

PUBLIC DIPLOMACY OF KOSOVO STATUS QUO, CHALLENGES AND OPTIONS

Martin Wählisch, Behar Xharra



PUBLIC DIPLOMACY OF KOSOVO
STATUS QUO, CHALLENGES AND OPTIONS
Martin Wählisch, Behar Xharra

September 2010

Friedrich-Ebert-Foundation Prishtina Office, Kosovo
Rr. Mujo Ulqinaku, 4/10
Prishtina, 10000 Kosovo
Tel.: +381-38- 609-900, +381-38-609-901
Fax: +381-38-609-902
E-mail: contact@fes-prishtina.org
Internet: <http://www.fes-prishtina.org>

CITATION:

Wählisch, Martin and Xharra, Behar (2010): Public Diplomacy of Kosovo. Status Quo, Challenges and Options. Prishtina: Friedrich-Ebert-Foundation.

EDITORIAL CONSULTANT:

Suzanne Eade Roberts

LAYOUT:

Martin Wählisch, Behar Xharra

THANK YOU NOTE:

The authors would like to thank all interviewees and partners for their kind support of this study.

DISCLAIMER:

THE VIEWS EXPRESSED IN THIS STUDY ARE NOT NECESSARILY THOSE OF THE FRIEDRICH-EBERT-FOUNDATION.

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION	7
I. Reasons for Public Diplomacy	7
II. Public Diplomacy in post-conflict countries and challenges for Kosovo	8
III. Outline of the study	9
A. PUBLIC DIPLOMACY APPROACHES IN KOSOVO	10
I. The official nation branding campaign	10
1. Internal governmental process	10
2. Goal of the campaign	12
3. Description of the campaign	13
a) The “Young Europeans” Slogan and Logo	13
b) The “Young Europeans” TV ad	14
c) The “Young Europeans” photo series	15
d) Other campaign activities	18
4. Saatchi & Saatchi’s “Lovemark” concept	19
5. The concept of nation branding	20
6. Effect and outlook	22
a) Immediate effect	22
b) Recent developments on Public Diplomacy of Kosovo – ICJ advisory opinion on Kosovo	23
c) First prize for Kosovo “Young Europeans” campaign	23
d) Outlook and new governmental approach	23
II. Counter-campaigns	25
1. The “Vetëvendosje!” counter-campaign	25
2. Serbian counter-campaigns	26
3. The “Gazeta Express” counter-campaign	27
4. The “Oldies of Kosovo” montage	28
III. Public opinion of the official campaign	29
1. Mainstream criticism of the campaign	29
2. Procurement process of the campaign	30
3. Lack of public engagement in the development process of the campaign	30
4. Communication with the public	30

5. Relationship between public funding and the added value of the campaign	30
6. Does the Kosovo "Young European" campaign have the wrong target?	31
7. Comments on the goals of the campaign	31
8. The communicated image of the campaign	31
9. Reaction to the "Lovemark" concept	32
10. Critique of the originality of the campaign	32
11. Reaction to the "Young European" slogan	33
12. Reaction to the TV ad	33
13. Reactions to the billboards	34
14. The Kosovo "Young Europeans" campaign in the internet	34
15. Performance of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Public Diplomacy and lobbying	34
16. Strategic regional Public Diplomacy and lobbying focus	35
17. Practical aspects of diplomacy	36
IV. Other existing Public Diplomacy approaches in Kosovo	37
1. Further governmental efforts	37
a) The "Visit Kosova" web portal	37
b) Investment Promotion Agency of Kosova (IPAK)	37
2. Non-governmental efforts	38
a) Foreign Policy Club	38
b) Forum 2015	39
c) Hotel Prishtina – Art and Culture from Kosovo	39
d) Think Young Kosovo	39
e) Private initiative: Lobbying for recognition of Kosovo	40
f) The "Flying for Kosovo" campaign	40
g) Kosovothankyou.com	41
h) "Kosova, the Country of Sport" initiative	41
i) The Chicago-based musical "You Took Away My Flag"	42
j) Kosovo 2.0	43
j) Kosovo Guide	43
B. COMPARING PUBLIC DIPLOMACY APPROACHES WORLDWIDE	45
I. Macedonia	45
1. Reform of Macedonia's Public Diplomacy	45
2. Branding Macedonia	46
II. Rwanda	47

1. Public Diplomacy approach and its main targets: Becoming the African Gorilla of the 21 st century	47
2. Branding Rwanda: Tools for Public and Economic Diplomacy	49
3. Institutional efforts for Public and Economic Diplomacy	51
III. Serbia	53
1. Reform of Serbia's Public Diplomacy	53
2. Branding Serbia	54
IV. Germany	55
1. German Public Diplomacy institutions	55
2. German Public Diplomacy campaigns and tools	57
C. PROCESS QUESTIONS TO GUIDE PUBLIC DIPLOMACY POLICY IN KOSOVO	59
I. Targeting	60
II. Coordination among governmental bodies	61
III. Potential Institutions	61
IV. Communication	62
V. Collaboration	63
CONCLUSION	65
I. Kosovo's "Young Europeans" campaign	65
II. The development of Public Diplomacy in Kosovo	65
III. Choosing suitable methods for Public Diplomacy for Kosovo	66
IV. The time is now	66
APPENDIX	67
I. APPENDIX A: OPEN QUESTIONS FOR KOSOVO'S PUBLIC DIPLOMACY	69
II. APPENDIX B: "OUTSIDE THE BOX" IDEAS FOR KOSOVO'S PUBLIC DIPLOMACY	70
ENDNOTES	71



INTRODUCTION

- Kosovo's primary foreign policy aim is straight-forward, but not an easy one: to become known and accepted worldwide. Kosovo's international standing depends on ending its limbo status. But why should a country in Africa or South America be concerned about Europe's youngest country? The truth is, many other countries simply do not have Kosovo on their radar.
- Some attempts have already been made to bring Kosovo onto policy agendas: the Kosovo government developed the "Kosovo - Young Europeans" nation branding campaign and initiated other activities. NGOs and individuals took initiative. Nevertheless, critics argue that there has never been a full Public Diplomacy vision and political strategy for the country.

I. Reasons for Public Diplomacy

- If used well, Public Diplomacy can be a strong policy tool of a country. More than ever before, publics in other countries have become vital players in international policy, having a great say in the decisions their governments make.ⁱ
- Generally, Public Diplomacy describes ways in which a country engages with foreign publics. Traditionally, diplomacy deals with a state's contact and dialogue with other states.ⁱⁱ Public

Diplomacy relates to a state's contact and dialogue with the general public or non-official target groups in other countries. Equally, PD differs from public affairs, which refers to a government's activities and programs designed to communicate policy messages to its own domestic audiences.

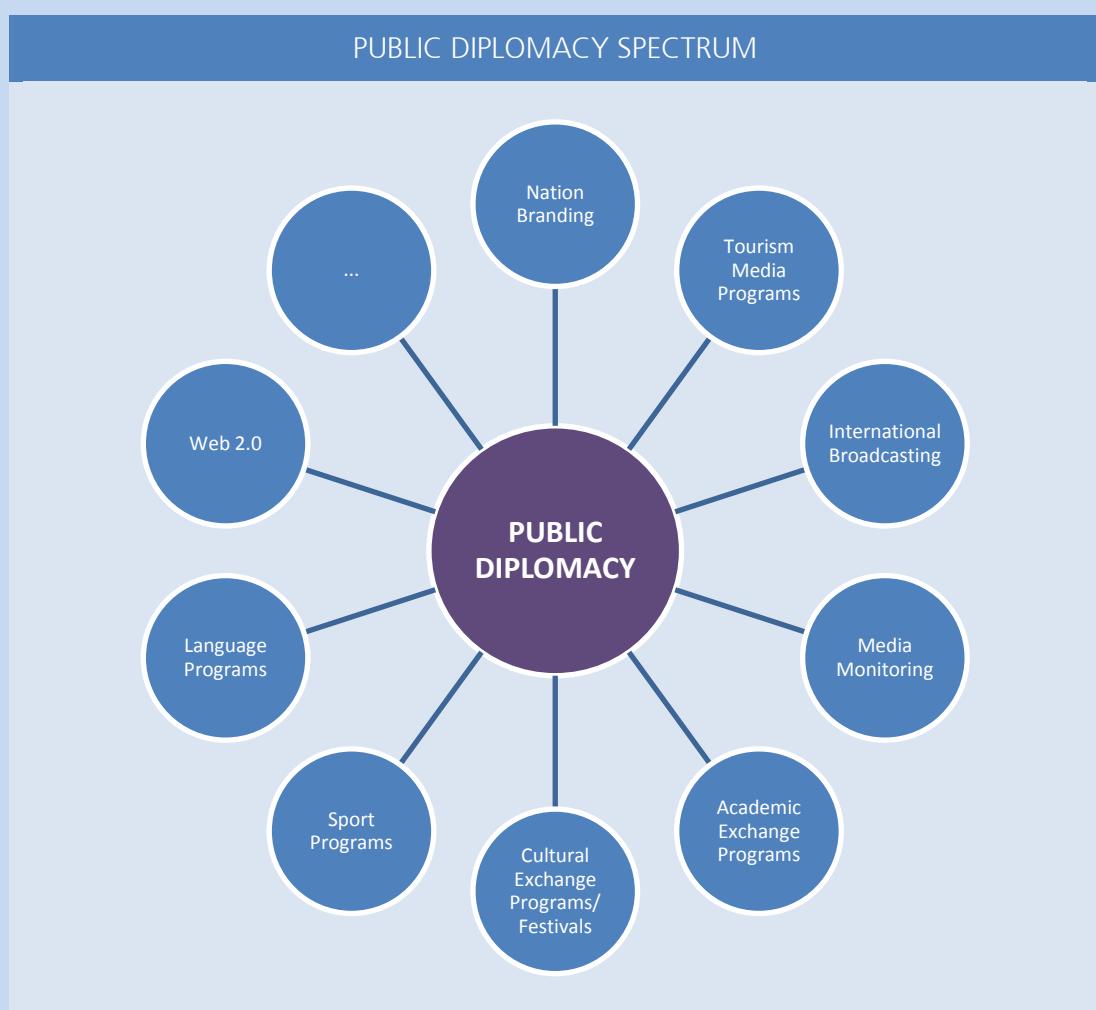
- Coined as a term in international relations in the mid 1960s by former U.S. diplomat Edmund Gullion in contrast to the negative connotations of propaganda, the functions of Public Diplomacy are to promote national interests, advance foreign policy goals, and build relationships in order to create a positive perception and strengthen the influence of a country abroad.
- Besides nation branding, Public Diplomacy comprises a wide scale of measures ranging from state-sponsored educational exchanges and other visitor programs, language courses abroad, cultural events abroad (such as the work of the French Institut Français, the Spanish Instituto Cervantes, the UK's British Council or the German Goethe-Institut), and radio and television broadcasting (France 24, Deutsche Welle, and Russia TV Today). It also includes a systematic approach to monitoring media coverage, building networks and other means of fostering an understanding of the situation in one's own country.ⁱⁱⁱ

II. Public Diplomacy in post-conflict countries and challenges for Kosovo

- Public Diplomacy is particularly crucial for post-conflict countries as they need to reverse their image so they are no longer seen as war-torn but as places with potential.
- This issue is extremely difficult for Kosovo, as it has not been recognized by the majority of the international community and is still struggling for recognition. It can also be disputed whether Kosovo is already seen internally as a “nation”, which leads to the question of whether Kosovo is ready for Public Diplomacy. As with other post-conflict countries in a transition

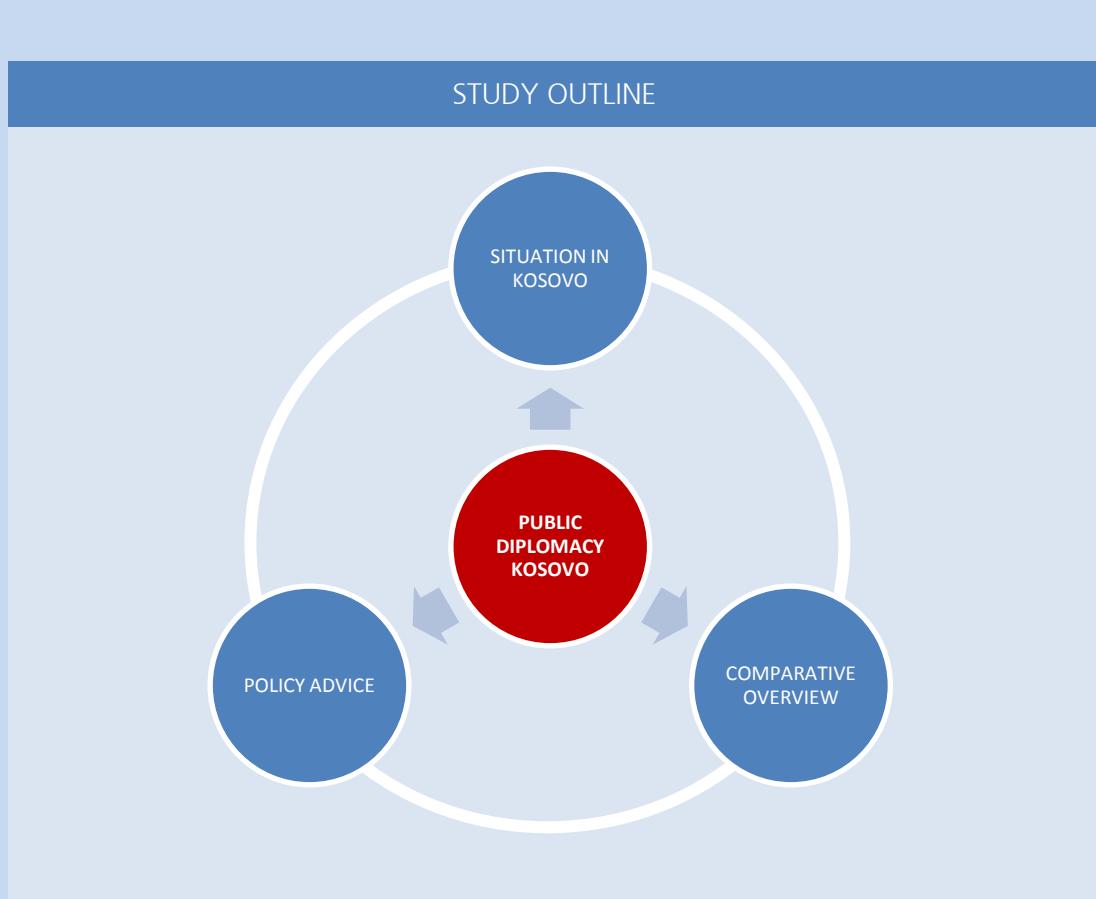
period, Kosovo is still in the process of defining its own identity, which makes it complicated to communicate an understanding of what Kosovo is about.

- The existence of a comprehensive Public Diplomacy strategy is closely interlinked with the still developing foreign policy strategy, which could determine geographical focuses and priorities for Public Diplomacy. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs is still in the process of being fully staffed and equipped, which makes it hard for local authorities to simultaneously manage Public Diplomacy while other tasks are currently of greater urgency. As Kosovo’s embassies and diplomatic infrastructure are not fully functional yet either, important chains of communication are limited.



III. Outline of the study

- The aim of this study is to map current activities and suggest other, outside-the-box Public Diplomacy options for Kosovo. The current nation branding campaign by the government had been variously discussed by the public; This research hopes to enrich the debate with additional information, as well as to make the current state of arguments transparent. Overall, the project aims to motivate further thinking about the benefits of a strong Public Diplomacy component as a tool of Kosovo's foreign policy.
- The study has three parts: An overview of Public Diplomacy approaches in Kosovo as well as reactions in society (A.); a comparison with other countries similar to Kosovo (B.); and a set of process questions for defining a political Public Diplomacy strategy for Kosovo (C.).
- The intention of the study is not to take sides, but to present the different opinions about the ongoing nation branding campaign as a base for discussion. Neither does the study favor promoting lessons learned from other countries as ultimate policy advice. Instead, a process-oriented approach is followed by proposing guiding questions which will ultimately need to be answered by the people of Kosovo and their elected leadership.
- The research for this study was conducted in collaboration with various governmental and non-governmental stakeholders within Kosovo as well as experts on Public Diplomacy from the region and beyond.
- The study was finalized in August 2010.



