

**CPD PERSPECTIVES ON PUBLIC DIPLOMACY**

Paper 3, 2011

# Public Diplomacy of Kosovo: Status Quo, Challenges and Options

By Martin Wählisch and Behar Xharra

La Diplomatie Publique

الدبلوماسية العامة

Общественная дипломатия

Public Diplomacy

PUBLICZNA DYPLOMACJA

הסברה

Publieksdiplomatie

**Diplomacia Pública**

公共外交

Δημόσια Διπλωματία

Публична дипломация

**Public Diplomacy of Kosovo:  
Status Quo, Challenges and Options**

Martin Wählisch and Behar Xharra

April 2011  
Figueroa Press  
Los Angeles



The research for this publication was funded by Friedrich-Ebert Foundation Prishtina Office, Kosovo.

## **Public Diplomacy of Kosovo: Status Quo, Challenges and Options**

Martin Wählisch and Behar Xharra

Published by

**FIGUEROA PRESS**

840 Childs Way, 3rd Floor

Los Angeles, CA 90089

Phone: (213) 743-4800

Fax: (213) 743-4804

[www.figueroapress.com](http://www.figueroapress.com)

Figueroa Press is a division of the USC Bookstore

Copyright © 2011 all rights reserved

### **Notice of Rights**

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording, or otherwise, without prior written permission from the author, care of Figueroa Press.

### **Notice of Liability**

The information in this book is distributed on an “As is” basis, without warranty. While every precaution has been taken in the preparation of this book, neither the author nor Figueroa nor the USC Bookstore shall have any liability to any person or entity with respect to any loss or damage caused or alleged to be caused directly or indirectly by any text contained in this book.

Figueroa Press and the USC Bookstore are trademarks of the University of Southern California

ISBN 13: 978-1-932800-84-5

ISBN 10: 1-932800-84-0

*For general inquiries or to request additional copies of this paper please contact:*

USC Center on Public Diplomacy at the Annenberg School

University of Southern California

3502 Watt Way, G4

Los Angeles, CA 90089-0281

Tel: (213) 821-2078; Fax: (213) 821-0774

[cpd@usc.edu](mailto:cpd@usc.edu)

[www.uscpublicdiplomacy.org](http://www.uscpublicdiplomacy.org)

## **CPD Perspectives on Public Diplomacy**

CPD Perspectives is a periodic publication by the USC Center on Public Diplomacy, and highlights scholarship intended to stimulate critical thinking about the study and practice of public diplomacy.

Designed for both the practitioner and the scholar, this series will illustrate the breadth of public diplomacy – its role as an essential component of foreign policy and the intellectual challenges it presents to those seeking to understand this increasingly significant factor in international relations.

CPD Perspectives on Public Diplomacy is available electronically in PDF form on the Center's web site ([www.uscpublicdiplomacy.org](http://www.uscpublicdiplomacy.org)) and in hard copy by request.

### **About the USC Center on Public Diplomacy at the Annenberg School**

The USC Center on Public Diplomacy (CPD) seeks to advance and enrich the study and practice of public diplomacy through its research and publication programs, professional training and public events.

The USC Center on Public Diplomacy was established in 2003 as a partnership between the Annenberg School for Communication and the School of International Relations at the University of Southern California. It is a research, analysis and professional training organization dedicated to furthering the study and practice of global public diplomacy.

Since its inception, the Center has become a productive and recognized leader in the public diplomacy research and scholarship community. CPD has benefited from unique international support within academic, corporate, governmental and public policy circles. It has become the definitive go-to destination for practitioners and international leaders in public diplomacy, while pursuing an innovative research agenda.

For more information about the Center,  
visit [www.uscpublicdiplomacy.org](http://www.uscpublicdiplomacy.org)



## **Abstract**

Kosovo's primary foreign policy aim is straightforward, but challenging: to become known and accepted worldwide. But why should a country in Africa, the Middle East, Asia or South America be concerned about Europe's youngest country? The truth is, many other countries simply do not have Kosovo on their radar.

This study for the CPD Perspectives on Public Diplomacy series gives an overview of the status quo, challenges and options for Kosovo's Public Diplomacy. The paper maps current activities and suggests outside-the-box Public Diplomacy ideas for Kosovo. The study has three parts: A summary of public diplomacy approaches in Kosovo as well as reactions in society, a comparison with countries similar to Kosovo, and a set of process questions for defining a political public diplomacy strategy for Kosovo.

The authors argue that some attempts have already been made to bring Kosovo onto policy agendas: the Kosovo government developed the "Kosovo—The Young Europeans" nation branding campaign in 2008 which had been variously discussed by the public. Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and individuals took the initiative. However, there has never been a full public diplomacy vision and political strategy for the country.

