

**UNIVERZA V LJUBLJANI
FAKULTETA ZA DRUŽBENE VEDE**

Mateja Jurič

**Ameriška kulturna diplomacija kot sredstvo pametne moči v Sloveniji: primerjalna
analiza**

**American Cultural Diplomacy as an Instrument of Smart Power in Slovenia:
Comparative Analysis**

Magistrsko delo

Ljubljana, 2016

**UNIVERZA V LJUBLJANI
FAKULTETA ZA DRUŽBENE VEDE**

Mateja Jurič

Mentor: red. prof. dr. Dejan Verčič

Somentor: prof. Krishnamurthy Sriramesh, PhD

**Ameriška kulturna diplomacija kot sredstvo pametne moči v Sloveniji: primerjalna
analiza**

**American Cultural Diplomacy as an Instrument of Smart Power in Slovenia:
Comparative Analysis**

Magistrsko delo

Ljubljana, 2016

“It has always seemed to me the real art in this business is not so much moving information or guidance or policy five or 10,000 miles. That is an electronic problem. The real art is to move it the last three feet in face to face conversation.”

Edward R. Murrow, ABC TV’s “Issues and Answers,” August 4, 1963

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I would first like to thank my thesis advisor dr. Dejan Verčič for his patience and guidance, pointing me in the right direction whenever I needed it. I would also like to thank my supervisor Phil Beekman for his invaluable insights. Finally, I would like to thank my colleagues, particularly Ivanka, Mateja and Tanja. Thank you for believing in me!

IZJAVA O AVTORSTVU

Ameriška kulturna diplomacija kot sredstvo pametne moči v Sloveniji: primerjalna analiza

Današnji svet je kompleksen, medsebojna odvisnost pa je postala ena glavnih značilnosti sodobnih mednarodnih odnosov. Mednarodni odnosi in diplomacija v enaindvajsetem stoletju se odvijajo med neodvisnimi globalnimi mrežami akterjev, informacij in idej, pri čemer se podirajo nacionalne meje in tradicionalni koncepti neodvisnosti in moči. V mednarodnih odnosih vpliv pomeni moč. Mehka moč, ki jo je opredelil Joseph Nye, predstavlja zmožnost države, da vpliva na dejanja druge države s prepričevanjem oziroma privlačnostjo in ne preko prisile. Ob zunanji politiki in političnih vrednotah je kultura ena izmed treh osnovnih virov mehke moči. Države izvajajo zunanjo politiko na različne načine, a vse z istim ciljem, in sicer, da uresničujejo svoje politične cilje in krepijo državne interese. Diplomacijo uporabljajo kot komunikacijsko sredstvo. Kulturna diplomacija je posebna oblika komunikacije, ki se osredotoča na krepitev odnosov med različnimi kulturami. Pomen kulturne diplomacije v sodobnem svetu raziskujemo z vidika kulture kot integralnega dela in sredstva zunanje politike. Kulturna diplomacija lahko nastopa v različnih vlogah; kot sredstvo krepitev odnosov in komunikacije med narodi in ljudmi, kot način preprečevanja konfliktov, kot način, preko katerega razvijamo oziroma vplivamo na dialog z občinstvom, prav tako pa ima kulturna diplomacija tudi zmožnost vplivati na druge na način, da dosežemo, kar želimo. V enaindvajsetem stoletju bo eden glavnih izzivov, kako učinkovito uporabljati kulturno diplomacijo kot sredstvo mehke moči, kar velja za vse države, ne le za Združene države Amerike. Z drugimi besedami, kako prepričati s pomočjo kulture, vrednot in idej, v odnosu do vojaške in gospodarske moči, t. i. trde moči. Dejanski izziv za države in njihove vlade je, kako na pameten način kombinirati različne oblike moči. Ameriška javna diplomacija je nepogrešljiva pri izvajanju zunanje politike. S posredovanjem ameriških vrednot, družbe in politik in s spodbujanjem medsebojnega razumevanja med Američani in ključnimi tujimi javnostmi se zagotavlja uresničevanje ameriških zunanjepolitičnih ciljev, krepiti državne interese ter državno varnost. Magistrsko delo raziskuje vlogo in izvajanje programov ameriške kulturne diplomacije v Sloveniji. V majhni državi, kot je Slovenija, kjer je prisotno precej močno negativno mnenje o ameriški vladni politiki, je kulturno delovanje še posebej koristno in pomembno. Raziskava je bila opravljena z vidika ameriških vladnih predstavnikov in z vidika kulturnih ustvarjalcev v Sloveniji. Primerjava ameriške kulturne diplomacije v Sloveniji z drugimi mednarodnimi predstavništvi je omogočila bolj relativno oceno vloge in delovanja ameriških kulturnih programov. Prav tako je omogočila bolj konkretno oceno delovanja Ameriškega veleposlaništva v Sloveniji kot glavnega izvajalca kulturne diplomacije pri nas.

Ključne besede: kulturna diplomacija, Združene države Amerike, javna diplomacija, pametna moč, Slovenija.

American Cultural Diplomacy as an Instrument of Smart Power in Slovenia: Comparative Analysis

The world today is complex, with interdependence becoming a major feature of modern international relations. International relations and diplomacy in the twenty-first century occur between interdependent global networks of actors, information and ideas, breaking through national borders and the traditional concepts of sovereignty and power. In international politics, influence is power. Soft power, as defined by Joseph Nye, is the state's ability to influence the actions of another through persuasion or attraction, rather than coercion. Culture is one of the three primary resources of soft power, along with foreign policy and political values. When implementing foreign policy, countries use different approaches but all do it with the same goal, which is to enhance their policy goals and objectives in order to advance their national interests. And diplomacy is a means of their communication. With that in mind, cultural diplomacy is a particular form of communication focusing on building relationships between cultures. The meaning of cultural diplomacy in the modern world has been, and still is, largely investigated from the perspective of culture being an integral part and a medium of foreign policy. Cultural diplomacy can play a number of roles; a tool in enhancing relations and communication between nations and people, a means of conflict prevention, a means to engage and influence a dialogue with the audience, and a means to affect others to attain desired outcomes. In the twenty-first century, one of the main challenges not just for the United States but for every country will be how to effectively use cultural diplomacy as a soft power approach, meaning how to persuade through culture, values and ideas, in relation to the use of military and economic force, traditionally called hard power. The real challenge for nation-states and their governments is how best to combine different ways of power in a smart way. American public diplomacy is indispensable to the conduct of foreign policy; it supports the achievement of U.S. foreign policy goals and objectives, advances national interests, and enhances national security by communicating U.S. values, society, and policies, and by fostering mutual understanding between Americans and key foreign audiences. This master's thesis examines the role and the implementation of the American cultural diplomacy programs in Slovenia. In a small country like Slovenia, with high negative views of American government policies, cultural programming is especially useful and important. Research was done through the perspective of official U.S. representatives' and from the perspective of the Slovenian cultural opinion-makers. Comparing American cultural diplomacy in Slovenia to other international representations provided a more relative assessment of the role of American cultural programs and also gave a more concrete assessment of the U.S. Embassy in Slovenia as the main agent of cultural diplomacy programs.

Key Words: cultural diplomacy, United States of America, public diplomacy, smart power, Slovenia.

TABLE OF CONTENT

1 INTRODUCTION.....	8
2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND KEY CONCEPTS	13
2.1 PUBLIC DIPLOMACY	14
2.1.1 In relation to traditional diplomacy.....	17
2.2 SOFT AND SMART POWER.....	19
2.3 NATIONAL REPUTATION AND NATION BRANDING	24
2.4 CULTURAL DIPLOMACY	26
3 HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF AMERICAN CULTURAL DIPLOMACY	30
4 CURRENT ROLE AND SIGNIFICANCE OF AMERICAN CULTURAL DIPLOMACY	33
5 METHODOLOGY	36
6 CASE STUDY OF CULTURAL DIPLOMACY CONDUCTED BY THE EMBASSY OF THE UNITED STATES IN SLOVENIA	39
5.1 Background of the Embassy of the United States of America in Slovenia	40
5.2 American cultural diplomacy as a foreign policy instrument.....	43
5.3 Comparative analysis with other international cultural diplomacy efforts in Slovenia .	58
7 FINAL CONCLUSIONS	66
8 DALJŠI POVZETEK V SLOVENSKEM JEZIKU.....	70
9 LITERATURE	74
10 ANNEXES	83
Annex A: The questionnaire on cultural diplomacy for U.S. official representatives.....	83
Annex B: The questionnaire on cultural diplomacy for Slovenian cultural opinion-makers	84

ABBREVIATION GLOSSARY

CIA – Central Intelligence Agency

CMR – Customer Management Relationship

ECA – Bureau of Educational & Cultural Affairs

ICD – Institute for Cultural Diplomacy

ITF – International Trust Fund

ISIS - The Islamic State of Iraq and Syria

NATO – The North Atlantic Treaty Organization

NGO – Non-governmental organization

PAO – Public Affairs Officer

PD – Public Diplomacy

QDDR – The Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review

US – The United States

USAID – The U.S. Agency for International Development

USG – United States Government

USIA – United States Information Agency

STA – Slovenian Press Agency (Slovenska tiskovna agencija)

1 INTRODUCTION

We live in a dynamic and complex world. The positive affects of globalization, such as the free flow of people, ideas, goods, information and technology, have brought with them new security challenges and threats, creating a security environment that has never existed before. Many political analysts and politicians agree that no country, regardless of its size and power, can guarantee its own security. Interdependence has thus become a major feature of modern international relations. International relations and diplomacy in the twenty-first century occur between interdependent global networks of actors, information and ideas, where media and information-technology reach across national borders and, with this, disrupt the traditional concepts of sovereignty and power (Rosenau in Plavšak Krajnc 2004, 652). This is not to say that due to global forces, geography and culture no longer matter but rather it is necessary to understand that the world today is no longer just a geographic entity but also a virtual and networked one. Globalization, urbanization and fragmentation are reshaping the world order by diffusing power to more people to more places through more ways. This requires the reshaping of diplomacy to include more conscious and serious engagement with new forces and non-state actors. The U.S. National Intelligence Council's Global Trends 2030: Alternative Worlds report from November 2012 identifies four key megatrends that are driving change within the international system: individual empowerment, diffusion of power, demographic shifts, and the food, water, and energy nexus.

When implementing foreign policy, countries seek to advance their national interest – their country's goals and ambitions (economic, military, or cultural). If diplomacy is a means of communication between nation-states and public diplomacy a “process of communicating with foreign publics” (Tuch 1990, 3), then cultural diplomacy is a particular form of communication focusing on building relationships between cultures. In this respect, culture represents a useful mechanism for cooperation between countries, enhancing relations and bridging areas of conflict.

The term “culture” has been variously defined by scholars and researchers but it is so all-encompassing that it is hard to define and, consequently, also hard to measure. The first comprehensive definition can be attributed to Tyler (1871), who saw culture as »a complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, customs, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society” (in Sriramesh and Verčič 2012, 11). Kaplan

and Manners (1972) identified four key factors that shape culture: 1) technoeconomics, which is the impact that technology and economics have on the development of cultural characteristics in a society; 2) social structure, which refers to the impact of society's institutions on the culture of its people; 3) ideology, which is indicative of the values, norms, worldviews, knowledge, and philosophies espoused by the members of a society; 4) personality, referring to the adoption of individual personalities by members of a society based on acculturation that happens at home, at school, and in the workplace (Sriramesh and Verčič 2012, 12). Professor of Public Communication in the American University School of Communication, Rhonda Zaharna (2012, 7) defines culture as “an underlying force that shapes the public communication between nations and publics in the global political arena” (Rothman 2014). According to critic Raymond Williams (in Rothman 2014) the main problem in defining “culture” is that it is more than the sum of its definitions. He writes that “culture” has three divergent meanings: culture as a process of individual enrichment, culture as a group's “particular way of life, and culture as an activity, pursued by means of the museums, concerts, books, and movies that might be encouraged by a Ministry of Culture. These three senses of culture are actually quite different and they compete with one another (*ibid*).

The meaning of cultural diplomacy in the modern world has been and still is largely investigated from the perspective of culture being an integral part and a medium of foreign policy. Cultural diplomacy can play a number of roles: it can serve as a tool in enhancing relations and communication between nations and people, it can be a means of conflict prevention¹ or as the bridge in conflict situations, a means by which we may engage and influence a dialogue with the audience, and it has the ability to affect others to get the outcomes one wants. Cultural diplomacy, in practice, is the application and the implementation of the theory of cultural diplomacy, including all models that have been practiced throughout history, such as cultural exchange programs, international cultural delegations, sport competitions, etc.

In the past, scholars and practitioners have extensively researched American cultural diplomacy, providing a historical overview and reflection on its meaning and its central role

¹ Conflicts can happen as a result of lack of understanding or due to long lasting prejudices. Cultural diplomacy in a broader sense can play an important mediation role. Understanding not only the political context and the economic context, but also the social and cultural context is vital to solving a conflict issue (Ambassador John Holmes in ICD).

and function in the service of U.S. government foreign policy. New approaches to cultural diplomacy demonstrate the continuing importance of cultural diplomacy in contemporary international relations (Cummings 2003; Nye 2003, 2004, 2011; Schneider 2004; Melissen 2005; Wang 2006). From the earliest days of the American republic, diplomats have recognized the value of cultural diplomacy (Schneider 2004). A look at history shows that the United States slowly increased its attention on cultural diplomacy during World Wars I and II. However, the U.S. government's efforts and interventions in cultural diplomacy were modest until the Cold War. After World War II, U.S. foreign policy was focused on supporting and promoting Western values and democracy in Europe and elsewhere to counter Soviet Cold War propaganda. The creation of the United States Information Agency (USIA) in 1953 provided an instrument for the promotion of U.S. cultural diplomacy, with the goal of promoting "understanding" of the United States in other countries. Forty-five years later in 1999, with the Cold War over, USIA was integrated into the State Department. Drastic cuts in the cultural budget indicated that economy also played a role, though many refer to those cuts as the post Cold war "peace dividend" (Schneider 2004; Fisher 2014). An increase in cultural diplomacy-focused research took place in the aftermath of the attacks of September 11, 2001, with the appearance of scholarly articles, news reports, and op-ed pieces, urging greater attention on how the United States, along with its values, culture, and policies, are perceived abroad and on how to improve upon those perceptions. However, in the twenty-first century, one of the main challenges not just for the United States but for every country will be how to effectively use cultural diplomacy, described by Cynthia Schneider (2004) as a "prime example of soft power" or the ability to persuade through culture, values and ideas, in relation to the use of military and economic force, also known as hard power. The real challenge for nation-states and their governments thus is how best to combine different forms of power (coercion, payments and attraction and persuasion) in a smart way, or what Joseph Nye describes as a smart power (Nye 2011).

To better present the role and examine the implementation of American cultural diplomacy, I researched it through the lens of Joseph Nye's concepts of soft and smart power. Theoretical assumptions were tested as a case study of American cultural diplomacy in Slovenia, with a comparative analysis with the cultural diplomacy efforts of other international cultural centers active in Slovenia.

Joseph Nye (1990) introduced the idea of distinguishing between hard power and soft power more than two decades ago. For Nye (2004), soft power is founded in a nation's culture, its political values and its foreign policies. "Soft power, therefore, comes from a nation's behavior and not from symbols it uses to present itself to others" (Verčič 2014, 80). Smith-Windsor (2000) argued that the borders between hard and soft power are blurry while some foreign policy strategies may have been perceived as effective combinations of the two powers. Later on, a realization that it is impossible to analyze or understand soft power without its interaction with hard power led Nye to write of their mix as "smart power" (Nye 2009). Mohan J. Dutta (in Sriramesh and Verčič 2012) also relates culture to power and dominance. To summarize, smart power is a strategic balance of hard and soft power in foreign policy (Nye 2004b).

The United States have been actively using cultural diplomacy since 1930s, when it responded to the cultural offensive of Nazi Germany in Latin America (Cummings 2003, 1). Exchanges of people were used to strengthen cultural relations and intellectual cooperation between the United States and other nations. Cultural diplomacy increased its importance during the Cold War with programs such as jazz tours to the Middle East, Yugoslavia, Soviet Union and Greece, Louis Armstrong's tour to Africa, and Martha Graham's dance tour to Asia (Library of Congress). The United States Department of State seeks to use cultural exchange programs in order to promote better relations with other nations and improve America's image abroad (Cummings 2003).

Even though, according to Charles Bukowski (2002), Slovenia receives little attention in the United States, I believe Slovenia makes an interesting case study of the role and implementation of American cultural diplomacy, even more so after the U.S.-Global Leadership Project results were revealed. According to data collected in the survey in 2014, Slovenia was one of ten countries that disliked America most. Despite the two countries' alliance as members of NATO and Slovenia's membership in the EU and strong partner to the U.S., Slovenia's disapproval rating of 54% was the 10th highest of the 135 countries reviewed.² Public opinion alone does not dictate foreign policy. However, a country's

² The U.S.-Global Leadership Project was conducted in partnership between Gallup and the Meridian International Center. The goal of the survey was to determine the countries that dislike America most. 24/7 Wall St. reviewed the percentage of people who disapproved of U.S. leadership in 135 countries, as well as included perceptions of other global superpowers, such as the European Union, Russia, Germany, and China (Frolich 2015). The results of the survey placing Slovenia on top of the list of countries that dislike the U.S. are fairly

perception of another country can have a meaningful impact on foreign policy decisions that both governments make. Keeping global approval ratings of the U.S. high has a direct correlation to the strength of its soft power, helping to accomplish diplomatic goals without the use of military force (Frohlich 2015).

My research mainly focused on the time of the presidency of Barack Obama, 2009 to present, because his arrival to the White House has seemingly amplified the debate regarding U.S. foreign policy strategy and its instruments of power and influence. The question of U.S. foreign policy strategy emerged atop of the national and international agendas. Political analysts tend to analyze Obama's foreign policy in comparison with that of the Bush Administration and, more precisely, with what is commonly known as the "Bush doctrine." Following the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, the "Bush doctrine" is generally defined as a turn in U.S. foreign policy marked by a strong militarization and unilateralism with a focus on defending U.S. national security and vital interests by imposing U.S. hegemony in the world. In contrast to Bush's doctrine, Obama's foreign policy strategy aims at reaffirming U.S. leadership in a changing world where American power has been challenged by new actors, especially emerging economic powers, including those who formed the group of the BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa are seen as the "new challengers"). The change in the vision of U.S.' role and power in the world was also expressed by former Secretary of State Hillary Clinton when she asserted that today no nation can meet the world's challenges alone. The issues are too complex. Too many players are competing for influence (Dimitrova 2014).

Two principal research questions will be addressed: first, what is the role of the American cultural diplomacy from official representatives and how it is implemented. The focus of this analysis is to see what official U.S. government representatives think about the cultural diplomacy model conducted by the U.S. Embassy in Slovenia. The second question focuses on examining how American cultural diplomacy programs are delivered to and perceived by Slovenian cultural opinion-makers, such as directors and managers of the leading Slovenian cultural organizations and Slovenian cultural media³.

intriguing and would make an interesting case for further research, taking into account the broader context of the research, including the investigation of modes and factors of collecting data.

³ Defining cultural journalism is a very complex process, which has been evolving alongside with the transformation of the definition and scope of culture. Thus, regarding the definition itself, most scholars seem to focus on the definition created by Rivera (in Torres Da Silva and Santos Silva 2014) which sees cultural

Question 1: Does implementation of American cultural diplomacy in Slovenia match the official goal on cultural diplomacy as an instrument to enable or support American foreign policy goals in Slovenia?

Question 2: How is American cultural diplomacy perceived by cultural practitioners and the media in Slovenia and how does that compare to other international cultural efforts in Slovenia?

The purpose of my master's thesis is to review and examine the concept and implementation of American cultural diplomacy. Firstly, the paper explains the concept and the relevance of cultural diplomacy using Joseph Nye's concept of smart power and outlines its connection to foreign policy, linking national reputation in international relations and national branding and image management. It then analyzes the American view and practice of cultural diplomacy via case study. This paper concludes with the examination of American cultural diplomacy efforts by cultural practitioners and media in Slovenia.

2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND KEY CONCEPTS

Numerous descriptions and concepts are used in literature to present how a state functions in an international environment, such as public diplomacy, international public relations, public affairs, cultural diplomacy, intercultural cooperation, nation branding, propaganda, soft power, smart power, strategic narratives and many more. To clarify what the following master's thesis is focused on, some basic concepts and definitions connected to cultural diplomacy should be explained first. In the following paragraphs I will present public diplomacy, concepts of soft and smart power, national reputation and national branding and, last but not least, cultural diplomacy.

journalism "as a very complex area of heterogeneous media, genres and products that deal with creative, critic, media or reproductive purposes fine arts, belles-lettres, currents of thought, social sciences and humanities, the so-called popular culture and many other aspects that have to do with the production, circulation and consumption of symbolic goods" (2003, 19). Perhaps the most broad definition, that suits contemporary studies and debates around culture and cultural journalism, has been given by Nete Kristensen, who places it "in a continuum between art, popular culture, lifestyle and consumption" (2010, 69), as it expanded and developed its focus, interpretation and presentation in response to a changing culture and consumer industry (Torres da Silva and Santos Silva 2014).

2.1 PUBLIC DIPLOMACY

There are many ways to look at public diplomacy. However most experts believe that public diplomacy can be best understood in the context of broader changes in diplomatic practice, with public diplomacy at least partially seen as a result of changes in conduct in the field of international relations. From the historical perspective, the evolution of diplomatic representations has reached a new stage with the practice of public diplomacy. Foreign ministries and embassies are much more engaged with civil society groups and individuals abroad than in the past (Melissen 2005).