A. PUBLIC DIPLOMACY APPROACHES IN KOSOVO

- Being a young country which has just celebrated its second year of independence, Kosovo's Public Diplomacy efforts are still at the beginning.
- As Kosovo is not yet acknowledged by all states worldwide, its international limbo poses immense challenges: Kosovo has to gain reputation abroad as well as overcome its negative reputation as a post-war country.
- Though there is no officially announced strategy, approaches from various sides form a conglomerate of Public Diplomacy activities which are diverse and fragmented.
- The scope of the two-year contract comprised the development of a national brand, positioning as well as international media buying, and planning and placement strategy.^{iv}
- Although the time between the announcement and closure of the tender was only 18 days, several advertising companies applied. The Tel Aviv office of Saatchi & Saatchi, a global advertising agency with offices all around the world, won the tender. Saatchi & Saatchi's other clients include Procter & Gamble, Carlsberg, Deutsche Telekom (T-Mobile), Sony Ericsson and Visa Europe.
- Throughout the process, the campaign was coordinated by an Inter-ministerial Committee composed of the Office of the Prime Minister, the Ministry of Economy and Finance, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Trade and Industry, the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology, and the Ministry of Culture, which reviewed, developed and discussed details of the campaign. According to members of the committee, the campaign took shape in an evolutionary and flexible way as a result.

I. The official nation branding campaign

- A key element in Kosovo's official Public Diplomacy is a nation branding campaign which was launched in October 2009.

1. Internal governmental process

- In December 2008 the government announced a public tender for a nation branding and international media campaign.

TENDER DESCRIPTION "NATION BRANDING AND INTERNATIONAL MEDIA CAMPAIGN"

ANNEX 2. TERMS OF REFERENCE

1. 3.1. Overall objective

The overall aim of the contract is for the Republic of Kosova to inform the general public about the substantial capacity in Kosova, all sectors of the society outside and inside Kosova need to be better informed (to different levels) of the tasks ahead which Kosova has taken.

Objectives:

- Develop a campaign for the recognition (raise awareness) of the brand among relevant individuals and institutions throughout the world;
- Inform the stakeholders on the Kosovo's substantial capacity;
- Explain the benefits and opportunities that Kosovo offers;
- Concept and implementation of integrated marketing campaign on national and international level;
- Usage of Simple, Measurable Achievable and Timed Objectives.

2. 3.2. Purpose

The purpose of this contract is as follows:

- To introduce the new state to the international public; inform the public on a national and international scale about the opportunities and possibilities it offers.

3. 3.3. Results to be achieved by the Contractor

- Devise and implement Kosova's National Branding Identity, which means National Logo Design and other identification elements which will be used in all communication materials for the campaign purposes. Logo should not include Ethnic, Political or Religious symbols of Kosova.
- Plan and implement communication plan for the National Branding of Kosova;
- Concept of media campaign including media buying, planning, analysis and monitoring on the international media level;
- Creative design and production of Television Commercials, and other illustrative materials, ensuring international standards.
- Implement activities and production of integrated marketing materials in line with the communication strategy.

- Establish a PR component to support identity building and the promotion of Republic of Kosova and harmonize the marketing communication strategy;
- Establish media monitoring system to track and evaluate coverage with relevance for image about the country as well as the brand and marketing activities;
- Develop and implement instruments for the evaluation of brand acceptance (brand recognition and image);
- The contractor will propose one or more public events to be organized under the support of the Republic of Kosova;

4.0. SCOPE OF THE WORK

4. 4.1. General

4.1.1. Project description

The Government of the Republic of Kosova intends to identify and contract with a professional communication company to provide the communication services and create products for the Kosova National Branding for an international wide public audience through a media campaign. The public information campaign includes designing and launching an integrated marketing campaign. The purpose of this campaign is to present and enhance a positive perception of the country and ultimately a smoother the transition and the acceptance of the new state. In preparation for this media campaign, the Republic of Kosova Government, formed an interministerial commission under the leadership of the MEF, which will oversee the project.

MEF will award the best company based on development and finalization of the selected firm's creative concepts, strategy devising and agency's capacity, international & national expertise and personnel.

4.1.2. Target groups

- International governments and institutions;
- Academic society;
- Students;
- International Media;
- Journalists and media publishers;
- International business community;
- General public;
- Researchers;
- Donor community;
- Tourism community;
- Promotion agencies;
- All other relevant stakeholders.

2. Goal of the campaign

- Prior to setting up the campaign Saatchi & Saatchi conducted various surveys to examine the image of Kosovo abroad. Two outcomes were significant: on the one hand, Kosovo was scarcely known as a country, and on the other hand it had negative connotations (e. g. war, criminal, poor, corrupt).

"We have based our strategic development work on the facts that Kosovo is one of the youngest countries in the world and is also home to the youngest population in Europe (CIA factbook). Furthermore, Kosovo declared its wish to become fully integrated into the Euro-Atlantic family.

We have also incorporated into this strategy the impressions from our visits all around Kosovo in which we've experienced the vibrant energy that flows through streets. We observed the country's young people embracing the future with open arms and we were inspired by this natural "fountain of youth" projecting the general belief of a bright tomorrow. Therefore the campaign will focus on "the human resource" - the people of Kosovo - rather than on any natural resource or key landmark."

- The government specified the purpose of the campaign in the following way:

"The primary goal of the campaign is to place Kosovo firmly within the family of nations, within Europe and beyond.

The strategy is to focus single-mindedly on the vitality of Kosovo's young people in a way that makes the campaign very different from any other nation's approach to branding. The country offers a natural fountain of youth and there is a vibrant energy that flows through the city streets and in the countryside. These are the emotions into which the advertising taps in order to begin the journey of the nation towards becoming a Lovemark. And behind the emotion is a concrete fact; Kosovo has the youngest average age of any European country, at just 25.9 years."

- Moreover, to ensure a "360° degree" approach to nation branding, the campaign also targeted Kosovars themselves to make them feel proud and more attached to their country:

"Kosovo branding campaign is a national effort. As such, local institutions, companies and individuals are also invited to play a strong part in it. When the people of Kosovo see the campaign they will also have an opportunity to share the values and the excitement in it and spread their enthusiasm to their friends and family in other countries. In today's highly-connected world this is the way the message spreads."

- Thus, the objective of the campaign became to put Kosovo on the map, make the country known and show it in a more positive light. As one interviewee said: *"This was to tell the world that Kosovo is here and who we really are."*

3. Description of the campaign

- Kosovo's nation branding campaign consists of several components: the best-known ones are the slogan and logo "The Young Europeans", a TV ad and a photo series.^{viii}

a) The "Young Europeans" Slogan and Logo

- As emphasized by the campaign developers, the slogan "The Young Europeans" is based on the fact that the Republic of Kosovo is both one of the youngest countries in the world and also home to the youngest population in Europe:

"This is probably the very first national slogan which turns the spotlight on the people and the human spirit rather than the country, its natural marvels or history.

It is a very strong and confident statement of Kosovo's attitude as a country and of its future intentions. It will attract the interest of a range of audiences, from politicians to businessmen, from tourists to donors. All will sense the future potential of this young nation and the positive attitude of its people."^{ix}

- The visual appearance of the logo is intended to keep up with the new generation of national logos in that it has a modern flowing style and a vibrant use of color. Each of the colors featured in the logo was chosen for a specific reason:

THE "YOUNG EUROPEANS" LOGO



- (1) The green represents the green fields that can be found across Kosovo's expansive countryside;
- (2) The terracotta-red represents the color of the bricks that are used for the building that is in progress across the land;
- (3) The blue symbolizes the sky and water and is taken from the background of Kosovo's new flag.

- The unique design of the font is inspired by "the fountain of youth" concept to show the energy that spreads in a fluid way throughout Kosovo.
- David Kosmin, Head of Strategy at BBR Saatchi & Saatchi:

"We knew that to cut through the mass of other nation branding campaigns this advertising would need to be different from that for any other country. And in focusing on the collective spirit of the young people of Kosovo in building their new country, the advertising projects a truly fresh and unique idea. 'Young' is a demographic, but it is also a way of feeling. This insight got us to a very special set of brand values, i.e. optimism, positivity, hope and togetherness. It is these values that will

make the campaign stand out from the pack because no other country is communicating in this way. It is our wish that people of Kosovo will feel a sense of pride in this campaign, because at its heart they were its inspiration. ^{ix}

generate now, will serve Kosovo later in campaigns like "Tourism", "Investments", "Commerce", "Regional positioning" and other goals. ^{xii}

- Shony Rivnay, Creative partner at BBR Saatchi & Saatchi:

"The advertising approach will focus strongly on 'people power'. We were inspired by the natural "fountain of youth" we found in our visits all around Kosovo; The vibrant energy that flows through the cities' streets and in the countryside.

The same message and image that we

b) The "Young Europeans" TV ad

- Another core element of the nation-branding campaign is a 60-second television commercial.
- The TV ad shows young Kosovars bringing together yellow puzzle pieces, which are assembled together and lifted up into the air by balloons. In the end, the shape of Kosovo appears on a map of Europe.^{xii}

THE "YOUNG EUROPEANS" TV AD



- An original song which emphasizes change, unity and love was composed to accompany the ad.

THE "YOUNG EUROPEANS" TV AD SONG

*Dawn rolling over,
The clouds bring the rain.
It's time to start over,
Time to join hands.
The sun slowly rising,
Shining on earth.
The sky's open-minded,
Today.
And I'm feeling the life that I wanted
Coming to me.
I'm feeling the love that I want you
Want you to see.*

& Effects directors; The Director of Photography (= the chief cameraman) is acclaimed photographer Mark Bliss from Australia who currently resides in Prague; The stills photographer is Ron Kedmi from Tel-Aviv who has worked for many years in New-York, Milan and Paris and is similarly renowned. The international team is complemented by local advertising agency PR Solutions and local production company Entermedia.^{xiv}

- As highlighted by the filmmakers, this TV advertising clip is on a bigger scale than any produced previously in Kosovo. It involved a crew of over 50 people from Kosovo and around the world and over 250 participants. In order to represent a broad cross-section of people and places within Kosovo, the clip was shot in different locations across the country including Prishtina, Prizren, Drini River and the Kieve countryside.^{xiii}
- The TV production brought together professionals from across the world:

"Top French director Eric Will, who has been living in London for many years, is one of Europe's best Visual

- The TV commercial has been aired on six major international TV channels, namely CNN, BBC World News, Euronews, CNN Turk, Bloomberg, and Eurosport. Since November 2009, the TV ad has also been aired locally on RTK, KTV, RTV21 and Klan Kosova as well as on different websites.

c) The "Young Europeans" photo series

- Besides the TV ad, a series of print adverts are being shown on billboards and in magazines. The "Young Europeans" print series features 10 young Kosovars (5 female and 5 male) and a particular interest that he or she has. There is a soccer player, a girl with a puppy dog, a skateboarder, a former supermodel, a guitar player, a DJ, two design students, an actor, and a high school student.

THE "YOUNG EUROPEANS" PRINT SERIES



- (1) *Krenar Mehiu (24): Computer science student. Plays soccer everyday. Loves inter. Prishtina, Kosovo.*
- (2) *Qëndresë Grajçevci (22): Economics student. Loves animals, especially puppies. Prishtina, Kosovo.*
- (3) *Gani Rahmani (19): Acting student. Breaths, dreams and thinks of skateboarding. Prishtina, Kosovo.*
- (4) *Dhurata Lipovica (21): From winning the 2007 Ford Supermodel contest to working as a producer. Hollywood is just around the corner. Prishtina, Kosovo.*
- (5) *Glauk Abazi (18): Guitar player. Looks like he is going to break some hearts. Prizren, Kosovo.*
- (6) *Xhana Bina (22): Graphic design student. Her creativity and style go hand in hand. Prishtina, Kosovo.*
- (7) *Erdall Hydaveri (24): Wants to be a DJ. Get ready to put your hands up in the air. Prizren, Kosovo.*
- (8) *Albulena Borovci (21): Costume design student. Loves contemporary art and painting. Can you see her true colors? Prishtina, Kosovo.*
- (9) *Fatlum Hasani (25): Acting student. He has a passion for Photography. You should check out his point of view. Prishtina, Kosovo.*
- (10) *Ester Celic (17): High school student. Loves reading and writing. Prishtina, Kosovo.*

- The print adverts are accompanied with the following lines in English:

"The Republic of Kosovo was born on February 17th 2008, making it one of the youngest countries in the world. It's also home to the youngest population in Europe with an average age of 25.9, giving the place a spirit of optimism and enterprise you won't find anywhere else. ...And today Kosovars embrace the future with open arms. It is the start of something amazing. We'd love you to be part of it."

- At a later stage, interviews with the protagonists were shown on Facebook.^{xv}
- By getting to know the individuals, the developers hope that the reader will also discover something about Kosovo itself. The approach builds on the theme of "The Young Europeans" that appears in the television commercial.

- Print ads appeared in leading international magazines like The Economist and the Newsweek, and selected in-flight airline magazines (e.g. Austria Airlines). A number of publications targeted Members of the European Parliament and policy makers on Capitol Hill in Washington DC. The initial geographical focus was on the European region with some exposure in the USA; It is planned to focus later, in a more targeted way, on Spain and The Hague, for example.
- At the same time the campaign started in the local Kosovar media, and billboards with single photos of the series have been placed all around Kosovo.



- The Kosovo "Young European" Campaign is also present on the Web: It has published its website on <http://kosovo-young.com> and has created a Facebook Group which has

around 61 000 subscribers, who post messages and content on a daily basis. It has also opened a Twitter account and created a Youtube Channel for people to post birthday greetings for Kosovo's independence anniversary.

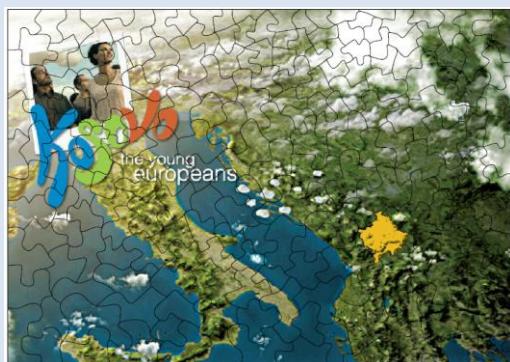
KOSOVO "YOUNG EUROPEAN" CAMPAIGN ON THE WEB



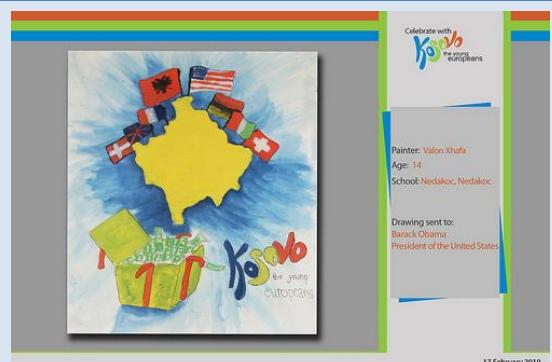
d) Other campaign activities

- In addition to the main parts of the nation branding campaign, there have been complementary activities under the slogan "The Young Europeans", such as the "Young Europeans" Award at the "Skena up" film and theatre festival (December 2009) and a Startup Weekend (March 2010) providing networking opportunities and training in launching business projects.
- For the 2nd Independence Day (February 2010) an online greeting channel was opened inviting video greetings from well-wishers from all over the world.^{xvi} The best of the "shout-out" videos have been aired on international TV (CNN, CNBC, Euronews and Eurosport) and local TV.
- On the same occasion original ads featured Kosovar children actually born on the 17th February 2008 (Kosovo "Independence Kids"). "Young Europeans" party kits were sent to Kosovo embassies: A comprehensive set of promotional material, decoration, party accessories and merchandising was designed for the Independence parties and receptions organized by Kosovo's embassies. A puzzle was also produced, depicting an image from the TV ad in which Kosovo was graphically placed within Europe, along with the message: "Without your help the picture could not have been completed".
- As part of the "Celebrate with me" project, pictures drawn by Kosovar school children have been sent to international leaders and prominent figures, inviting them to celebrate with Kosovo its 2nd Independence Day.^{xvii} A selection of world leaders (e.g. Barack Obama, Angela Merkel, Queen Elizabeth II, and Ban Ki-moon) received an original work of art personalized with the details of the young artist. Although each drawing is the creation of just one very young artist, it was intended to reflect the hopes and dreams of an entire nation for a great future.
- The nation branding campaign has also begun to target the Arabic-speaking world on the Al Jazeera TV network, Spanish decision-makers by using advertisement in El Mundo and El País, and participants at the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD) Annual Meeting, as well as other decision-makers and business leaders.

