ____ Business Owner (เจ้าของธุรกิจ),

                                          ____ Freelance (รับจ้างอิสระ),

                                          ____ Daily Labour (แรงงานรับค่าจ้างรายวัน),

                                          ____ Student (นักเรียน/นักศึกษา),

                                          ____ Unemployed (ไม่ทำงาน)

4. Your Education (การศึกษาของท่าน):

                                          ____ Primary School (ประถมศึกษา),

                                          ____ Secondary School/ Junior High School (มัธยมศึกษาตอนต้น),

                                          ____ High School (มัธยมศึกษาตอนปลาย),

                                          ____ Vocational College (สายอาชีพ),

                                          ____ Bachelor's Degree (ปริญญาตรี),

                                          ____ Master's Degree (ปริญญาโท),

                                          ____ Doctoral Degree (ปริญญาเอก),

                                          ____ Post Doctoral Degree (สูงกว่าปริญญาเอก)

Part 2: Media and Message Exposure (การเปิดรับสื่อและการเปิดรับสาร)

2.1. Media Exposure (การเปิดรับสื่อ)

Statement (ข้อความ)	5	4	3	2	1
1. You expose yourself to the media that are free. (ท่านรับสื่อที่ไม่เรียกเก็บเงินจากท่าน)					
2. You expose yourself to the media that you are accustomed to. (ท่านรับสื่อที่ท่านคุ้นเคย)					
3. You expose yourself to the media that are global. (ท่านเปิดรับสื่อที่เป็นสากล)					

2.2. Message Exposure (การเปิดรับสาร)

Statement (ข้อความ)	5	4	3	2	1
4. You expose yourself to the messages that entertain you. (ท่านเปิดรับสารที่ให้ความบันเทิง)					
5. You expose yourself to the messages that give you the information on the matters currently occurring around yourself. (ท่านเปิดรับสารที่ให้ข้อมูลเกี่ยวกับสิ่งที่เกิดรอบตัวท่าน)					
6. You expose yourself to the messages that give you beneficial information for your life. (ท่านเปิดรับสารที่ให้ข้อมูลที่เป็นประโยชน์แก่ชีวิตของท่าน)					
7. You expose yourself to the messages that give you the information that give you the issues to discuss with others. (ท่านเปิดรับสารที่ทำให้ท่านมีประเด็นสนทนากับผู้อื่น)					
8. You expose yourself to the messages that build your attitudes toward things and incidents surrounding you. (ท่านเปิดรับสารที่เสริมสร้างแนวคิดทัศนคติของท่าน ต่อสิ่งหรือเหตุการณ์ต่าง ๆ รอบตัวท่าน)					

Part 3: Knowledge on EU's Public Diplomacy Campaigns for Thailand

(การรับรู้เกี่ยวกับโครงการด้านการทูตสาธารณะที่สหภาพยุโรปดำเนินการเพื่อประเทศไทย)

Statement (ข้อความ)	5	4	3	2	1
8. You know that the EU regards Thailand as one of its Most Favoured Nation (MFN). (ท่านทราบว่าสหภาพยุโรปจัดให้ประเทศไทยเป็นประเทศที่ได้รับความอนุเคราะห์อย่างยิ่ง)					
9. You know that the EU provides to Thailand the Generalized Scheme of Preferences (GSP). (ท่านทราบว่าสหภาพยุโรปได้ให้สิทธิพิเศษทางภาษีศุลกากรเป็นการทั่วไปแก่ประเทศไทย)					
10. You know that the EU has educational collaborations with Thailand. (ท่านทราบว่าสหภาพยุโรปได้มีการร่วมมือทางวิชาการกับประเทศไทย)					
11. You know that the EU has been providing on-demand financial aids to Thailand. (ท่านทราบว่าสหภาพยุโรปได้ให้ความช่วยเหลือทางการเงินตามที่ประเทศไทยร้องขอ)					
12. You know that the EU held a campaign to help Thailand during the flood crisis in 2011. (ท่านทราบว่าสหภาพยุโรปได้จัดโครงการให้ความช่วยเหลือแก่ประเทศไทยในช่วงวิกฤตอุทกภัยปี พ.ศ. 2553)					