## **Keywords**

Public Diplomacy, Kosovo, Balkans, Young Europeans, Post-Conflict, Comparison, Rwanda, Germany, Serbia, Options, Nation Branding, Image Building



## **Public Diplomacy of Kosovo: Status Quo, Challenges and Options**

Being a young country which has just celebrated its third year of independence, Kosovo's public diplomacy efforts are still at the beginning. As Kosovo is not yet acknowledged by all states worldwide, its international limbo poses immense challenges: Kosovo has to gain a reputation abroad as well as overcome its negative image as a post-war country. Some attempts have already been made to bring Kosovo onto policy agendas: the Kosovo government developed the "Kosovo —The Young Europeans" nation branding campaign in 2008 which had been variously discussed by the public. Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and individuals took the initiative. Although there is no officially announced strategy, approaches from various sides form an amalgamation of public diplomacy activities which are diverse and fragmented. Nevertheless, there has never been a full public diplomacy vision and political strategy for the country.

Public diplomacy is particularly crucial for post-conflict states as they need to reverse their image so they are no longer seen as war-torn but as places with potential. This issue is extremely challenging for Kosovo, as it has not been recognized by the majority of the international community and is still struggling for recognition. It can also be disputed whether Kosovo is already seen internally as a "nation", which leads to the question of whether Kosovo is ready for public diplomacy. As with other post-conflict countries in a transition period, Kosovo is still in the process of defining its own identity, which makes it complicated to communicate an understanding of what Kosovo is about. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs is still in the



process of being fully staffed and equipped, which makes it difficult for local authorities to simultaneously manage public diplomacy while other tasks are currently of greater urgency. As Kosovo's embassies and diplomatic infrastructure are not yet fully functional yet either, important chains of communication are limited.

This paper gives an overview of the status quo, challenges and options for Kosovo's public diplomacy. The study maps current activities and suggest other, outside-the-box public diplomacy idea for Kosovo.<sup>1</sup> The research has three parts: a summary of public diplomacy approaches in Kosovo as well as reactions in society; a comparison with countries similar to Kosovo; and a set of process questions for defining a political public diplomacy strategy for Kosovo.

### **Turning the Spotlight on Kosovo**

A key element in Kosovo's official public diplomacy so far has been a nation branding campaign which was launched in October 2009. In December 2008 the government announced a public tender for a nation branding and international media campaign. The scope of the two-year contract comprised the development of a national brand, positioning as well as international media buying, and planning and placement strategy.<sup>2</sup> Although the time between the announcement and closure of the tender was only 18 days, several advertising companies applied. The Tel Aviv office of Saatchi & Saatchi, a global advertising agency with offices around the world, won the tender. Saatchi & Saatchi's other clients include Procter & Gamble, Carlsberg, Deutsche Telekom (T-Mobile), Sony Ericsson and Visa Europe. Throughout the process, the campaign was coordinated by an Inter-ministerial Committee composed of the Office of the Prime Minister, the Ministry of Economy and Finance, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Trade and Industry, the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology, and the Ministry

of Culture which reviewed, developed and discussed details of the campaign. According to members of the committee, the campaign took shape in an evolutionary and flexible way as a result.

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

We have based our strategic development work on the facts that Kosovo is one of the youngest countries in the world and is also home to the youngest population in Europe (CIA Factbook). Furthermore, Kosovo declared its wish to become fully integrated into the Euro-Atlantic family. We have also incorporated into this strategy the impressions from our visits all around Kosovo in which we've experienced the vibrant energy that flows through streets. We observed the country's young people embracing the future with open arms and we were inspired by this natural "fountain of youth" projecting the general belief of a bright tomorrow. Therefore the campaign will focus on "the human resource"—the people of Kosovo—rather than on any natural resource or key landmark.<sup>3</sup>

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

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

“The primary goal of the campaign is to place Kosovo firmly within the family of nations, within Europe and beyond. The strategy is to focus single-mindedly on the vitality of Kosovo’s young people in a way that makes the campaign very different from any other nation’s approach to branding. The country offers a natural fountain of youth and there is a vibrant energy that flows through the city streets and in the countryside. These are the emotions into which the advertising taps (...). And behind the emotion is a concrete fact; Kosovo has the youngest average age of any European country, at just 25.9 years.”<sup>4</sup>

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

“Kosovo’s branding campaign is a national effort. As such, local institutions, companies and individuals are also invited to play a strong part in it. When the people of Kosovo see the campaign they will also have an opportunity to share the values and the excitement in it and spread their enthusiasm to their friends and family in other countries. In today’s highly-connected world this is the way the message spreads.”<sup>5</sup>

Kosovo’s nation branding campaign consists of several components: the most visible ones are the slogan and logo “Kosovo—The Young Europeans”, a TV ad and a photo series (see Appendix).<sup>6</sup>

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

“This is probably the very first national slogan which turns the spotlight on the people and the human spirit rather than the country, its natural marvels or history. It is a very strong and confident statement of Kosovo’s attitude as a country and of its future intentions. It will attract the interest of a range of audiences, from politicians to business-men, from tourists to donors. All will sense the future potential of this young nation and the positive attitude of its people.”<sup>77</sup>

The visual appearance of the logo is intended to keep up with the new generation of national logos in that it has a modern flowing style and a vibrant use of color. Each of the colors featured in the logo was chosen for a specific reason. The green represents the green fields that can be found across Kosovo’s expansive countryside, the terracotta-red represents the color of the bricks that are used for the building that is in progress across the land, whereas the blue symbolizes the sky and water and is taken from the background of Kosovo’s new flag. The unique design of the font is inspired by “the fountain of youth” concept to show the energy that spreads in a fluid way throughout Kosovo.