"THE YOUNG EUROPEANS"



LETTER SENT TO PRESIDENT OBAMA



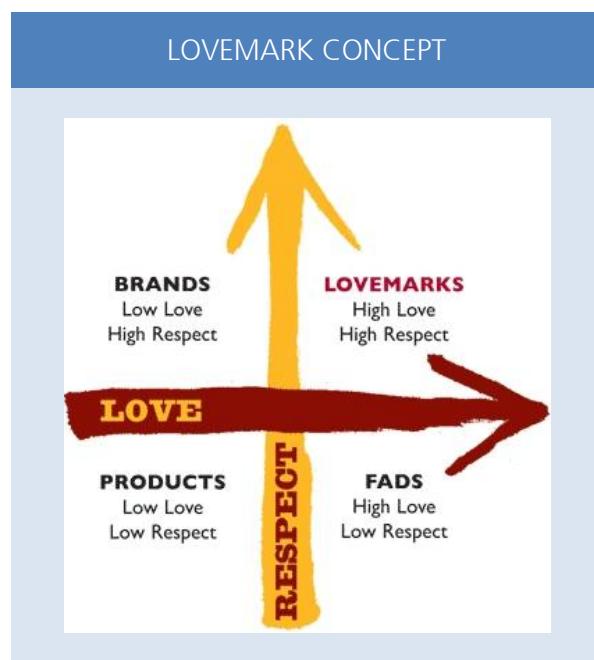
4. Saatchi & Saatchi's "Lovemark" concept

- A key to understanding the approach taken by Saatchi & Saatchi is the "Lovemark" concept invented by its COE Worldwide, Kevin Roberts.^{xviii} This marketing technique aims to make people feel emotional and loyal about a brand.
- The agency believes that the greatest brands are those that have succeeded in creating an emotional connection with consumers and have, in doing so, achieved a loyalty that goes beyond reason. In short, these brands have become *Lovemarks*.
- The model uses the empirical fact that consumers who make decisions based purely on facts are a tiny minority. Saatchi & Saatchi developed the idea while looking at the question: What makes some brands inspirational, while others struggle? The concept assumes that brands simply score well on the respect factor; One trusts them, but does not form an emotional attachment to them (see graphic of the Love/Respect Axis).
- Roberts advocates:

"Creating Lovemarks is all about the ability to understand consumers' dreams, to know what they want and when they want it and to create great experiences that make your brand a part of their lives."^{xix}

- According to Roberts, *Lovemarks* are brands that have evolved from simply being bigger, brighter, stronger, and cheaper to being a brand that uses mystery, sensuality, and intimacy to emotionally connect with consumers. Examples of *Lovemarks* are: Marmite, Cambridge University, Nike, Starbucks, Lego and McDonalds, which people cannot resist.

- Though many marketing companies all around the world have adopted the *Lovemark* concept, it is not universally accepted: Critics emphasize the risk that



brand teams following the *Lovemark* theory will try to go straight to a *Lovemark* (top-right) without working on a real product first. The result is an "image-wrapper" of communication.^{xx}

Thus, the selection of *Lovemarks* can become a pure "beauty contest" based on subjective views of what is cool and loveable,

not on what has proven to build respect and love. Furthermore, critics note that *"though the Lovemarks gospel preaches the importance of new channels and new media"*, it is mainly based on TV ads, which are one of the most expensive ways.^{xxi}

- In accordance with the theory, the "Kosovo Young European" campaign aimed to help people fall in love with Kosovo and turn the country into a *Lovemark*. This means making people emotionally attached to Kosovo, leaving them committed and loyal to the country.

5. The concept of nation branding

- Another aspect one has to be aware of concerning the current "Kosovo Young European" campaign is the difference between nation branding in particular and marketing in general. Branding is a process to anchor a name or slogan in people's memories. It is a long-term exercise laying the ground for further marketing (see also "place branding", "city branding" or "region branding"). Instead of striving for a "fireworks effect" through fast spending, nation branding focuses on long-term transformation, building the

communication infrastructure for future activities:

"It is important to be clear that Nation Branding is not a short-term process, nor simply a case of running advertising on an international news channel - though this may certainly become one element of the communications mix. Instead, the task will start with a representation of Kosovo's brand values through a new vision, an endline, a logo design, and an accompanying visual identity."^{xxii}



- Countries are among the most powerful brands on the global marketplace. “America”, for instance, is one of the world’s most powerful public domain brands with a huge range of positive attributes: lifestyle (Coke, MTV, Levi’s), sporting prowess (Nike, NBA, Timberland), technological supremacy (Microsoft, Apple, Dell, IBM), well-informed (CNN, Time, Newsweek), and naturally, wealthy (American Express, Merrill Lynch, Goldman Sachs).^{xxiii} Equally, countries can also be products, particularly when they serve as tourist destinations or factory sites. As nations have become far more aware of the value of their brand as an asset, these additional means have begun to complement traditional forms of public diplomacy.^{xxiv}

- A key element underscored by BBR Saatchi & Saatchi for the success of the branding effort is support for the campaign within the country:

“Branding and advertising alone are not sufficient; a change on the ground is also required, a commitment and involvement of the people and of many other sectors in the state.

Branding is not merely a commercial advertisement nor is it a political campaign; Branding is a comprehensive national effort to bring the new image of the country to the world. In this effort every citizen is an ambassador

and each public institution a stakeholder. By becoming familiar with and supporting this endeavor, the people of Kosovo will succeed in amplifying the effect of the campaign many times over.”^{xxv}

- Though principles of branding apply in equal measure to countries as they do to corporations, nation branding has specific challenges. Some argue that “countries are not chocolate bars”^{xxvi} and indeed there are distinctions between commercial products and countries as such. One example is that it is far more complex and difficult to obtain a fully integrated communication mix in nation branding.

- Even after a product has been launched, companies are free to make modifications in response to

consumer demand, whereas countries are more limited in altering their place brands: they cannot replace their beaches if their climate favors snow.^{xxvii} Besides, once a country has become known as an exporter of quality branded goods, the country’s product brands and its place brand will work together to raise expectations overseas. Country branding then becomes a part of a self-perpetuating cycle: as the country promotes its consumer brands, those brands will promote the country.^{xxviii}



6. Effect and outlook

- The effect of the nation branding campaign is disputed and not fully foreseeable yet: The Kosovo government claims that there has been a wave of excitement and enthusiasm about the campaign. Several people said they felt as proud as when Kosovo declared its independence.^{xxix}

a) Immediate effect

- It is true that the ad circulated widely on the web. On Youtube alone there were 125,000 views in less than a week after the first screening, making it one of

their most viewed ads, and advertising search websites across the globe listed the ad.^{xxx}

- CampaignLive, a UK advertising industry website listed it as 'Ad of the Day' on October 28th; The following day Adforum, America's leading advertising search website, featured the advert as "Today's best advertising."^{xxxi} Numerous other sites presented it along with their blogs.
- The campaign resulted partly in a snowball effect: People took the slogan up, using it in festivals and other occasions.



b) Recent developments on Public Diplomacy of Kosovo – ICJ advisory opinion on Kosovo

- A very recent event, which brought Kosovo back to the minds of people worldwide, was the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice (ICJ). In July 2010, the ICJ stated that the unilateral declaration of independence of Kosovo did not violate international law.
- The advisory opinion sparked attention throughout the international media, diplomatic circles, and academia. International media such as BBC, CNN, Euronews, Al Jazeera, XinhuaNews, the Economist, and New York Times covered the event. Consequently, a new wave of recognitions for the independence of Kosovo is expected by government officials.
- How the government intends to strategically use the ICJ in its future Public Diplomacy efforts (perhaps an advertising slogan “Kosovo. Approved by International Law”) is uncertain.

c) First prize for Kosovo “Young Europeans” campaign

- Professionally seen as a success, the *Kosovo “Young Europeans” Campaign* picked up first prize in the category *Best Nation/Place Branding Campaign at the M&M (Media & Marketing) 2010 Awards*, in September 2010 in London.^{xxxii}
- The judges commented:

“The concept of using the young people of Kosovo really felt right and the

campaign was activated very well. It was genuinely intriguing and created a real sense of optimism and support.”^{xxxiii}

- On the effect of increasing recognition it was stated that:

“The campaign resulted in seven more countries recognising Kosovo’s independence and raised millions of Euros in foreign investment. People’s attitudes towards Kosovo changed, with 78% of people viewing the country as positive, compared with 33% prior to exposure.”^{xxxiv}

- The other shortlisted campaigns were: *My South Africa, Business Friendly Bahrain, ES Madrid – Holiday Destination*, and *Emirates Airlines Meet Dubai*.^{xxxv}

d) Outlook and new governmental approach

- A future step mentioned during the research for this study (June 2010) was a style guide (letterheads, etc.) which aims to allow all ministries to use the campaign slogan “The Young Europeans” in their outreach. Further plans are being developed and discussed by the Inter-ministerial Committee.
- As most recently informally communicated, the Kosovo government foresees a new form of engagement in its public diplomacy efforts in the future. As a follow-up step to the Kosovo “Young Europeans” campaign, the government will contract two different consulting companies which will help focus on direct lobbying with public officials abroad. In addition, it is

foreseen that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs will establish an office for Public

Diplomacy affairs in its administrative structures.

ICJ DECISION ON KOSOVO



INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE

Peace Palace, Carnegieplein 2, 2517 KJ The Hague, Netherlands

Tel.: +31 (0)70 302 2323 Fax: +31 (0)70 364 9928

Website: www.icj-cij.org

Summary
Not an official document

Summary 2010/2
22 July 2010

Accordance with international law of the unilateral declaration of independence in respect of Kosovo

Summary of the Advisory Opinion

On 22 July 2010, the International Court of Justice gave its Advisory Opinion on the question of the Accordance with international law of the unilateral declaration of independence in respect of Kosovo.

SOURCE: [HTTP://WWW.ICJ-CIJ.ORG/](http://WWW.ICJ-CIJ.ORG/)

COUNTRIES RECOGNIZING KOSOVO



SOURCE: [HTTP://WWW.KOSOVOTHANKSYOU.COM](http://WWW.KOSOVOTHANKSYOU.COM) (STATUS: SEPTEMBER 2010)

II. Counter-campaigns

- The nation branding campaign led to a variety of reactions, causing discussions ranging from modifications of the slogan to genuine counter-campaigns.

1. The “Vetëvendosje!” counter-campaign

- The most visible and well-known response was organized by the activist group “Vetëvendosje!” (Albanian for “Self-Determination”). The group added to the billboard of the campaign “Kosovo, The Young Europeans” red graffiti stamps of their own slogans: “Isolated.”, “Unemployed! 46%”, and “Poor! 43%”.
- Vetëvendosje! sought to stress that Kosovo is not simply glamorous, hip and rich, but faces real hardships. In this regard the “isolated” stamp on billboards aimed to articulate the day-to-day challenges in Kosovo (e.g. limited rights to travel, export goods, country sui generis, controlled resources):

“We need doctors, teachers, schools and hospitals, pensions and support for the poor. But above all, we are isolated. We are the most isolated people in the world, even though the whole world is in Kosovo. We cannot move freely in the neighboring countries, let alone in the EU.

This is the bitter reality that is missing in the polished advertisement which cost € 5.7 million. This ad has been made with people that are not like us. The ad does not promote the people of Kosovo.

In Kosovo, the relative poverty is around 46%, the same number of people is unemployed. Extreme poverty is around 18%. Unemployment among youth is around 70%. Youth are more vulnerable than older generations. So, if you are young in Kosovo, the probability is very high for you to be unemployed and without a good prospective for life and quality education. The youth needs a greater economic development of the country, and not advertisements that cost millions of euros. In Kosovo you are more an unemployed [person] than a European. You are poorer than young. ^{xxxvi}

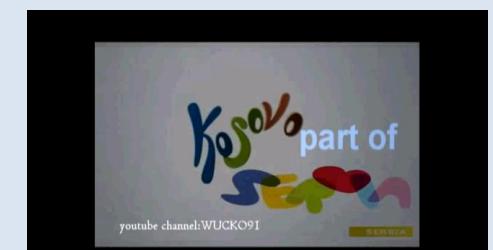
THE “VETËVENDOSJE!” CAMPAIGN



2. Serbian counter-campaigns

- Several Serbian counter-campaigns from individuals were posted online on Youtube to protest against Kosovo's nation- branding effort. One clip for instance, uses the TV ad but changes the letters into "Kosovo, a part of Serbia" with a Serbian national flag and an EU flag in the background.^{xxxvii}
- Another clip mixed the TV ad with pictures of riots in Kosovo, fire, the bridge of Mitrovica and war scenes. The short clip is labeled "See the true face of Kosovo, the young Europeans". The counter clip ends with the slogan "Kosovo, the young Barbarians."^{xxxviii}

SERBIAN COUNTER-CAMPAIGNS



SERBIAN COUNTER-CAMPAIGNS



COUNTER YOUTUBE CLIPS



3. The “Gazeta Express” counter-campaign

- Gazeta Express, a daily newspaper in Kosovo, had its entire staff pose for its own version of the Kosovo “Young European” billboard campaign. Posted on the social-networking site Facebook, each staff member appeared in a particular style and, in most cases, mockingly illustrating his or her profession, which they felt was an element missing in the billboards.
- Some of them are shown as “the Housewife,” “the Killer,” “the Cleaner,” “the Hitman,” “the Manual Labourer,” “the Bodybuilder,” “the Drunk,” etc.

- This photo series was a reaction to the billboard posters showing a group of young and beautiful Kosovars, who were not seen as representative of the reality in Kosovo.

“We weren’t satisfied with pictures that were published on the billboards in Prishtina, because they were too artificial. We thought that not only the teenagers from the posters, but also the workers from different fields of life should be seen as Europeans too. So we decided to create this album for about a half an hour, as a parody to the official campaign.”^{xxxix}

“GAZETA EXPRESS” COUNTER-CAMPAIGNS



Dafina Hoxha,
Artist

From the album:
Express - The Young Europeans by
Herolind Beqaj



Valdet Hoxha,
Actor

From the album:
Express - The Young Europeans by
Herolind Beqaj



Henia Isufi,
Pianist

From the album:
Express - The Young Europeans by
Herolind Beqaj



Srd Hoxha,
Hitman

From the album:
Express - The Young Europeans by
Herolind Beqaj



Herolind Beqaj,
punter/Influencer

From the album:
Express - The Young Europeans by
Herolind Beqaj



Vjor Kryeziu,
Bisher

From the album:
Express - The Young Europeans by
Herolind Beqaj

4. The “Oldies of Kosovo” montage

- Another reaction to the nation branding slogan is a photo montage made by Shkelzen A. Domi, who replaced a picture of a young Kosovar with an old man accompanied by the slogan “Kosovo the Oldies European.”^{xl}
- For many years, Shkelzen A. Domi has worked as a volunteer in youth sports associations, most recently as President of the Kosovo Tennis Federation. In his free time he writes on his ironical blog Xenini.com, where he comments on political and social developments in Kosovo.
- After a sudden inspiration, Domi produced the “Oldies of Kosovo”

montage overnight to express his disappointment about the lack of opportunities and prospects for young Kosovars. Domi argues that even young Kosovars are old if they have no chances and future:

“A young Kosovar talent in tennis, football, boxing or basketball cannot compete internationally, as Kosovo Federations are not recognized by any of the international sport bodies. By the time opportunities for competition will be given to Kosovar sportsmen, they will have already passed the age for competition.

This is how I see the Kosovo Young Europeans. Young kids with great potential but who could not use their potential. For them the future brings nothing but the physiological process of getting old.”^{xli}

“KOSOVO, THE OLDIES EUROPEANS” COUNTER-CAMPAIGN



III. Public opinion of the official campaign

- Public reaction for or against the current “The Young European” campaign has been various. The critique ranges from concerns about the process of tendering, the content and target of the campaign as well as its impact abroad and in Kosovo.
- This section does not claim to be an empirical survey of the opinions of Kosovar citizens. Instead, the aspects mentioned are issues which have been raised during interviews and discussions with government officials, civil society organizations, the private sector, individuals, opposition parties and Members of Parliament.

1. Mainstream criticism of the campaign

- When discussing the pros and cons of the “Kosovo Young European” campaign, a major point of debate has been whether the budget spent on the campaign is justified by its outcome.
- A general comment heard is that campaign does not live up to expectations. It is seen as unsystematic: just one ad, a song, a logo, billboards, and some ad hoc events and activities.
- Another critique of the process of the campaign is that it did not follow up on the initial products and activities associated with Kosovo, such as the “New Born” sign in Prishtina and the “Kosovo Thanks You” initiative (see details below). A few products and advertisements are not enough to change the image of Kosovo, it was claimed.