Public diplomacy today is as difficult to implement and measure for effectiveness as it is to define. Diplomacy's historical definition suggests an official government process designed to enhance national security interests. The United States Information Agency (USIA), now integrated into the U.S. Department of State, defines public diplomacy as "seeking to promote the national interest of the United States through understanding, informing and influencing foreign audiences" (USIA Strategic Plan 1997–2002). Therefore, public diplomacy can be defined as the strategic planning and execution of informational, cultural, and educational programming by an advocate country to create a public opinion environment in a target country or countries that will enable target country political leaders to make decisions that are supportive of the advocate country's foreign policy objectives (McClellan 2004).

In order to see and understand the evolution of this concept, a review of the definitions of propaganda and public relations is in order. "Propaganda," by conventional definition, is the systematic propagation of a doctrine or cause or of information reflecting the views and interests of those advocating such a doctrine or cause." On the other hand, "Public Relations is the business of inducing the public to have understanding for and goodwill toward a person, firm, or institution." Public diplomacy is similar to propaganda in that it tries to persuade people what to think, but its fundamental difference is that public diplomacy also listens to what people have to say (Melissen 2005, 18). The U.S. Undersecretary for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs Richard Stengel (in Zaatari 2016) sees the main difference between the two this way: "public diplomacy is about facts based on information and communication, propaganda is about trying to persuade people based on false information." Public diplomacy involves the active, planned use of cultural, educational, and informational programming to affect a desired result that is directly related to a government's foreign policy objectives. It

thus goes well beyond the usual concepts of propaganda, in which a particular message is “injected” into the target country over and over again, or public relations, in which branding, image, and advertising are the key concepts. According to Wang and Chang (2004), public diplomacy is a form of international relations. Both public diplomacy and public relations seek to reach out to target publics with the goal of maintaining and managing images, while also sharing a great deal of strategic and tactical commonalities (in Dutta-Bergman 2006).

For decades, scholars and practitioners have been debating the issue of separation, or convergence, between public diplomacy and public relations. Different authors (Signitzer and Coombs, 1992; Grunig, 1993) have found parallels between the two concepts: in similar goals, (for example, how to influence foreign publics in favor of one’s own organization/government), in similar target (foreign) publics, in similar strategies and use of tools. Plavšak Krajnc (2004) believes that the most important common point of public diplomacy and international public relations concepts is in the fact that we are talking about long-term, complex processes of interaction, in which versatile but symmetrical relations with foreign publics are constructed. Van Dyke and Verčič (2008) introduced an international convergence model that explains how the concepts of public relations and public diplomacy, that were once considered separate, have converged in practice and in theory.

Signitzer and Coombs (1992, 138) understand public diplomacy as “a way, with which government and private individuals and groups can directly or indirectly influence those public opinions and positions, which directly influence the foreign political decisions of another government.” Similarly, Manheim (1994, 4) argues public diplomacy combines “all activities of one’s nation’s government designed to influence the general public or the elites of another nation in order to facilitate the objectives of foreign policy.” According to Gilboa (2001, 4) the core idea of public diplomacy is direct communication with foreign people with the goal of affecting their thinking, and ultimately that of their governments. In this regard, Gilboa describes public diplomacy in the sense of content, as informational, educational and cultural activities, which are directed towards foreign countries with the purpose of influencing foreign governments through influencing their citizens (*ibid*). Most of the authors (Leonard 2002) agree upon the desired effects of public diplomacy: for transmitted messages to be “heard,” accepted, and understood, to create and strengthen within the target audience a positive attitude towards the communicated policies and a positive image, reputation and international position of the promoting country.

It is evident from the above definitions that public diplomacy is primarily a tool that serves the goals of national foreign policy. Since the enforcement of states' national interests and values through affecting the attitude of other actors is the basic characteristic of foreign policy,⁴ public diplomacy can be determined as “a (diplomatic) means of (implementing) the foreign politics” (Plavšak Krajnc 2004, 647). The bodies conducting public diplomacy are usually governmental institutions, however, with which there are other actors that are also active – media, nongovernmental organizations, economic subjects, individuals, etc. (*ibid*).

A number of countries use public diplomacy to spread their values to others, or go even further, and promote what they consider to be universal values. Often though, the reason why states use public diplomacy is to remedy negative perceptions abroad or to build “a line of defense against foreign criticism” (Melissen 2011). In his guidelines for future diplomats, James Thomas Snyder (2003) emphasizes that the most important part of practicing public diplomacy is to put the public first. Public diplomacy is unique in communications and should never be confused for anything else: it is not advertising, filmmaking, speechwriting, stagecraft, webcasting, branding, journalism or photography; however, it borrows elements from all of them.

Modern-day (public) diplomacy as such already in its core contains communication activities where communication is not a purpose in and of itself, but is connected to concrete foreign policy content, effects, values and norms (Plavšak Krajnc 2004). With these new conceptual questions being raised on different levels, the trends of a future evolution of public diplomacy and its activity are shown:

1. On the level of actors (so-called communicators and addressees): in the field of public diplomacy there are now, in addition to traditional diplomatic agents (governments, authorized representatives) many others that are active – media, nongovernmental organizations, corporations, individuals, etc.
2. On the level of channels and work methods: the traditional diplomatic channels and work methods are increasingly complemented by social media.

⁴ Ernest Petrič (1998, 878) explains that foreign policy is mainly defined as “the activity of the state or its authorities by which the state tries to fulfill its own values and actual goals in relation to other actors (mainly states) in the international environment, using the means and methods that at its disposal.”

3. On the level of content and “mission,” public diplomacy is not only used for state-level foreign political priorities, but in modern international relations, deals with the trans-national, global questions. It also functions in advancing the economy, encouraging cultural understanding, development of cooperation with the civil society, and other goals (*ibid*).

In recent years the term ‘public diplomacy’ seems to be shifting focus in its meaning toward shaping the thoughts of and forming relationships with other societies. Taken as a whole, public diplomacy is about promoting national interests, is “no altruistic affair” and it is not a “soft” instrument. It can be used to pursue a wide variety of objectives, such as in the field of political dialogue, trade and foreign investment, the establishment of links beyond traditional gatekeepers (such as civil society), but also has “hard power” goals such as alliance management, conflict prevention or military intervention (Melissen 2011). In conceptualizing public diplomacy, Alan Henrikson (2005) comes to an interesting conclusion that in my opinion best corresponds to the current trends in our globalized world. Henrikson (2005) believes that public diplomacy should be thought of as a form of engagement – intellectual engagement as well as political and social engagement. The “power of the better argument” should thus be considered integral to the concept of public diplomacy. A certain level of honesty and consistency should also be included. In addition, he explains that when a leader, government or country takes actions or adopts positions that are clearly incompatible with previous acts or positions, especially high-minded and “altruistic” ones, credibility can easily be lost. Those who live by public diplomacy can die by public diplomacy (Henrikson 2005).

By reviewing the basic concept and trends of public diplomacy the basic fact of public diplomacy can be underlined, that is the attempt to influence the behavior of foreign publics. Even though some scholars research public diplomacy through the lens of propaganda, today, given new technologies and widespread access to information, any kind of manipulation of a foreign audience seems to be much more difficult.

2.1.1 In relation to traditional diplomacy

Explicitly linking outcome to a government’s public diplomacy efforts tends to create a more negative interpretation of public diplomacy, likening it to propaganda. In this regard, public diplomacy is perceived as a set of mass communication techniques that use emotional appeals

over rational facts to change attitudes; that conceals information that does not favour the “sender,” and that controls and spreads messages promoting a certain ideology such as the social, economic, or military goals of the state (Snow 2005).

Nevertheless, U.S. public diplomacy is still often assumed to be linked with traditional diplomatic goals of U.S. government. Christopher Ross, a former United States diplomat who also served as United States Ambassador to Algeria and Syria, wrote:

The practitioners of traditional diplomacy engage the representatives of foreign governments in order to advance the national interests articulated in their own government’s strategic goals in international affairs. Public diplomacy, by contrast, engages carefully targeted sectors of foreign publics in order to develop support for those same strategic goals (in Snow 2005, 229).

In 1963 the Director of USIA, Edward Murrow defined the field of public diplomacy as follows:

Public diplomacy differs from traditional diplomacy in that it involves interaction not only with governments but primarily with non-governmental individuals and organizations. Furthermore public diplomacy activities often present many differing views represented by private American individuals and organizations in addition to official government views (Leonard 2002, 1).

Public diplomacy is the “public face” of traditional diplomacy (Ross in Leonard, 2002, 1; Wang 2006). Diplomacy, in its multilayered meaning, represents a formulation and implementation of foreign politics, technique of foreign policy, international negotiations and professional activity, which is being performed by diplomats (Benk, Nicolson in Plavšak Krajnc 2004). While traditional diplomatic practice is associated with actors involved in largely invisible processes of international relations, public diplomacy is about open engagement with people (Welsh and Fearn 2008).

In principle, the basic framework for the diverse set of diplomatic activities, including public one, is nowadays represented by parliamentary-democratic political systems and therefore we can talk neither of secret nor of “transparent” diplomacy, but rather of diplomacy, which

balances discretion and the public nature of its activities with a proper measure (Plavšak Krajnc 2004). Public diplomacy has also proven useful in times when traditional diplomacy failed or was put on hold (Schneider 2004). The most recent shift in the discourse on public diplomacy occurred after 9/11 when scholars started to emphasize reciprocal understanding and two-way communication described as relational turn or “connective mindshift” (Zaharna et al. 2013, 1). Leonard (2002) argues that the new public diplomacy is or at least should be about building relationship and understanding the needs of other countries and looking for areas where we can find common cause.

On the other hand, the critical approach to the study of public diplomacy should be mentioned in brief. Despite the fact that some academics write about the public diplomacy consensus, acceptance is not universal. Governments and individual practitioners remain who see public diplomacy as intrusive, threatening and undermining their country’s stability. Also, critiques focus on the need to provide broader reflection on how diplomacy is changing and how public diplomacy is an expression of the changing relationship between the diplomatic establishment and wider society, both at home and abroad (Melissen 2011).

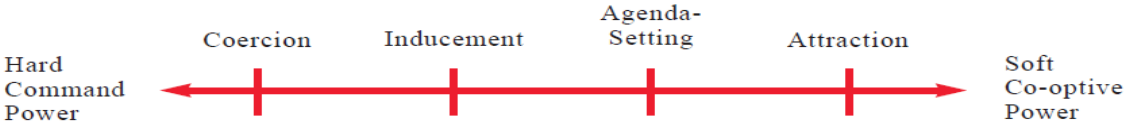
2.2 SOFT AND SMART POWER

Inherent to public diplomacy work is Joseph Nye's concept of soft power. The phrase was first used by Nye in an article published in 1990 in the journal *Foreign Policy*, where he contrasted this “co-optive power,” “which occurs when one country gets other countries to want what it wants,” with “the hard or command power of ordering others to do what it wants.” In his most widely cited book, *Soft Power*, Nye (in Thussu 2014) suggested three key sources for a country’s soft power: “its culture (in places where it is attractive to others), its political values (when it lives up to them at home and abroad), and its foreign policies (when they are seen as legitimate and having moral authority).” “Persuasive power is based on attraction and emulation and “associated with intangible power resources such as culture, ideology, and institutions” Nye (2009, 63).

Recent debates about the changing nature of power reflect less on the emergence of conceptually new forms of power and more on the changing mechanisms through which relational power is exercised. This concept posited a distinction between behavioral power - “the ability to obtain outcomes you want” - and resource power - “the possession of resources

that are usually associated with the ability to reach outcomes you want.” Behavioral power was presented as a continuum (Figure 2.1). At one extreme was hard or command power - the ability to change what others do through coercion (followed next on the continuum by inducement). At the other extreme was soft or co-optive power - the ability to shape what others want through attraction (preceded by agenda-setting). Next, Nye addressed the types of resource power needed to exercise hard and soft behavioral power. Tangible economic and military strength was, for the most part, linked to coercive hard power, while the attractiveness of one’s culture and the mastery of institutions and information technologies to disseminate persuasive information was linked to soft power. In this context, Nye argued that as much as military strength, the dominance of U.S. culture and language would sustain American great power status.

Figure 2.1: Behavioral power as a continuum



Source: Nye in Smith Windsor (2000, 52).

This concept outlines two alleged shifts in this respect. The first is a general shift from military power to economic power. Military power is the traditional currency of world politics, but in the modern world, states compete through trade rather than through the use of force. The second shift is the alleged wider decline of ‘hard’ power towards soft power that rests on the ability to shape the preferences of others by attraction rather than coercion (Nye 2004). Another important aspect of the hard-soft-power continuum is time. It appears that generating hard power requires much less time as its resources are tangible. In contrast, soft power takes relatively long to build as its intangible resources develop over a long period of time (Wanger 2014).

As Nye (2011) states, incorporating soft power into a government strategy can be more difficult than may first appear. This is due to several reasons. In terms of outcomes, success is more in the control of the target than is often the case with hard power. A second problem is that the results often take a long time, and most politicians and publics are impatient to see

prompt return on their investments. Third, the instruments of soft power are not fully under the control of governments. Although governments control policy, culture and values are embedded in civil societies. Soft power may appear less risky than economic or military power, but it is often hard to use, easy to lose, and costly to reestablish. One of very important components of soft power is credibility. If or when governments are perceived as manipulative and information is seen as propaganda, credibility is destroyed (Nye 2011). The effectiveness of hard and soft power approaches depends on the accessibility of power resources (Heywood 2011).

Soft power refers to winning people over on the basis of cultural appeal and ethical values, as opposed to more conventional diplomatic strategies or brute economic or military force. It is by no means a novel concept, but it has particular contemporary relevance in a fractious, crowded, pluralistic world (Dunne 2016).

Given the dual trends of more access to information and the diffusion of sources of information, people are increasingly both targets and creators of communication and messaging. It is not simply that more government action is visible, recorded, archived and available for scrutiny, today or in the future, but, importantly, that governments' management of their own transparency is also scrutinized; being too controlling gives an appearance of authoritarianism, while being too open creates difficulty in making decisions. Striking the right balance, and being seen to strike the right balance in the eyes of multiple audiences, is a major challenge. Elites sense they have lost relative power over information and time, and audiences as political actors, including individuals, non-state actors, NGOs, terrorist cells, and international organizations, have access to communication technologies that will reach a vast audience (Brown 2005; Chadwick 2013; Price 2002 in Roselle, Miskimmon, and O'Loughlin 2014).

Figure 2.2: Types of power in the international relations



Source: Bojinović Fenko (2014, 10).

Wilson (2008, 115) defines smart power as the capacity of an actor to combine elements of hard power and soft power in ways that are mutually reinforcing such that the actor's purposes are advanced effectively and efficiently.

A conceptually robust and policy-relevant framework for smart power should be built on a few additional core considerations:

- The *target* over which one seeks to exercise power – its internal nature and its broader global context. Power cannot be smart if those who wield it are ignorant of these attributes of the target populations and regions.
- *Self-knowledge* and understanding of one's own goals and capacities. Smart power requires the wielder to know what his or her country or community seeks, as well as its will and capacity to achieve its goals.
- The broader *regional and global context* within which the action will be conducted.
- The *tools* to be employed, as well as how and when to deploy them individually and in combination (*ibid*).

The growing interest in smart power reflects two contemporary trends--one structural and long-term, the other short-term and conjectural--driven mainly by the policies of the current U.S. administration. During her confirmation hearings for Secretary of State in 2009, Hillary Clinton talked about smart power, about the need to balance hard and soft power and, as she put it, to “use all the tools in the toolbox.” She defined “smart power” as “a combination of strategies and tools – including diplomatic, economic, political, legal, cultural and military coalitions as a last resort – in unique combination as defined for each situation” (Transcript of Clinton's Confirmation Hearing 2009). The aim of using a “smart power” approach is to modernize American diplomacy for the 21st century, rebuild America's standing in the world, and better utilize technology to lead to tangible, lasting results. With smart power, diplomacy will be the vanguard of foreign policy. (Connect Correct The Record, Transcript of Clinton's Confirmation Hearing 2009). Cynthia Schneider (2004) emphasized that even though economic and military force has enabled the United States to have an unchallenged position of supremacy, it has not sufficed to win hearts and minds. However, many would argue the power of America has always resided more in its moral authority than its military.

Nye (2011) thus argues that it is still remarkable how little that discussion enters our broader political discourse. To stand on a stump and get money for defense is still a lot easier than to

get money for exchange programs or aid programs in the State Department. But if we are going to succeed in this world of diffusion of power, we are going to have to think much more subtly about what is involved in power and we will need a public that is educated to understand and engage in this broader discussion of our policies.

According to Roselle, Miskimmon and O'Loughlin (2014) it is evident that soft power is central to understanding international relations today. However, in its current, widely understood form, soft power has become a constraint for those trying to understand power and communication in international affairs. While many accept the general idea of soft power, it is still difficult to (1) identify soft power resources, (2) identify the processes through which soft power operates, and (3) understand under what conditions soft power resources can be used to support foreign policy. The authors therefore argue that the concept of strategic narrative could help solve many of the fundamental questions associated with our understanding and analysis of soft power. Alister Miskimmon et al. (2012) define strategic narratives as “a means for political actors to construct a shared meaning of politics to shape the behaviour of domestic and international actors.” Those narratives are tools with which states can articulate their interests, values and aspirations for the international order. Roselle, Miskimmon and O'Loughlin (2014) emphasize that due to the “emergence” of new global powers like China and India and continuing changes to media ecologies, it is necessary to develop of a concept to explain power and influence that is fit for purpose – in short, a strategic narrative. Narratives explain the world and set constraints on the imaginable and actionable, and shape perceived interests. States – with particular characteristics or identities – are actors within the international system as we understand it today. Narratives can be a power resource setting out what characterizes any state in the world, or how the world works. Analyses of soft power overwhelmingly focus on soft power ‘assets’ or capabilities and how to wield them, not how influence does or does not take place. It has become a catch-all term that has lost explanatory power, just as hard power once did. Strategic narratives as the new means to understanding soft power gives us intellectual purchase on the complexities of international politics today, especially in regard to how influence works in a new media environment. Change is already giving rise to patterns of media, war and conflict that have triggered new research questions and approaches that seek to grasp the sheer, diffused connectivity and overlap between audiences and producers, new forms and relations of power and influence, the changing nature of attention, authority and news, and the myriad ways that actors are adapting media devices for purposes of war-waging and peace-making – and for making sense of each.

Large states such as the U.S. or Russia, with a higher national income are financially able to maintain large armed forces and to put other states economically under pressure. For smaller states, these traditional tools of hard power are more difficult to obtain. The accessibility of soft power resources depends much less on the size of a state, though relative wealth does play a crucial role. As the example of Norway shows, small states have the ability to build soft power (Leonard 2002; Nye 2004). Today we are faced with changes in how power is used in international politics and world affairs. Due to the information revolution and globalization two big shifts occurred, first is power transition among states and the second, diffusion of power from states to non-state actors (Nye 2011). Politics is often seen as the study of power, its core theme being: who gets what, when, how? Modern global politics raises two main questions about power: The first is about where power is located (who has it?), while the second one focuses on the changing nature of power (in the world of global communication and rising literacy rates and educational standards, is “soft” power becoming as important as “hard” power in influencing political outcomes?) (Heywood 2011). Achieving smart power requires artfully combining conceptual, institutional and political elements into a movement capable of sustaining foreign policy innovations into the future (Wilson 2008).

A policy-oriented matter in terms of power depends upon a specified context (Nye 2011) to tell us who gets what, how, where, and when. “The capacity of nations to make themselves attractive in a globalizing marketplace of ideas and images has become an important aspect of contemporary international relations, as has been the primacy of communicating a favorable image of a country in an era of digital global flows, involving both state and non-state actors and networks” (Anholt in Yousaf and Samreen 2015). In this respect cultural diplomacy can serve as one of the means by which a country increases its visibility on the global stage. Among many things culture can also be used to renegotiate people’s perceptions of a state and its people.

2.3 NATIONAL REPUTATION AND NATION BRANDING

Historically, as part of a nation’s “soft power”, national reputation, along with military and economic resources, has been a pivotal force in international relations. National reputation is others’ summary construct of a nation’s culture, policy, and conduct. One of the reliable indicators of a nation’s reputation is the opinion of the given nation as expressed by foreign publics. These days, foreign public opinion is more regularly and accurately measured, which

gives it more significance in influencing international political processes and outcomes. Cultivating and managing a favorable international opinion has thus become a key goal of public diplomacy (Wang 2006).

Nowadays, states and international organizations are striving to improve their reputation/image, which Kunczik (in Plavšak Krajnc 2004, 650) describes as “a sum of all cognitive, affective and value perceptions and positions about a particular state and nation, which is up to a certain measure founded on trust.” In this context Kline and Berginc (2004, 1045) argue that traditional diplomacy is disappearing and that diplomats in the future will have to find a niche for their country, i.e. its brand.⁵ Countries in this case are representing themselves similarly to the advertising of commercial products and are competing for the affection of the public like market brands (so-called “brand state”). However, the state as trade brand has to be based on the identity of the country, which is in turn based on its self-perception, vision and national culture. It is important to note that public diplomacy is not merely a collection of techniques of state promotion (advertising, public relations, publicity), but is fundamentally determined by content and quality of formalizing and implementing foreign policy (Plavšak Krajnc 2004).