### **David Kosmin, Head of Strategy at BBR Saatchi & Saatchi:**

We knew that to cut through the mass of other nation branding campaigns this advertising would need to be different from that for any other country. And in focusing on the collective spirit of the young

people of Kosovo in building their new country, the advertising projects a truly fresh and unique idea. 'Young' is a demographic, but it is also a way of feeling. This insight got us to a very special set of brand values, i.e. optimism, positivity, hope and togetherness. It is these values that will make the campaign stand out from the pack because no other country is communicating in this way. It is our wish that people of Kosovo will feel a sense of pride in this campaign, because at its heart they were its inspiration.<sup>8</sup>

Shony Rivnay, Creative partner at BBR Saatchi & Saatchi:

“The advertising approach will focus strongly on 'people power'. We were inspired by the natural “fountain of youth” we found in our visits all around Kosovo; the vibrant energy that flows through the cities' streets and in the countryside. The same message and image that we generate now, will serve Kosovo later in campaigns like “Tourism”, “Investments”, “Commerce”, “Regional positioning” and other goals.”<sup>9</sup>

Another core element of the nation-branding campaign is a 60-second television commercial. The TV ad shows young Kosovars bringing together yellow puzzle pieces, which are assembled together and lifted up into the air by balloons. In the end, the shape of Kosovo appears on a map of Europe.<sup>10</sup> An original song which emphasizes change, unity and love was composed to accompany the ad.<sup>11</sup>

As highlighted by the filmmakers, this TV advertising clip is on a bigger scale than any produced previously in Kosovo. It involved a crew of more than 50 people from Kosovo and around the world

and over 250 participants. In order to represent a broad cross-section of people and places within Kosovo, the clip was shot in different locations across the country including Prishtina, Prizren, Drini River and the Kievië countryside.<sup>12</sup> The TV commercial has been aired on six major international TV channels, namely CNN, BBC World News, Euronews, CNN Turk, Bloomberg, and Eurosport. Since November 2009 the TV ad has also been aired locally on RTK, KTV, RTV21 and Klan Kosova as well as on different websites.

Besides the TV ad, a series of print advertisements are being shown on billboards and in magazines. The “Kosovo—The Young Europeans” print series features 10 young Kosovars (5 female and 5 male) and a particular interest that he or she has. There is a soccer player, a girl with a puppy dog, a skateboarder, a former supermodel, a guitar player, a DJ, two design students, an actor, and a high school student.<sup>13</sup> The developers hope that by getting to know the individuals, the reader will also discover something about Kosovo itself. The approach builds on the theme of “Kosovo—The Young Europeans” that appears in the television commercial. Print ads appeared in leading international magazines like *The Economist* and *the Newsweek*, and selected in-flight airline magazines (e.g., *Austria Airlines*). A number of publications targeted Members of the European Parliament and policy makers on Capitol Hill in Washington, DC. The initial geographical focus was on the European region with some exposure in the USA. It is planned to focus later, in a more targeted way, on Spain and The Hague, for example. At the same time, the campaign launched in the local Kosovar media, and billboards with single photos from the series have been placed all around Kosovo. The “Kosovo—The Young Europeans” campaign is also present on the Web, at [www.kosovo-young.com](http://www.kosovo-young.com). It has also opened a Twitter account and a YouTube Channel for people to post birthday greetings for Kosovo’s independence anniversary.<sup>14</sup>

In addition to the main parts of the nation branding campaign, there have been complementary activities under the slogan “Kosovo—The Young Europeans,” such as the “Young Europeans” Award at the “Skena up” film and theatre festival (December 2009) and a Startup Weekend (March 2010) providing networking opportunities and training in launching business projects. An online channel was opened for Kosovo’s second Independence Day (February 2010) inviting video greetings from well-wishers from around the world.<sup>15</sup> The best of the “shout-out” videos have been aired on international TV (CNN, CNBC, Euronews and Eurosport) and local TV. On the same occasion original ads featured Kosovar children who were born on February 17, 2008 (Kosovo “Independence Kids”).