- A representative of civil society has described this notion through an essay-writing analogy:

“The Kosovo Young European campaign could be viewed like an essay. It has a great catchy and sexy title, but it does not have content in it. Yes Kosovo is the place of young Europeans! So what?! Now we don’t know what to do! What comes after? The campaign does not dig further and deeper.”^{xxlii}

- Criticism mostly focuses on the content of the campaign, revolving around the two main outputs: the TV ad and the billboards. Concerns have been raised that current efforts to promote Kosovo are one-sided: “Where is the beauty of the Kosovo countryside? Where are the rich traditions of the country? Where are the old people of Kosovo? What about other natural resources? Why is Kosovo’s diversity not included (e.g. different folk clothes of the region, the traditional white authentic Kosovar hat “Plis” etc.)?”
- A further complaint is that the campaign lacks deeper conceptualization and strategic thinking. As has been seen during the past two years, there has not been a coherent strategy interlinking policy aspects with greater public diplomacy for Kosovo. The campaign was born as an ad hoc initiative, rather than a core activity deriving from an existing governmental strategy.



2. Procurement process of the campaign

- A claim which is particularly raised by counter bidders is that the process of tendering by the Ministry of Economy and Finance was not sufficiently fair. The time between publication of the tender dossier and the deadline for submission of applications, for instance, was too short: The campaign tender was only open for about 19 days. Competitors thus argue that the time given for the preparation of the tender was not enough. Usual practice for the preparation of tender bids is more than a month.
- Companies which requested documents and further information did not get replies on time. The budget was also not pre-defined (see tender description above).
- As a result, the program is considered by some as not transparent and has even led to speculation about corruption.

3. Lack of public engagement in the development process of the campaign

- A concern raised is that the process for development of the campaign was not inclusive. The campaign was not discussed publicly in Kosovo's society and had only a minimum of discussion in the Kosovo Parliament. The campaign was not a product of public engagement. As such it was purely a project of the Government.
- There have been, for instance, no systematic means of gathering and incorporating people's ideas for the

content of the campaign outside governmental circles and bodies contracted by the government.

- However, the campaign is considered by the majority of the population as an issue of "national" interest.

4. Communication with the public

- A general disappointment brought up is that the Kosovo Government has communicated little to its citizens with regard to the campaign or the process of branding. The Government has not made much effort to walk its citizens through the process and outcomes of the campaign.
- There is, for instance, only insignificant or no information on the websites of the Ministry of Economy and Finance, the Prime Minister's Office, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs or the government portal about the campaign process, despite the very high public interest in it. There is no strategy or action plan about the campaign that could be viewed publicly.
- Consequently, it is difficult for the general public to determine the purpose and goal of the campaign.

5. Relationship between public funding and the added value of the campaign

- A crucial question concerns the relationship between expenditure and the output of the campaign. People query whether the Government needed to spend €5.7 million to produce a logo, a TV ad, billboards, a website, paper cups and T-shirts.



- In comparison with the general state budget, funds dedicated to the campaign are seen by some as rather large: For example, the Ministry of Agriculture, which is in charge of creating an environment for the economic development of rural areas, has a total allocated budget of about €11.6 million; and the Constitutional Court, the key independent judicial institution of Kosovo, has been budgeted only about €1.05 million for the year 2010.
- Some say that the amount of spending on the campaign could only be legitimized if the campaign brought higher returns. The campaign should have focused more on bringing in investments and stimulating the local economy.
- Another argument made is that the high amount of expenditure on the campaign did not reflect realities in Kosovo. People are critical that the Government spent funding which could have gone on social benefit programs for the people of Kosovo.
- A civil society representative went as far as to say that: *"The people in Kosovo are looking for the enjoyment of their basic needs (employment, mobility, wealth, healthcare), rather than for international recognition."*

6. Does the Kosovo "Young European" campaign have the wrong target?

- Most of the people interviewed, including opposition party representatives, raised the question about the appropriateness of the

campaign's target. The campaign has mostly targeted European countries that have already recognized Kosovo: Germany, Austria and the UK. Broadcasting the ad to these countries is seen as inefficient if not even pointless.

- The target should have rather been on the five EU countries that have not recognized Kosovo, as well as countries of the Arab League.
- A general comment made publicly by civil society representatives and individuals is that the campaign is shown too much in Kosovo as opposed to abroad. Posters and billboards were put around the municipalities. People wonder whether showing the campaign cheaply in Kosovo is a way of avoiding the higher costs of spending to show the advertisement internationally.

7. Comments on the goals of the campaign

- A common view has been that the ad does not have enough content or power to convince decision-makers to change their mind about Kosovo: "If decision-makers from Romania see the ad, what will they do? Nothing!"
- In this regard the strength of the campaign has been called into question: If the outcome of truly changing the image of Kosovo abroad cannot be reached, then why would such a campaign be needed?

8. The communicated image of the campaign

- Concerning the communicated image of the campaign, some comments have been that the Kosovo "Young



Europeans" message presenting a youthful and positive image does not reflect the realities of Kosovo (unemployment, infrastructure problems, and water and energy shortages).

- It is argued that Kosovo does not have an image problem; It has a reality problem. Internally, Kosovo faces economic isolation, unemployment, poverty, exclusion, corruption and such an image is reflected to the outside. People believe that the government should first make the functioning of democracy and economy in Kosovo a fact.

"The problems of Kosovo cannot be solved by Saatchi & Saatchi, by newspaper articles or by videos. They need to be fixed by all of us: starting from the Kosovo government, civil society, private sector and all citizens."^{xliv}

"Kosovo needs a big mirror, so Kosovars can look at themselves first. They should not fool themselves nor please themselves, but try to solve internal matters of concern."^{xlvi}

- It is also suggested that when decision-makers need to learn about Kosovo, they look at the European Commission Progress Report, which serves as a barometer for the improvement or degradation of the social, political and economic situation. Decision-makers read analyses such as those in the Economist, which talk about corruption, a weak judiciary and widespread poverty in Kosovo. Those high-level decision-makers cannot be "fooled" and do not look at the campaign to find out about

Kosovo: thus, the perception about changing their minds about Kosovo through a *Lovemark* campaign is misleading.

9. Reaction to the "Lovemark" concept

- A reaction to the *Lovemark* concept has been that it is an illusion because Kosovo has not done anything so far to encourage other countries to love it.
- Moreover, it is argued that politics is not based on love but on interests. Thus, the aim of branding Kosovo as a *Lovemark* does not relate well to its aim for greater recognition worldwide. For instance, a country such as Spain does not need to love Kosovo in order to recognize its independence. The recognition of Kosovo is instead a political decision.

10. Critique of the originality of the campaign

- The originality of the ad has been questioned. The Kosovo "Young Europeans" TV ad resembles a previous Orange Mobile TV ad which uses a similar concept (e.g. using balloons, a map, puzzle pieces, etc).
- Also, the slogan "Young European" was first used by the Industrial Development Agency (IDA) of Ireland in the 1970s and 1980s, to promote Ireland as a foreign investment destination ahead of its accession to the European Union. The ad portrayed the Irish as "young, highly educated, modern English speakers who would be ideal employees for global firms moving into the European market."^{xlvi}



11. Reaction to the "Young European" slogan

- Some interviewees disputed that the Kosovo "Young Europeans" slogan represents Kosovo as it is. It was argued that the campaign rather creates an image of a Kosovo which its leaders want to see (e.g. happy people with a new identity).
- The slogan can be misleading: Young, for instance, could be considered a term for immature people, in need of guidance and babying. This could as well describe the position of Kosovo today: a not yet fully-fledged country that is supervised and overseen by the international community.
- Furthermore, arguments about Kosovo and the European identity, which the campaign is presumably trying to emphasize, have been raised: Being young, cool and pretty does not mean that one is European.

"It appears as though the campaign has reflected only one reality of Kosovo: the culture of show-offs! This is the culture of being somebody that you are not, not honest. An everyday example could be of a Kosovar businessman in bankruptcy driving an expensive Mercedes Benz."^{xxvi}

- The slogan could be ambiguously interpreted, as "young" Kosovars are unfortunately also often associated with low-level education, economic migration and crime abroad. This translates into a perception that Kosovo is a burden and threat to Europe.
- Some interviewees expressed disappointment given that the campaign

does not show a country with history, experience, a country which was built by the efforts of the people who fought for its freedom. The campaign rather presented Kosovo as a country with a short history or no memory of its past. Instead, the campaign could have shown the challenges Kosovo went through (the Ottoman era, the recent war, etc.) and stressed that Kosovo did not suddenly appear from nowhere.

- In this regard the campaign is partly perceived as trying to create a new identity and nation without using the existing one. This argument relates to the fact that more than ninety percent of the population of Kosovo is Albanian. There was a lack of inclusivity in the campaign, a rejection of the demographic diversity of Kosovo, which includes older people and minorities.
- As some people have stated, it looks like that the campaign was created for the Kosovo people in order to convince them about a change in the country, rather than for others to see Kosovo as it really is.
- As a result, honesty is regarded as lacking. This corresponds to the critique that Kosovo is only a formal country without substance. As advertisements always aim to trick people and sell them something, Kosovo is put in the light of being a "commodity on sale."

12. Reaction to the TV ad

- Reactions to the production and quality of the TV ad have mostly been positive. From a technical point of view there are no doubts that the ad was beautifully produced. The song was well composed and original.



- However, there were voices that raised the question of what exactly was being advertised.^{xlvi} Other reactions have been: "Yes it looks great. So what?!"
- Reuters ran a piece on the TV ad, stating that the ad gave a very positive impression, but commenting that it was no more than a good ad.^{xlvii}
- A critique made is that the young people are left outside of the puzzle. Towards the end of the ad, when the puzzle is raised from the ground, the young people are shown outside of Kosovo. This gives the impression that Kosovo is created from the outside and not by its own people, inside.
- This reinforces some of the arguments made by civil society that Kosovo is created and designed by others' wishes and not by the will of the people inside. An example could be the criteria presented by the Ahtisaari Proposal on the establishment of statehood of Kosovo: the drafting of the Kosovo Constitution, the design of the Kosovo flag and anthem, etc.^{xlvi}

13. Reactions to the billboards

- Reactions to the billboards were diverse: Some civil society representatives described them as copies of marketing posters for banks, Microsoft, or Apple.
- Another critique was that all the young Kosovars appearing in the billboards have light-color eyes, something not very common among people living in Kosovo.
- The people portrayed are thought to look rather like members of the upper class.

"You cannot only be a talent; You also have to be normal."^{li}

- Another impression was that the images show young people who do not care, but just have fun. One went as far as to describe the youth in the pictures as "a bunch of freaks or clowns." In other words, they were seen as actors and not as real people.

14. The Kosovo "Young Europeans" campaign in the internet

- Despite its presence in several domains, the Kosovo "Young Europeans" campaign is considered to have failed to be delivered on the Web. Beyond some links to other pages, the website does not offer any substantive content about Kosovo for a viewer who may have been intrigued by the TV ad.
- The Facebook Group is considered active, but most of the content posted in it consists of general greetings and occasionally some news about Kosovo and Kosovars around the world. Most members of the group are Kosovars or Albanians and not foreigners.

15. Performance of the Ministry of

"When ones sees a person with good and expensive clothes, as is portrayed in the billboards while keeping in mind the context that around forty percent of Kosovars are poor, one could easily think that those people are either idiots, thieves or criminals."^{li}



Foreign Affairs in Public Diplomacy and lobbying

- A comment made by a foreign policy NGO in Kosovo is that the government has not allocated enough funds in its annual budget for a functioning foreign policy. This is seen as an indication that foreign policy is not a priority.
- The Ministry of Foreign Affairs apparently does not have an established structure or specialized staff to deal directly with Public Diplomacy issues.
- Generally, people claim that the performance of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is poor. The Ministry should be on the road more and try to reach out to leaders of the world. Kosovo does not match up to its Serbian counterparts concerning lobbying. If the case is different, it should be better communicated to the public.
- A view is that Kosovo's diplomacy was more pro-active in the 1990s with lobbying for its recognition than it is now. At the time, the leaders of Kosovo together with the diaspora were mobilized and used any means to reach out to the world about the Kosovo issue.
- Additionally, as diplomats and representatives abroad are considered an important part for the Public Diplomacy of a country, it has been suggested that the Government should select candidates with a background in communication and public diplomacy and further strengthen their capacities in this field.
- Another criticism is that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Parliament of Kosovo have failed to consult with civil

society organizations during the selection process of diplomats, although the Government has claimed to have done so.

16. Strategic regional Public Diplomacy and lobbying focus

- A demand brought up is that Kosovo should have more strategic focus in its effort to gain more recognition worldwide. A crucial lobbying priority should have been directed towards Brussels, the five EU countries which have not recognized Kosovo yet, Arab League members, swing countries and those who do not have a stand on the Kosovo issue yet. Using Kosovo-friendly countries to influence other countries for recognition is not effective enough.
- The Ministry of Foreign Affairs has focused its diplomatic engagement primarily around the United Nations Headquarters in New York, rather than in the capitals of potential diplomatic partners.
- Kosovo has not used its Yugoslav heritage to approach unaligned countries as Serbia has done. Croatia and Slovenia, which have recognized Kosovo and are also fundamental successors of Yugoslavia, could help to bridge this gap.
- Another strategic instrument should have been the greater use of diaspora, which has shown to care about Kosovo in the course of war in the 1990s and beyond. No systematic work has been done in this regard.
- In addition, it has been suggested that the Kosovo Government should not restrain itself from identifying with Islam. This might be a reason why many



Arab countries have distanced themselves from Kosovo. In that regard, using Turkey could be a key means, instead of primarily lobbying with the help of the United States.

17. Practical aspects of diplomacy

- The Government has not tackled matters of practical concern for Kosovars which are linked to the performance of diplomacy, such as high prices for international insurance for cars, acknowledgment of Kosovo on internet websites (e.g. booking flight tickets, issuing names in Facebook and Skype, hotel bookings, online applications, online weather channels,

etc). It is claimed that the government either does not concern itself much with such issues or is unsuccessful.

- Another aspect that has attracted criticism is that the Government has not been very proactive in trying to reach out to international sports institutions for the recognition of Kosovar sport federations. According to the statements of interviewees, the Government, has not used sports and Kosovar talent as a means to promote Kosovo, improve its image and reach out to other countries for recognition. Thus, talented young players lose all hope of meeting their potential.



IV. Other existing Public Diplomacy approaches in Kosovo

- Besides the Kosovo “Young European” campaign, other governmental efforts have been initiated to promote Kosovo, such as “Kosovo – Discover New Beauty” to attract tourism or the Investment Promotion Agency of Kosova (IPA).
- Civil society organizations and individuals have also undertaken activities in an attempt to explore and develop Kosovo public diplomacy, promote its image abroad, and bring Kosovo closer to countries and international organizations that have not recognized it yet. However, public diplomacy efforts are isolated, with no coordination among involved institutions, bodies and individuals.
- *Visit Kosova.org* is a one-stop shop for tourism. The web portal provides general information on Kosovo, its geography and climate, cultural heritage, economy, local products, and municipalities. There is also specific information on tourist destinations (such as Brezovica, Rugova canyon, Gadime cave and Mirusha waterfalls), plus travel tips, restaurants, night life, maps, pictures of sights, tourist agencies, publications and brochures.
- In the web portal, Kosovo is presented as a country with a wealth of cultural heritage and treasures ‘influenced by many historical, social, economic, ethnic and religious circumstances’.^{lii}

1. Further governmental efforts

a) The “Visit Kosova” web portal

- As an official online resource center for tourism and promotion of Kosovo attractions, the Department of Tourism at the Ministry of Trade and Industry (MTI) has established the web portal called *Visit Kosova.org*.

THE “VISIT KOSOVA” WEB PORTAL



b) Investment Promotion Agency of Kosova (IPA)

- As part of economic diplomacy, with the main aim to improve the image of the country, support economic development and facilitate foreign direct investments, the Government of Kosovo has established the *Investment Promotion Agency of Kosova* (IPA). IPA is under the administration of the Ministry of Trade and Industry.^{liii}

INVESTMENT PROMOTION AGENCY



- IPA promotes the economic and business climate of Kosovo. It runs an international marketing campaign, supplying information and services free of charge to potential foreign investors.
- In 2006, supported by the *Economic Initiative for Kosova (ECIKS)*, IPA opened the first official representation of Kosovo abroad, in Vienna. The Vienna Office provides existing and potential foreign investors from German-speaking countries (Austria, Germany, and Switzerland) with free, confidential services.
- The IPA has organized several activities, events, policy initiatives, and materials related to business promotion in Kosovo and abroad. To name a few: a business conference in Austria, a project with Kosovar migrants in Austria, the production of promotional publications on investment and business climate, studies and strategies, capacity development of diplomatic staff, and a Start Up Weekend.