Recently, country’s “reputation” has gained enormous attention as it is believed to play an integral part in foreign policy making and public diplomacy. National reputation hence is an instrument of power (Wang 2006). Deregulation in the financial and investment markets, corporations operating internationally and improved communications – the effects of globalization - have turned the world into a marketplace where countries now indulge in competition with one another. A strong country brand is established “when the country’s main bodies, activities and investments are - accidentally or deliberately - organized around a clear and shared vision, and when its communication channels with the rest of the world (tourism, investment and export promotion, cultural relations, public diplomacy and so forth) are harmonized” (Anholt in Yousaf and Samreen 2015).

⁵ In relation to national branding I refer to Alan Henrikson's (2005, 67–68), concept of “niche diplomacy,” which essentially means specialization. The concept was actually named by Gareth Evans, when serving as a foreign minister of Australia. According to this concept, a nation's diplomacy depends on very careful selection of the policy-product lines to be developed and also on an accurate reading of the global political-market conditions. It is usually associated with small countries and in short it means there is no point in adopting policy positions that will not “sell” – either at home or abroad to foreign publics.

2.4 CULTURAL DIPLOMACY

Cultural diplomacy is not a new phenomenon. It has been present and active in the world, in one form or another, under one name or another, since the beginning of civilization. Throughout history researchers have been questioning the relevance of culture. “Culture infuses every aspect of public diplomacy, from vision, to policy, to practice. From the values and ideals buried in the political goals to the characteristic patterns of how a nation or political entity communicates with publics all reverberate with cultural tones” (Zaharna 2012, 9). The meaning of cultural diplomacy in the modern world has therefore been closely investigated, especially in the twentieth century (Osojnik 2013). It can be also described as a type of public diplomacy, which is based on communicating with foreign publics through cultural activities, such as various cultural and educational exchange programs, promotion of language, traditions and values, exhibitions, workshops, seminars, etc.

However, before addressing the question of what the role of the cultural diplomacy is, we should first look into the complexity of defining it. The term ‘cultural diplomacy’ is not easily defined. When thinking about culture, our starting point is the definition stated in the United Nations’ 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights, in which Article 27 (1) states that: “Everyone has the right freely to participate in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts, and to share in scientific advancement and its benefits” (The Universal Declaration of Human Rights).

The definition of cultural diplomacy introduced by the American scholar Milton Cummings defines cultural diplomacy as:

the exchange of ideas, information, art and other aspects of culture among nations and their peoples in order to foster mutual understanding” which “can also be more of a one-way street than a two-way exchange, as when one nation concentrates its efforts on promoting the national language, explaining its policies and point of view, or “telling its story” to the rest of the world (Mark 2009, 6).⁶

⁶ Simon Mark (2009) indicates several questions related to Cumming's definition of cultural diplomacy, such as where to draw a line between cultural diplomacy and public diplomacy, and between cultural diplomacy and international cultural relations? Or can the type of agent be used to determine whether a certain practice is cultural diplomacy or some other practice?

Further on, cultural diplomacy is “the act of presenting the cultural good to an audience with the attempt of engaging them in the ideas the producer perceives to be represented by it” (Snow 2009, 253). No agreement has been reached yet on what the word “cultural” means, most probably because word “culture” is hard to define. Mark (2009) states that traditional meaning of the “cultural” part of cultural diplomacy related to “high culture”: visual arts, literature, theatre, ballet dance, and music, while nowadays cultural diplomacy often times includes “popular culture,” cultural activities that attract mass audiences.

In his discussion on nation’s cultural identity and its national interests, Harvard professor Akira Iriye (Encyclopedia of the New American Nation 2016) aims to interpret cultural affairs through a notion that “each country has its own cultural identity which is defined by people who share certain traditions, memories, and ways of life.” Iriye explains that cultural affairs are products of intangible factors such as a nation's ideas, opinions, moods, and tastes. Because no two nations are completely identical, Iriye notes that any discussion of foreign affairs must start with the assumption that we are analyzing two societies of different traditions as well as two entities embodying distinct sets of interests (*ibid*).

In 2005, the U.S. Department of State's Advisory Committee on Cultural Diplomacy, appointed by Congress, prepared an extensive report on cultural diplomacy, introducing the background on cultural diplomacy as well as providing a compilation of recommendations for the Secretary of State to consider. Cultural diplomacy was explained as “the linchpin of public diplomacy, for it is in cultural activities that a nation's idea of itself is best represented. And cultural diplomacy can enhance our national security in subtle, wide-ranging, and sustainable ways” (Report of the Advisory Committee on Cultural Diplomacy 2005, 1).

In order to minimize the difficulty in establishing an agreed-upon definition, Simon Mark (2013) names four general aspects of cultural diplomacy: actors and government involvement, objectives, activities and audiences. Cultural diplomacy is a diplomatic practice of governments – mostly single governments, but also groups of governments such as the European Union, and sub-national governments. In terms of objectives governments have strived to undertake cultural diplomacy to achieve idealistic purposes - to develop mutual understanding, combat ethnocentrism and stereotyping, and prevent conflicts. Cultural diplomacy’s functional objectives also include advancing trade, political, diplomatic, and economic interests, developing bilateral relationships across the board, including economic,

trade, political, cultural and diplomatic elements, connecting with groups abroad that are important to the cultural diplomacy practitioner (such as diasporas), and helping to maintain bilateral relationships in times of tension. Nevertheless, cultural diplomacy can also advance the interests of other countries, not just the interests of the country carrying out the diplomacy. There is a wide range of activities that are no longer limited to “high culture”; cultural activity is viewed less as being produced for, and viewed by, elites. Nowadays it is more common that cultural activities target a wider population⁷. In addition to targeting audiences in other countries with presentations of one country's culture, cultural diplomacy also supports displays of another country's cultural activity at home, as this may help advance the national interests of the home state (Mark 2013).

Marta Osojnik (2013) argues that even though cultural diplomacy has nothing to do with diplomacy used to describe relationships between diplomats and government representatives but has much to do with the fact that it is used when describing different ways of cultural exchange as the ability to produce understanding of another country.

McCurry and Lee (in Sablosky 2003, 1) defined cultural diplomacy through “a nation's culture as the sum total of its achievement, its own expression of its own personality; its way of thinking and acting. Its program of cultural relations abroad was its method of making these things known to foreigners.” One of the notions on cultural diplomacy as related to public diplomacy, puts the emphasis on long-term interchange among nations while many define cultural diplomacy as a tool for promoting mutual understanding that seeks to provide a context within which our national interests and policies can be understood. For some commentators, cultural diplomacy can be distinguished from other practices through the time frame of its objectives. By their nature cultural diplomacy activities involve long-term investments in our relations with people in other countries (Leonard 2002, Sablosky 2003).

Professor of Public Communication in the American University School of Communication, Rhonda Zaharna (2012) finds it interesting that even though culture infuses every aspect of public diplomacy, from policy, to practice, to scholarship it has been curiously underexplored

⁷ Examples of this broader scope of cultural diplomacy includes educational scholarships, visits of scholars, intellectuals, academics and artists, cultural group performances, artist performances and exhibitions, seminars and conferences, the operation of libraries, festivals abroad and support for festivals of other countries held domestically, establishing and maintaining professorships and chairs in universities abroad, the presentation of books and musical instruments to visiting dignitaries and diplomatic missions abroad, and sports (Mark 2013).

in public diplomacy. From the values and ideals buried in the political goals to the characteristic patterns of how a nation or political entity communicates with publics all reverberate with cultural tones. A broader view of the term culture includes, and discusses science, sport and popular culture as well as the performing and visual arts and heritage (Bound, Briggs, Holden, and Jones 2007).

The growth of interdependence and interconnectedness means that people see more, hear more and know more about what happens around the globe. Increasing cross-border flows of images, information and ideas make it easier for people to form judgments about the culture and values of other states as well as about the foreign and domestic policies of their governments. In such circumstances, a state's use of hard-power strategies may risk the loss of "hearts and minds."

The end of the Cold War, and particularly developments such as September 11 and the "war on terror," has altered thinking about global order and the balance between conflict and cooperation in world affairs in an important way. A concern with shifting power balances between and among states, global order appears to be increasingly shaped by new forces, especially those related to identity and culture. Some even argue that culture has replaced ideology as the key organizing principle of global politics, reflected in the growing significance in world affairs of factors such as ethnicity, history, values and religion (Heywood 2011). It's clear what the U.S. public diplomacy seeks to achieve and that's clearly stated on the state department website: "The mission of American public diplomacy is to support the achievement of U.S. foreign policy goals and objectives, advance national interests, and enhance national security by informing and influencing foreign publics and by expanding and strengthening the relationship between the people and Government of the United States and citizens of the rest of the world" (U.S. Department of State). 2016 presidential candidate and the former Secretary of State Hillary Clinton has acknowledged the importance of implementing a "smart power" approach to foreign policy and international diplomacy as Secretary of State to harness, as she called it, "American engagement, other than unilateralism and the so-called boots on the ground" (Correct the Record).

The decline in America's image in the world directly impacts the ability to influence and persuade. Increasing understanding and building mutual respect are critical to resolving the greatest threats to global security. Cultural diplomacy provides the means to increase

understanding, and during moments of tension and conflict it offers an effective, and sometimes the only viable, means of communication. Cultural diplomacy can also play a critically role in fostering the development of democracy (Schneider 2006).

In foreign policy today, it seems that culture and cultural exchange are often regarded as being desirable, but not essential. A common view is that, while cultural diplomacy can help establish and support working relationships between countries, it is strictly subordinate to the harder stuff of laws and treaties, bilateral negotiations, multilateral structures and military capability.

3 HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF AMERICAN CULTURAL DIPLOMACY

Taking a brief look into the history of the American cultural diplomacy can help us better understand the development, as well as the current role and implementation of American cultural diplomacy.

U.S. public diplomacy's legacy goes back to the early to mid-twentieth century. Although the U.S. government was a latecomer to using formal programs of cultural relations as a foreign policy tool, it has a long, if unsystematic, history of promoting an understanding of American culture abroad. Modern efforts to promote cultural relations were pioneered by the European powers in the era of high nationalism. The 1920s, in a race for cultural influence, the French Foreign Ministry formed a Bureau for Schools and French Foundations Abroad, setting up institutes abroad to teach the French language and French literature; German cultural foreign policy started by establishing a division for cultural affairs within the German Foreign Office in 1921, supporting German school and libraries abroad. The first British Institute was founded in 1926, but it was in 1935, with the formation of the British Council, when cultural and foreign relations were truly integrated. The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics's All Union Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries was created in 1925 as a way to coordinate cultural, scientific, and literary exchanges in the frame of the Soviet foreign policy (Berghahn, Arts & Minds 2006).

For two decades (1930s to 1950s), one paradigm dominated American scientific research in communication: persuasive communication—specifically, the change in attitude caused by

mass media. “In 1948 the United States Information and Educational Exchange Act, known as the “Smith-Mundt Act” was passed to enable the U.S. government to promote a better understanding of the United States abroad and to increase mutual understanding between Americans and people from foreign countries” (Fitzpatrick 2010, 5). This law led to the establishment of the United States Information Agency (USIA), the broadcaster “The Voice of America,” and provided means for dissemination of information about the United States abroad. Information about the American people and policies was passed in different ways and channels, including broadcast and print media, information centers abroad (*ibid*). Radio and then later television were thought to have effects that could “enlighten” the population, while the military was concerned more with war propaganda efforts to challenge totalitarian ideologies. The decentralized nature of government in the United States and the relatively small role, historically, that the federal government has played in supporting culture, has resulted in an environment where the public sector at the national, state and local level, together with cultural organizations, foundations, academia and commerce are all engaged in international cultural activities. In 1976, a Senate Select Committee headed by Senator Frank Church of Idaho issued a lengthy public report that even today stands as a monument to public accountability. This report revealed that the Central Intelligence Agency was in mid-60s involved in supporting nearly half of the grants in the fields of international activities done by American foundations other than the big three, Ford, Rockefeller and Carnegie (Warner, Arts & Minds). The history of Cold War cultural diplomacy proved both the potency of American culture and the ability of the U.S. government to deploy it. Schneider questions (2003) whether the discovery of CIA funding for some of the cultural activity in Europe has irreparably tarnished the legacy of the concerts, exhibitions, and journals of the fifties and sixties. With the collapse of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War, the view that prevailed in Washington, DC was that there was less need to pursue cultural diplomacy initiatives. Program budgets suffered considerable reductions as a result (Fisher 2014).

Nevertheless, the U.S. government’s intervention in cultural diplomacy reached its height during the Cold War, in times when U.S. foreign policy was supporting a range of initiatives that were promoting Western values and democracy in Europe to counter Soviet Cold War propaganda. The creation of the United States Information Agency (USIA) in 1953 provided an instrument for the promotion of U.S. cultural diplomacy, with the goal of promoting understanding of the United States to other countries. Twenty-five years later, in 1999, USIA

was integrated into the State Department, which resulted in drastic cuts in the cultural budget indicating that economy also played a role (Schneider 2004; Fisher 2014).

Throughout the history of American cultural diplomacy, there have been attempts to draw more attention to the importance of public, as well as cultural diplomacy. One such attempt can be seen in March 2001, when Congress created the Advisory Committee on Cultural Diplomacy with the task of advising the Secretary of State on programs and policies to advance the use of cultural diplomacy in U.S. foreign policy, paying particular attention to increasing the presentation abroad of America's finest creative, visual and performing artists and to developing strategies for increasing public-private sector partnerships to sponsor cultural exchange programs that promote the national interest of the United States. In summary, the Commission was tasked to:

- to help create “a foundation of trust” with other people and encourage them to give the United States the benefit of the doubt on specific policy issues or requests for collaboration, since there is a presumption of shared interests,
- to provide a positive agenda for cooperation as well as a neutral platform for people-to-people contact, in spite of policy differences and strained or are absent diplomatic relations,
- Counterbalances misunderstanding, hatred, and terrorism with creating space for openness and tolerance (Advisory Committee on Cultural Diplomacy 2005).

However, even now, when the United States is facing many new challenges in international politics, cultural diplomacy is still insufficiently regarded. The challenges of cultural diplomacy for America today may be even greater than ever, as public opinion polls show the United States receives negative ratings, not only in the Middle East, but in most countries with Muslim populations. Even views of the U.S. in European countries, which were once fairly positive, have changed for the worse (according to some data, Slovenia is even among the countries which show the highest dislike towards the U.S.).⁸ Negative opinions reflect mostly a dislike of the overseas policies of the U.S. government, connected mainly to the war and occupation of Iraq. Cultural diplomacy cannot compensate for this opposition to U.S. policies, but it can help to preserve appreciation for American ideals, values, and culture (Schneider 2004).

⁸ A brief explanation about the results of the U.S.-Global Leadership Project can be found in the introduction of this paper.

4 CURRENT ROLE AND SIGNIFICANCE OF AMERICAN CULTURAL DIPLOMACY

Relatively few politicians seem prepared to argue the case for enhancing U.S. soft power capabilities in general and cultural diplomacy in particular. There is a perception in political circles that American culture is already prominent globally, through the export of American cultural products, especially film, television, and music. In the absence of a strong lead from the Federal Government, the U.S. approach to cultural diplomacy appears fragmented, with no overall strategy. In the armory of U.S. diplomatic tools, only broadcasting initiatives are comparatively well resourced. Numerous reports have been published in recent years that suggest U.S. public and cultural diplomacy is in crisis and needs a more strategic approaches.

The chief player in cultural diplomacy at federal level is the Department of State's Bureau of Educational & Cultural Affairs. Its Office of Citizen Exchanges operates a bulk of outward and some inward 'exchange' programs in culture, sport and professional and academic fellowships (reciprocity is not necessarily built in). Cultural diplomacy programs specific to U.S. diplomats also operate, notably the Art in Embassies and Ambassador's Fund for Cultural Preservation. Other players include the National Endowment for the Arts – whose international budget has diminished significantly in recent years, the National Endowment for the Humanities, as well as dedicated cultural exchange organizations and high profile cultural institutions. Integral to the federal government's use of culture as a diplomatic tool is not only a desire to (re)build trust through people-to-people encounters, but also to combat violent extremism. To some extent its geographical priorities reflect this, with a recent shift in focus to East and South Asia and Africa. Principal concerns registered by the U.S. cultural sector are raising funds for international engagement and the difficulties with the visa application process for cultural practitioners visiting the United States (Fisher 2014).

The U.S. Department of State manages America's relationships with foreign governments, international organizations, and the people of other countries. State Department diplomats carry out the President's foreign policy and help build a more free, prosperous, and secure world. The State Department is a vital part of the U.S. Government because it:

- Represents the United States overseas and conveys U.S. policies to foreign governments and international organizations through American embassies and consulates in foreign countries and diplomatic missions;
- Negotiates and concludes agreements and treaties on issues ranging from trade to nuclear weapons;
- Coordinates and supports international activities of other U.S. agencies, hosts official visits, and performs other diplomatic missions;
- Leads interagency coordination and manages the allocation of resources for foreign relations; and
- Promotes mutual understanding between the people of the United States and the people of other countries around the world.

The United States maintains diplomatic relations with approximately 180 countries in the world, as well as with many international organizations. Advances in travel, trade and technology have made the world more interconnected today than ever before, making interactions with other countries and their citizens more important for the United States (U.S. Department of State 2016).

The State Department has four main foreign policy goals:

- Protect the United States and Americans;
- Advance democracy, human rights, and other global interests;
- Promote international understanding of American values and policies; and
- Support U.S. diplomats, government officials, and all other personnel at home and abroad who make these goals a reality (*ibid*).

Diplomacy is one of the best ways to protect the United States and the American people (*ibid*).

The USA has a decentralized structure, including in regard to culture. State and local government can and do act independently, including in areas such as international cultural exchange. At the federal level, U.S. public diplomacy outreach is led by the Under Secretary of Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs within the Department of State. The Under Secretary has oversight of the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs (ECA), whose mission is to increase understanding between citizens of the U.S. and other countries to

assist in the development of peaceful relations. It seeks to achieve this through academic, cultural, sporting and professional ‘exchanges,’ and through public-private partnerships. The Office of Citizen Exchanges within the ECA operates a number of outbound and some inbound exchange programs in these fields.

Current cultural exchange programs are administered by the Cultural Program Division and there are seven outbound programs involving American cultural practitioners. The Arts Envoy Program operates ‘on demand’ and enables overseas diplomatic posts to request visits by U.S. artists and arts professionals for up to six weeks to engage in local arts-based community projects. Some examples of State Department-funded programs include:

- American Music Abroad is designed to showcase U.S. musical diversity (jazz, blues, gospel, country and western, etc.) and foster cross-cultural exchange. This strand has evolved from one of the most successful U.S. cultural diplomacy programs in the past, “Jazz Ambassadors.” In October 2011, the Department of State chose American Voices to administer the American Music Abroad program. This non-profit organization has been active in citizen-led cultural diplomacy for 20 years, initially focusing on the newly independent countries of Central and Eastern Europe, but in recent years bringing American culture to young people in countries emerging from conflict, such as Afghanistan, Iraq and Sudan.
- American Street Beat is a new program introduced in 2013 to bring multi-discipline hip hop arts to engage with young people and underserved communities in strategically selected countries to advance U.S. foreign policy. It builds on previous initiatives that have featured hip hop.
- Another program is Communities in Collaboration: Visual Arts, through which U.S. artists engage with foreign communities on mural or digital media arts.
- Dance Motion USA is a program in which contemporary dance companies are sent overseas to perform, run workshops and engage in youth outreach.
- American Film Showcase is a filmmaker exchange program that takes award-winning contemporary U.S. documentaries and independent film and film specialists to 20–25 countries annually.
- Museums Connect is a two-way exchange program, run in conjunction with the American Alliance of Museums that facilitates museum-related engagement linked to foreign policy themes such as human rights, climate change, conflict resolution, etc. (Fisher 2014).

Some parts of the Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review 2015⁹ briefly touch the area of cultural diplomacy. The strategy commits to fostering a culture of engagement and experimentation, rather than risk avoidance when supporting creative problem-solving, and stressing the engagement of all Americans as partners in foreign affairs. “More than ever, American leadership abroad demands the active engagement of nearly every sector of our society, economy, and culture” (U.S. Department of State 2016).

Andrew Kohut, Director of The Pew Research Center for the People and the Press emphasized that the U.S. government needs to recognize that to make big changes, one needs big events. And by this, big events that are required can only be facilitated, not brought about, by improving our cultural diplomacy (National Arts Journalism Program 2003).

5 METHODOLOGY

My master’s thesis seeks to evaluate the role and the implementation of American cultural diplomacy in Slovenia by addressing two principal research questions. First, I will examine if the implementation of American cultural diplomacy in Slovenia in line with the foreign policy guidelines. Second, I will examine the effectiveness of American cultural diplomacy programs compared to other international cultural efforts in Slovenia through the lens of the Slovenian cultural practitioners and the Slovenian media.