“Kosovo—The Young Europeans” party kits were sent to Kosovo embassies: a comprehensive set of promotional material, decoration, party accessories and merchandising designed for the Independence parties and receptions organized by Kosovo's embassies. A puzzle was also produced, depicting an image from the TV ad in which Kosovo was graphically placed within Europe, along with the message: “Without your help the picture could not have been completed.” As part of a “Celebrate with me” project, pictures drawn by Kosovar school children have been sent to international leaders and prominent figures, inviting them to celebrate with Kosovo its second Independence Day.<sup>16</sup> A selection of world leaders (e.g., Barack Obama, Angela Merkel, Queen Elizabeth II and Ban Ki-moon) received an original work of art personalized with details about the young artist. Although each drawing is the creation of a single, very young artist, they are intended to reflect the hopes and dreams of an entire nation for a great future. The nation branding campaign has also begun to target the Arabic-speaking world on the Al Jazeera TV network, Spanish decision-makers via advertisements in *El Mundo* and *El Pais*, and participants at the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD) Annual Meeting, as well as other decision-makers and business leaders.

## **Saatchi & Saatchi's "Lovemark" Concept**

A key to understanding the approach taken by Saatchi & Saatchi is the "Lovemark" concept invented by its CEO Worldwide, Kevin Roberts.<sup>17</sup> This marketing technique aims to make people feel emotional and loyal about a brand. The agency believes that the greatest brands are those that have succeeded in creating an emotional connection with consumers and have, in doing so, achieved a loyalty that goes beyond reason. In short, these brands have become Lovemarks. The model uses the empirical fact that consumers who make decisions based purely on facts are a tiny minority. Saatchi & Saatchi developed the idea while looking at the question: What makes some brands inspirational, while others struggle? The concept assumes that less successful brands simply score well on the respect factor; one trusts them, but does not form an emotional attachment to them. Roberts advocates:

"Creating Lovemarks is all about the ability to understand consumers' dreams, to know what they want and when they want it and to create great experiences that make your brand a part of their lives."<sup>18</sup>

According to Roberts, Lovemarks are brands that have evolved from simply being bigger, brighter, stronger and cheaper to being a brand that uses mystery, sensuality and intimacy to emotionally connect with consumers. Examples of Lovemarks are Marmite, Cambridge University, Nike, Starbucks, Lego and McDonalds, which people cannot resist. In accordance with this theory, the "Kosovo—The Young Europeans" campaign aimed to help people fall in love with Kosovo and turn the country into a Lovemark. A key element underscored by BBR Saatchi & Saatchi for the success of the branding effort is support for the campaign within the country:



“Branding and advertising alone are not sufficient; a change on the ground is also required, a commitment and involvement of the people and of many other sectors in the state. Branding is not merely a commercial advertisement nor is it a political campaign; Branding is a comprehensive national effort to bring the new image of the country to the world. In this effort every citizen is an ambassador and each public institution a stakeholder. By becoming familiar with and supporting this endeavor, the people of Kosovo will succeed in amplifying the effect of the campaign many times over.”<sup>19</sup>

Though many marketing companies around the world have adopted the Lovemark concept, it is not universally accepted: critics emphasize the risk that brand teams following the Lovemark theory will try to go straight to a Lovemark without working on a real product first. The result is an “image-wrapper” of communication.<sup>20</sup> Thus, the selection of Lovemarks can become a pure “beauty contest” based on subjective views of what is cool and loveable, not on what has proven to build respect and love. Furthermore, critics note that “though the Lovemarks gospel preaches the importance of new channels and new media”, it is mainly based on TV ads, which are one of the most expensive ways to brand a product.<sup>21</sup>

Though principles of branding apply in equal measure to countries as they do to corporations, nation branding has specific challenges. Some argue that “countries are not chocolate bars,”<sup>22</sup> and indeed there are distinctions between commercial products and countries as such. It is far more complex and difficult to obtain a fully integrated communication mix in nation branding.

Even after a product has been launched, companies are free to make modifications in response to consumer demand, whereas countries are more limited in altering their place brands.<sup>23</sup> Besides, once a country has become known as an exporter of quality branded goods, the country's product brands and its place brand will work together to raise expectations overseas. Country branding then becomes a part of a self-perpetuating cycle: as the country promotes its consumer brands, those brands will promote the country.<sup>24</sup>

### **Effect and Outlook of the Nation Branding Campaign**

The effect of Kosovo's branding campaign is disputed and not fully foreseeable; The government claims that there has been a wave of excitement and enthusiasm about the campaign. Several people said they felt as proud as when Kosovo declared its independence.<sup>25</sup> It is true that the ad circulated widely on the Web. On YouTube alone there were 125,000 views in less than a week after the first screening, making it one of their most viewed ads, and advertising search websites across the globe listed the ad.<sup>26</sup> CampaignLive, a UK advertising industry website listed it as 'Ad of the Day' on October 28; the following day Adforum, America's leading advertising search website, featured the ad as "Today's best advertising."<sup>27</sup> Numerous other sites linked to it alongside their blogs. This created a snowball effect as people took up the slogan, using it in festivals and other occasions.