2. Non-governmental efforts

a) Foreign Policy Club

- As a non-governmental organization, comprised of politicians, intellectuals, activists, and researchers throughout Kosovo, the *Foreign Policy Club* has been active in building awareness locally and internationally, initiating public discussions and debate, conducting studies and providing recommendations for the foreign policy of Kosovo and its image abroad.
- Recent activities involved a conference and a study on the internationalization of Kosovar sports. Topics of other discussions and conferences include: Kosovo and the Arab world, the burden of corruption on foreign direct investment, international trade barriers, the building of foreign policy structures in Kosovo, and the decision of the International Court of Justice on Kosovo's unilateral declaration of independence, among others. The *Club* also prints the renowned investigative Foreign Policy Magazine, translated into Albanian.



b) *Forum 2015*

- As a project of the Kosovo Foundation for Open Society (KFOS), *Forum 2015*, together with the Foreign Policy Club and other civil society organizations, invited delegations from Spain, Greece, and Arab countries (Lebanon, Jordan, Egypt, and Saudi Arabia) to Kosovo, for dialogue and discussions. These delegations were made up of influential figures, intellectuals, political institutes, civil society members, journalists, and even diplomats.
- These events have helped stimulate debate and bring to the attention of delegates the issue of Kosovo, its recognition and image in all these countries.
- Forum 2015, through the Kosovar Stability Initiative, has also produced a comprehensive study called *Image Matters*, which challenges some of the international clichés and conventional wisdoms about Kosovo: organized crime, high corruption, lack of political rights and freedoms, human trafficking, and ethnic violence, amongst others.^{liv} The study is followed by a fifty-minute documentary, which aims to prompt Brussels to initiate a process for visa liberalization.



c) *Hotel Prishtina – Art and Culture from Kosovo*

- As a way to inform the German public about Kosovo, its people, arts and culture, the Capital City Cultural Fund in Berlin implemented a project called *Hotel Prishtina* in Berlin HAU Theater in 2009. Artists and theater professionals from Kosovo went to the improvised 'hotel' in the theater and provided insights into everyday life in Kosovo and the country's art and cultural life.
- The 'hotel' was comprised of a reception where the German public could learn about the country, its political situation, and history. Other sections of the 'hotel' involved a movie night, a hip hop concert with a Kosovar rapper and DJ, sightseeing through pictures and presentations, a minibar, and Kosovo-related products for sale: an inflatable bust of the military hero Skenderbeu (Skanderbeg), Peja beer and other local products.^{lv}

d) *Think Young Kosovo*

- *Think Young*, a think-tank and advocacy body concerned with young Europeans, has been running a project in Kosovo called *Kosovo Young*.



- The project aims to raise awareness at a European level about the current situations of young people in Kosovo; Lobby the European Institutions (Parliament and Commission) for visa liberalization so that young Kosovars can work and study in the EU; and to create opportunities for work and study in Brussels itself.
- *Think Young* has produced a documentary to portray the life of young Kosovars, their dreams and hopes for themselves and their country. The documentary is posted online and has been shown to audiences at various occasions. *Think Young* has run a conference in Prishtina, an essay competition, and an internship program; carried out a scientific study; and produced a position paper for lobbying.^{lvi}

e) *Private initiative: Lobbying for recognition of Kosovo*

- Behxhet Pacolli, head of the New Kosovo Alliance (AKR) party and a successful international businessman, has used his own initiative, resources and networks, parallel to the Government, to lobby for recognition of Kosovo.

- He has traveled around the world's capitals and international forums to meet leaders and make the case.
- It is considered that several statements of recognition of Kosovo, among them from Swaziland, Vanuatu, the Comoros Islands, Malta, Mozambique, the Islands of Mauritius, and the Maldives have come about as a result of his lobbying, though the Government disputes this.

f) *The "Flying for Kosovo" campaign*

- The Kosovar diaspora has taken private initiatives to promote Kosovo and lobby for its recognition around the world.
- James Berisha, a Kosovo-born pilot undertook a unique mission to fly a single-engine plane through all the countries of Central and South America to persuade governments to recognize Kosovo.^{lvii} The Kosovo flag was painted on the tail of the plane, and on the body was written "Please Recognize the Independence of Kosovo" in English and Spanish. Berisha took off from El Paso, Texas (USA) and landed in 85 different destinations across the continent.

BEHXHET PACOLLI LOBBYING WORLD LEADERS



With Muammar Gaddafi of Libya



President of Dominican Republic



King Abdullah of Jordan

- James Berisha has become an unofficial ambassador for Kosovo around the Central and Latin American continent. In an interview he was quoted as saying about his mission:

"I will thank those countries who have already recognized us, I will tell the others how important it is for Kosovo to be recognized worldwide, and I will try to end racial stereotypes that belittle our people", Berisha told Balkan Insight.^{lviii}

- More than a hundred news agencies from all over the world have written about James Berisha's "Flying for Kosovo" mission.

g) *Kosovothankyou.com*

- *Kosovo Thanks You* is a website managed by private citizens, which communicates information related to recognition of Kosovo's independence and visas. The site publicly thanks countries and their people in their languages. It also provides recognition statistics put into the context of the United Nations, European Union, G7, G8, G20, and gross domestic product, etc.^{lix}

FLYING FOR KOSOVO CAMPAIGN



h) *"Kosova, the Country of Sport" initiative*

- *"Kosova, the Country of Sport" initiative* has been developed by individuals from the private sector, civil society and media, to aim to make Kosovo the first country to declare, promote and establish itself as the country of sport.
- The initiative recommends the development of sport becoming a strategic focus for Kosovo, backed with political will and investments from within the country: 1. to engage the largest portion of the population - youth. empower and give them opportunities and tools to serve their country, family, themselves and the values of society; and 2. to use sport as a means of improving the image of Kosovo. Sport is seen as a way for Kosovo to reach out and open to the world. It is anticipated that through such a national initiative, other countries, international sports bodies and world businesses would become interested in learning about Kosovo, create networks and friendships, and invest.^{lx}
- Although the *"Kosovo, the country of sport" initiative* is only in the initial phase of development, it could become a useful tool for the public diplomacy of Kosovo.

KOSOVA, THE COUNTRY OF SPORT



i) The Chicago-based musical "You Took Away My Flag"

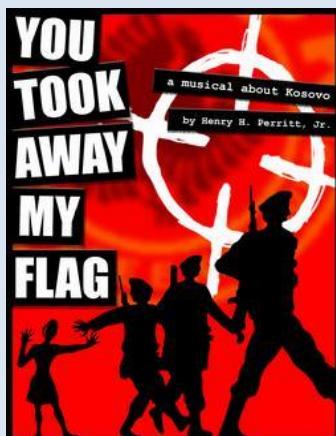
- Another form of bringing Kosovo to people's attention and improving its image is through art and theater. The musical "You Took Away My Flag", written by Henry H. Perrit, tells the story of Kosovo to larger audiences. The musical is based on and inspired by the Kosovo conflict in the late 1990s.
- The musical has been shown over twenty times since its opening in early April 2009 in Chicago. All performances were sold out; media coverage throughout Chicago was quite extensive. The reviews suggest that the audience came to understand more about the situation in Kosovo and relate to the struggles experienced by the population. One person who saw the musical, said:

"This first-time theatrical effort . . . causes one to ponder how conflict plays a role in daily life around the world...reminiscent of the Montagues and Capulets, and Perritt's own experiences in Kosovo. Many of the

characters' passions center not on policy, but on their relationships to each other and what it means in human terms to align with a particular group that walks a different path than those one loves the most. . . [A] moving account of his characters' lives through the war-torn nation and beyond."^{xi}

- Perrit, who spent the last ten years working, advising, researching and writing on the subject of Kosovo, turned some of the stories he heard into a musical. The musical "You Took Away My Flag" is, in his words: "...the story of human dreams passed down from father to son and mother to daughter, the story of love threatened by war and tradition, the story of brave young men and women taking matters into their own hands when their parents counsel patience and passivity, the story of ordinary people whose aspirations to live lives taken for granted elsewhere are held hostage by great-power politics."

"YOU TOOK AWAY MY FLAG" – MUSICAL IN CHICAGO BY HENRY H. PERRIT



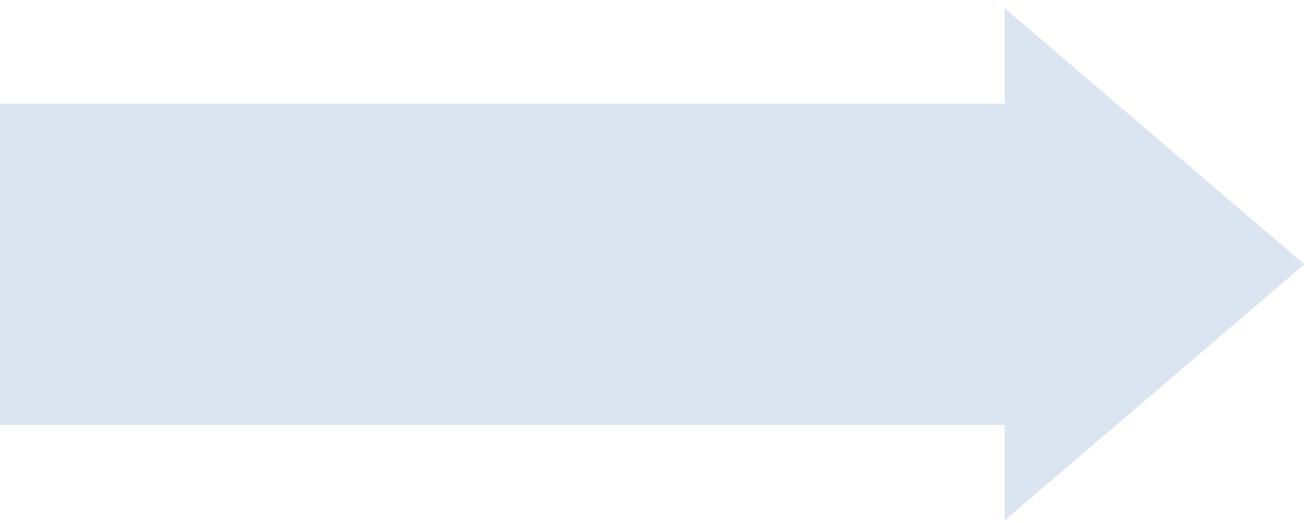
i) Kosovo 2.0

- Another new, independently organized effort is Kosovo 2.0 (Kosovotwopointzero.com), an online interactive portal and network site that serves as an interactive generator of stories, commentaries and documentations from Kosovo and around the world.^{lxii}
- Through its portal website, Kosovo 2.0 documents and promotes Kosovar youth. The portal engages Kosovars in creating the framework and image through which Kosovo's youth will be documented locally and represented abroad.
- Youth from all over Kosovo blog, write featured articles, express views through art, music, and writing. The portal provides a space for them to express themselves, but also inform the outside

world about their way of living and Kosovo in general. The sections of the portal are divided into: Lifestyle, Politics, Art, Kosovo, People, and Economy.

j) Kosovo Guide

- Similar, the free "KosovoGuide" intends to offer comprehensive information on "hopefully everything one can enjoy and do in Kosovo."^{lxiii}
- The online guide is open to contributions for suggesting things to do and to visit in Kosovo.
- The website is a joint project of the Creative Studio Rrota and the News Agency Kosovapress, funded by USAID through the Kosovo Private Enterprise Program.



B. COMPARING PUBLIC DIPLOMACY APPROACHES WORLDWIDE

- Much could be learnt from other Public Diplomacy approaches from around the world. The following four examples aim to motivate further comparative thinking about Public Diplomacy.
- The case studies Macedonia and Rwanda were chosen because of their

similarities to Kosovo: small, post-conflict, landlocked. The case study Serbia was included as it is a major and effective lobbying opponent against Kosovo's independence. Finally, Germany is touched on, as a country with large-scale Public Diplomacy efforts.

I. Macedonia

1. Reform of Macedonia's Public Diplomacy

- On the initiative of the then Foreign Minister Antonio Milososk, Macedonia started to enhance its Public Diplomacy capacities at the end of 2006.^{lxiv}
- Among other things, this resulted in the creation in January 2007 of a Public Relations and Public Diplomacy Department within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, as well as extending the role of the Ministry's Spokesperson.^{lxv}
- In December 2006, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs launched the diplomatic journal "Crossroads", which is devoted to promoting the country in the world and strengthening its public diplomacy through publishing articles on foreign policy issues.

- In association with the Macedonian Information Center, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs also issues the Macedonian Diplomatic Bulletin. It provides an array of domestic and foreign perspectives on foreign policy issues affecting Macedonia.^{lxvi}
- Both publications are used as a tool to inform academics, diplomats, and other decision-makers who follow current developments in the region.
- In another joint effort, the Ministry of Culture has made several presentations to make better known talented people who live in Macedonia, "to promote the greatest value" of the country: its people".^{lxvii}

2. Branding Macedonia

- Since 2007, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Public Diplomacy Directorate has been actively working on creating a Macedonia brand.^{lxviii}
- One of the major aims is to make the country better known in order to further its attempts to join the EU and NATO. It is also hoped that Macedonia will be strengthened economically through investment, trade, and tourism.
- In 2007, the governmental Agency for Foreign Investments started the campaign "Invest in Macedonia" to promote Macedonian business potential (low profit and income taxes, prompt registration of companies, low gross average salary, access to large consumer market, macroeconomic stability, and good infrastructure).^{lxix}

- As stated by the government, the campaign was intended to encourage investors to think about investing in Macedonia, but also to have a positive effect on the country's overall image, branding the country as the investment destination of the Balkans.
- In 2008, Macedonia presented a series of tourism promotion adverts on CNN to showcase the country's cultural and natural treasures. The campaign, launched under the slogan "Macedonia – Timeless", describes Macedonia as a jewel in the heart of the Balkans, full of undiscovered ancient sites and natural beauty. It features images highlighting the country's Orthodox Christian heritage, traditional crafts and medieval architecture as well as the Lake Ohrid National Park.^{lxix}
- Neighboring countries such as Greece, Croatia and Montenegro ran similar commercials.



II. Rwanda

- Rwanda has faced an immense challenge in attempting to reverse its negative image abroad, which was characterized by two particular realities: 1. a small, landlocked and impoverished country emerging from a civil war, which left close to a million people killed in 1994, and 2. a country located in Africa, which is considered as an economically-backward continent.

1. Public Diplomacy approach and its main targets: Becoming the African Gorilla of the 21st century

- Emerging out of the conflict, Rwanda has directed its public diplomacy efforts

solely through an economic development approach: economic diplomacy. Rwanda's branding approach is to devise a strategy to replace the genocide image by hope and economic prosperity. Rwanda aims to become an economic power or "the African Gorilla of the 21st Century".^{lxix}

- The country has expressed a vision of becoming a middle-income, knowledge-based and globally competitive economy by the year 2020: *Rwanda Vision 2020*.^{lxixii} The objective is to transform Rwanda into a dynamic global hub for business, investment, and innovation, and reverse its image as a post-conflict, poor country.^{lxixiii}

RWANDA VISION 2020: ECONOMIC OBJECTIVES AS A MEANS FOR DEVELOPMENT AND IMAGE BUILDING

- **Private Sector Led-Development** and fostering of entrepreneurship are considered central to the vision of Rwanda, and as the engine of growth for the country's economy.
- Within the development of market-oriented agriculture, **coffee and tea production** are considered to be the country's crucial exports.
- The government plans to develop a vibrant **Information and Communication Technology (ICT)** sector and to mobilize the human, financial and technical resources necessary in order to achieve it. Rwanda envisions becoming the ICT country of the continent.
- **Strong Governance** and the role of an efficient government are considered essential for paving the way for reforms and economic development. Gender equality and global agendas, including the achievement of Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and environmental conservation are seen as vital for the country to become and remain an actor in the international arena.
- Development of the **tourism sector** is another strategic economic activity for Rwanda. Natural resources - wildlife, volcanoes, jungles, and gorillas – as well as eco-tourism and peace and conflict tourism - are considered suitable for attracting tourists.