In my master’s thesis I used a qualitative approach to researching the concept and implementation of American cultural diplomacy based on targeted interviews. Buckley and Chiang (in Jamshed 2014) define research methodology as “a strategy or architectural design by which the researcher maps out an approach to problem-finding or problem-solving.” Qualitative research is especially effective in obtaining culturally specific information about the values, opinions, behaviors, and social contexts of particular populations. The strength of qualitative research is its ability to provide complex textual descriptions of how people experience a given research issue. Qualitative methods are also effective in identifying

⁹ The Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review (QDDR), prepared by the Department of State and the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), provides a blueprint for advancing America’s interests in global security, shared prosperity, and universal values of human dignity and freedom. It is the product of more than a year of extensive internal and external consultations with all stakeholders, including members of Congress and their staffs, our allies around the world, advocates in the NGO community, and opinion leaders at think tanks and universities (U.S. Department of State).

intangible factors, such as social norms, socioeconomic status, gender roles, ethnicity, and religion. Qualitative research helps us to better understand the social world we live in as well as seeks to answer questions related to opinions and attitudes and the way people are affected by the events that take place around them. There are five main types of qualitative research: phenomenology, ethnography, case study research, grounded theory and historical research (Tripathy and Kumar Tripathy 2015, 104–105). “Interview protocol is one of the more popular areas of interest in qualitative research design. Interviews provide in-depth information pertaining to participants’ experiences and viewpoints of a particular topic. Often times, interviews are coupled with other forms of data collection in order to provide the researcher with a well-rounded collection of information for analyses” (Turner 2010). Focus interview technique is used to collect qualitative data by setting up a situation (the interview) that allows a respondent the time and scope to talk about their opinions on a particular subject. The focus of the interview is decided by the researcher. In order to get as representative of a research sample as possible, I created a media list, comprising of major media outlets in Slovenia. When selecting a list of main cultural representatives in Slovenia, I used the so called snowball research approach. Snowball sampling may simply be defined as a technique for finding research subjects. One subject gives the researcher the name of another subject, who in turn provides the name of a third, and so on (Vogt 1999). Snowball sampling can be placed within a wider set of link-tracing methodologies (Spren 1992) which seek to take advantage of the social networks of identified respondents to provide a researcher with an ever-expanding set of potential contacts (Thomson 1997). It can be applied as an ‘informal’ method to reach a target population and is most frequently used to conduct qualitative research, primarily through interviews. If the aim of a study is primarily exploratory, qualitative and descriptive, then snowball sampling offers practical advantages. Although there are downsides to snowball sampling technique, it has also been found to be economical, efficient and effective in various studies. The real promise of snowball sampling lies in its ability to uncover aspects of social experience often hidden from both the researcher’s and lay person’s view of social life (Hendricks, Blanken and Adriaans 1992).

Focus interviews were conducted with the following respondents (in alphabetical order):

- Beekman Philip, Public Affairs Officer at the U.S. Embassy in Ljubljana, (2015 to present),

- Cabral Roxanne, the current Director of the Office Policy, Planning, and Resources for the Undersecretary of State for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs at the U.S. Department of State,
- Hensman Chris, the Senior Advisor to the U.S. Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy, U.S. Department of State,
- Hvalec Darinka, Public Relations Representative, Cankarjev dom,
- Kranjec Mankica, cultural journalist at Delo daily newspaper,
- Manček Matjaž, Assistant Manager for Music, Kino Šiška Center for Urban Culture,
- Martin Izaak, Deputy Public Affairs Officer at the U.S. Embassy in Slovenia, (2015 to present),
- Newman Stephanie, former Policy Officer at the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs (ECA) (2013 to 2016), and currently Congressional Fellow at the U.S. House of Representatives,
- Podobnik Nadja, Editor-in-Chief, Slovenian Press Agency (STA),
- Pokorny Barbara, Director, Kulturni dom Velenje,
- Wurst Christopher, former Public Affairs Officer at the U.S. Embassy in Ljubljana, (2010 to 2013), currently working as the Public Affairs Officer at the U.S. Consulate in Milan.

The following correspondents provided their answers by email (in alphabetical order):

- Damjanović Damjan, Director, Slovenian Philharmonic,
- Jarc Pavla, Director, Kulturni dom Nova Gorica,
- Krečič Scholten Tadeja, journalist, Radio Slovenija, cultural program ARS,
- Mussomeli Joseph A., former U.S. Ambassador to Slovenia (2010 to 2014),
- Predin Andrej, cultural journalist, Slovenske novice daily newspaper,
- Rukavina Vladimir, Director, Narodni dom Maribor,
- Samardžija Matul Ksenija, cultural journalist, Radio Slovenija, Radio SI,
- Sotošek Štular Peter, Director General, the Slovenian National Theatre Opera and Ballet Ljubljana,
- Škof Duša, Program Manager, Cultur, Tourism and Sport Board in Murska Sobota.

Several added interviews were conducted with individuals who preferred to remain anonymous therefore, when analyzing the data of my research I will refer to them as such.

Structurally, the master's thesis is divided into three parts. The first part presents theoretical background with the main theoretical concepts and definitions dealing with cultural diplomacy, presenting the concepts of soft and smart power and nation reputation and nation branding. The second part deals with American cultural diplomacy specifically, presenting in brief the historical development of American cultural diplomacy and basic elements in the Department of State's cultural diplomacy program. The third part presents practical data based on a case study of American cultural diplomacy in Slovenia, using the comparative approach. In the theoretical part I use primary and secondary sources relevant to my topic of research.

The main goals of the analysis are to present and evaluate the role of American cultural diplomacy by using the broader framework for concepts of soft and smart power. It also aims to analyze perceptions about American cultural diplomacy from the Slovenian media and cultural practitioners using comparative analysis in order to examine its relative position in Slovenian society.

6 CASE STUDY OF CULTURAL DIPLOMACY CONDUCTED BY THE EMBASSY OF THE UNITED STATES IN SLOVENIA

The main goals of my analysis were to constitute the broader framework for soft and smart power and American cultural diplomacy and to evaluate the relative position of American cultural diplomacy in Slovenia. Research was reviewed from the perspective of institutional support for culture and cultural diplomacy as well as through perceptions of American cultural diplomacy from the Slovenian cultural practitioners and the media. The results and conclusions of my research are based on 23 interviews and respondents delivering their feedback via email. The research sample included U.S. officials as well as Slovenian cultural practitioners and media. The targeted number of respondents was set higher. However, several requests were left unanswered, mainly from the cultural editors.¹⁰

Before presenting the results of my research, I will give a brief presentation of the Embassy of the United States of America in Slovenia as main agent for cultural diplomacy in Slovenia.

¹⁰ At this point I would like to mention some of the challenges and limitations I was faced with during my research, such as getting a minimum response or none from the side of cultural editors from some of the main Slovenian media outlets.

5.1 Background of the Embassy of the United States of America in Slovenia

Bilateral relations between the United States and Slovenia started in 1992, when, following Slovenia's independence from Yugoslavia, the two countries established diplomatic relations. The United States and Slovenia work together actively on a number of issues and have developed strong, cooperative relations on a broad range of bilateral, regional, and global issues. The United States has maintained an official presence in Slovenia from the early 1970s, when the United States Information Service (USIS) opened a library and American press and cultural center in Ljubljana through August 1992, when the United States opened a new embassy in Ljubljana. From its opening through 1992, the American Center strived to develop closer grassroots relations between the United States and the people of the Slovenian Republic of Yugoslavia at the time. Slovenia is an important partner in advancing the shared goal of regional political and economic stability. The United States also supported Slovenia's entrance into the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and other Euro-Atlantic agreements and institutions (U.S. Department of State).

The mission of the Embassy of the United States of America in Slovenia¹¹ as stated on the official website, is to conduct diplomatic relations with the Republic of Slovenia and coordinate the activities of all U.S. Government personnel serving in Slovenia. Bilateral cooperation includes political, economic, commercial, defense and security, educational, and exchange activities. The Embassy also provides consular services, including visas for visitors to the United States and passports and other services for United States citizens in Slovenia. As part of public diplomacy, the U.S. Embassy in Slovenia also sponsors various cultural, educational, and outreach programs, including the following:

- Small Grant Programs
- Exchange programs (Fulbright Scholarship Program, International Visitors Leadership Program, Ben Franklin Fellowship Program, Professional Program and others)
- U.S. Mission Speaker Program
- Alumni Initiatives.

Through the Small Grants Program, the Public Affairs Section of the U.S. Embassy in Slovenia devotes funding towards encouraging and promoting cultural and artistic

¹¹ Hereinafter: The U.S. Embassy

cooperation, collaboration and exchange between the United States and Slovenia (so-called Cultural Grants) as well as provides financial support for the activities and development of grassroots organizations working to strengthen Slovenian civil society (so-called NGO Grants). The goal of the U.S. Mission Speakers Program is to get American diplomats out of the office and in front of the people who want to hear from them. The program was also introduced in order to give teachers and students the possibility to meet and talk to diplomats. The Fulbright Program is the international educational exchange program sponsored by the U.S. government with the purpose to increase mutual understanding between the people of the United States and the people of other countries. The Fulbright Program awards approximately 8,000 grants annually. Roughly 1,600 U.S. students, 4,000 foreign students, 1,200 U.S. scholars, and 900 visiting scholars receive awards, in addition to several hundred teachers and professionals. Approximately 310,000 “Fulbrighters” have participated in the Program since its inception in 1946 (U.S. Embassy Slovenia).

People-to-people exchanges enhance mutual understanding between the people of the U.S. and other nations. Over 900 Slovenians have been on exchanges in the 75 years since the U.S. International Exchanges program began in 1940. Last year marked 50 years since the Fulbright program in Slovenia began in 1965. Since then approximately 400 Slovenians have been on the Fulbright program. In his remarks at the Independence day Celebration 2015 the U.S. Ambassador to Slovenia Brent Hartley also stressed the importance of strong bilateral relations between the two countries. The U.S. government provided more than 1,000 small grants totaling more than \$3 million to non-governmental organizations striving to defend the environment, fight against trafficking in persons, and help young artists find their footing. He touched the very significant issue of international exchange programs, like Fulbright and the International Visitors Leadership Programs, which help build lifelong relationships one person at a time. In order to make Slovenia a stronger and more capable NATO Ally, the United States has provided almost \$60 million for training and equipment for the Slovenian Armed Forces and contributed nearly \$175 million to Slovenia’s flagship demining NGO, the International Trust Fund (ITF), for its efforts to remove mines and other remnants of war in the Balkans and throughout the world (*ibid*).

One part of my research was also focused on evaluating the work of the U.S. Embassy in Slovenia as the primary American cultural diplomacy agent in Slovenia. The overall perception, given responses in the media, as well as from cultural practitioners, was very

positive. Mankica Kranjec (2016) argues that the U.S. Embassy in Slovenia is the leading institution in this aspect. “Numerous cultural events, covering different areas of culture, clearly indicate that culture is an important part of the embassy’s activities. Bringing American culture closer to a wider audience and cooperating with Slovenian artists and other agents from the cultural sphere enable Slovenian audiences to become familiar with the American way of life and strengthen U.S.-Slovenian relations” (Kranjec, 2016). Ksenja Samardžija Matul (2016) shares this opinion with Kranjec, in estimating that due to the number of noticeable projects and greater investments in culture than smaller countries, cultural diplomacy projects implemented by the U.S. Embassy in Slovenia are overall very successful. Andrej Predin from Slovenske Novice (2016) and Nadja Podobnik from STA (2016) estimate the embassy's cultural activity as very positive. Likewise, Tadeja Krečič Scholten from Radio Slovenija (2016) remembers the former American Center in Slovenia was active in promoting cultural programming, however, since it closed down she has noticed no particular cultural diplomacy implemented by the embassy, saying there is not much notice out there to see. Darinka Hvalec (2016) explains that over the years Cankarjev dom has developed a strong partnership with the U.S. Embassy in Slovenia and thus also estimated their work as very successful and hopes this kind of relationship will continue also in the future. She also states that Cankarjev dom as the main Slovenian cultural center, which executes approximately 1000 events a year (their own production or in co-production with other partners) offers more possibilities for cooperation. Vladimir Rukavina, the Director of Narodni dom Maribor (2016) states that cooperation with the embassy was better in the past. He hopes for better collaboration in the future. Damjan Damjanović (2016) says that the Slovenian Philharmonic cooperates mainly with countries from Western Europe. There were two projects done in collaboration and with the support of the State Department and the U.S. Embassy, whereas Peter Sotošek Štular, Director General of the Slovenian National Theatre Opera and Ballet Ljubljana (2016) states that they do not have significant international cooperation, with the exception of some neighboring countries, mainly Italy, which has supported the participation of a couple of soloists in Slovenia. He acknowledges that apart from what their main task is, that is promoting their own culture abroad, they don't expect much from the foreign missions in Slovenia. On the other hand, they would be interested in collaborating with the U.S. Embassy or some other missions and would appreciate assistance in the future. Pavla Jarc from Kulturni dom Nova Gorica (2016) and Duša Škof from Zavod za kulturo, turizem in šport Murska Sobota (2016) claim that cooperation with the U.S. Embassy has been very positive. Duša Škof explains that ever since Zavod za kulturo, turizem

in šport Murska Sobota was established five years ago, the U.S. Embassy was actually the only foreign mission they have collaborated with, but she says they are eager to start cooperating also with other countries. Barbara Pokorny, Director of Kulturni dom Velenje (2016) is hopeful the U.S. as well as other foreign diplomatic missions will decentralize their cultural diplomacy and start supporting more projects outside Ljubljana.

When being asked whether they would like to emphasize any good or bad experiences, the overall assessment was that, in general, cooperation is good. Mankica Kranjec (2016) says that it is usually hard to collaborate with those who are not prompt and normally do not have a person who is specialized in media cooperation. Tadeja Krečič Scholten (2016) names the Dutch Embassy as a truly open and relaxed partner that even devoted part of their residential space to the exhibition at the Biennial of Industrial Design, which she has not seen being done in the past. As part of the radio show “Come away with me,” Ksenija Samardžija Matul cooperates with all embassies in Slovenia, and she indicates the embassies of Azerbaijan (its headquarters is in Vienna), Great Britain, Ireland, Poland, Romania, Turkey, and Switzerland as those she had very pleasant collaboration with, whereas cooperation with Kosovo, Italy and Bulgaria she was less successful and cooperation was never fully realized. In her opinion the key problem lies in those embassies being under-staffed and thus lacking capacity for executing larger projects. She also understood that sometimes cooperation is not really in their interest (Samardžija Matul 2016). Nadja Podobnik (2016) has had excellent cooperation with the U.S., Spanish and French Embassies. Cooperation with other embassies was good to some extent, while the cooperation with the Embassy of Israel has been least pleasant. Andrej Predin (2016) sees no special differences. He has had most difficulties with Eastern European countries.

5.2 American cultural diplomacy as a foreign policy instrument

The first part of my research was focused on opinions about the role and implementation of American cultural diplomacy from official representatives of the U.S. government, their broader views on the structure and implementation of American cultural diplomacy in general, as well as their feedback on the actual case study, that is the role and the implementation of the American cultural diplomacy in Slovenia. Most of the U.S. government officials I interviewed, had or are currently working in Slovenia, therefore they were also asked to give their assessments on the implementation of American cultural diplomacy

programs in comparison to other international cultural diplomacy representatives operating in Slovenia.

Anyone even mildly familiar with U.S. foreign policy can at best describe it as a complex and convoluted process (Boyer and Lacallee 2002). Hence, American public diplomacy is indispensable to the conduct of foreign policy; it supports the achievement of U.S. foreign policy goals and objectives, advances national interests, and enhances national security by communicating U.S. values, society, and policies and by fostering mutual understanding between Americans and key foreign audiences (Public Diplomacy's Impact Final Report 2012). One of the U.S.'s main public diplomacy (PD) goals is to increase or improve understanding of and favorability toward U.S. policies, society, and values among foreign audiences (Miller 2016). To get a better assessment of the present-day position of U.S. public and cultural diplomacy, it is necessary to look at it also from a historical perspective. U.S. government officials were asked to share their views on what has changed in terms of public programming over the past twenty or thirty years. The overall assessment shows that it is much harder to do PD programs today than it used to be in the past. A decrease in funding seems to be the main reason, with several noting big down-sizing occurred at the end of the Cold War. At the same time fewer resources are available now, for example less people working in PD field. The general idea is doing "more with less." One of the public diplomacy officers explains that "it used to be that PD officers in the field had a greater say in the direction and use of resources. Today, Washington has an increasing say in how we use our funds. The Department itself is becoming less relevant as the White House and Congress increasingly dictate what we do and where we devote our resources. Fighting for relevance and resources has made the job of doing PD in the field increasingly difficult" (Foreign Service Officer A). Former Public Affairs Officer (PAO) Christopher Wurst as well as the current PAO Philip Beekman and his Deputy Izaak Martin see technology and social media and key drivers of change in the nature of PD programs today. "The change that hits me today is the fact that so many people spend so much of their time on the internet, on social media and so many people get so much information online and through social media" (Beekman 2016). Wurst (2016) stresses that social media is a powerful tool in reaching out to people but one has to use it in smart ways. He adds that State Department has become better in empowering PAOs and cultural officers to use these platforms more proactively to engage with local populations. Stengel (in Zaatari 2016) adds that "social media makes everyone a

public diplomat and it's a two-way tool for governments. It allows governments to have a conversation with people.”

Former U.S. Ambassador to Slovenia Joseph Mussomeli (2016) explains that due to the internet, satellite TV, and cheap international travel, some cultural programs are redundant and far less effective. The cost of programs has also increased significantly even as cheaper means of entertainment have increased and government funding has decreased. However, Wurst (2016) adds that there is no substitute for seeing someone face-to-face, which will always have better result than engagement via facebook. The so-called “last three feet”¹²- a term introduced by Edward Murrow - is the core of public diplomacy. Edward Murrow was a well respected American journalist in the 1940s and 1950s and later on, the Director of the U.S. Information Agency (USIA). In 1961, Murrow resigned at CBS when President John F. Kennedy appointed him as the head of USIA. Up to today, Murrow has remained known as one of America’s most trusted newsmen, and the ideal voice of conveying American policy goals to the world (Clack). Beekman (2016) adds that the most fascinating PD question today is how building relationships and people-to-people exchanges transform when so many people spend so much of their time interacting via technology. The current Director of the Office Policy, Planning, and Resources for the Undersecretary of State for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs at the U.S. Department of State, Roxanne Cabral (2016) sees the biggest change in the world today in the role of the individual. “Now individuals can find each other so they can connect, they can engage, inform each other, understand each other, they can network, and they can challenge each other, both in a virtual space and in a physical space, unlike ever before. It has become more difficult for traditional diplomacy to be as effective. So what this means, in my view, is that public diplomacy has really increased. There are constituencies in the public domain that have more power now than they have ever had before. The drivers of this are information communication technologies, urbanization and the diffusion of power. And they all kind of coalesce. There are more actors, there are more issues, and therefore there is more complexity in the world. But the big challenge for public diplomacy today is that the resources have more or less stayed the same” (Cabral 2016). The Senior Advisor to the U.S. Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy at the U.S.

¹² This refers to the famous quote by the United States Information Agency's Director from 1961 to 1963, Edward Murrow: “The real crucial link in international exchange is the last three feet, which is bridged by personal contact, one person talking to another” (Snow 2003, 99). Murrow believed that personal interaction and open dialogue are more valuable to the nation's long-term interests than any marketing campaign to improve the U.S.'s reputation in the world (Snow 2003).

Department of State, Chris Hensman (2016) explains that there are a number of different dimensions to look at the changes in public diplomacy in the last twenty to thirty years. Firstly, we no longer live in a bilateral world but in a multilateral one, so most of the issues we are dealing with now, are multilateral. This is one of the biggest challenges that we are faced with right now. Secondly, there are a lot more programs taking place now than there used to be. In terms of exchanges, the initial idea was to create people-to-people connections and mutual understanding between two countries, whereas what we are looking at now in terms of exchanges and cultural programming is to create a sense of common ground. Hensman mentioned the example of introducing soccer program in the southern cities in Iraq. He explains that the only program that U.S. public diplomacy officers could use there was soccer. That was the only way they could communicate with people. “And because we were able to bring this program to that community, we were also able to talk to children, their parents, broader community. They could see that we wanted to help them, that we brought them something interesting and fun. And this is how I see cultural diplomacy. I think the challenge now is that there is a lot of potential there so over the next, I would say five to ten years, I really hope we would look into the ways to meet that potential because it is not really fully utilized at the moment” (*ibid*). Another area he mentioned was art. Historically art has been used to think through controversial issues. In thinking of art as a potential tool moving forward in PD, Hensman (2016) mentioned the famous painting “Guernica” by Pablo Picasso, which talks about the hardships of war and the emotion behind it, as a starting point for a very difficult conversation on Spanish history. “We can be faced with someone that might not want to talk to us about difficult issues, but by bringing art and exposing people to different perspectives, that might be a starting point to have a discussion they do not really want to have. It might be that you have a painting on the wall and 100 people walk by it and only one stops to have a conversation. But in a place where you find it very difficult to have that conversation, I think it is worth to make the time and invest into curating a collection in order to facilitate that discussion. And I would argue that right now that is not happening in most places” (Hensman 2016). Beekman (2016) also explains that a typical American perspective is that the U.S. government does not do culture really well. “We usually do not think that government does things well. If we want to make a great film, Hollywood does it not the government. When you partner up with the private organization the outcome will be better” (*ibid*). Hollywood has a long history of coming to Washington’s aid to sell American values abroad and counter enemy narratives, intentionally and not. In World War II and during the Cold War, TV and movie studios produced dramas, thrillers and even comedies that both

promoted capitalist, democratic ideals and warned of the perils of fascism and communism. Today Hollywood's expertise in crafting a storyline appeals to the Obama administration, which has struggled to counter the Islamic States's sophisticated use of videos, imagery and online media (GantDaily.com). Secretary of State John Kerry's recent visit to Hollywood was in search of ideas to counter the Islamic State's appeal. Beekman (2016) says it is pretty smart for the State Department to be partnering up with the world's greatest story-tellers who know how to tell great stories with global appeal. Schneider (2016), on the other hand, argues that even though the medium was right, the message was not. She argues that spreading America's message through creative products worked in the Cold War, but in today's environment of global 24/7 media, social media, and citizen journalism a more effective approach is needed to influence local, authentic voices — including those who are critical of U.S. policy (Schneider 2016). Hensman (2016) agrees with the others that the State Department does not do a really good job in engaging with Hollywood. They engage with Hollywood on an ad-hoc basis, and not in a formal and structured way, as the U.S. military does. The military has a "Hollywood-outreach" office whose job is to work closely with Hollywood and makes sure that films and TV that portray the military are done in the right way, the ranks and uniforms are correct, the tactics are correct, and the military is portrayed in an honest fashion, etc. They spend a lot of time, energy and money making sure that military representatives are working closely with Hollywood. There is not much that the State Department could offer. When you work with the military you get access to aircraft, to uniforms, to equipment, that there is reciprocal interest (*ibid*).