A recent event, which brought Kosovo back to the minds of people worldwide, was the advisory opinion issued by the International Court of Justice (ICJ) in July 2010. The ICJ stated that the unilateral declaration of independence of Kosovo did not violate international law. The advisory opinion sparked attention throughout the international media, diplomatic circles, and academia. International media such as the BBC, CNN, Euronews, Al Jazeera, Xinhua News, the Economist and New York Times covered the

event. Consequently, government officials anticipate a new wave of international recognition of Kosovo's independence. How the government intends to strategically use the ICJ opinion in its future public diplomacy efforts (perhaps an advertising slogan "Kosovo. Approved by International Law") is uncertain.

Professionally seen as a success, the "Kosovo—The Young Europeans" campaign picked up first prize in the category Best Nation/Place Branding Campaign at the M&M (Media & Marketing) 2010 Awards, in September 2010 in London.<sup>28</sup> The other shortlisted campaigns were: "My South Africa," "Business Friendly Bahrain," "ES Madrid—Holiday Destination," and Emirates Airlines' "Meet Dubai."<sup>29</sup> As was recently informally communicated, the Kosovo government foresees a new form of engagement in its public diplomacy efforts in the future. As a follow-up step to the "Kosovo—The Young Europeans" campaign, the government will contract two different consulting companies which will help focus on direct lobbying with public officials abroad. In addition, it is foreseen that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs will establish an office for public diplomacy affairs in its administrative structures.

## **Reactions and Counter-Campaigns**

The nation branding campaign led to a variety of reactions, generating discussions ranging from modifications of the slogan to genuine counter-campaigns. The most well-known response was organized by the activist group "Vetëvendosje!" (Albanian for "Self-Determination"), which recently turned into a political party. The group altered the billboards of the campaign "Kosovo—The Young Europeans" with red graffiti stamps bearing their own slogans: "Isolated.", "Unemployed! 46%", and "Poor! 43%." Vetëvendosje! sought to stress that Kosovo is not simply glamorous, hip and rich, but faces real hardships. In this regard the "isolated" stamp on billboards aimed to articulate the day-to-day challenges in Kosovo

(e.g. limited rights to travel, export goods, country sui generis, controlled resources):

“We need doctors, teachers, schools and hospitals, pensions and support for the poor. But above all, we are isolated. We are the most isolated people in the world, even though the whole world is in Kosovo. . . . This ad has been made with people that are not like us. . . . If you are young in Kosovo, the probability is very high for you to be unemployed and without a good prospective for life and quality education. The youth needs a greater economic development of the country, and not advertisements that cost millions of euros.”<sup>30</sup>

Moreover, several Serbian counter-campaigns from individuals were posted online on YouTube to protest against Kosovo’s nation-branding effort. One clip, for instance, uses the TV ad but alters the letters to read “Kosovo, a part of Serbia,” with a Serbian national flag and an EU flag in the background.<sup>31</sup> Another clip mixed the TV ad with pictures of riots in Kosovo, fire, the bridge of Mitrovica and war scenes. The official campaign clip is labeled “See the true face of Kosovo—The Young Europeans.” The counter-clip ends with the slogan “Kosovo, the young Barbarians.”<sup>32</sup>

Gazeta Express, a daily newspaper in Kosovo, had its entire staff pose for its own versions of the “Kosovo—The Young Europeans” billboard campaign, which were posted on the social networking site Facebook. Each staff member was dressed in a particular style that, in most cases, mockingly illustrated professions which they felt were missing in the billboards. These include “the Housewife,” “the Killer,” “the Cleaner,” “the Hitman,” “the Manual Laborer,” “the Bodybuilder,” “the Drunk,” etc. This photo series was a reaction to the billboard posters showing a group of young and beautiful

Kosovars, who were not seen as representative of the reality in Kosovo.

Another reaction to the nation branding slogan is a photo montage made by Shkelzen A. Domi, who replaced a picture of a young Kosovar with an old man accompanied by the slogan “Kosovo The Oldies Europeans.”<sup>33</sup> (see Appendix)

## **Public Opinion of the Official Branding Campaign**

Public reaction for or against the current “Kosovo—The Young Europeans” campaign has been varied. Critiques range from concerns about the process of tendering bids, the content and targeting of the campaign as well as its impact abroad and in Kosovo.

*1. Mainstream criticism of the campaign:* When discussing the pros and cons of the “Kosovo—The Young Europeans” campaign, a major point of debate has been whether the budget spent on the campaign is justified by its outcome. A general comment heard is that campaign does not live up to expectations. It is seen as unsystematic: just one ad, a song, a logo, billboards, and some ad hoc events and activities. Another critique of the campaign process is that it did not follow up on traditional products and activities associated with Kosovo, such as the “New Born” sign in Prishtina and the “Kosovo Thanks You” initiative (see details below). A few products and advertisements are not enough to change the image of Kosovo, it has been claimed. A representative of civil society described this notion with the analogy: “The Kosovo—Young Europeans campaign could be viewed like an essay. It has a great catchy and sexy title, but it does not have content in it. Yes Kosovo is the place of young Europeans! So what?! Now we don’t know what to do! What comes after? The campaign does not dig further and deeper.”<sup>34</sup>

Criticism mostly focuses on the content of the campaign, revolving around the two main outputs: the TV ad and the billboards. Concerns have been raised that current efforts to promote Kosovo are one-sided: “Where is the beauty of the Kosovo countryside? Where are the rich traditions of the country? Where are the old people of Kosovo? What about other natural resources? Why is Kosovo’s diversity not included (e.g. different regional folk clothing, or Plis, the traditional white Kosovar hats)?”