13. You know that the EU held a campaign to help the refugees in Thailand. (ท่านทราบว่าสหภาพยุโรปได้จัดโครงการให้ความช่วยเหลือแก่ผู้พยพต่างด้าวในประเทศไทย)					

Part 4: The EU's Images (ภาพลักษณ์ของสหภาพยุโรป)

Statement (ข้อความ)	5	4	3	2	1
14. You believe that the EU is a friendly organization for Thailand. (ท่านเชื่อว่าสหภาพยุโรปเป็นองค์กรที่เป็นมิตรต่อประเทศไทย)					
15. You believe that the EU will give only directions that will benefit both Thailand and EU member states. (ท่านเชื่อว่าสหภาพยุโรปจะให้คำแนะนำในการดำเนินการต่าง ๆ ที่เป็นประโยชน์ต่อประเทศไทยและต่อประเทศสมาชิกในกลุ่มสหภาพยุโรป)					
16. You believe that the EU is an effective organization that takes parts in solving many problems in Thailand. (ท่านเชื่อว่าสหภาพยุโรปเป็นองค์กรที่มีประสิทธิผลในการเข้าไปมีบทบาทในการแก้ไขปัญหาต่าง ๆ ที่เกิดขึ้นในประเทศไทย)					
17. You believe that the EU is a multi-national organization that has financial strength. (ท่านเชื่อว่าสหภาพยุโรปเป็นองค์กรระหว่างประเทศองค์กรหนึ่งที่มีความแข็งแกร่งทางการเงิน)					
18. You believe that the EU is one of the most influential organizations for Thailand. (ท่านเชื่อว่าสหภาพยุโรปเป็นองค์กรหนึ่งที่มีอิทธิพลอย่างมากต่อประเทศไทย)					

Suggestions (ข้อเสนอแนะ)

....
....
....
....
....

Thank you for your kind participation!
ขอบพระคุณอย่างยิ่งที่ท่านได้กรุณาตอบแบบสอบถามชุดนี้

APPENDIX C: Results from Statistical Test of all four hundred subjects

Results from the Reliability Test

Table A1.1: Cronbach's Alphas

	Cronbach's Alpha	Meaning
Part 2		
Sub-Part 2.1	0.978	Reliable
Sub-Part 2.2	0.941	Reliable
Part 3	0.982	Reliable
Part 4	0.724	Reliable
Entire Questionnaire	0.980	Reliable

Frequencies and Percentages

These data concern the samples' genders, ages, occupations and educations. The data are shown in the forms of frequencies and percentages, as in the following table A1.2.

Table A1.2: Frequencies and Percentages

Group	Frequency	Percentage
Gender		
Male	165	41.20
Female	235	58.80
Total	400	100.00
Age		
Not older than 20 years	38	9.50
21-30 years	108	27.00
31-40 years	72	18.00
41-50 years	96	24.00
Older than 50 years	86	21.50
Total	400	100.00
Occupation		
Governmental Employee/State Official	55	13.80
State Enterprise Employee	45	11.20
Private Company Employee	115	28.80
NGO Employee	6	1.50
Business Owner	70	17.50
Freelance	34	8.50
Daily Labour	9	2.20
Student	66	16.50
Unemployed	0	0.00
Total	400	100.00
Education		
Primary School	4	1.00

Secondary School/Junior High School	21	5.20
High School	54	13.50
Vocational College	39	9.80
Bachelor's Degree	234	58.50
Master's Degree	47	11.80
Doctoral Degree	1	0.20
Post Doctoral Degree	0	0.00
Total	400	100.00

BIOGRAPHY

Panward Jitpairoj was born on the 18th April, 1989 in Bangkok, Thailand. In 2011, she received her Bachelor's Degree majoring in International Relations from the Faculty of Political Science, Chulalongkorn University. After graduation, she continued her Master's Degree in European Studies (Interdisciplinary programme), Faculty of Graduate School, Chulalongkorn University.