Beekman (2016) states that in some ways cultural diplomacy has not diminished. "I would guess that budgets have not necessarily grown but at the same time I also do not think it has been gutted. We still do a lot of cultural programs, we send thousands and thousands of people from all around the world to the United States on our visitors programs and education exchange programs, we teach tens of thousands of people English every year with major components on American culture, we have embassies all around the world doing cultural programs. Maybe it is less prominent in the public mind than in 1940s or 1950s when you sent jazz to cities in Africa or South East Asia and that was the first impression anyone there had about the United States. Today a kid in the same small town can hop on a smart phone and watch performances while sitting in his living room. In some ways there is just a lot more noise. So, it is not that we are doing less but that there is just a lot more out there," concludes Beekman (2016). "Two of the most important characteristics of any cultural diplomacy

program are that, firstly, it reflects and/or illuminates some aspect of America's values and that, secondly, it is suited to its intended audience" (Schneider 2003, 4). People have always mattered to diplomats. However, with the rise of soft power in international relations and the rise of multiple actors in international relations (Melissen 2005), working with »ordinary people« is a new challenge for diplomats.

"U.S. public diplomacy officers need to be very creative in deploying cultural programs considering the limited resources they have" (Foreign Service Officer B 2016). Roxanne Cabral (2016) stressed the importance of audience in implementing public diplomacy. If we define our audiences and connect them to a specific policy, then the tools kind of come together.

U.S. embassies and consulates seek to engage key audiences—youth, women and community leaders, entrepreneurs, journalists, government officials, academics, civil society, and NGO members—by using a broad array of activities and programs. The global PD portfolio includes such activities as in-country lectures by American scholars, entrepreneurs, and celebrities on topics ranging from religion in the U.S. to international human trafficking; digital video conferences (DVCs) linking in-country professionals to their American counterparts for information exchange and skill sharing; exchange visits to the U.S. by professionals and students; sports exchange programs for coaches and athletes; English-language programs; media tours and the dissemination of magazines, brochures, and CDs about American society, culture, or values (Public Diplomacy's Impact Final Report 2012).

Due to the fact that my research applies to Slovenia, it is relevant to also touch the subject of the U.S. government's point of view about the importance of public diplomacy efforts in Slovenia. Regarding the "significance" that it holds in the international environment, Slovenia is considered a "small country"¹³ (Petrič 1996, 879). Petrič (1996) thus claims that this does not prevent Slovenia from gaining greater significance in the international relations, similar to the one of Scandinavian countries, Austria or Switzerland. If only it will execute successful domestic and foreign policies. On the contrary, Charles Bukowski (2002, 75) believes that

¹³ It is worth mentioning that at first glance defining "small country" seems like an easy task, if only quantitative criteria is determined, such as the size of the country, population, gross domestic product (GDP), size of the armed forces, etc. However, many actual cases showcase that the results obtained on the basis of these "objective" criteria do not apply. According to the population, country's size and economic power, Israel is considered a "small country." However, due to its military power, Israel is without a doubt the main force in the region. While Switzerland is regarded as a small country due to its size and population, its economic power and national reputation exceed the definition of a "small country" (Petrič 1996).

“because of its small size, Slovenia is unlikely to ever possess resources necessary to have a strong voice in Washington.” The enormous discrepancies in size and resources that divide Slovenia and the United States will always obstruct Slovenia’s ability to receive favorable consideration from the United States (Bukowski 2002). According to the answers collected through my research, Slovenia would not be viewed as particularly important on a global scale. However, as a member of NATO and the EU and a developed country, U.S. officials are united in believing Slovenia somewhat matters. Roxanne Cabral (2016) sees Slovenia’s potential in becoming a regional leader, not only in the Balkans, but probably also in other parts of the world, where it has influence, maybe on a topical subject or on a very specific policy issue. According to Cabral (2016) Slovenia could be a good partner in addressing global issues, like global warming, environmental issues, trafficking in persons or solving Balkan issues. “In this way we consider Slovenia important because Europe is increasingly our go-to and best partner when we deal with challenges all around the world. So a lot of times our relationships with European countries are less about specific issues between the two countries and more about what we can do together in other places around the world” (Beekman 2016). Public diplomacy officer (2016) articulates that a country’s significance is “a matter of degree.” “As a relatively stable country that can contribute to the stability of its region in the post-Balkan wars of the 1990s, Slovenia matters. No one wishes a return to the fighting of those years. The U.S. wants peace and stability and economic growth everywhere, including in Central Europe and in the Balkans. Slovenia can be part of the solution and is therefore useful for overall U.S. policy in Europe. Can Slovenia lead? Sure, why not. But will Slovenia lead? Unlikely. I can imagine a scenario where Slovenia can effectively lead its region into a more peaceful and prosperous future. But its unwillingness to do so, coupled with its unwillingness to reform its economy for future growth, will continue to limit its influence in the region, in Europe, and with respect to U.S. interests. So, in short, it is not a question of absolutes but one of “what will Slovenia itself do to remain relevant” - it has much to offer but somehow cannot figure out how to realize that potential, thus limiting its own opportunities. Size does not matter. The U.S. will respond positively but I think it’s up to Slovenia for now” (Foreign Service Officer A 2016). Even though Slovenia has no significant geopolitical significance, Beekman (2016) believes that the State Department has set up a system and a structure that shows respect for every country and allows the embassy to do programs and engage with local audiences. Mussomeli (2016) states that because of the highly developed rule of law in Slovenia, its value is greater than its physical size. Further on, he explains that PD efforts in such a country are actually more important for two

reasons. First, it is such a small country that cultural programs can actually have a positive impact on a significant percentage of the population, which is rarely the case elsewhere. And second, because a large segment of the population enjoys overly negative and distorted views of the United States, it is crucial to engage with them and to find common ground in cultural areas (*ibid*). Izaak Martin (2016) adds that the U.S. is often unpopular in Slovenia but due more to U.S. policies than culture, which appears to actually be quite popular here. According to Bukowski (2002) Slovenia's small size should not be viewed as a complete disadvantage as pursuing good relations with Slovenia would not involve a major drain in the somewhat limited U.S. resources.

In relation to the position of Slovenia within the U.S. point of view, I also sought answers to the somewhat surprising results from the U.S.-Global Leadership Project survey, conducted in 2014, which listed Slovenia among the top 10 countries that disliked the U.S. government and its policies. Former Ambassador Mussomeli (2016) offered a few reasons, why this occurred, among them also the fact that all 10 countries have a strong correlation among them: they all dislike the U.S. government, but they also all strongly dislike their own governments and probably distrust them even more. Second, just a few years ago Slovenia was the “poster child” for a successful post-Communist state. It was the best economically, with the highest standard of living, low unemployment, and a perception of very low corruption and high respect for the rule of law. That has all fallen away now and Slovenes are undergoing an identity crisis and a serious loss of self-confidence. All this bitterness and anxiety must be directed somewhere and the United States is always an attractive target of blame. Third, there is a certain skepticism and even cynicism that pervades a certain portion of Slovene society. Beekman (2016) also emphasized that, for a long time Slovenians have been living in a so-called bubble – it is a beautiful, small, well developed country and its people have had the luxury of not having to worry about things in the rest of the world. “My understanding of Slovenian perception is that Slovenes spent a lot of time being dominated by other people whether it was the Austrian Hungarian Empire or dominated by Belgrade, first by the kingdom and then Yugoslavia, dominated by Brussels now in the EU, and Slovenians have negative reaction towards big countries. Plus, we are involved in everything. I think, in a lot of ways we are just the opposite of Slovenia. We would argue that Slovenia is involved in too little. It is a small country but there is a lot more that Slovenia could do and play a positive role around the world. I guess, a lot of Slovenians would say that the U.S. does way too much and that it should do a lot less and stay in the United States. Ultimately, there are of course

some people in Slovenia that in a course just don't like the United States, and there are just some people in Slovenia that simply love the United States and there are people in between. And our target audience, the people we hope to make an impact on, are the people in between. Slovenes also love a lot about the United States and so Americans are optimists and we want to focus on the things we have in common,” (Beekman 2016). Izaak Martin (2016) echoes this opinion by stating that Slovenians like the U.S. personally and culturally but tend not to like our policies. “We ignore that Slovenia was hit hard by the 2008 global financial meltdown and that created a lot of mistrust in capitalism and in American economic leadership. We also do not understand that one of the reasons Slovenia self-liberated in 1990 is to prevent war on its soil. Our bellicosity in general and our use of military force here, there, and everywhere is not something that will win the hearts and minds of Slovenians. Yes, we have an explanation for all of those military missions but the use of force in and of itself is troubling” (Foreign Service Officer A 2016).

All U.S. officials believe culture should be one of the key diplomatic tools used by the State Department, but to use it effectively seems to be fairly problematic. “Since the 1950s cultural diplomacy has been one of the methods for producing positive feelings about the US as well as introducing foreign audiences to various aspects of American society and culture. Today, TV, movies, music, and sports have generally taken over that work. There is very little the government can do to capitalize on the initiative of private individuals and private resources. PD as a tool of U.S. Government (USG) policy can only operate on the margins. We can no longer lead in the field of introducing foreign audiences to some of the best elements of our culture and our values. We have ceded that space to the globalized culture of the internet and world media. It can no longer be controlled for the purposes of creating positive images of the US and its policies, in the hope that it will influence feelings about the U.S. – and in particular its policies and leadership in the world (Foreign Service Officer A). Izaak Martin argues that culture should be used “both intentionally (through the government) and unintentionally (through the market). The latter is of course the most effective, because it has the distinction of coming from “real Americans” while the former must overcome the fact that it comes from the U.S. Government and is therefore seen as propaganda. That said, I think the USG-supported efforts are effective as we expend a lot of energy and resources into ensuring it is effective and meaningful” (Martin 2016). Mussomeli confirms that “we don’t always succeed in using PD as effectively as we hope because our underlying policies are so objectionable, but cultural programming nonetheless is useful to put a "human face" on an

otherwise distant and seemingly imperial entity. USG-supported events help ameliorate and increase positive views of the U.S. or at least of American culture and people. The fundamental problem is that this admiration for the people and culture of the U.S. does not always lead to greater positive views of the government itself” (Mussomeli 2016).

Researching cultural diplomacy in the frame of the “smart power” concept, culture can be a good diplomatic tool, especially in places where there’s no dialogue (Hensman 2016; Newman 2016). “Cultural diplomacy is an investment in a long-term relationship. It helps to break down the barriers in the hearts and minds of people” (Foreign Service Officer B 2016). Stephanie Newman, Congressional Fellow, refers to Hillary Clinton’s term “use the tools in the toolbox.” Combining strategies and tools – including diplomatic, economic, political, legal, cultural and military coalitions as a last resort – all respondents see cultural diplomacy as a powerful means but also acknowledge limitations. Mussomeli (2016) explains it through the use the gift wrapping analogy – “it doesn't really matter how pretty and shiny the wrapping paper is if the gift inside the box is a turd.” “Some USG policies over the last few decades have been so obnoxious that even the best cultural programming cannot much influence attitudes and views about us” (Mussomeli 2016). “It can have a huge effect, but it cannot just come from USG-sponsored programs. Our cultural diplomacy is strongest when it comes organically from our cultural marketplace, so we are perhaps most successful when we are ensuring that our country continues to act as a breeding ground for new and unique culture. This is not necessarily done through the fostering of the arts through some ministry but by stimulating a diverse and vibrant cultural landscape, which remains our strength” (Martin 2016). “Soft and smart power help educate people about the complexity of the United States and the more people understand the U.S., the more people can be sympathetic towards our policies. We are now talking about Obama’s legacy when we go out and talk to people and the great thing about Obama is that his foreign policy was all about engaging with people. Obama see the value in soft power and cultural diplomacy” (Wurst 2016). One of great examples that indicate the importance and the impact of cultural diplomacy is Barack Obama's historic visit to Cuba, where he joined the Cuban President Raul Castro in watching the baseball game between the Cuban National Team and the Tampa Bay Rays. Baseball is obviously something that the United States and the Cuban people share a common love of and it is a part of both of their heritages, and frankly, also part of the type of exchanges they are pursuing in business, in culture, in the arts, in sports and which can contribute to bringing the American and Cuban people closer together (Oppmann 2016).

“Hard power resources are most often kept in reserve, they are used at specific moments or within certain circumstances and timeframes, with specific strategic and tactical objectives in mind./.../ Initial soft power analysis lacked a fully developed sense of agency, or strategy, with soft power in particular being more about attraction than deliberate foreign policy intent. It is no surprise, then, that policymakers and commentators point to soft power as one way to reduce tensions, mitigate conflict and find common ground in international affairs” (Roselle, Miskimmon and O'Loughlin 2014, 73). U.S. Undersecretary for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs Richard Stengel said “Public diplomacy is about soft power. Hard power is the thing we all understand, which is using the military. Soft power is [about] a country’s culture and ideas,”/.../ When you’re a country based on ideas, you have to keep telling those ideas to each other. As a public diplomat one of the things I do is talk about those ideas and ideals [of America],” he added (in Zaatari 2016).

Even though the results of cultural diplomacy are often intangible, related to emotions and take time, it is important not to overlook the need for the actual measurement of cultural programs. Scholars and practitioners have been trying to find answers about how to measure the success of cultural programming. Cultural diplomacy expert Cynthia Schneider (2010) also recognizes that measuring success in cultural diplomacy is very challenging. How can you know what kind of an impact the use of education, creative expression, or people-to-people exchange can have on understanding across regions, cultures, or peoples? How does one quantify changes in attitude, abandoning stereotypes, or feeling empathy as result of a performance, a film, a book? Many of the diplomats agree with Schneider (Beekman 2016; Hensman 2016) in acknowledging that it is really hard to measure cultural diplomacy but easier to collect data. However, Beekman admits that “we are bad in simply collecting basic data, the number of people who attend our programs, the number of people who had interacted with us. Increasingly there is a huge focus on evaluation but it is really, really tough to do it well and it is really time consuming. Increasingly we will collect more data that will allow us to say these many people have interacted with Americans or participated in one of our programs. We will have more and more outputs. But of course, the goal is to come to outcomes. And I think that will eventually come as well. In the future it will become easier to collect data on participants on a program, like pre-surveys and post-surveys, so we can see how attitudes have changed. That is definitely the way things are going and I think that if we can find ways to measure the impact of cultural diplomacy accurately we will see that it has a

huge impact” (Beekman 2016). Chris Hensman (2016) believes that it can be done. “For a long time we have relied at the State Department on anecdote to explain the importance of cultural diplomacy. I think that is one way to do it but it is nowhere near enough. We live in an age when we can begin to quantify a lot more of these complex issues. We need to be smart and to work with the latest researchers to develop the frameworks to be able to quantify these interactions and relationships. And I think we can do that. One of the biggest trends lately is the customer management relationship (CMR) but since it has been a private sector tool for a long time, the State Department was reluctant to use it in PD” (*ibid*). However, Hensman thinks it is an important way of showing value, especially with cultural programs. “Anecdotally there is nothing more powerful than personal experience. I would argue that it is incredibly important in that regard. The part I like about our programs is that we do not run away from the negatives. We can do a program on race relations and take people to an inner city and talk to community activists and be honest about all the problems that we have in the United States. I think we try to integrate into our programs a level of balance and openness and transparency. The hope is that the people that have strong negative impressions about the U.S. come back and at least they have had contacts and perhaps they can give us a fair shake. Not that they love America now but that they better understand us and that they better understand why we do the things we do and act the way we do” (Beekman 2016). On the contrary, former Ambassador to Slovenia Mussomeli (2016) firmly believes that the use of metrics and data-driven spending is counterproductive and a waste of resources and time. He believes these could be better spent engaging in additional cultural programming.

Public diplomacy officers that served or are currently serving their term in Slovenia were also asked to compare the efficacy of American cultural diplomacy to other international cultural efforts operating in Slovenia. The majority believes that on a global scale American cultural diplomacy is the most successful one. Also, that the U.S. is the country that still invests the most into its cultural diplomacy. Beekman (2016) argues that since most countries do not want to reveal actual data and since cultural diplomacy is defined in many different ways and countries implement different cultural programs, it is really hard to make a comparison. One of the public officers acknowledges that “the U.S. is the world leader, far and away, but the Chinese are doing more and more. Their efforts are mostly about Chinese language and traditional culture. They do not really have much to contribute in terms of modern politics, economics, or scientific developments” (Mussomeli 2016, Foreign Service Officer A 2016). “My subjective view is that the U.S. is not doing enough cultural programming and that others

do better and focus more on it. I think France and perhaps the U.K. are better. I think perhaps other European countries also are now increasingly focused” adds Mussomeli (2016). “Because of its size, the United States, even with the reduced funds, invests more into cultural programs than other countries. However, other countries might be more focused. American cultural diplomacy represents diversity” (Foreign Service Officer B 2016). Beekman (2016) articulates that American cultural diplomacy is unique because everybody feels that they already know a lot about the United States. Despite that, he believes that the U.S. is relatively successful compared to other countries. “We do not have the highest culture brand, we do not have the fancy food of the French or fine art of some European countries, we do not have the somewhat uniqueness of East Asian cultures, we are a little bit generic because, more and more, American culture is in a lot of ways global culture, but I still think that we are present almost everywhere, we are active almost everywhere. What we have is diversity and this is what we sell. The interesting part is that the world is becoming more like the United States and not less like United States. And to me that is quite an important measure of how successful our cultural diplomacy is. The world is becoming more diverse. And more people are understanding the positive nature of diversity and multiculturalism. And ultimately, that is the most unique thing about the United States, the ability to bring together a lot of dissimilar people and to integrate, constantly, new people to our society. In this way the sum is much better than the parts” (Beekman 2016). One of the public diplomacy officers (2016) joins him in his belief that the U.S. is the most active player in this field worldwide; the U.S. tends to care everywhere whereas lots of countries do not care so much in most places. However, he recognizes that the efforts are only as good as the overall impression of the U.S. is. And a lot of this is not within one’s control (Foreign Service Officer A 2016).

According to their assessment of the work of the U.S. Embassy in Slovenia in public diplomacy area, the public diplomacy programs are productive and effective, despite the modest budget. When comparing the practice of the American cultural diplomacy in Slovenia to other international representations, the majority of whom thinks that even though other countries are also active, the U.S. Embassy does the most. Beekman (2016) mentions the EU as one of the main investors in Slovenia, not so much on promoting EU culture but in addition to culture, there are areas where people’s everyday lives can be touched. The EU spends a lot of structural funds on things like highways and capital improvements to cultural organizations. “Individually the European countries, certainly the Nordic countries do a lot” (Beekman 2016). In a small country with high negative views of American government

policies, cultural programming is especially useful and important (Mussomeli 2016), part of the challenge is to keep the U.S. in the news in a positive way, despite all the hard news happening around in the world. In the end it is people-to-people interactions that matter and here the U.S. Embassy excels. I believe small teams of people can continue to make a difference (Foreign Service Officer A 2016). When comparing the U.S. Embassy to others, Beekman (2016) sees it as unique. “Most other countries, when they do cultural diplomacy, they do not do it through the embassy. They set up some kind of independent cultural institutions and cultural centers, the Germans, the French, the Italians, the Russians, and the Chinese. In the U.S. we have had some American Centers and American Libraries but ultimately we started running all our cultural programs through the embassies. To us the role of the embassy is explaining U.S. foreign policy to foreign audiences. That is what we do in public diplomacy. We cannot do a cultural program just because it is nice. We have to do a cultural program that has some sort of a policy message. We have to link it to our overall goals. A lot of people that have worked in the era of American Centers were very dissatisfied when, at the end of the Cold War many of the American Centers were closed. We shifted focus to developing American Corners, where the idea was not to run it independently, but to find a local partner, a prominent library or a university that has a strong interest in cooperating with us. The idea was that it would be much more sustainable over the long term and there would be a much more built-in audience. In some places those have proven successful, in some places unsuccessful. There has been a tendency at the State Department over the past few years, which is that we need to invest more in fewer locations, so we have to pick some strategic countries where we have a strong interest and where we think the American Centers can have an impact. If I name just one example, the American Center in Jakarta is an amazing facility, equipped with the latest technology, everything is done digital, video live streaming events almost every single day. It is located in a mall, so they have ten of thousands of visitors per month. Another similar center is being built in Burma as we speak. The idea is to offer centers of an extremely high quality but in fewer places (Beekman 2016).