A further complaint is that the campaign lacks deeper conceptualization and strategic thinking. As has been seen during the past two years, there has not been a coherent strategy interlinking policy aspects with greater public diplomacy for Kosovo. The campaign was born as an ad hoc initiative rather than a core activity deriving from an existing governmental strategy.

2. *Procurement process for the campaign:* A claim which is particularly raised by counter-bidders is that the process of tendering by the Ministry of Economy and Finance was not sufficiently fair. The time between publication of the tender dossier and the deadline for submission of applications, for instance, was too short: the campaign tender was only open for 18 days. Competitors argue that the time given for the preparation of the tender was not enough. Usual practice for preparing tender bids is more than a month. Companies which requested documents and further information did not get replies in time. The budget was also not pre-defined. As a result, the program is considered by some as not transparent and has even led to speculation about corruption.

3. *Lack of public engagement:* A concern raised is that the process for development of the campaign was not inclusive. The campaign was not discussed publicly in Kosovo’s society and had only a minimum of discussion in the Kosovo Parliament. The campaign was not a product of public engagement. As such it was purely

a project of the government. There have been, for instance, no systematic means of gathering and incorporating people's ideas for the content of the campaign outside governmental circles and bodies contracted by the government. However, the campaign is considered by the majority of the population to be an issue of "national" interest.

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

*5. Relationship between public funding and the added value:* A crucial question concerns the relationship between expenditure and the output of the campaign. People query whether the government needed to spend €5.7 million to produce a logo, a TV ad, billboards, a website, paper cups and T-shirts. In comparison with the general state budget, funds dedicated to the campaign are seen by some as rather large. For example, the Ministry of Agriculture, which is in charge of creating an environment for the economic development of rural areas, has a total budget allocation of about €11.6 million, and the Constitutional Court, the key independent judicial institution of Kosovo, has been budgeted only about €1.05 million for the year 2010. Some say that the amount of spending on the campaign could only be legitimized if the campaign brought higher returns, and that the campaign should have focused more on bringing in investments and stimulating the local economy. Another argument made is that

the high amount of expenditure on the campaign did not reflect realities in Kosovo. People are critical that the government spent funding which could have gone to social benefit programs for the people of Kosovo. A civil society representative went as far as to say that “The people in Kosovo are looking for the enjoyment of their basic needs (employment, mobility, wealth, healthcare), rather than for international recognition.”

*6. Right target group?:* Most of the people interviewed, including opposition party representatives, raised the question about the appropriateness of the campaign’s target. The campaign has mostly targeted European countries that have already recognized Kosovo: Germany, Austria and the UK. Broadcasting the ad to these countries is seen as inefficient, even pointless. The target should rather have been the five EU countries that have not recognized Kosovo, as well as countries of the Arab League. A general comment made publicly by civil society representatives and individuals is that the campaign is shown too much in Kosovo as opposed to abroad. Posters and billboards were placed around the municipalities. People wonder whether showing the campaign cheaply in Kosovo is a way of avoiding the higher costs of showing the advertisement internationally.

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

*8. Communicated image:* Concerning the communicated image of the campaign, some comments have been that the “Kosovo—The Young Europeans” message presenting a youthful and positive image does



not reflect the realities of Kosovo (unemployment, infrastructure problems, and water and energy shortages). It is argued that Kosovo does not have an image problem, it has a reality problem. Internally, Kosovo faces economic isolation, unemployment, poverty, exclusion and corruption, and this image is reflected to the outside world. People believe that the government should first make the functioning of democracy and economy in Kosovo a fact.

It is also suggested that when decision-makers need to learn about Kosovo they look at the European Commission Progress Report, which serves as a barometer for the improvement or degradation of the social, political and economic situation. Decision-makers read analyses such as those in *The Economist*, which talk about corruption, a weak judiciary and widespread poverty in Kosovo. High-level decision-makers cannot be “fooled,” and do not look at the campaign to find out about Kosovo. Thus, the perception that a *Lovemark* campaign can change their minds about Kosovo is misleading.