- All public diplomacy channels and efforts by Rwandan public institutions are geared to the country's economic perspectives and the fulfillment of Vision 2020.
- A central approach of Rwanda's public diplomacy has been to target wealthy, powerful, and famous friends: those who could help generate economic activity for the country and keep its story alive. They are business executives, international corporations, investors and importers, celebrities, ambassadors of good will, and international leaders.^{lxiv}
- President Paul Kagame's personal branding strategy has been to reach out to influential supporters to attract private investment. He has aggressively pursued Western investors to turn Rwanda from an impoverished nation to a powerful popular brand. His network includes people like former Alltel CEO Scott Ford, Costco CEO Jim Sinegal, Starbucks CEO Howard Schultz, former British Prime Minister Tony Blair, "purpose-driven" pastor Rick Warren, RealNetworks founder and CEO Rob Glaser, and Google CEO Eric Schmidt. Kagame has sold people the story of Rwanda and its promise: that this is a place where they can make a difference as well as profits.^{lxv}

INFLUENTIAL AND WEALTHY SUPPORTERS OF RWANDA



- **Jim Sinegal** bought Rwandan coffee for Costco's Kirkland brand; he also started an internship program for Rwandans at Costco.
- **Howard Schultz's** Starbucks is now one of the top buyers of Rwanda's coffee.
- **Tony Blair** established a program that sends civil servants from Whitehall to work in Kagame's office.
- Arkansas investment banker **Dale Dawson** created a scholarship for Rwandans to study in the United States.
- **McGill's Ubalijoro** helped broker a multimillion-dollar deal with Canada's Ecosystem Restoration Associates and Germany's Ecolutions to reforest barren land and develop alternative energies; the plan is to sell credits on the global carbon markets and split the profits with the Rwandan landowners.
- **Christian Angermayer's** Frankfurt-based financial-services company launched an East Africa private-equity fund that has invested in a Kigali bank and a Rwandan banking-IT company.
- **Eric Schmidt** made Google Apps available free to government ministries and three colleges in Rwanda.
- Actor **Don Cheadle**, who acted in the Hollywood movie *Hotel Rwanda*, has become an unofficial ambassador for Rwanda. He helps promote the country, its people, landscape, the story of conflict, and its potential.

- Another vital aspect of Rwandan public diplomacy is to keep its story alive. Reminding the world of the harsh experiences the Rwandan people went through during the conflict of 1994 generates global attention and sympathy for the country. International organizations deploy resources for peace and conflict resolution, education, sustainability and the development of agriculture. World leaders consider it their responsibility to support the country in the process of rebuilding and development now that there is peace. Hollywood makes movies; celebrities and rock stars have become unofficial ambassadors to help raise awareness and promote the place.^{lxvi}

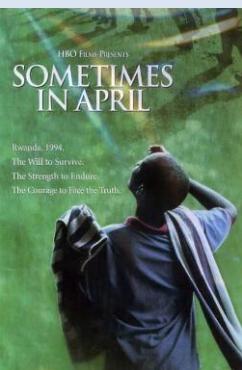
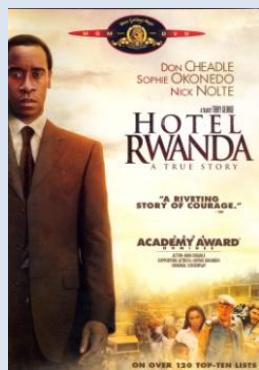
energy, and resources in branding products so they become viable for sale, rather than directly branding the country itself.^{lxvii}

- Special focus is put on Rwandan coffee, which has reached out to the US, European, Middle Eastern and Asian markets. Starbucks, Green Mountain Coffee, Costco, and Paramount coffee stores are among the main coffee purchasers throughout the world to have introduced and promoted fair trade Rwandan coffee as one of their best brands.^{lxviii} Rwandan coffee serves as an excellent ambassador for the country and its promise. The coffee brands have won several international prizes and account for 40% of agricultural exports with around \$50 million of profit a year.^{lxix}

2. Branding Rwanda: Tools for Public and Economic Diplomacy

- Rwanda's approach to branding is unusual in the sense that it invests time,

RWANDA IN THE SPOTLIGHT



RWANDA'S COFFEE DIPLOMACY



- The Mountain Gorillas of Rwanda have become an international brand in themselves. They have turned into the country's symbol, promotion for tourism, and a focus of international attention for the causes of environmental conservation and protection of the world's endangered species.
- Each year since 2005 the government has hosted an international ceremony for the 'naming of baby gorillas' online. People from all over the world can submit their proposals for names. This event also marks International Environment Day, and in 2010 was co-hosted by President Kagame, UNEP President and Hollywood actor Don Cheadle.^{lxix} The Gorilla adoption and

conservation campaign is another tool for both awareness- and fundraising. The campaign targets wealthy people and international corporations. The highest priced adoption of twin gorillas costs USD \$1,000,000.^{lxxi} The gorilla face with a 'Welcome to Rwanda' logo is found in each government portal and website.

- Rwanda remains vital in the international arena as a brand for strengthened governance, leadership and achievement of global agendas. In the 2008 elections, Rwanda set a world record for women in the parliament. 56% of the Parliament and a third of the cabinet is comprised of women. Sweden comes second with 45.3% of women in the parliament.^{lxxii}

MOUNTAIN GORILLAS



RWANDAN PARLIAMENT



RWANDA DEVELOPMENT BOARD



- In 2010, Rwanda became the global host country for World Environment Day. In addition, President Kagame was presented the Energy Globe Award for outstanding commitment to promoting environmental management. Rwanda is seen as a success story for its attainment of the United Nations Millennium Development Goals. In 2010, the World Bank Report "Doing Business 2010" named Rwanda as the *World's Top Reformer*, placing it in 67th position, up from 143rd in 2009. This is the first time an African country has received this title. World leaders and media draw attention to the rebirth of the country and its achievements.^{lxxxiii}
- President Paul Kagame is considered a world champion in entrepreneurship. He is invited to international conferences

and summits as keynote speaker to promote private sector led-development, free trade policies, and the role of small businesses and entrepreneurship in national development. Kagame's success with development in Rwanda is bringing him to prominence as Africa's leading statesman.^{lxxxiv}

3. Institutional efforts for Public and Economic Diplomacy

- The Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation (MINAFFET) publishes a Diplomatic Magazine on a quarterly basis, which serves as a tool to promote Rwanda in the international arena, portraying the country's positive image to friends and partners.

PRESIDENT KAGAME



RWANDAN DIPLOMATIC MAGAZINE AND DIASPORA E-NEWSLETTER



The DIPLOMATIC Magazine
MINAFFET



MINAFFET
DIASPORA E-Newsletter
A monthly online publication

MURI Y'I NISRERO:
▪ KIGALI: Abonyoreshi b'Abonyoreshi Ijape inzizit KDU (Kigali International University) basuye ii Kigali.

MUGAALI: Abonyoreshi b'Abonyoreshi Ijape inzizit KDU (Kampala International University) basuye ii Kampala.

- In 2008, MINAFFET established the Directorate for diaspora so it can create a closer connection with its population abroad, and strengthen the vital role that the diaspora could play in national development processes, resource mobilization, and image building. The Ministry publishes a weekly online newsletter to ensure greater flow of information on business development and engagement in the country.^{lxxxv}
- The Rwanda Development Board (RDB) was established in 2008 as an independent coordination body which brings together the government and the private sector to fast-track development activities and facilitate new investments in the country. Eight existing agencies that promoted investment and image building were merged into the RDB.
- Embassies and consulates abroad have been utilized for economic and public

diplomacy. The RDB has undertaken training for commercial attachés and diplomats on how to analyze information related to trade and exports. Each mission abroad has official duties: to find ways to showcase Rwandan products at trade fairs and other events in the host countries; and to procure large-scale training programs for Rwandans abroad, including study at universities, conferences, seminars, trainings, and workshops for different levels and issues.^{lxxxvi}

- RDB has organized numerous international investment forums, regional conferences, an international trade fair, entrepreneurship workshops, trainings, and other events to promote Rwandan products and the country's natural and human resources.

RWANDA DEVELOPMENT BOARD

- Agency for Investment and Exports
- "Invest in Rwanda" Portal
- Rwanda Tourism
- Gorilla Tourism
- The Rwandan National Innovation and Competitiveness Program
- Project Rwanda
- Bridge2 Rwanda

RWANDA DEVELOPMENT BOARD



III. Serbia

- During the 1980's and especially in the 1990's, Serbia under the leadership of Slobodan Milosevic was associated with war, economic sanctions and instability.
- After the ousting of Milosevic and the takeover by the new leadership in 2000, Serbia began to take initiatives to change its bad image in the international sphere.
- Its country image has greatly improved in recent years even though its nation branding has not been very widespread.

1. Reform of Serbia's Public Diplomacy

- As part of its Public Diplomacy and in order to change its bad image, Serbia has encouraged and invested in sports, the film industry and cultural and youth activities which have targeted foreign audiences.

- Tennis stars Novak Djokovic, Jelena Jankovic, and Ana Ivanovic currently represent the Serbian brand without any state investment. Djokovic even brought a tournament to Belgrade, doing more than all local PR experts. Dejan Stankovic, a Serbian football player for Milan Internazionale (Inter), promoted Serbia by wearing a large Serbian flag while celebrating Inter's Championship win in May 2010.
- The Exit music festival in Novi Sad has become a trademark that benefits both Vojvodina's regional government and Serbia itself. A pioneering student-led enterprise has been transformed over the last decade into one of Europe's most acclaimed music festivals. It now receives funding from the municipal government and the Serbian Ministry of Finance.

SERBIAN SPORTSMAN AND WOMEN



EXIT FESTIVAL 2009, NOVI SAD



- In 2009 the Serbia Film Commission was established to “promote and develop Serbia as a cost-effective, high-quality, competitive destination for international filmmaking, and to provide information and support to international filmmakers considering using Serbia for their productions.” Their main target is to brand Serbia as the best place to make Hollywood movies.^{lxxxvii} The commission gives ten reasons why filming in Serbia is better, from the cost of operations and available incentives to the night-life in Belgrade. The excellent promotional video produced by the Film Commission displays the country as ideal for any movie genre set anywhere in Europe.
- More and more Hollywood films use Belgrade and Serbia as locations. Studio infrastructures are still in good condition with many talented professionals. Gerard Butler recently shot a movie there and praised Belgrade in interviews as an energizing place where he spent each night in a different place and ate well.^{lxxxviii}

2. Branding Serbia

- In 2007 the National Tourism Organization of Serbia launched a campaign to brand Serbia through two different spots on CNN, one on Serbia and one on Belgrade.^{lxxxix} However, they were not as successful as anticipated in changing Serbia’s image and so they were cancelled after a few showings.
- Other initiatives for branding Serbia have been much more successful. The Serbia Investment and Export Promotion Agency (SIEPA) was established in 2001 to attract foreign direct investment in the country and to support foreign companies interested in operating in Serbia.^{xc}
- Serbia has proved its ability to lure and keep internationally recognized companies: Microsoft (U.S. IT, 2005), Zesium mobile (German IT, 2004), Streit Group (French Automotive Parts, 2004), Euronet (U.S. Customer Support Center, 2004), U.S. Steel (Steel, 2003), and Progetti Company (Italian Leather Industry, 2003). SIEPA has been promoting Serbia to other corporations around the world as an economically friendly and stable location to invest in.



IV. Germany

- Since the end of World War II, foreign cultural politics has traditionally been out of the hands of the Federal Government and promoted instead by Germany's strong system of independent institutes and foundations.^{xcii} Autonomous structures were preferred due to negative memories about the machinery of the Third Reich's Ministry of Propaganda, which organized hate speeches and anti-Jewish campaigns both in and outside Germany to promote the Nazis' ideology.^{xcii}
- Today, communications and cultural departments at the Federal Foreign Office co-ordinate Germany's Public Diplomacy efforts. Several activities are directed by other Federal Ministries (e.g. the Ministries of Economy and Development), by separate institutions (the Goethe-Institut, the German Academic Exchange Service, the Deutsche Welle broadcaster, and German Houses, etc.) and by private institutions. Given the federal system of Germany, regional authorities also play a significant role, by running their own educational and cultural events abroad.

1. German Public Diplomacy institutions

- For over 50 years, the Goethe-Institut has been the largest German cultural policy organization working outside Germany.^{xciii} 149 Goethe-Instituts and 11 liaison offices in 92 countries offer information on the culture, language and other general aspects of Germany. Operating as an autonomous and politically independent organization, it provides cultural programs, language courses, libraries, information centers and visitors' programs worldwide.
- Similar to the Goethe-Institut but with a stronger focus on art, the Institute for Foreign Relations (Institut für Auslandsbeziehungen, ifa) is Germany's leading institution for international cultural exchange.^{xciv} Ifa devises and organizes German contemporary art exhibitions abroad. It promotes artistic exchange and dialogue between civil societies by funding artists' exhibition projects and awarding arts scholarships. Ifa galleries in Stuttgart and Berlin are notable for featuring contemporary art, architecture and design from Africa, Asia, Latin America and Eastern Europe. Ifa is funded by the German Foreign Office, the State of Baden-Württemberg and the City of Stuttgart.

GERMAN PUBLIC DIPLOMACY INSTITUTIONS



GOETHE-INSTITUT

GERMAN PUBLIC DIPLOMACY INSTITUTIONS

ifa

Institut für
Auslandsbeziehungen

- A key institution for educational programs in and outside Germany is the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD).^{xcv} The DAAD is the largest funding organization in the world supporting the international exchange of students and scholars. The DAAD supports the internationalization of German universities, promotes German studies and the German language abroad, assists developing countries in establishing effective universities and advises decision makers on matters of cultural, education and development policy. Its programs range from semesters abroad for undergraduates to doctoral programs, from internships to visiting lectureships, and from information-gathering visits to assisting with the establishment of new universities abroad. The DAAD maintains contact with and provides advice to its main partner countries on every continent via a network of 14 regional offices and 50 information centers. The DAAD runs over 250 programs, through which it funds more than 55,000 German and foreign scholars worldwide per annum. Its budget is derived mainly from the federal funding for various ministries, primarily the German Federal Foreign Office, but also from the European Union and a number of enterprises, organizations, and foreign governments.
- Journalistic outreach to inform people worldwide about Germany is provided by the German international broadcaster Deutsche Welle (DW).^{xcvi} DW is dedicated to presenting interested radio listeners, television audiences and Internet users abroad with a comprehensive picture of political, cultural and economic life in Germany. Reporting in 30 languages, DW targets people around the world who are interested in Germany and Europe, particularly current and future opinion leaders and decision-makers. Some programming is directed at those learning German and other individuals with German language skills.
- Finally, central actors for German's Public Diplomacy efforts are the German embassies and Information Centers.^{xcvii}

GERMAN FOREIGN OFFICE



Auswärtiges Amt

GERMAN EMBASSY IN PRISHTINA



Deutsche Botschaft
Pristina

GERMAN PUBLIC DIPLOMACY INSTITUTIONS

DW-WORLD.DE
DEUTSCHE WELLE

GERMAN PUBLIC DIPLOMACY INSTITUTIONS

DAAD
Deutscher Akademischer Austausch Dienst
German Academic Exchange Service

2. German Public Diplomacy campaigns and tools

- To link with the World Cup held in Germany in 2006, the German government launched the nation branding campaign “Germany - Land of Ideas”, which will last until 2010.^{xcviii} It did this in cooperation with the Federation of German Industries (BDI) as well as several German companies.
- The slogan “Germany - Land of Ideas” sums up positive associations with Germany both within the country and abroad: a nation of science and culture; a land of poets and thinkers; innovative products “made in Germany”; its inventiveness and creative passion.^{xcix}
- After the World Cup new challenges for the campaign arose, in particular with regard to consolidating the contemporary image of Germany as a sustainable market and investment location. Topics such as education, research and academic careers were set as new priorities. To this end, a new logo “Research in Germany” was designed in preparation for Expo 2010 in China and Science Express in India.^c Campaigns and lectures during both the German EU Presidency and the G8 Presidency were the main focus in 2007.
- The German Foreign Office runs a couple of ads and initiatives: With 11 language editions in 180 countries, the “Deutschland Magazin” is Germany’s most international periodical.^{ci} The magazine targets decision-makers outside Germany, providing background analyses about issues in Germany and Europe, as well as reports on bilateral relations between Germany and other regions of the world in its regional editions.