If cultural diplomacy can also be understood as a “two-way street” (United States Advisory Committee on Cultural Diplomacy 2005, 4) then “cultural diplomacy initiatives can also reach out to other countries to show respect for their traditions and history” (Schneider 2003, 6). “When implementing cultural programs abroad you have to take into the account also the cultural environment of the host country” (Foreign Service Officer B 2016). A number of U.S. diplomats currently serving in Slovenia recently demonstrated their respect in one of the best

ways possible, which is to show the Slovenian public their respect for the Slovenian language. It was a simple concept. On May 13 a video was posted on the U.S. Embassy Facebook site featuring American diplomats reciting difficult Slovene words and phrases, also known as tough twisters. The video went viral. Social media metrics showed outstanding results. Only an hour after posting, the video had more than 1000 likes, more than 300 comments and over 200 shares. Five days after the video went live, the video had received the following engagement: 6,800 likes, 3,900 shares, 1,100 (very positive) comments, 701,000 people reached and 329,000 views of the video (roughly 16% of the country). Izaak Martin (2016), who oversees social media activities at the embassy, explains that a surprisingly high 27% of viewers watched the video to completion, despite it being longer (4 minutes and 20 seconds) than is typically recommended. “We were pleasantly surprised that just a handful of the 1,000 plus comments were negative, with the vast majority reflecting incredibly positive feedback on the project. Our Facebook following increased 6.3% over the weekend. Anecdotal feedback has also been strong. Ambassador Hartley met with Slovenian Prime Minister Cerar the day after posting and the Prime Minister immediately brought up the video with compliments. Other high level officials have commented on the video, one saying the video was the “best PR campaign ever by a foreign embassy in Slovenia.” But what really drove the video to viral proportions was extensive traditional media coverage, which created a feedback loop that ran throughout the weekend, and offered a glimpse of the value that the successfully-stoked interplay between social and traditional media can offer,” concludes Izaak Martin (2016). According to the U.S. Undersecretary for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs Richard Stengel “social media makes everyone a public diplomat and it is a two-way tool for governments. It allows governments to have a conversation with people” (in Zaatari 2016).

According to the research, I can conclude that American cultural diplomacy in Slovenia supports U.S. foreign policy goals there. American cultural programs in Slovenia are aligned with U.S. foreign policy objectives, and bring a strategic focus to how public diplomacy programs, resources and structures support those objectives.

“Diplomacy is the management of change, and for many centuries the institution of diplomacy has indeed succeeded in adapting to multiple changes in an expanding international society. Diplomatic practice today not only deals with transformations in the relations between states, but progressively it also needs to take into account the changing fabric of transnational relations” (Melissen 2005, 23). Given the need of modern countries to

cooperate with each other in meeting these new threats and challenges there is no better platform of communication than cultural diplomacy.

5.3 Comparative analysis with other international cultural diplomacy efforts in Slovenia

One of the Slovenian Ministry of Foreign Affairs's foreign policy strategic goals is creating an environment that encourages foreign residential diplomatic representation in Slovenia and to attract a greater number of foreign organizations operating in the wider sphere of international relations. Slovenia will employ its diplomatic network to strengthen its science and cultural diplomacy, provide support to the cultural and creative sectors, and encourage networking between Slovenian actors in those from other countries. In achieving their foreign policy efforts countries implement their diplomacy through their diplomatic representations, mainly embassies or cultural centers.

Today public and media diplomacy extend international communication beyond the realm of professional diplomats and other government officials to anyone with access to the internet and global news media. To facilitate cultural diplomacy, many countries operate through networks of cultural centers around the globe: Chinese Confucius Institutes, French Cultural Center Charles Nodier, German Goethe Institute, Austrian Cultural Center, Italian Cultural Center, Russian etc. To assure their presence abroad, nations communicate through broadcast channels and web-based programs across international borders (Van Dyke and Verčič 2008). Globalization and national economies, evolution of new media channels, and expansion of social media allow more actors to take part in international relations. These trends have also initiated new forms of diplomacy: public diplomacy, cultural diplomacy and media diplomacy (Signitzer and Wamser in Van Dyke and Verčič 2008, 682). In his speech at the Zayed University, Richard Stengel, the U.S. Undersecretary for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs, emphasized the importance of using soft power as a means of spreading a country's influence. "Public diplomacy is aided by the most remarkable tool which is social media. But a benefit for society depends on how and for what purpose we use it" (in Zaatari 2016).

If I name just a few international cultural representations operating in Slovenia, the list is as follows:

Table 5.1: Comparison of international cultural efforts in Slovenia

COUNTRY	CULTURAL REPRESENTATION IN SLOVENIA	PRESENT IN SLOVENIA	MISSION
Austria	Austrian Cultural Institute	Since 1990	Promotion of Austrian culture in Slovenia, with the support of cross-border scientific, cultural and artistic projects.
China	Confucius Institute	Since 2010	Promotion and teaching the Chinese language, culture and creating business opportunities.
France	French Institute Charles Nodier	1966 (Former French Institute changed the status in 1997)	Cooperation between Slovenian and French forms of classical and contemporary cultural expression. Promotion of the French language in Slovenia.
Germany	Goethe Institute	Since 2004	International and cultural exchange and understanding as well as promoting the German language in Slovenia.
Great Britain	British Council	Since 1992	Educational, social, and cultural cooperation, wider knowledge of English language in Slovenia.
Hungary	Ballasi Institute	Since 2016	Promotion of Hungarian culture in Slovenia and bilateral cooperation in education and science.
Italy	Italian Cultural Center	Since 2001	Promotion of the Italian language and culture in Slovenia.
Norway	Norway Grants program	Since 2010	Social and economic development in Central and Southern Europe
Russia	Russian Scientific and Cultural Center	Since 2011	Educational, cultural and economic cooperation, promotion of the Russian language in Slovenia.
Spain	Institute Cervantes	Since 2005	Educational and cultural cooperation, promotion of the

			Spanish language in Slovenia.
The Netherlands	The Netherlands Embassy in Ljubljana	Since 2001	The press, culture and public diplomacy department aims to stimulate exchanges between the Netherlands and Slovenia.

In terms of foreign governmental institutions dedicated to cultural diplomacy in Slovenia, every country presents its cultural activities in a slightly different way. The British Council has had an office in Slovenia since 1992. Even since the opening it has been engaging widely in one form or another in the Slovene educational, social, and cultural scene through its cooperation with governmental and non-governmental institutions, ministries, and independent programmers. However, over the years the program of the British Council Slovenia has changed significantly. At the very beginning, the original focus was to develop a wider knowledge of the English language, however by local schools offering high-level English, it gradually re-focused on cooperation with local cultural producers with an aim to present British arts and culture to Slovene audiences. Besides Great Britain, Germany has also had a strong representation in Slovenia. The Goethe Institute Ljubljana was established in 2004, expanding the program activities of the former “German Reading Room,” opened in 1995. Its aim is to encourage international and cultural exchange and understanding as well as to foster German as a foreign language outside Germany. Institute Français Charles Nodier Ljubljana was formed in 1966 with the aim to create contact points between Slovene and French forms of contemporary cultural expression. The Italian Cultural Institute in Slovenia was established in 2001 as part of the Italian Foreign Ministry and has a mission to promote the Italian language and culture in Slovenia. The institute fosters vital cooperation between Italian and Slovene institutions in the fields of science, education, and culture, especially in the contemporary arts. Among the more recent ones are the Confucius Institute as a non-profit institution established by the Chinese state and the Russian Scientific and Cultural Centre. The purpose of the Confucius Institute is promoting and teaching Chinese language and culture. With China as the growing world economy, more than 300 institutes have opened in 94 countries around the globe to serve as a platform for economic, cultural and study exchange. The Confucius Institute in Ljubljana was opened in 2010 at the Faculty of Economics at the University of Ljubljana. It cooperates with the Faculty of Arts and the Shanghai Institute of Foreign Trade. To increase Chinese cultural exchanges in Slovenia, the Confucius Institute at University of Ljubljana set up so-called Confucius Classrooms in

Maribor and Koper. The Russian Scientific and Cultural Centre Ljubljana was established in April 2011. So far, Russia has established its scientific and cultural centres in 73 countries to support international cooperation between Russia and foreign countries and encourage cooperation with Russians living abroad. Cultural exchange between Slovenia and Austria has been developing formally since 1990 when the Austrian Embassy created a dedicated cultural department. Later on the Austrian Cultural Forum Ljubljana was established as a separate entity. It cooperates with Austrian local governments as well as with numerous Slovene cultural organisations. The Austrian Cultural Forum regularly supports cross-border scientific, cultural and artistic projects of producers and institutions around Slovenia. Spain opened its cultural center in Slovenia in 2005, however the Agreement on Cooperation in the Fields of Culture, Education and Science between Spain and Slovenia was signed in 1994. Its overall goal is to strengthen cultural links between Spain and Slovenia, with the focus on promoting Spanish arts and culture in Slovenia. In 2004, the year of the enlargement of the European Union, Iceland, Lichtenstein, and Norway launched the European Economic Area (EEA) and Norway Grants, a mechanism to provide funding for social and economic development in 15 countries in Central and Southern Europe in order to reduce disparities between regions and states within EU. Since December 2010 the Government Office for Development and European Cohesion Policy has been the National Contact Point for the EEA Financial Mechanism and the Norwegian Financial Mechanism (Culture.si). The Hungarian Embassy just recently opened its new cultural centre in Ljubljana, which looks to foster cultural exchange between Slovenia and Hungary and promote interest in Hungarian culture. The centre also looks to boost bilateral cooperation in education and science (The Slovenia Times 2016). The Netherlands Embassy in Slovenia was opened in 2001 as an official representation for Dutch citizens living or residing in Slovenia. Besides providing a range of consular services, it disseminates information about the Netherlands in Slovenia, looks for opportunities for cooperation in the field of economy and trade, promotes Dutch arts and culture in Slovenia, focusing on design, architecture, visual arts, and human and LGBT rights. The legal basis for cooperation in culture, education, and science between the Slovenia and the Netherlands was adopted in 1992 as a part of the succession of the former republic of Yugoslavia (Culture – Culture of Slovenia).

Currently, there are 38 embassies in Slovenia as well as 53 consulates. Several other countries have honorary consuls to provide emergency services to their citizens. 135 countries have non-resident embassies accredited from other regional capitals, such as Vienna and Rome, for

diplomatic and consular purposes (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Slovenia 2016).¹⁴

To answer the second research question on how the implementation of American cultural diplomacy is perceived in Slovenia compared to other international cultural efforts, I focused on the perception of American cultural diplomacy from cultural practitioners and the media in Slovenia. A state's reputation/image is described by Kunczik (in Plavšak Krajnc 2004) "as a sum of all cognitive, affective and value perceptions and positions about a particular state and nation." In order to get a relative perspective on the current situation on the implementation of the American cultural diplomacy in Slovenia I conducted interviews or received feedback via email from eight cultural practitioners and seven cultural journalists. Correspondents were asked to give feedback on the role and implementation of the American cultural diplomacy in comparison with the cultural diplomacy efforts of other countries operating in Slovenia.

The results from the Slovenian media representatives show that the United States is the country they cooperate with the most, followed closely by France and Great Britain. Several other countries were mentioned as those with which they have occasional contacts, among them were Germany, the Netherlands, and the neighboring countries: Austria, Hungary and Italy. It comes with no surprise that there is a lot of cooperation between Slovenia and its neighbors, on different areas, including economic cooperation, cultural, educational and tourist promotion. Centuries of shared history and the presence of minorities on both sides of the border has resulted in developing also common cultural values and tradition. Cultural exchanges between these countries are usually also less expensive and easier to coordinate. "Cultural diplomacy can contribute to improving the esteem of minority groups and enhance national confidence and national social cohesion," (Mark 2013, 36). Among the foreign policy goals of every country is also ensuring the appropriate representation of its minority population, therefore these countries normally invest more of their resources into assuring the preservation of their culture.

When being asked to give an assessment on which country is investing the most in its cultural diplomacy on a global scale and which is the biggest investor in culture in Slovenia, the media

¹⁴ Since the beginning of the economic crisis in 2008, eight countries decided to close down their diplomatic missions in Slovenia, the last one was Finland that did it last year. Sweden, Norway, Latvia, Lithuania, Cyprus, Denmark and Belgium had done it before that (Z.R. 2015).

representatives put the United States ahead of others. However, the majority of them rather restrained themselves in predicting which of the countries have the leading role in investing funds in their cultural diplomacy. To back up this estimation I would like to mention a few recent surveys done on the subject of estimating which of the world countries is using its soft power in the most efficient way. According to the results, the U.S. is always among the most efficient “soft powers”-implementers in the world. The Soft Power 30 survey, compiled by Portland, the London PR company, in partnership with Facebook, even puts the U.S. on top as the world’s leading “soft power” before the United Kingdom, Germany, Canada and France. Jonathan McClory, the report’s author, explains that “the U.S. taking the top spot suggests a positive return on the investment of a succession of diplomatic efforts the Obama administration has pursued over the past year,” (Parker 2016). In the recent Monocle’s¹⁵ annual soft power survey, the U.S. came second, followed by the Great Britain, Japan, Iceland and France while Germany was placed on top of the list. Set at the heart of the European Union, Germany is in an enviable position for shaping the EU agenda, and is one of the best networked states in Europe. Its soft power response to the migration crisis in Europe with opening borders to hundred and thousands of refugees from the Middle East and Africa added to the positive image of the country. In the survey, Steve Bloomfield (2016) offers a comparison on how some countries in the world use their soft approaches in foreign policy to gain influence in the international environment. Bloomfield argues that since most nations regularly conduct official reviews of their defense capabilities to assess threats, they should do the same for their soft power (Bloomfield 2016). The survey highlights examples of countries using their soft power in new and interesting ways. According to the results, Bloomfield says that for decades American values and lifestyle have spread around the globe, through American films, American music, and American celebrities. But people also pay attention to political leaders in the U.S., and the current presidential race has not improved America’s global image. However, in seeking rapprochement with Cuba and Iran, Barack Obama’s brand of diplomacy has done wonders for America’s image around the world (McClory 2010; Bloomfield 2016; Parker 2016). In 2010, the Institute for Government presented a survey on international ranking of soft power, which placed the U.S. third, following France and United Kingdom (McClory 2010). The surveys points out some interesting arguments, but in order to get a thorough evaluation, a clear classification and

¹⁵ Monocle is a monthly periodical, which has a strong track-record of covering soft power issues in international affairs. With a global network of correspondents, Monocle provided an on-the-ground perspective to complement our data-heavy approach (McClory 2010).

research report would need to be implemented, including careful questions about the mechanism through which soft power works to produce a desired outcome.

As regards to which country is the strongest investor in cultural diplomacy in Slovenia, the majority of journalists put the United States on top of their lists. Mankica Kranjec (2016) has stressed that it is very obvious that states' cultural budgets have decreased in the past years and, hence countries are investing less or smaller amounts in cultural activities. Nevertheless, she notices that the U.S. Embassy, the Spanish Embassy, the British Council remain very active also on promoting their culture in Slovenia. In 2012, Jela Krečič wrote an article for Delo newspaper on the subject of foreign policy and promoting culture abroad. She conducted interviews with representatives of several foreign missions operating in Slovenia, among them the Public Affairs Officer at the U.S. Embassy in Slovenia at the time, Christopher Wurst. She tried to learn how much state funds are investing into promoting culture abroad as well as what kind of programs countries are mostly interested in supporting. She concluded it was impossible to make any concrete comparison regarding the funds dedicated to cultural diplomacy due to the fact that officials restrained themselves from revealing exact numbers but mainly because the differences in the structure and implementation of their cultural diplomacy. In the interview Wurst stressed that cultural programming was among the priorities of public diplomacy, mentioning that in 2011, the U.S. Embassy in Slovenia invested approximately 200,000 dollars in cultural programs. Krečič (2012) also noted that despite some structural differences in cultural programming, countries share common criteria when selecting cultural projects they support. Promotion of their own culture abroad is the key criteria for all. Comparing the type of cultural events supported by different states, Krečič names Germany, which is mainly focused on supporting musical projects, the French Institute invested most of its cultural funding into intellectual debates in areas of social sciences, literature, and science, whereas the Austrian Cultural Forum, the Spanish and the Hungarian Embassy supported various cultural projects, with Austrians focused on commemorating specific anniversaries. Wurst explained that the U.S. Embassy strives to support a wide range of cultural and artistic projects through the Cultural Grants program, however one of the embassy's biggest project in 2011, that was initiated and implemented by the embassy was the "Bob Dylan Project: Volunteer Slovenia" (Krečič 2012). "Bob Dylan Project: Volunteer Slovenia" brought together thirteen of Slovenia's best-known musicians to promote volunteerism. The artists reprised the roles they had played when they recorded Bob Dylan songs for the CD. The CD was released by the U.S. Embassy on Dylan's 70th birthday.

Besides the musical component, the project promoted non-governmental organizations that rely on volunteers to help improve Slovenian society. Issues included the environment, trafficking in persons, violence against women and children, regional development, rights for the handicapped, and more. The project supported the strengthening of civil society through volunteerism in Slovenia (U.S. Embassy Ljubljana).

According to the data collected, cultural institutions in Slovenia collaborate most intensively with the United States and Austria, followed closely by France, Germany and Italy. Some of the interviewees mentioned that they occasionally cooperate also with Great Britain, Russia, the Netherlands, Spain, Croatia and Norway. Regarding their assessment about major investors in cultural diplomacy on a global scale, the representatives of cultural institutions estimate it is the United States, followed by France and Germany. Interesting enough, they do not see the U.S. as the most efficient when it comes to the implementation of cultural programs in Slovenia. A vast majority of them thinks France offers the most successful cultural program. However, the difference in answers is minor. They believe that the United States, Spain, Austria, Russia and Italy are also fairly successful.¹⁶ Matjaž Manček (2016) mentioned that the U.S. Embassy is the only one that gives reasonable support for cultural projects while the common practice is to give symbolic support or honorable support.

Cultural practitioners were also asked to compare the efficiency of American cultural diplomacy to other international cultural efforts operating in Slovenia. Cankarjev dom as the major cultural center in Slovenia cooperates with several countries, like the U.S., Spain, France, Germany, Norway. Darinka Hvalec (2016) says that they mostly cooperate with the U.S. and Spain and these are also the countries she mentions as excellent partners, even though she admits they do not have bad experiences with other foreign representations they have been working with. Matjaž Manček (2016) explains that Kino Šiška has very fruitful collaboration with foreign cultural centers and embassies, however the country they collaborate the most with, is the United States. They used to have an active collaboration with the British Council but not anymore. On the subject of determining their good or bad experiences when working with foreign representations, Manček puts the U.S. Embassy first on the list of good examples of collaboration. In general, cultural practitioners state they have

¹⁶ At this point I would like to mention the limitation of my research, that is that the final estimations depend on the criteria one chooses to define success: number of funds, number of events, number of people attending the event, media coverage, etc.

mainly positive working experiences. Pavla Jarc (2016) mentions the U.S. Embassy and the Austrian Cultural Forum as the ones that they developed a pleasant relationship with, while the Goethe Institute and the French Institute, in her opinion, have been more difficult. Barbara Pokorny (2016) has been extremely pleased with the Austrian Cultural Forum and the Slovakian Embassy, they used to have really nice collaboration with the Americans, while Russians seem to be the least reliable, in her opinion.

The results gathered from the comparative analysis thus show that the the U.S. Embassy in Slovenia is very active in implementating its cultural diplomacy, but it is fairly concentrated to the capital city and should spread its cultural programming to smaller towns. Despite the fact that many countries do not reveal the exact data on funds allocated to cultural programming, the differences in the structure and implementation of their cultural diplomacy, which makes it harder to make a concrete comparison, I can conclude that the United States is perceived as the major investor in cultural diplomacy in Slovenia and is relatively more successful in implementing its cultural diplomacy that other international cultural missions operating in Slovenia.

7 FINAL CONCLUSIONS

Cultural diplomacy is typically considered one of the components or a subset of public diplomacy. Regardless of the fact that it carries a wide spectrum of definitions, it is evident that cultural diplomacy has the potential to become a much more powerful tool for improving a country's image abroad and its relations with other countries. However, this potential has to be properly recognized and utilized. Governments must embrace practical possibilities, provide more funding, and think about the best means of delivery. Public diplomacy today is not limited to the area of international communication between professional diplomats and other government officials but spreads wider to literally anyone with access to the internet and global news media.

U.S. public diplomacy officers understand the criteria for successful cultural diplomacy but also admit that implementing a powerful and active policy of cultural diplomacy requires determined leadership from the White House and the State Department as well as to the adaptation of the diffusion of power and the rise of individual empowerment. The United States government should form partnerships with new international and non-governmental

actors, fully incorporate the use of new technological tools and new communication channels in its foreign policy strategy as well as assure adequate funding for culture, especially in times of crisis or in crisis areas. Despite the fact that State Department representatives all agree about the value and importance of cultural diplomacy, one cannot ignore the fact that cultural diplomacy is easily dismissed as “too soft” or seen as secondary to the issues of security and economic cooperation. Cultural diplomacy takes time. When implementing American cultural diplomacy programs in Slovenia, there is an inherent dependency on budget, timing and, especially, whether the belief that the programs will be effective in highlighting American culture in a way that will be educational, entertaining, and interesting to Slovene audiences. U.S. public diplomacy officers emphasize the fact that one of the most profound strengths in the relationship between the two countries is through cultural ties. Both countries have extraordinary talent and craft and therefore benefit by sharing their culture and building on what shared cultural space already exists. Through these cultural programs people in Slovenia get a wider and better picture about the U.S. and vice versa.