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

*10. Originality of the campaign?:* The originality of the ad has been questioned. The “Kosovo—The Young Europeans” TV ad resembles a previous Orange Mobile TV ad which uses a similar concept (e.g., using balloons, a map, puzzle pieces). Also, the slogan “Kosovo—Young Europeans” was first used by the Industrial Development

Agency (IDA) of Ireland in the 1970s and 1980s, to promote Ireland as a foreign investment destination prior to its accession to the European Union. The ad portrayed the Irish as “young, highly educated, modern English speakers who would be ideal employees for global firms moving into the European market.”<sup>35</sup>

*11. Reaction to the “Kosovo—The Young Europeans” slogan:* Some interviewees disputed that the “Kosovo—The Young Europeans” slogan represents Kosovo as it is. It was argued that the campaign rather creates an image of a Kosovo which its leaders want to see (e.g., happy people with a new identity). The slogan can be misleading: “Young,” for instance, could be considered a term for immature people, in need of guidance and babying. This could as well describe the position of Kosovo today: a not yet fully-fledged country that is supervised and overseen by the international community. Furthermore, arguments about Kosovo and the European identity, which the campaign is presumably trying to emphasize, have been raised. Being young, cool and pretty does not mean that one is European. The slogan could be ambiguously interpreted, as “young” Kosovars are unfortunately also often associated with low-level education, economic migration and crime abroad. This translates into a perception that Kosovo is a burden and threat to Europe.

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

In this regard, the campaign is partly perceived as trying to create a new identity and nation without using the existing one.

This argument relates to the fact that there was a lack of expressed inclusivity in the campaign, a rejection of the demographic diversity of Kosovo, which includes older people and minorities. As some people have stated, it looks as though the campaign was created for the Kosovo people in order to convince them about a change in the country, rather than for others to see Kosovo as it really is. As a result, the campaign appears to lack honesty. This corresponds to the critique that Kosovo is shown only as a formal country without substance. As advertisements always aim to trick people and sell them something, Kosovo is put in the light of being a “commodity on sale.”

*12. Reactions to the TV ad:* Reactions to the production and quality of the TV ad have mostly been positive. From a technical point of view there are no doubts that the ad was beautifully produced. The song was well composed and original. However, there were voices that raised the question of what exactly was being advertised.<sup>36</sup> Other reactions have been: “Yes it looks great. So what?!” Reuters ran a piece on the TV ad, stating that the ad gave a very positive impression, but commenting that it was no more than a good ad.<sup>37</sup> There is criticism that toward the end of the ad, when the puzzle of Kosovo is raised from the ground, the young people are left standing outside of the puzzle. This gives the impression that Kosovo is created from the outside, and not by its own people, inside. This reinforces some of the arguments made by civil society that Kosovo is created and designed by others’ wishes and not by the will of its people. An example could be the criteria presented by the Ahtisaari Proposal on the establishment of statehood of Kosovo, the drafting of the Kosovo Constitution, the design of the Kosovo flag and anthem, etc.<sup>38</sup>

*13. Reactions to the billboards:* Reactions to the billboards were diverse: Some civil society representatives described them as copies of marketing posters for banks, Microsoft, or Apple. Another critique was that all the young Kosovars appearing in the billboards

have light-color eyes, something not very common among people living in Kosovo. The people portrayed are thought to look rather like members of the upper class. Another impression was that the images show young people who do not care, but just have fun. One went as far as to describe the youth in the pictures as “a bunch of freaks or clowns.” In other words, they were seen as actors and not as real people.

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

## **Reactions to the Performance of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Public Diplomacy**

The branding campaign is considered a key feature of Kosovo’s official public diplomacy activities. While the campaign and its impact have come under much scrutiny, interviewees of this study also articulated several criticisms about the performance of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

*1. Performance of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in public diplomacy and lobbying:* A comment made by a foreign policy NGO in Kosovo is that the government has not allocated enough funds in its annual budget for a functioning foreign policy. This is seen as an indication that foreign policy is not a priority. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs

apparently does not have an established structure or specialized staff to deal directly with public diplomacy issues.

Generally, people claim that the performance of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is poor. The Ministry should be on the road more, and should try to reach out to world leaders. Kosovo does not match up to its Serbian counterparts regarding lobbying; if Kosovo is different, this should be better communicated to the public. A view is that Kosovo's diplomacy was more pro-active in the 1990s with lobbying for its recognition than it is now. At that time, the leaders of Kosovo together with the country's diaspora were mobilized and used any means to reach out to the world about the Kosovo issue. Additionally, as diplomats and representatives abroad are considered an important part for the public diplomacy of a country, it has been suggested that the government should select candidates with a background in communication and public diplomacy and further strengthen their capacities in this field. Another criticism is that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Parliament of Kosovo have failed to consult with civil society organizations during the selection process of diplomats, although the government has claimed to have done so.

*2. Strategic regional public diplomacy and lobbying focus:* Some feel that Kosovo should have more strategic focus in its effort to gain recognition worldwide. A crucial lobbying priority should have been directed towards Brussels, the five EU countries which have not recognized Kosovo yet, Arab League members, swing countries and those who have not yet taken a stand on yet on Kosovo's independence. Using Kosovo-friendly countries to influence other countries is not effective enough. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs has focused its diplomatic engagement primarily around the United Nations Headquarters in New York, rather than in the capitals of potential diplomatic partners. Kosovo has not used its Yugoslav heritage to approach unaligned countries as Serbia has done.