THE “GERMANY LAND OF IDEAS” CAMPAIGN

Welcome to Germany

 Land of Ideas

Research in
 Germany

 Land of Ideas

DEUTSCHLAND MAGAZIN



- The German government also created a booklet and website called “Facts About Germany” to help foreigners to find out more about Germany than appears in the news.^{cii} In 11 chapters, nine distinguished authors report on the most important political, societal and economic trends in Germany.
- The portal Deutsche Kultur International provides information on German language and literature, exhibitions of German art worldwide, and youth exchange programs. The website presents the fields of activity of German governmental departments, intermediary organizations, institutions, and foundations engaged in foreign cultural politics.
- The English-language website “Young Germany” produced by the German Federal Foreign Office’s internet division tries to encourage young elites worldwide to take an interest in Germany with its original approach.^{ciii} The multifaceted journal provides information about career opportunities, innovative developments in research and science, as well as trends, lifestyle and the experiences of young people in Germany. The broad, up-to-date mix of topics is complemented by offerings for those who come to Germany for work or education.

FACTS ABOUT GERMANY



DEUTSCHE KULTUR INTERNATIONAL



“YOUNG GERMANY”



C. PROCESS QUESTIONS TO GUIDE PUBLIC DIPLOMACY POLICY IN KOSOVO

- Public Diplomacy is not an easy task, in particular in a post-conflict situation such as in Kosovo. Practitioners and researchers argue that a vision, courage, and creativity are needed to run successful Public Diplomacy.^{civ}
- To stimulate debate about further means to promote Kosovo abroad and enhance its international standing, the following five process questions are put forward as suggestions. These questions need to be answered by the Kosovo government in order to shape a Public Diplomacy strategy for the country.

PROCESS QUESTIONS

(I.) TARGETING

(II.) COORDINATION AMONG GOVERNMENTAL BODIES

(III.) POTENTIAL INSTITUTIONS

(IV.) COMMUNICATION

(V.) COLLABORATION

I. Targeting

- *What is the main target of Kosovo's Public Diplomacy?*
- As an initial step, objectives must be identified and defined for planning a Public Diplomacy strategy. Targeting has two dimensions: a) concerning particular content (What is the main message we want to send across to other countries?, What is the overall foreign policy aim of Kosovo? How is Public Diplomacy connected with the overall foreign policy of the country?), and b) concerning a particular audience group (What is our main target audience, e.g. groups, individuals, general, influential opinion-formers, an already informed audience, diaspora, NGOs, business community, research and educational institutions, or a specific geographical focus such as another country's population? What do we want to get from whom?).
- As a next step, short-term, medium-term and long-term priorities can be set, e.g. Which countries does Kosovo need help from in order to raise the number of countries acknowledging Kosovo's independence?, Which countries does Kosovo want to be close to long-term, e.g. USA, Germany?.
- Thus, a model for target-setting can be:
 1. Define Objectives,
 2. Set Priorities for Objectives (short-term, mid-term, long-term),
 3. Determine Regional Target Groups (pinpointing),
 4. Set Priorities for Regional Target Groups (short-term, mid-term, long-term),
 5. Determine other Types of Target Group,
 6. Set Priorities for other Types of Target Group,
 7. Select Means (see question IV. Communication).
- One option for Kosovo, for instance, is to approach largely Arab countries by playing the Muslim card. In a pinpointing strategy, Kosovo could stress that it is more than the "Young Europeans": it can also be the "European Muslims" and be the bridge between East and West in Europe, whilst keeping the disadvantages of this option in mind. Another option is to focus on countries which have similarities with Kosovo, i.e. other small, landlocked, post-conflict countries. The UN Office of the High Representative for the Least Developed, Landlocked Developing Countries and Small Island Developing States might provide a useful starting point for networking.^{cv}

II. Coordination among governmental bodies

- *How should Public Diplomacy efforts inside official Kosovo institutions be coordinated?*
- A key aspect to enhance the efficiency and consistency of Public Diplomacy efforts is coordination. Although there is an Inter-ministerial Committee and also a focal point in the Ministry of Economy and Finance dealing with the "Kosovo Young European" nation branding campaign, further structures still need to be fully developed.
- Remaining questions are: Which ministry should ideally take the lead in future Public Diplomacy activities which go beyond nation branding? Should activities be centralized in the Prime Minister's Office, as current action is said to be? Should the Ministry of Foreign Affairs take the lead (see Part A of this study)? Is an Inter-ministerial Committee truly needed for coordination? Who is or shall be responsible for agreeing on a Public Diplomacy strategy (e.g. approval by Parliament?), advising resource allocations, and monitoring the performance of Public Diplomacy activities? Should Kosovo's Public Diplomacy be centralized (cf. UK or USA) or decentralized (cf. Germany)?^{cvi}

III. Potential Institutions

- *Through what kind of infrastructure does Kosovo want to run its Public Diplomacy?*
- Some countries have established non-governmental institutions, alongside governmental bodies, to deal with Public Diplomacy matters.
- Questions which could be considered are: Does Kosovo need and want a Public Diplomacy Institute? What other institutions could be useful to achieve targets and make them sustainable (e.g. University Programs on Public Diplomacy, or a Public Diplomacy component in a Diplomatic Academy of Kosovo)? Should institutions be governmental, private or hybrid?
- An example is the Serbian Institute for Public Diplomacy, which lobbies as a non-profit organization in Brussels to promote the interests of Serbia. To this end, it seeks to join its forces with Serbian and foreign government officials, Members of the European Parliament and their staff, staff of non-governmental organizations, and the media. The Serbian Institute for Public Diplomacy also advances the practice of Public Diplomacy through research, consultation, publications, and professional services (see the Serbia case study above).

IV. Communication

- *By which means does Kosovo want to communicate its Public Diplomacy?*
- The spectrum of means and tools for Public Diplomacy is endless. TV ads and billboards are only some of the possibilities which can be used to reach a target audience. Different instruments of Web 2.0 and Viral Marketing can open chains of communication to make Kosovo known through conventional and also unconventional ways.
- Would a Diplomatic Bulletin (see the Macedonia case study above) be useful? How can the targets identified be communicated internally and externally? How can information be accessed? Which “outside the box” methods have not been considered before?
- As an example of a snowball effect in Public Diplomacy, the Israeli government recently began a campaign to turn every Israeli into a traveling public relations agent in an attempt to reverse the country’s declining image internationally. With a website backed by an advertising blitz, the Information and Diaspora Affairs Ministry began issuing Hebrew-language information to passengers on Israeli airlines and offering coaching courses to groups heading abroad. The message is: “Are you fed up with the way we are portrayed around the world? You can change the picture.”^{cvi}

V. Collaboration

- *Who could be partners in Kosovo's Public Diplomacy?*
- Spreading the word and reaching out to other countries requires strong partnerships. As Public Diplomacy is everyone's business, it requires a "we-are-all-in-one-boat" approach.^{cvi} Internal and external alliances can be created (e.g. media, business partners, "groups of friends" such as Kosovo donor countries, etc.).
- Questions which need to be asked are: To what extent are current Public Diplomacy approaches interlinked and do they complement each other? How can the Government, non-profit organizations, the diaspora and the business world collaborate to make sure the country puts out messages which represent what they view as "the fundamental common purpose" of their country? How can Kosovo strengthen friendships with influential countries and individuals so that they help reach out to other countries?
- An example of public-private collaboration is the German campaign "Land of Ideas", which was initiated by the German government in cooperation with the Federation of German Industries (BDI) as well as several German companies. In Rwanda, a Development Board has been created to unite all efforts by the government and the private sector to bring in investment and brand the country.



CONCLUSION

- While there are several Public Diplomacy initiatives in Kosovo, some are not exploited to the full and some are not publicized. Efforts tend to be fragmented rather than being bigger than the sum of their parts. Activism and passion for the country could be better channeled through formulation of an inclusive vision; transparency and direct communication from the government; and careful coordination. Benefit could also be obtained through greater involvement of the diaspora and the private sector.

I. Kosovo's "Young Europeans" campaign

- The first part of this study looked at the Kosovo "Young Europeans" campaign, and found that the professionalism of the campaign's production was in little doubt. Rather, criticism related mostly to the added value of the campaign and its follow-up: Could the € 5.7 million cost have been used to fund a more wide-ranging campaign?
- Despite public interest, the Government did not involve civil society organizations, artists, the private sector and members of opposition parties in development of the new Kosovo brand. The Government thus created critics of the campaign rather than partners. Only subsequently has the contracted company given presentations to attempt to explain the campaign to various audiences.
- The "Young European" campaign was designed as the first step in a long-term process to make Kosovo better known abroad. However, as it stands, the

campaign has not reached any clear objective. Citizens, including politicians, seem not to have understood the main aim of the campaign: Was it to make Kosovo known abroad, to achieve recognition of its independence, to create a new identity for the country, or to bring in investment?

II. The development of Public Diplomacy in Kosovo

- The second part of this study compared Public Diplomacy approaches around the world and suggested that a clear vision of a country facilitates Public Diplomacy. It can, for example, be economic as in the case of Rwanda, identity and investment-based as in Macedonia, or science and culture-oriented as in Germany. The vision for Public Diplomacy in Kosovo appears to be in its initial phases. Defining a vision is a necessary prerequisite. Equally, infrastructures for Public Diplomacy are not yet fully operational, as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is still in the process of being set up at home and abroad.
- Kosovo could learn from the Public Diplomacy concepts developed by different state and non-state actors and the experiences of other countries in recent decades. Parallels could be drawn with cases such as Rwanda - a small, poor, post-conflict, landlocked country; as well as with neighboring countries such as Macedonia or Serbia; or Germany, a country with large-scale Public Diplomacy efforts.
- Successful Public Diplomacy requires communication to be aligned with the reality on the ground. In future Kosovo

might do well to be careful what messages it tries to convey to foreign audiences, otherwise the implications could be serious.

- Some open questions, beyond the scope of the present study, can be found in Appendix A.

III. Choosing suitable methods for Public Diplomacy for Kosovo

- The third part of this study examined process questions which can assist in policy formation. Kosovo must define the goals it wishes to reach and its target audiences. It will then become clear which messages need to be communicated and, therefore, which of the many tools available for countries to run their Public Diplomacy will be appropriate. Segmenting the audience is helpful, in order to make it easier to navigate the media and outreach domains. Constant evaluation and learning from past experiences with Public Diplomacy will strengthen the approach and impact abroad.
- Kosovo has financial constraints; however, successful Public Diplomacy does not depend only on budget. All citizens can be used as tools for Public Diplomacy, whether they are ordinary individuals, in government, civil society, the private sector, the diaspora or friends of Kosovo abroad. Finding a way to use all available resources could be cost effective and easily deployable.
- The inclusion of the diaspora as an integral part of Public Diplomacy structures and outreach abroad is crucial. The diaspora of Kosovo accounts for more than half a million people (more than a quarter of the population). Each Kosovar who lives abroad is an

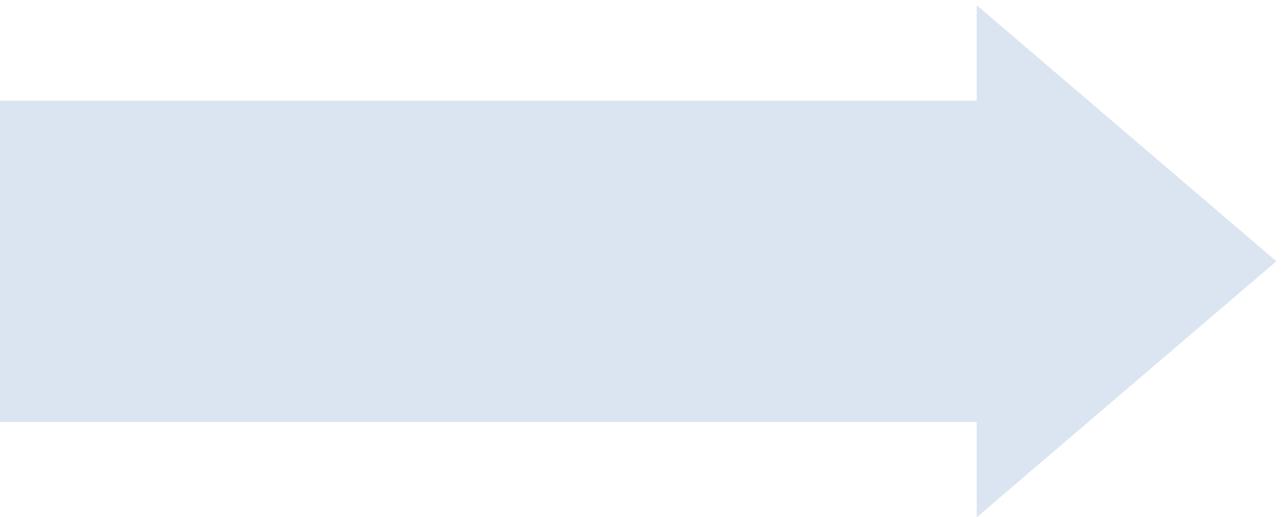
ambassador of the country in some way. The Government could be more strategic in mobilizing the diaspora by providing it with the necessary tools and means to reach out to wider audiences, at little cost.

- Getting the private sector on board is equally crucial. The private sector has the flexibility, human resources and capital to support Public Diplomacy efforts abroad, as companies break into foreign markets with their products. Combining their efforts would benefit both the government and the private sector.
- Meanwhile, it is worth at least considering some more radical, "Outside the Box" ideas for Kosovo's Public Diplomacy (see Appendix B).

IV. The time is now

- Public Diplomacy is a continual process and should be treated as such. Kosovo cannot afford to end its efforts with the "Young Europeans" campaign. As a small country, it needs constant, innovative and inclusive efforts to reach out to different audiences around the world.
- The International Court of Justice's advisory opinion of July 2010 has brought Kosovo back onto the radar of the international community. The opinion, covered by media worldwide, is considered to have legitimized the statehood of Kosovo, and the hope is that it will lead to recognition of its independence by more countries. Kosovo needs to build on this momentum with strong, synergized, and targeted Public Diplomacy.

APPENDIX



I. APPENDIX A: OPEN QUESTIONS FOR KOSOVO'S PUBLIC DIPLOMACY

- Though the study tried to be as comprehensive as possible, several questions could not be fully explored: One issue which needs to be studied in greater detail is the **link between the development of a nation state with the conceptualization of a Public Diplomacy strategy**. A particular challenge for Kosovo as a post-conflict and newly established country is its struggle to deal with its past, present, and future. Discussion about the Albanian versus the multi-ethnic identity of Kosovo is ongoing. It is difficult to decide on a Public Diplomacy strategy or nation branding approach if there is no 'nation' as such.

- **The role of Kosovo's Muslim identity in its Public Diplomacy** could be analyzed further. Can and should Kosovo use its Islamic identity (see Process questions above)? One way to approach Islamic countries for recognition could be to use 'the Muslim bond' or parallels with the Palestinian issue, terming Kosovo the 'Palestine of Europe'. One such example is the recognition of Kosovo's independence by Saudi Arabia, which stated in its official recognition letter that:

"In line with the existing religious and cultural bonds with the people Kosovo, and in respect to the will of the people Kosovo to obtain independence, the Kingdom (of Saudi Arabia) announces its recognition of the Republic of Kosovo."^{cix}



- Further open questions are: Could and should Kosovo take the **role of being the victim of a conflict and an example of hope and transformation**, as Rwanda does? How could Kosovo use the **heritage of Ibrahim Rugova** ('Ghandi of the Balkans') and the non-violent resistance of the 1990's, which are considered unique in the history of non-violent movements? Could Kosovo sell its image to Latin American countries as being a **modern 'Che Guevaran state'**, which was emancipated from a regional power (Serbia)? Could Kosovo use its **geographical position as a small, landlocked country** to reach out to countries in a similar position? Could Kosovo benefit from having been under international administration, perhaps by **selling Kosovo as a UN success story**?