Decreased funding, fewer people, more programs, and an increase in bureaucratic demands are items U.S. foreign service officers name as main challenges for public diplomacy outreach. Despite these difficulties and setbacks, cultural programs have persisted and appear likely to remain a permanent and integral aspect of American foreign policy. Today one of the most important aspects of practicing public diplomacy is to put the public first and it is obvious that the State Department is putting increasing emphasis on not only reaching out to, but even more importantly, engaging with the audience in Slovenia. With shifts in power and individual empowerment, governments and governmental officials must adjust their policies and public diplomacy to the current trends. It seems that global affairs are becoming more suitable for soft power approaches. Soft power transcends the elitism of classic diplomacy by putting the increasingly well-informed global public into play. In today’s networked world of instant information, global publics are smarter, more engaged and more active than ever.

The intriguing question is whether the United States can handle its cultural relations objectively and not link them with their national interest. When implementing cultural programs, governmental officials should keep in mind that the true benefit of international cultural relations is not a short-term result, but more of an investment in developing long-term relationships. American cultural diplomacy needs to be delivered in a smart way, in order to counter-balance the sometimes negative impact or perception of U.S. foreign policy.

Throughout history, the United States has been actively using hard power and soft power approaches. To develop ‘soft power,’ the United States implements cultural diplomacy practices that actively deploy popular culture. The rise of the consumer economy and the “American lifestyle” in the 1950s had a terrific impact on the world when American popular culture went global. Up to today, American culture has become the world’s most widespread culture. Today, public and media diplomacy extend international communication beyond the realm of professional diplomats and other government officials to anyone with access to the internet and global news media. To facilitate cultural diplomacy, many countries operate through networks of cultural centers around the globe. The U.S. implements its cultural programs via its embassies. What is fairly unique for the United States is that a lot of cultural diplomacy is done through the private sector, which is very successful in spreading American culture around the world. America’s cultural influence through movies and music has been particularly strong throughout history. Therefore, I believe that one of the challenges for the State Department is how connect and cooperate better with private sector partners to deliver interesting cultural programs to foreign audiences.

The U.S. Embassy in Slovenia with its limited cultural funding delivers more American popular culture, which is produced for mass consumption but has also swept across the globe. The overall perception, given the responses in the media as well as from cultural practitioners, about the work of the U.S. Embassy in Slovenia as the primary American cultural diplomacy agent in Slovenia, was very positive. This being said, the results of the present analysis show that the implementation of American cultural diplomacy in Slovenia ensures alignment with U.S. foreign policy objectives and brings a strategic focus to how public diplomacy programs, resources and structures support those objectives.

When comparing the practice of American cultural diplomacy to other missions in Slovenia, it can be noted that there are differences in the structure and implementation of their cultural diplomacy and programs. Foreign governments present cultural activities in a slightly different way, yet the goal is the same – promoting their own culture to foreign audiences the best way possible. My overall assessment on the role and implementation of American cultural diplomacy compared to other international cultural efforts in Slovenia is that the U.S. is the country that invests the most in cultural programming and is also perceived as the most successful in implementing its cultural diplomacy. Comparative research has shown that cultural institutions in Slovenia collaborate most intensively with the United States and

Austria, followed closely by France, Germany and Italy. While U.S. public diplomacy officers are aware of this fact, they must constantly balance their government's directives, resources and needs. Compared to cultural centers and leaders representing other countries, who can focus primarily and exclusively on promoting their country's culture abroad, U.S. public diplomacy officers have to focus on different areas of public diplomacy work, with culture being just one of them. Too often it is pushed aside when it comes to prioritizing. In my opinion American cultural diplomacy in Slovenia has a strong potential of becoming a tool that will ease the somewhat negative opinion of the Slovenian public about U.S. foreign policy, but in order to do that there has to be more cooperation with different cultural partners, various cultural programs and in different cities around Slovenia. American cultural programs must highlight strengths and talent within both the U.S. and Slovenian cultures. Cultural programs should fit the local climate and be connected with the tradition and culture of the host country. Slovenian audiences need to pursue their own desires to engage American culture and society through expert voices, cultural programs, or connecting through shared values.

Recommendations for future work of American cultural diplomacy in Slovenia, with the U.S. Embassy as the main cultural diplomacy agent, include organizing bigger events but, at the same time, investing more in projects in smaller cities outside the capital city. The amount of support may be smaller but the impact is higher. I strongly believe that the advantage of American cultural diplomacy is its diversity. U.S. public diplomacy officers understand the centrality of new technology, the importance of protecting long-term investments in cultural and educational programs, the need to develop a strategy that aligned priorities and resources, the importance of coordinating with the interagency and the need to measure the effectiveness of programs.

Cultural diplomacy has the potential to become a more valuable tool for states in the future and a more valued and significant component of the practice of public diplomacy. If cultural diplomacy's potential to contribute to a government's foreign policy and its diplomacy is to be fully realised, however, governments need to embrace practical possibilities, provide more funding for it, and think about how best to deliver it. Cultural diplomacy may still be a sub-category of the conventional practice of diplomacy, and a component of public diplomacy, but it is a practice that demonstrates the excitement, the power and the importance of culture, which has the ability to enrich all that engage in it. However, it is very important not to forget

that public diplomacy programs, hence cultural diplomacy programs, have relevance and enable the development of long-term relationships with foreign audiences, and deepen the impact of what you are doing and why.

No amount of cultural diplomacy, even if it is smartly implemented, can win back world opinion in the face of policies that might be resented or despised. However, intensive cultural diplomacy programs can surely show appreciation for values and ideas that are key characteristics of American society. This being said, it is essential that U.S. public diplomacy officers commit to constant innovation and to use cultural diplomacy as a two-way street, never forgetting the importance of the cultural environment of the country they serve in. With this they will capture the attention and loyalty of their audiences, including in Slovenia.

8 DALJŠI POVZETEK V SLOVENSKEM JEZIKU

Živimo v dinamičnem in kompleksnem svetu. Vsi pozitivni vplivi globalizacije, kot so prosti pretok oseb, idej, blaga, informacij, tehnologij, so prinesli tudi številne varnostne izzive in grožnje. S tem je prišlo do nastanka edinstvenega varnostnega okolja, ki v preteklosti še ni obstajal. Mnogi politični izvajalci in politiki menijo, da ni države, ki bi bila zmožna samostojno zagotavljati svojo varnost ne glede na njeno velikost ali moč. Medsebojna odvisnost je torej postala zelo pomembna značilnost sodobnih mednarodnih odnosov. Kljub moči globalnih sil ne moremo mimo dejstva, da sta geografija in kultura še zmeraj izredno pomembni. Pri tem se moramo zavedati, da na današnji svet ne moremo gledati le kot na skupek geografskih enot, temveč moramo nanj gledati kot na virtualno okolje z nešteti omrežji.

S stališča znanosti o mednarodnih odnosih je pojav kulture opredeljen kot vseobsegajoč - kulturni odnosi so odnosi med nacionalnimi kulturami in narodnimi družbami, ki presegajo državne meje (Bojinović Fenko 2014, 16). Z namenom, da bi uresničile svoje zunanje politične cilje, države organizirano nastopajo v mednarodni skupnosti (Petrič 1996). Pri tem uporabljajo različna sredstva za doseganje ciljev zunanje politike, tj. dobrega ugleda, prestiža in večje mednarodne prepoznavnosti, uporabljajo diplomatska in kulturna sredstva zunanje politike, tj. kulturne diplomacije (Bojinović Fenko 2014). Cynthia Schneider (2006) pravi, da je pojem kulturne diplomacije sicer težko natančno opredeliti, tako da kulturno diplomacijo definira precej splošno, in sicer kot "dvosmerno cesto in kot dolgoročni proces, ki sicer ne

more izravnati negativnih učinkov nepriljubljenih politik, lahko pa povečuje razumevanje med različnimi narodi in kulturami ter v procesu posredovanja vidikov kulture, norm, vrednot in pravil določene države preusmerja pozornost in je zabavna” (Schneider 2006, 196).

Ameriški politolog Joseph Nye (2008, 95) razmerje med mehko močjo in javno diplomacijo definira kot razmerje med sredstvi in viri, ki jih ima država na razpolago – medtem ko mehka moč države izhaja iz njenih virov. Javna diplomacija je sredstvo, s katerim vlada te vire posreduje tujim javnostim in s tem pritegne njihovo pozornost. Najpogosteje uporabljeno definicijo javne diplomacije sta skovala Signitzer in Coombs (1992, 138), ki pravita, da je javna diplomacija “način, s katerim vlada kot zasebni subjekti (posamezniki in skupine) neposredno ali posredno vplivajo na tista javna stališča in mnenja, ki neposredno oblikujejo zunanjepolitične odločitve druge vlade.” Kulturna diplomacija v tem kontekstu je »dejanje predstavljanja kulturnih dobrin občinstvu z namenom, da se le-to vključi v ideje na način, ki ga je predvidel proizvajalec (Snow 2009, 253).

Joseph Nye (1990) je v znanost o mednarodnih odnosih vpeljal koncept mehke moči (*soft power*). Mehka moč predstavlja zmožnost države, da vpliva na dejanja druge države s prepričevanjem oziroma privlačnostjo in ne s prisilo. Ko se trda moč (*hard power*), s čimer mislimo predvsem na vojaško in gospodarsko moč države, in mehka moč v pomenu zmogljivosti in kot strategiji vplivanja povezujeta, Nye (2004) to opredeli kot pametno moč (*smart power*). Mehka moč temelji na narodovi kulturi, političnih vrednotah in zunanjih politikah (Nye 2004). Kultura je ob zunanji politiki in političnih vrednostih ena izmed treh osnovnih virov mehke moči. Države izvajajo zunanje politike na različne načine, a vse z istim ciljem, in sicer, da uresničujejo svoje politične cilje in krepijo državne interese. Diplomacijo uporabljajo kot komunikacijsko sredstvo. Kulturna diplomacija je posebna oblika komunikacije, ki se osredotoča na krepitev odnosov med različnimi kulturami. Kulturna diplomacija lahko nastopa v različnih vlogah: kot sredstvo krepitve odnosov in komunikacije med narodi in ljudmi, kot način preprečevanja konfliktov, kot način, preko katerega razvijamo oziroma vplivamo na dialog z občinstvom, prav tako pa ima kulturna diplomacija tudi zmožnost vplivati na druge na način, da dosežemo izide, ki jih želimo. Novi pristopi k proučevanju kulturne diplomacije kažejo na trajno relevantnost kulturne diplomacije v sodobnih mednarodnih odnosih (Cummings 2003; Nye 2003, 2004, 2011; Schneider 2004; Melissen 2005; Wang 2006).

V preteklosti so strokovnjaki intenzivno proučevali ameriško kulturno diplomacijo, njen zgodovinski razvoj, pomen in vlogo, ki jo ima pri izvajanju zunanje politike ZDA. Ameriška javna diplomacija je nepogrešljiva pri izvajanju zunanje politike. S posredovanjem ameriških vrednot, družbe in politik in s spodbujanjem medsebojnega razumevanja med Američani in ključnimi tujimi javnostmi se zagotavlja uresničevanje ameriških zunanjepolitičnih ciljev, krepi državne interese in državno varnost. V enaindvajsetem stoletju bo eden glavnih izzivov, ne samo za Združene države Amerike, ampak tudi za vse države, kako učinkovito uporabljati kulturno diplomacijo kot sredstvo mehke moči oziroma kako prepričati preko kulture, vrednot in idej, v povezavi na vojaško in gospodarsko moč, t. i. trdo moč. Dejanski izziv za države in njihove vlade je, kako na pameten način kombinirati različne oblike moči oziroma kar Joseph Nye opredeli kot pametno moč (Nye 2011).

Namen magistrskega dela je raziskati vlogo in izvajanje ameriške kulturne diplomacije kot inštrumenta pametne moči in podati relativno oceno glede njene učinkovitosti in uspešnosti. V uvodnem, teoretičnem delu sem najprej razložila glavne pojme, povezane s konceptom in pomenom kulturne diplomacije. Kulturno diplomacijo sem predstavila in opredelila glede na javno diplomacijo. S konceptom mehke in pametne moči sem podrobneje prikazala Josepha Nya. V osrednjem delu sem preverjala teoretične predpostavke na študiji primera ameriške kulturne diplomacije v Sloveniji, ki temelji na primerjalni analizi kulturnih aktivnosti ostalih mednarodnih predstavništev, dejavnih v Sloveniji. V zadnjem delu sem predstavila izide, ki sem jih analizirala na podlagi dveh raziskovalnih vprašanj.

Čeprav Charles Bukowski (2002) pravi, da Slovenija ne dobi veliko pozornosti v Združenih državah Amerike, menim, da Slovenija predstavlja zelo zanimivo študijo primera analize vloge in izvajanja ameriške kulturne diplomacije, še posebej po razkritju rezultatov raziskave o osovraženosti ZDA, ki so jo leta 2014 naredili raziskovalci Gallupovega inštituta in Meridianovega centra za mednarodne raziskave. Na podlagi podatkov, zbranih v 135 državah sveta, sodi Slovenija med deset držav na vsetu, ki najbolj sovražijo ZDA. Kljub zglednim odnosom med državama, ki sta obe tudi članici NATA, ameriške politike in vodstva ne odobrava 54 odstotkov Slovencev. Zunanje politike ne narekuje le javno mnenje, vendar lahko predstava neke države o drugi bistveno vpliva na zunanjepolitične odločitve obeh držav (Frolich 2015). V majhni državi, kot je Slovenija, kjer je prisotno precej močno negativno mnenje o ameriških vladnih politikah, je kulturno delovanje še posebej koristno in pomembno.

V magistrskem delu sem želela odgovoriti na dve glavni vprašanji, ki sta bili osnova za empirično analizo: prvič, kakšna je vloga ameriške kulturne diplomacije s strani uradnih izvajalcev in na kakšen način je implementirana. Analiza se v tem delu osredotoča na mnenje uradnih predstavnikov ameriške vlade glede izvajanja modela kulturne diplomacije v Sloveniji. Drugo vprašanje je usmerjeno na raziskavo mnenja oblikovalcev kulturnih vsebin v Sloveniji, to je direktorjev in menedžerjev vodilnih kulturnih organizacij in kulturnih urednikov oziroma novinarjev, ki pokrivajo kulturo.

Vprašanje 1: Ali je izvajanje ameriške kulturne diplomacije v Sloveniji v skladu z uradnim ciljem, na podlagi katerega je kulturna diplomacija inštrument, ki omogoča zagotavljanje zunanjepolitičnih ciljev ZDA v Sloveniji?

Vprašanje 2: Kakšno je mnenje kulturnih izvajalcev in medijev v Sloveniji glede ameriške kulturne diplomacije v primerjavi z drugimi mednarodnimi kulturnimi aktivnostmi v Sloveniji?

Kar se tiče prvega vprašanja, na podlagi danih podatkov ugotavljam, da ameriški javni uslužbencem razumejo kriteriji uspešne kulturne diplomacije, vendar hkrati priznavajo, da je za izvajanje učinkovite in aktivne kulturne diplomacije potrebno odločno vodstvo s strani Bele hiše in ameriškega ministrstva za zunanje zadeve. Prav tako moramo delovanje kulturne diplomacije prilagoditi razpršeni moči v mednarodnem okolju in večjemu vplivu, ki ga ima posameznik v tem okolju. Čeprav so predstavniki ameriškega zunanjega ministrstva enotni glede pomena kulturne diplomacije, ne moremo mimo dejstva, da je ameriška kulturna diplomacija prehitro označena kot "preveč mehka" oziroma se nanjo gleda kot na sekundarno tematiko v primerjavi z varnostnim in gospodarskim sodelovanjem. Kulturna diplomacija zahteva čas. Kulturni programi ameriške diplomacije v Sloveniji so odvisni od proračuna, časa in predvsem od tega, ali obstaja splošno mnenje, da bodo ti programi ameriško kulturo slovenski publiki predstavili na poučen in zanimiv način. Ameriški javni uslužbenci poudarjajo, da pomemben del odnosa med obema državama sloni na kulturnih vezeh.

Na podlagi podatkov, ki sem jih pridobila s fokusnimi intervjuji in povratnimi informacijami po elektronski pošti, lahko trdim, da je v primerjavi z drugimi mednarodnimi predstavništvi ameriška kulturna diplomacija s strani Ameriškega veleposlaništva v Sloveniji kot osrednjega

nosilca relativno zelo uspešno implementirana. Iz odgovorov, ki sem jih dobila, je razvidno, da v slovenski kulturni srenji prevladuje mnenje, da je med vsemi tujimi predstavništvi Ameriško veleposlaništvo v Sloveniji najbolj aktivno, prav tako navajajo, da za vse te programe ameriška vlada namenja največ sredstev.

Naklonjenost in zanimanje tujih javnosti se kažeta kot ključna elementa uspešne diplomacije. Vse večja kompleksnost in soodvisnost mednarodne skupnosti od držav posledično zahteva, da se spremenjenim razmeram prilagodijo in da z namenom doseganja svojih zunanjepolitičnih ciljev poenotijo in uskladijo nastop vseh državnih akterjev v tujini.

9 LITERATURE

1. *Academy for Cultural Diplomacy*. Available at: <http://www.culturaldiplomacy.org> (5 January, 2016).
2. *Arts & Minds, Cultural Diplomacy amid Global Tensions*. Based on a conference presented by the National Arts Journalism Program, Arts International, and the Center for Arts & Culture. Available at: http://www.americansforthearts.org/sites/default/files/ArtsMinds_0.pdf (20 December, 2015).
3. Atkinson, Rowland and John, Flint. 2001. Accessing Hidden and Hard-to-Reach Populations: Snowball Research Strategies. *Social Research Update* 33. Available at: <http://sru.soc.surrey.ac.uk/SRU33.html> (20 February, 2016).
4. *Avstrijski kulturni forum Ljubljana*. 2014. Available at: <http://austrocult.si/sl/> (15 February, 2016).
5. Beekman, Philip. 2016. Personal interview with the author, Ljubljana, 3 May.
6. Bloomfield, Steve. 2016. Building Bridges – Global. *Monocle* 89 (9).
7. Bojinović Fenko, Ana, ed. 2014. *Mehka moč v zunanji politiki in mednarodnih odnosih*. Ljubljana: Fakulteta za družbene vede, Založba FDV.
8. Bound, Kirsten, Briggs, Rachel, Holden, John and Jones, Samuel. 2007. *Cultural Diplomacy*. London: Demos. Available at: http://www.demos.co.uk/files/Cultural_diplomacy_-_web.pdf (3 February, 2016).
9. Boyer, Mark A. and Lavalley, Tara M. 2002. Slovenia and NATO Enlargement: Understanding American Perspectives and the Prospects for Round Two Enlargement.

- In *Small States in the Post-Cold War World: Slovenia and NATO Enlargement*, eds. Zlatko Šabič and Charles Bukowski, 83–102. Westport: Praeger Publishers.
10. *British Council v Sloveniji*. 2016. Available at: <https://www.britishcouncil.si> (15 February 2016).
 11. Bukowski, Charles. 2002. Slovenia and NATO Enlargement: Understanding American Perspectives and the Prospects for Round Two Enlargement. In *Small States in the Post-Cold War World: Slovenia and NATO Enlargement*, eds. Zlatko Šabič and Charles Bukowski, 53–82. Westport: Praeger Publishers.
 12. Cabral, Roxanne. 2016. Personal interview with the author. Washington, DC, 22 February.
 13. Clack, George, ed. *About America: Edward R. Murrow. Journalism at Its Best*. Available at: http://photos.state.gov/libraries/korea/49271/dwoa_122709/Edward-R_-Murrow-Journalism-at-Its-Best.pdf (2 May, 2016).
 14. Correct The Record. Hilary Clinton: *Smart Power & Foreign Policy*. Available at: <http://correctrecord.org/hillary-clinton-smart-power-foreign-policy/> (10 February, 2016).
 15. *Culture – Culture of Slovenia*. Available at: http://www.culture.si/en/Culture_of_Slovenia (15 May, 2016).
 16. Cummings, Milton C. 2003. *Cultrual diplomacy and the United States government: A survey*. Washington DC: Center for Arts and Culture.
 17. Damjanović, Damjan. 2016. E-mail message to the author. 4 May.
 18. Dimitrova, Ana. 2011. *Obama's Foreign Policy: Between Pragmatic Realism and Smart Diplomacy?* Available at: <http://www.culturaldiplomacy.org/academy/content/pdf/participant-papers/academy/Anna-Dimitrova-Obama's-Foreign-Policy-Between-Pragmatic-Realism-and-Smart-Diplomacy.pdf> (10 February, 2016).
 19. Dunne, Aidan. 2016. The future of museums: 'soft power' and the hard sell. *The Irish Times*. Available at: <http://www.irishtimes.com/culture/art-and-design/the-future-of-museums-soft-power-and-the-hard-sell-1.2611892> (30 April, 2016).
 20. Dutta-Bergman, Mohan. 2006. U.S. public diplomacy in the Middle East: A critical cultural approach. *The Journal of Communication Inquiry* 30 (2): 102–124.
 21. Fisher, Rod. 2014. *United States of America Country Report*. Preparatory Action "Culture in the EU's External Relations." Available at: http://ec.europa.eu/culture/policy/international-cooperation/documents/country-reports/usa_en.pdf (28 April, 2016).

22. Fitzpatrick, Kathy R. 2010. *U.S. Public Diplomacy Neglected Domestic Mandate*. Los Angeles: Figeroa Press. Available at: <https://uscpublicdiplomacy.org/sites/uscpublicdiplomacy.org/files/useruploads/u35361/2010%20Paper%203.pdf> (2 May, 2016).
23. Foreign Service Officer A. 2016. E-mail message to the author. 4 May.
24. Foreign Service Officer B. 2016. Personal interview with the author. Ljubljana, 10 May.
25. *Francoski inštitut v Sloveniji*. 2016. Available at: <http://www.institutfrance.si/?lang=sl> (15 February 2016).
26. Frolich, Thomas C. 2015. 10 countries that hate the U.S. the most. *MW Media Watch*, June 25. Available at: <http://www.marketwatch.com/story/10-countries-that-hate-the-us-the-most-2015-06-11> (5 February, 2016).
27. Gilboa, Eytan. 2001. Diplomacy in the media age: Three models of uses and effects. *Diplomacy & Statecraft* 12 (2): 1–28.
28. *Goethe-Institut*. 2016. Available at: <https://www.goethe.de/ins/si/sl/index.html> (15 February 2016).
29. Grunig, James E. 1993. Public Relations and International Affairs. Effects, Ethics and Responsibility. *Journal of International Affairs* 47 (1): 137–162.
30. Ham, van Peter. 2002. Branding Territory: Inside the Wonderful Worlds of PR and IR Theory. *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 31 (2): 249–269.
31. Henrikson, Alan. 2005. Niche Diplomacy in the World Public Arena: the Global 'Corners' of Canada and Norway. In *The New Public Diplomacy: Soft Power in International Relations*, ed. Jan Melissen, 67–87, New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
32. Hensman, Chris. 2016. Personal interview with the author. Washington, DC, 22 February.
33. Heywood, Andrew. 2011. *Global Politics*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
34. Hvalec, Darinka. 2016. Personal interview with the author. Ljubljana, 4 May.
35. *ICD - Institute for Cultural Diplomacy*. Available at: <http://www.culturaldiplomacy.org> (3 January, 2016).
36. *Instituto Cervantes*. 2016. Available at: <http://iubliana.cervantes.es/sl/default.shtm> (15 February, 2016).
37. Italijanski inštitut za kulturo v Sloveniji. 2016. Available at: http://www.iiclubiana.esteri.it/iic_lubiana/sl/ (15 February, 2016).

38. Iriye, Akira. Cultural Relations and Policies. *Encyclopedia of the New American Nation*. Available at: <http://www.americanforeignrelations.com/A-D/Cultural-Relations-and-Policies.html> (2 May, 2016).
39. Jamshed, Shazia. 2014. *Qualitative research method-interviewing and observation*. Available at: <http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC4194943> (15 February, 2016).
40. Jarc, Pavla. 2016. E-mail message to the author. 4 May.
41. *John Kerry goes to Hollywood for help countering ISIS*. Available at: <http://gantdaily.com/2016/02/19/john-kerry-goes-to-hollywood-for-help-countering-isis> (5 April, 2016).
42. Kline, Miro and Berginc, Dario. 2004. Tržna znamka države: Študija primera Slovenije. *Teorija in praksa* 40 (6): 1040–1057.
43. Kranjec, Mankica. 2016. Personal interview with the author. Ljubljana, 10 May.
44. Krečič, Jela. 2012. Zunanja politika in kultura: promocija držav in bogatenje odnosov. *Delo*. Available at: <http://www.delo.si/kultura/dediscina/zunanja-politika-in-kultura-promocija-drzav-in-bogatenje-odnosov.html> (28 April, 2016).
45. Krečič Scholten, Tadeja. 2016. E-mail message to the author. 11 May 11.
46. Leonard, Mark. 2002. *Public Diplomacy*. London: The Foreign Policy Centre.
47. Library of Congress. *Hope for America: Performers, Politics and Pop Culture*. Available at: <https://www.loc.gov/exhibits/hope-for-america/cultural-diplomacy.html> (May 30, 2016).
48. Manheim, Jarol B. 1994. *Strategic Public Diplomacy and American Foreign Policy: The Evolution of Influence*. New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
49. Manček, Matjaž. 2016. Personal interview with the author. Ljubljana, 28 April.
50. Mark, Simon. 2009. A Greater Role for Cultural Diplomacy. The Hague: *Netherlands Institute of International Relations Clingendael*. Available at: http://www.clingendael.nl/sites/default/files/20090616_cdsp_discussion_paper_114_mark.pdf (30 April, 2016).
51. Martin, Izaak. 2016. Personal interview with the author. Ljubljana, 28 April.
52. McClellan, Michael. 2004. *Public Diplomacy in the Context of Traditional Diplomacy*. Available at: <http://www.publicdiplomacy.org/45.htm> (28 April, 2016).
53. McClory, Jonathan. 2010. *The new persuaders: An international ranking of soft power*. London: Institute for Government. Available at:

- http://www.instituteforgovernment.org.uk/sites/default/files/publications/The%20new%20persuaders_0.pdf (June 16, 2016).
54. Melissen, Jan, ed. 2005. *The New Public Diplomacy: Soft Power in International Relations*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
55. --- 2011. *Beyond the New Public Diplomacy*. The Hague: Netherlands Institute of International Relations Clingendael. Available at: http://www.clingendael.nl/sites/default/files/20111014_cdsp_paper_jmelissen.pdf (5 April, 2016).
56. Miskimmon, Alistair, O'Loughlin, Ben, and Roselle, Laura. 2012. *Forging the World: Strategic Narratives and International Relations*. Centre for European Politics, New Political Communications Unit. Available at: <http://static1.1.sqspcdn.com/static/f/127762/16079410/1326798495050/Forging+the+World+Working+P> (30 April, 2016).
57. Mussomeli, Joseph A. 2016. E-mail message to the author. 6 May.
58. National Arts Journalism Program. 2003. *Arts and Minds: Cultural Diplomacy amid Global Tensions*. New York: National Arts Journalism Program. Available at: <http://www.americansforthearts.org/by-program/reports-and-data/legislation-policy/naappd/arts-and-minds-cultural-diplomacy-amid-global-tensions> (26 April, 2016).
59. *Netherlands Embassy in Ljubljana*. Available at: <http://slovenia.nlembassy.org> (15 February, 2016).
60. Newman, Stephanie. 2016. Personal interview with the author. Washington, DC, 22 February.
61. Nye, Joseph S. 1990. Soft Power. *Foreign Policy* (80): 153–171.
62. --- 2004a. *Soft Power. The Means to Success in World Politics*. New York: Public Affairs.
63. --- 2004b. Soft Power and American Foreign Policy. *Political Science Quarterly* 119 (2): 255–270.
64. --- 2009. *Understanding International Conflicts*. 7. New York: Pearson.
65. --- 2011. *The Future of Power*. New York: Public Affairs.
66. Oppmann, Patrick. 2016. Obama engages in baseball diplomacy in Cuba. Available at: http://www.dallasweekly.com/sports/article_db7c668a-f1e7-11e5-895c-9318c824b422.html (2 May, 2016).
67. Osojnik, Marta. 2013. *Cultural Diplomacy and the European Union: Key Characters and Historical Development*. Available at: http://www.culturaldiplomacy.org/index.php?en_case-studies (8 February, 2016).

68. Parker, George. 2016. *US overtakes Britain as world's top 'soft power.'* Available at: <http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/c20d03e2-2fa6-11e6-bda004585c31b153.html#axzz4CtZF2JLr> (16 June, 2016).
69. Petrič, Ernest. 1996. Zunanja politika majhnih držav. *Teorija in praksa* 33 (6): 876–897.
70. Plavšak Krajnc, Kristina. 2004. Javna diplomacija: Temeljni koncept in trendi. *Teorija in praksa* 41 (3–4): 643–658.
71. Podobnik, Nadja. 2016. Personal interview with the author. Ljubljana, 10 May.
72. Pokorny, Barbara. 2016. E-mail message to the author, 12 May.
73. Predin, Andrej. 2016. E-mail message to the author, 6 May.
74. Report of the Advisory Committee on Public Diplomacy. 2005. *Cultural Diplomacy: The Linchpin of Public Diplomacy*. U.S. Department of State. Available at: <http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/54374.pdf> (3 January, 2016).
75. Republic of Slovenia, Ministry of Foreign Affairs. 2015. *Slovenia: Safe, Successful, Globally Respected. The Foreign Policy of the Republic of Slovenia*. Available at: http://www.mzz.gov.si/fileadmin/pageuploads/Zakonodaja_in_dokumenti/Strateski_dokument_slovenske_zunanje_politike_ang.pdf (28 March, 2016).
76. --- 2016. *Diplomatic list*. Available at: http://www.mzz.gov.si/en/diplomatic_protocol/diplomatic_list/ (30 May, 2016).
77. Roselle, Laura, Miskimmon, Alister and O'Loughlin, Ben. 2014. Strategic narrative: A new means to understand soft power. *Media, War & Conflict* 7 (1): 70–84.
78. Rothman, Joshua. 2014. The Meaning of “Culture.” *The New Yorker*. Available at: <http://www.newyorker.com/books/joshua-rothman/meaning-culture> (26 April, 2016).
79. Rukavina, Vladimir. 2016. E-mail message to the author. 11 May.
80. *Ruski center znanosti in kulture v Sloveniji*. Available at: <http://svn.rs.gov.ru/sl/node/457> (15 February, 2016).
81. Sablosky, Juliet Antunes. 2003. *Recent Trends in Department of State Support for Cultural Diplomacy: 1993–2002*. Center for Arts and Culture. Available at: www.culturalpolicy.org (3 February, 2016).
82. Samardžija Matul, Ksenija. 2016. E-mail message to the author. 10 May.
83. Schneider, Cynthia P. 2003. *Diplomacy that Works: Best Practices in Cultural Diplomacy*. Center for Arts and Culture. Available at: <http://www.americansforthearts.org/sites/default/files/Schneider.pdf> (15 April, 2016).

84. --- 2004. *Culture Communicates: US Diplomacy that Works*. The Hague: Netherlands Institute of International Relations Clingendael (24). Available at: http://www.clingendael.nl/sites/default/files/20040300_cli_paper_dip_issue94.pdf (20 December, 2015).
85. --- 2006. *Cultural Diplomacy: Why It Matters, What It Can – and Cannot -- Do?* Short Course on Culture Industries, Technologies, and Policies. Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association Philadelphia. Available at: <https://wintersession2012.files.wordpress.com/2012/01/46566278-cultural-diplomacy.pdf> (18 February, 2016).
86. --- 2010. *Cultural Diplomacy and the “Oh, I Didn’t Know That” Factor*. Available at: http://www.huffingtonpost.com/cynthia-p-schneider/cultural-diplomacy-and-th_b_797305.html (16 May, 2016).
87. --- 2016. *The Problem with John Kerry’s Trip to Hollywood*. The EP Group. Available at: <http://foreignpolicy.com/2016/02/19/the-problem-with-john-kerrys-trip-to-hollywood-isis-terrorism> (15 April, 2016).
88. Signitzer, Benno H. and Coombs, Timothy. 1992. Public Relations and Public Diplomacy. Conceptual Convergences. *Public Relations Review* 18 (2), 137–147.
- Smith-Windsor, Brooke A. 2000. Hard Power, Soft Power reconsidered. *Canadian Military Journal* 1 (3): 51–56. Available at: <http://www.journal.forces.gc.ca/vo1/no3/doc/50-56-eng.pdf> (3 February, 2016).
89. *Služba Vlade RS za razvoj in evropsko kohezijsko politiko*. 2013. Norway grants. Available at: <http://norwaygrants.si> (15 February, 2016).
90. Snow, Nancy. 2003. *Information War: American Propaganda, Free Speech, and Opinion Control since 9/11*. New York: Seven Stories Press.
91. --- 2005. *U.S. Public Diplomacy: Its History, Problems and Promise*. Sage Journals. Available at: http://www.sagepub.com/sites/default/files/upm-binaries/11850_Chapter12.pdf (30 April, 2016).
92. Snow, Nancy and Taylor, Philip M. eds. 2009. *Routledge Handbook of Public Diplomacy*. New York: Routledge.
93. Sotošek Štular, Peter. 2016. E-mail message to the author. 8 May 8.
94. Spreen, M. 1992. Rare populations, hidden populations and link-tracing designs: what and why? *Bulletin Methodologie Sociologique* 36: 34–58.
95. Sriramesh, Krishnamurthy and Dejan, Verčič, eds. 2012. *Culture and public relations*. New York: Routledge.

96. Škof, Duša. 2016. E-mail message to the author. 10 May 10.
97. The Slovenia Times. 2016. *Hungarian cultural center to be launched next week*. Available at: <http://www.sloveniatimes.com/hungarian-cultural-centre-to-be-launched-next-week> (15 May, 2016).
98. *The Universal Declaration of Human Rights*. 1948. United Nations. Available at: <http://www.un.org/en/universal-declaration-human-rights> (20 April, 2016).
99. Thussu, Daya. *De-Americanizing Soft Power Discourse?* Los Angeles: Figuera Press. Available at: https://uscpublicdiplomacy.org/sites/uscpublicdiplomacy.org/files/useruploads/u20150/CPDPerspectives2_2014_SoftPower.pdf (13 February, 2016).
100. Torres da Silva, Marisa and Santos Silva, Dora. 2014. Trends and transformations within cultural journalism: a case study of newsmagazine *Visão*. *Observatorio (OBS*) Journal* 8 (4): 171–185.
101. *Transcript of Clinton's Confirmation Hearing*. January 13, 2009. Available at: <http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=99290981> (5 January, 2016).
102. Tripathy, Priyanka and Kumar Tripathy, Pradip. 2015. *Fundamentals of Research: Dissective View*. Hamburg: Anchor Academic Publishing.
103. Tuch, Hans N. 1990. *Communicating with the World: U. S. Public Diplomacy Overseas*. New York: St. Martin's Press.
104. Turner, Daniel W. 2010. Qualitative Interview Design: A Practical Guide for Novice Investigators. *The Qualitative Report* 15 (3): 754–760. Available at: <http://www.nova.edu/ssss/QR/QR15-3/qid.pdf> (15 February 2016).
105. Univerza v Ljubljani, Ekonomska fakulteta. 2016. *O Konfucijevem inštitutu*. Available at: http://www.ef.uni-lj.si/konfucijev_institut (15 February 2016).
106. *U.S. Department of State. Diplomacy in Action*. Under Secretary for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs. Available at: <http://www.state.gov/r> (5 January, 2016).
107. *U.S. Department of State. Evaluation and Measurement Unit. Office of Policy, Planning and Resources for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs*. 2012. *Advancing Public Diplomacy's Impact (PDI) Final Report*. Washington DC: General Dynamics Information Technology and Intermedia.
108. *USIA Strategic Plan 1997–2002*. Available at: <http://dosfan.lib.uic.edu/usia/abtusia/stratplan/pland.htm> (5 January, 2016).

109. U.S. National Intelligence Council, *Global Trends 2030: Alternative Worlds, November 2012*. Available at: <https://globaltrends2030.files.wordpress.com/2012/11/global-trends-2030-november2012.pdf> (2 May, 2016).
110. Yousaf, Salman and Samreen, Nida. 2015. Information agents and cultural differences as determinants of country's reputation and its subsequent effects on tourism prospects of a country in sustained crises: The case of Pakistan. *Journal of Vacation Marketing*. Sage.
111. Van Dyke, Mark A. and Verčič, Dejan. 2008. Odnosi z javnostmi, javna diplomacija in strateško komuniciranje: Mednarodni model pojmovne konvergence. *Teorija in praksa* 45 (6): 678–705.
112. Verčič, Dejan. 2014. Intercultural and multicultural context of public relations. In *Exploring Public Relations*, eds. Ralph Tench and Liz Yeomans, 70-80. Harlow: Pearson Education Limited.
113. Vogt, W. Paul. 1999. *Dictionary of Statistics and Methodology: A Nontechnical Guide for the Social Sciences*, London: Sage.
114. Wagner, Jan-Phillip N.E. 2014. *The Effectiveness of Soft & Hard Power in Contemporary International Relations*. E-International Relations Students. Available at: <http://www.e-ir.info/2014/05/14/the-effectiveness-of-soft-hard-power-in-contemporary-international-relations> (10 February, 2016).
115. Wang, Jian. 2006. Managing national reputation and international relations in the global era: Public diplomacy revisited. *Public Relations Review* (32): 91–96.
116. Welsh, Jolyon and Fearn, Daniel, eds. 2008. *Engagement: Public Diplomacy in a Globalized World*. London: Foreign and Commonwealth Office.
117. White House Press Office, "President Barack Obama's Inaugural Address," January 20, 2009. Available at: <https://www.whitehouse.gov/blog/2009/01/21/president-barack-obamas-inaugural-address> (13 March, 2016).
118. Wurst, Christopher. 2016. Personal interview with the author. Ljubljana, 12 May.
119. Zaharna, Rhonda S. 2012. *The Cultural Awakening in Public Diplomacy*. Los Angeles: Figueroa Press.
120. Zaharna, Rhonda S., Arsenault, Amelia and Fisher, Ali, eds. 2103. *Relational Networked and Collaborative Approaches to Public Diplomacy: The Connective Midshift*. New York: Routledge.
121. Zaatari, Sami. 2016. "Social media a powerful platform for Public Diplomacy," U.S. Undersecretary for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs gives a talk at the Zayed

University. Available at: <http://gulfnews.com/news/uae/education/social-media-a-powerful-platform-for-public-diplomacy-1.1813518> (25 April, 2016).

122. Z.R. 2015. Predstavnštva v Sloveniji zaprlo že osem držav. *Delo*. Available at: <http://www.delo.si/novice/predstavnstva-v-sloveniji-zaprlo-ze-osem-drzav.html> (5 May, 2016).

10 ANNEXES

Annex A: The questionnaire on cultural diplomacy for U.S. official representatives

1. What has changed in terms of public diplomacy programming over the past twenty or thirty years? Is it harder to “do” PD programs today than in the past?
2. Does the U.S. use culture as a diplomatic tool? How well? Do you think U.S. government-supported efforts in the cultural field are successful in their goals?
3. If you read through the literature on the topic of cultural diplomacy, it appears the resources and prominence of culture as a diplomatic tool in the U.S. has diminished. For example, ask someone about cultural diplomacy, and they’ll start talking about jazz ambassadors programs that took place 50 years ago. What do you think about the place of culture within public diplomacy today? And more generally, what do you think the opinion is about cultural diplomacy within the State Department and the U.S. government more widely?
4. My research is based on Nye's concepts of soft and smart power. How powerful can cultural diplomacy be in changing people's opinions about the U.S., especially in environments where the reputation of the U.S. is low?
5. If I touch the subject of Slovenia specifically, how important, if at all, is Slovenia from the [U.S.] government's point of view? Slovenia is a small country with a small audience, it is fairly developed and fairly safe. Are public diplomacy efforts important at all?
6. Interestingly enough, in the Global Leadership Research study, Slovenia ended up among the top 10 countries in the world with the strongest negative feelings about the U.S. Why would you say that happened? Would you say the Slovenian public likes the U.S. or not? Why? What can be changed or improved?
7. With the current refugee crisis in Europe, is Slovenia still seen as a safe country from your perspective? In relation to that, would being perceived as a »crisis area« mean Slovenia would gain more attention from policy-makers?
8. Is or could cultural diplomacy be an efficient instrument in fighting the war against terrorism? And how can we know if culture is so hard to measure?

9. In a time of fewer resources, more interest in metrics and evaluation, and more focus on data-driven spending. How can we measure and justify cultural diplomacy?
10. What's the best example you've ever seen of linking cultural diplomacy directly to the achievement of hard policy goals? Is it common or rare? How can we do it more often?
11. How successful would you say American cultural diplomacy is on a global scale when compared to the efforts of other countries? Would you say the United States is the most successful country in terms of cultural diplomacy? If not, which country would you say it is? Why?
12. What is the role of the U.S. Embassy in reaching out to foreign audience?
13. What is the role of the U.S. Ambassador in this respect?
14. How would you evaluate the work of the U.S. Embassy in Slovenia? And its cultural diplomacy?
15. How successful would you say American cultural diplomacy is in Slovenia when compared to other international representations present in Slovenia?
16. In your opinion which country invests the most into its cultural diplomacy on a global scale?
17. In your opinion which country invests the most into its cultural diplomacy in Slovenia?

Annex B: The questionnaire on cultural diplomacy for Slovenian cultural opinion-makers

1. Koliko sodelujete s tujimi veleposlaništvami v Sloveniji?
2. S katerimi pa največ sodelujete?
3. S katerimi je po vaših izkušnjah najlažje / najbolj prijetno in s katerimi najtežje / najmanj prijetno sodelovati?
4. Katera država po vašem mnenju največ vlaga v svojo kulturno diplomacijo po svetu?
5. Katera država po vašem mnenju največ vlaga v svojo kulturno diplomacijo v Sloveniji?
6. Katera država je po vašem mnenju najbolj uspešna s svojo kulturno diplomacijo v svetu?
7. Katera država je po vašem mnenju najbolj uspešna s svojo kulturno diplomacijo v Sloveniji?
8. Kako ocenjujete delo ameriškega veleposlaništva v Sloveniji na področju kulturne diplomacije?
9. Zakaj?
10. Kaj bi po vašem mnenju morali izboljšati?