II. APPENDIX B: "OUTSIDE THE BOX" IDEAS FOR KOSOVO'S PUBLIC DIPLOMACY



- 💡 **Founding a "Kosovo Center of Excellence and Research" at a world-class university;**
- 💡 **Making use of Web 2.0, e.g. fix Google search results, edit Kosovo-related subjects in Wikipedia, find ways to increase hits of Kosovo-related videos on Youtube, encourage Facebook users to join groups that promote the country, lobby for the inclusion of Kosovo as a country on airline websites;**
- 💡 **Building alliances with other countries around the world, on the lines of those which already exist: the Kosovar-Japanese Association, the Islamic Association, Kosovar-Slovenian joint ventures, twin cities, school and university partnerships, etc.;**
- 💡 **Prompting Hollywood directors, writers, and actors to make movies about Kosovo (cf. the Oscar-winning or nominated films *Hotel Rwanda*, *Invictus*, *Slum Dog Millionaire*, *Gandhi*, *Kite Runner*, *The Hurt Locker*);**
- 💡 **Encouraging the filming of blockbuster films in Kosovo through investment;**
- 💡 **Appointing "Informal Ambassadors" for Kosovo and setting up an official "Kosovo Group of Friends", e.g. famous people who played an important role in Kosovo's independence could be approached, such as Bill Clinton (former US President), Tony Blair (former UK Prime Minister), Madeleine Albright (former US Secretary of State), Martti Ahtisaari (former Finnish President and Nobel Peace Prize winner), and Wesley Clark (former NATO commander). Kosovar sportspeople and celebrities who could be engaged include Luan Krasniqi, Lorik Cana, Valon Behrami, Shefki Kuqi, Fatmire Bajramaj, Majlinda Kelmendi, Marigona Dragusha, Tony Dovolani, Fadil Berisha, and Ruzhdi Bojani;**
- 💡 **Attracting alternative tourism to Kosovo, e.g. eco-tourism;**
- 💡 **Establishing Kosovo as a place for "social science research tourism", such as peace and conflict resolution, non-violence, peacekeeping, institution-building, nation and state creation, negotiations, decentralization, army transformation, economic development, ethnic reconciliation, etc.;**
- 💡 **Offering free flight tickets and no residence limitations for writers, journalists, reporters, researchers, think tanks, photographers, artists, and filmmakers;**
- 💡 **Branding products and species typical of Kosovo could help brand the country itself, e.g. the Illyrian Shepherd dog (the Sharri dog), Kosovo wine, and Birra Peja beer;**
- 💡 **Gaining international publicity through a major initiative, e.g. providing internet access for all Kosovars; , or taking the lead on internationally highlighted issues such as climate change, biodiversity and conservation, green energy.**

ENDNOTES

ⁱ Murphy, Jim (2008): *Engagement. Public Diplomacy in a Globalised World*. London: Foreign & Commonwealth Office. <http://www.fco.gov.uk/en/about-us/publications-and-documents/publications1/pd-publication/020-engagement/>.

ⁱⁱ Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark (2007): *Handbook on Public Diplomacy*. Copenhagen: Communication Department. <http://www.ambdhaka.um.dk/NR/rdonlyres/2A69BFE1-5AAA-4DBF-8DF7-132637EE00BE/0/handbookonpublicdiplomacy.pdf>.

ⁱⁱⁱ For further background information about Public Diplomacy see: Snow, Nancy and Taylor, Philip M. (ed.) (2009): *Routledge Handbook of Public Diplomacy*. New York: Routledge.

^{iv} See: Execution of Nation Branding and International Media Campaign for the Republic of Kosovo. Procurement No. 1201-08-003-211. Announced: December 4, 2008. Deadline for submission: December 22, 2008.

^v Kosovo Government (2009): Production of the Nation Branding advertising is underway. Press Release, September 10, 2009.

^{vi} Kosovo Government (2009): Kosovo's international campaign warmly received. And now it is also launching locally. Press Release, November 4, 2009.

^{vii} Ibid.

^{viii} Official webpage of the campaign: <http://www.kosovo-young.com/>.

^{ix} Kosovo Government (2009): Kosovo's international campaign warmly received. And now it is also launching locally. Press Release, November 4, 2009.

^x Kosovo Government (2009): The Kosovo Nation Branding Campaign is launched. Press Release, October 26, 2009.

^{xi} Kosovo Government (2009): Production of the Nation Branding advertising is underway. Press Release, September 13, 2009.

^{xii} Clip in full length: <http://www.kosovo-young.com/#video>.

^{xiii} See the making-of film of the clip: <http://www.kosovo-young.com/#video>.

^{xiv} Kosovo Government (2009): Production of the Nation Branding advertising is underway. Press Release, September 13, 2009.

^{xv} See: <http://www.youtube.com/user/kosovoyoung/>.

^{xvi} See: <http://www.youtube.com/KosovoNet/>.

^{xvii} See: <http://www.flickr.com/photos/kosovoyoung/>.

^{xviii} Roberts, Kevin (2004): *Lovemarks. The Future Beyond Brands*. New York: PowerHouse Books. Also see: <http://www.lovemarks.com>.

^{xix} Roberts (2004), p. 73.

^{xx} See for instance: Taylor, David (2007): Lovemarks. Brand Theories Unwrapped, in: the brandgymblog, March 8, 2007. http://wheresthesausage.typepad.com/my_weblog/2007/03/lovemarks_brand.html; BusinessWeek (2007): Struggles of a Mad Man, in: BusinessWeek, December 3, 2007. http://www.businessweek.com/magazine/content/07_49/b4061060.htm. Poynor, Rick (2004): Forget brands. What you need is an intimate bond with your dandruff shampoo, in: eyemagazine.com, May 13, 2004. <http://www.eyemagazine.com/critique.php?cid=261>.

^{xxi} See: Taylor (2007).

^{xxii} Kosovo Government (2009): Production of the Nation Branding advertising is underway. Press Release, September 10, 2009.

^{xxiii} See: Anholt, Simon and Hildreth, Jeremy (2004): Brand America. The Mother of All Brands. London: Cyan.

^{xxiv} Hudson Teslik, Lee (2007): Nation Branding Explained. Washington D.C.: Council on Foreign Relations. http://www.cfr.org/publication/14776/nation_branding_explained.html.

^{xxv} Kosovo Government (2009): Production of the Nation Branding advertising is underway. Press Release, September 10, 2009.

^{xxvi} Schwan, Anna (2007): Ein Staat ist doch kein Schokoriegel, in: Die Welt, September 23, 2007. http://www.nationbranding.de/site_english/inthemedia/070923_Welt_Ein-Staat-ist-doch-kein-Schokoriegel.php.

^{xxvii} See: Frost, Randall (2004): Mapping a Country's Future, in: brandchannel.com, April 19, 2004. http://www.brandchannel.com/features_effect.asp?pf_id=206.

^{xxviii} Hudson Teslik, Lee (2007): Nation Branding Explained. Washington D.C.: Council on Foreign Relations. http://www.cfr.org/publication/14776/nation_branding_explained.html.

^{xxix} Kosovo Government (2009): Kosovo's international campaign warmly received. And now it is also launching locally. Press Release, November 4, 2009.

^{xxx} Kosovo Government (2009): Kosovo's international campaign warmly received. And now it is also launching locally. Press Release, November 4, 2009.

^{xxxi} Ibid.

^{xxxii} See M&M Awards Website at: <http://www.mandmawards.com/winners2010/>.

^{xxxiii} See: <http://www.mandmglobal.com/community/awards-and-events/mandmawards2010/winner-nation-place-branding.aspx>.

^{xxxiv} Ibid.

^{xxxv} See: <http://www.mandmawards.com/shortlist/>.

^{xxxvi} Vetëvendosje (2010): Evropianët e izoluar. January 12, 2010. <http://www.vetevendosje.org/sh/content/view/1540/2/>.

^{xxxvii} http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=O7__YNCo-QA&feature=related.

^{xxxviii} http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JDDUKg_2ps8&feature=related.

^{xxxix} Interview with Herolind Beqaj. Gazeta Express. May 10, 2010.

^{xl} Interview with Shkelzen A. Domi. www.xenini.com. April 7, 2010. <http://www.xenini.com/>.

^{xli} Ibid.

^{xlii} Interviewee who wishes to remain anonymous.

^{xliii} Interviewee who wishes to remain anonymous.

^{xliv} Interviewee who wishes to remain anonymous.

^{xliv} Clancy, M. J. , (2008): "Re-Presenting Ireland: Tourism, Branding and Changing Conceptions of the Nation in Contemporary Ireland" Paper presented at the annual meeting of the ISA's 49th ANNUAL CONVENTION, BRIDGING MULTIPLE DIVIDES, Hilton San Francisco, SAN FRANCISCO, CA, USA Online. http://www.allacademic.com/meta/p250851_index.html.

^{xlvi} Interviewee who wishes to remain anonymous.

^{xlvii} See: <http://www.albanian.com/v4/showthread.php?s=4d2aod4fddde37b3566b7ea6b5f778e7&t=28878>.

^{xlviii} See: Reuters presentation: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9FeRSQdxkRM>.

^{xlix} See: Ahtisaari Proposal.

^l Interview with Visar Ymeri. Head of Economics Unit, Vetvendosje! April 11, 2010.

^{li} Ibid.

^{lii} See: VisitKosova webportal. <http://visitkosova.org/?page=2,4>.

^{liii} See official website of Investment Promotion Agency: <http://www.invest-ks.org/>.

^{liv} Forum 2015 (2008): Image Matters! Deconstructing Kosovo's Image Problem. Pristina: Forum 2015, Kosovar Stability Initiative. http://www.iksweb.org/repository/docs/IMIDZ_english.pdf.

^{lv} See Hotel Prishtina website: <http://www.sauerbrey-raabe.de/de/projekt/101/o/o>.

^{lvii} See Kosovo Young Project website: <http://www.thinkyoung.eu/website/kosovo-young/the-project.html>.

^{lviii} See: <http://www.flyingforkosovo.com/>.

^{lx} See: <http://www.balkaninsight.com/en/main/news/16841/>.

^{lxix} See: <http://www.kosovothankyou.com/>.

^{lx} Website of Kosovo, Country of Sports: <http://www.kosovosport.com/advCms/?id=10,1,1,1,a>.

^{lxii} See: <http://www.youtookawaymyflag.com/>.

^{lxiii} See: <http://www.kosovotwopointzero.com>.

^{lxiv} See: <http://www.kosovoguide.com/?cid=2,198>.

^{lxv} Mitevski, Edvard (2008): The Story of the Macedonian Public Diplomacy, in: Macedonian Diplomatic Bulletin, p. 20. <http://www.mfa.gov.mk/Upload/ContentManagement/Publication/FINAL%20MDB%20-16-za-web.pdf>.

^{lxvi} See: Jusufi, Shpresa (2006): Spokesperson of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in: Macedonian Diplomatic Bulletin, No. 1, p. 8.

^{lxvii} Macedonian Diplomatic Bulletin (2006): New Diplomatic Journal Crossroads Promoted, No. 3, p. 6.

^{lxviii} Macedonian Diplomatic Bulletin (2009): The USA is Macedonia's True and Sincere Friend, in: Macedonian Diplomatic Bulletin, No. 27, p. 4.

^{lxix} Pioneer Investors (2008): MFA's Public Diplomacy Directorate actively works on creating brand Macedonia. Pioneer Investors, 11.02.2008. <http://www.pioneer-investors.com/news2.asp?newsid=11195>.

^{lxix} See: <http://www.investinmacedonia.com/>. See clip here: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EYRJvWANxIA>.

^{lxx} See: <http://www.macedonia-timeless.com/>. See clip here: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fP_bSxRlz-l.

^{lxxi} See: <http://www.fastcompany.com/magazine/134/special-report-rwanda-rising.html>.

^{lxxii} See: <http://www.newtimes.co.rw/print.php?issue=14118&print&article=22928>.

^{lxxiii} See: <http://business.rwanda.rw/spip.php?article312>.

^{lxxiv} See: http://money.cnn.com/2007/03/28/news/companies/pluggedin_Gunther_Rwanda.fortune/index.htm.

^{lxxv} See: <http://www.africanloft.com/re-branding-nigeria-lessons-from-rwanda/>; see also <http://www.pri.org/business/global-development/rwanda-investment-model.html>.

^{lxxvi} See: <http://www.palgrave-journals.com/pb/journal/v3/n1/full/6000053a.html>.

^{lxxvii} See: <http://allafrica.com/stories/201003120673.html>.

^{lxxviii} See:
http://www.tradeforum.org/news/fullstory.php/aid/1134/Rwandan_Coffee_Goes_from_Ordinary_to_Star_bucks_.html.

^{lxxix} See: <http://aidwatchers.com/2010/05/rwanda's-coffee-success-story/>.

^{lxxx} See: http://news.yahoo.com/s/afp/20100605/wl_africa_afp/rwandaenvironmentungorillas.

^{lxxxi} See: <http://www.rwandatourism.com/GNCconceptnote2006.htm>.

^{lxxxii} See: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/7620816.stm>; see also <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2008/10/26/AR2008102602197.html>; see also http://www.idea.int/news/upload/sweden_women.pdf.

^{lxxxiii} See: <http://www.unep.org/wed/2010/english/messages/#SG>.

^{lxxxiv} See: <http://www.doingbusiness.org/features/reformers2010.aspx>; also see videos at <http://www.africanloft.com/paul-kagame-of-rwanda-the-entrepreneur-president-talks-business/>.

^{lxxxv} See website of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation:
<http://www.minaffet.gov.rw/content/view/78/179/lang,english/>; See link to Diplomatic Magazine:
http://www.minaffet.gov.rw/component/option,com_docman/task,cat_view/gid,52/Itemid,132/lang,english/;
See link to Diaspora E- Newsletters:
http://www.minaffet.gov.rw/component/option,com_docman/task,cat_view/gid,64/Itemid,132/lang,english/

^{lxxxvi} See: Annual Report 2008. Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation, Rwanda. February 2009. The Report could be found at:
http://www.minaffet.gov.rw/component/option,com_docman/task,cat_view/gid,52/Itemid,132/lang,english/;
see also: <http://www.newtimes.co.rw/print.php?issue=14118&print&article=22928>.

^{lxxxvii} See: <http://www.filminserbia.com/AboutUs.aspx>.

^{lxxxviii} See: <http://www.balcanicaucaso.org/eng/All-news/Serbia-Creating-a-brand>.

^{lxxxix} See: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TPdp7upFkr&feature=related>.

^{xc} See: http://www.siepa.gov.rs/site/en/home/2/about_siepa/.

^{xcii} Taylor, Erin (2006): Winning Hearts and Minds, in: Kosmos. Alexander von Humboldt-Stiftung, No. 87, pp. 24. http://www.humboldt-foundation.de/pls/web/docs/F23217/2006_kosmos87.pdf.

^{xcii} Spiegel, Albert (2002): Public Diplomacy. The German View. Speech by Dr. Albert Spiegel, Head of the Federal Foreign Office Directorate-General for Cultural Relations and Education Policy, at the British

Council Staff Conference on 18/19 March 2002. <http://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/diplo/en/Infoservice/Presse/Reden/Archiv/2002/020318-GermanPublicDiplomacy.html>.

^{xcii} <http://www.goethe.de/>.

^{xciv} <http://www.ifa.de/>.

^{xcv} <http://www.daad.de/>.

^{xcvi} <http://www.dw-world.de/>.

^{xcvii} <http://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/>.

^{xcviii} <http://www.land-of-ideas.org/>.

^{xcix} See image clips: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Cvl4u1CCp3o>, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OPpZtiAJgN8>.

^c <http://www.research-in-germany.de/>.

^{ci} <http://www.magazine-deutschland.de/>.

^{cii} <http://www.tatsachen-ueber-deutschland.de/>.

^{ciii} <http://www.young-germany.de/>.

^{civ} See among others: Cull, Nicholas J. (2008): Public Diplomacy. Seven Lessons for its Future from its Past. London: UK Foreign & Commonwealth Office. <http://www.fco.gov.uk/en/about-us/publications-and-documents/publications/pd-publication/7-lessons>.

^{cv} <http://www.un.org/special-rep/ohrlls/lldc/default.htm>.

^{cvi} As described in the case studies above, Germany has chosen a decentralized Public Diplomacy approach. In the UK, in contrast, responsibility for Public Diplomacy lies with the Directorate for Strategy and Information. This group is responsible for expenditure including to the British Council, BBC World, scholarships and campaigns etc, and coordinates parliamentary relations and outreach to UK civil society. The British government also set up a Public Diplomacy Strategy Board (PDSB). This includes the Department for Culture, Media and Sport, the Department for International Development, the Devolved Administrations and VisitBritain (the main body for tourism). There is a central image bank for photos about Britain (www.britainonview.com).

^{cvi} Bronner, Ethan (2010): Positive Views of Israel. Brought to You by Israelis, in: The New York Times, February 17, 2010. <http://www.nytimes.com/2010/02/18/world/middleeast/18israel.html>.

^{cvi} Cull, Nicholas J. (2008): Public Diplomacy. Seven Lessons for its Future from its Past. London: UK Foreign & Commonwealth Office.

^{cix} Saudi Press Agency (2010): Official Text, Saudi Arabia announces recognition of the Republic of Kosovo. Saudi Press Agency, April 20, 2010. <http://www.spa.gov.sa/English/print.php?id=656348>.