Croatia and Slovenia, which have recognized Kosovo and are also fundamental successors of Yugoslavia, could help to bridge this gap. Another strategic instrument should have been the greater use of the Kosovar diaspora, which has shown to care about Kosovo during the war in the 1990s and beyond. No systematic work has been done in this regard. In addition, it has been suggested that the Kosovo government should not restrain itself from identifying with Islam. This might be a reason why many Arab countries have distanced themselves from Kosovo. In that regard, using Turkey could be a key means, instead of primarily lobbying with the help of the United States.

*3. Practical aspects of diplomacy:* The government has not tackled matters of practical concern for Kosovars which are linked to the performance of diplomacy, such as high prices for international insurance for cars, acknowledgment of Kosovo on Internet websites (e.g., booking flight tickets, issuing names in Facebook and Skype, hotel bookings, online applications, online weather channels). It is claimed that the government either does not concern itself much with such issues or is unsuccessful. Another aspect that has attracted criticism is that the government has not been very proactive in trying to reach out to international sports institutions for recognition of Kosovar sport federations. According to the statements of interviewees, the government has not used sports and Kosovar talent as a means to promote Kosovo, improve its image and reach out to other countries for recognition. Thus, talented young players lose all hope of meeting their potential.

### **Further Governmental Public Diplomacy Approaches**

Besides the “Kosovo—The Young Europeans” campaign, other governmental efforts have been initiated to promote Kosovo, such as “Kosovo—Discover New Beauty” to attract tourism, and the Investment Promotion Agency of Kosova (IPAK). Civil society

organizations and individuals have also undertaken activities in an attempt to explore and develop Kosovo's public diplomacy, promote its image abroad, and bring Kosovo closer to countries and international organizations that have not recognized it yet. However, these public diplomacy efforts are isolated, with no coordination among involved institutions, bodies and individuals.

As an official online resource center for tourism and promotion of Kosovo's attractions, the Department of Tourism at the Ministry of Trade and Industry (MTI) has established the Web portal VisitKosova.org. This portal provides general information about Kosovo, its geography and climate, cultural heritage, economy, local products and municipalities. There is also specific information on tourist destinations (such as Brezovica, Rugova canyon, Gadime cave and Mirusha waterfalls), plus travel tips, restaurants, night life, maps, pictures of sights, tourist agencies, publications and brochures. In the Web portal, Kosovo is presented as a country with a wealth of cultural heritage and treasures "influenced by many historical, social, economic, ethnic and religious circumstances."<sup>39</sup>

As part of economic diplomacy, with the main aim to improve the image of the country, support economic development and facilitate foreign direct investments, the Government of Kosovo established IPAK, which promotes the economic and business climate of Kosovo. It runs an international marketing campaign, supplying information and services free of charge to potential foreign investors.

### **Non-Governmental Public Diplomacy Efforts**

As a non-governmental organization comprised of politicians, intellectuals, activists and researchers throughout Kosovo, the Foreign Policy Club has been active in building awareness locally and internationally, initiating public discussions and debate,

conducting studies and providing recommendations for the foreign policy of Kosovo and its image abroad.

As a project of the Kosovo Foundation for Open Society (KFOS), Forum 2015, together with the Foreign Policy Club and other civil society organizations, invited delegations from Spain, Greece and Arab countries (Lebanon, Jordan, Egypt and Saudi Arabia) to Kosovo, for dialogue and discussions. These delegations were made up of influential figures, intellectuals, political institutes, civil society members, journalists and even diplomats. Forum 2015, through the Kosovar Stability Initiative, has also produced a comprehensive study called *Image Matters*, which challenges some of the international clichés and conventional wisdoms about Kosovo: organized crime, high corruption, lack of political rights and freedoms, human trafficking and ethnic violence, amongst others.<sup>40</sup> The study was followed by a fifty-minute documentary which aims to prompt Brussels to initiate a process for visa liberalization.

As a way to inform the German public about Kosovo, its people, arts and culture, the Capital City Cultural Fund in Berlin implemented a project called *Hotel Prishtina* at the Berlin HAU Theater in 2009. Artists and theater professionals from Kosovo went to the improvised “hotel” in the theater and provided insights into everyday life in Kosovo and the country’s artistic and cultural life. The “hotel” contained a reception area where the German public could learn about the country, its political situation and history. Other sections of the “hotel” offered a movie night, a hip hop concert with a Kosovar rapper and DJ, sightseeing through pictures and presentations, a minibar and Kosovo-related products for sale, such as an inflatable bust of the military hero Skenderbeu (Skanderbeg), Peja beer and other local products.<sup>41</sup>

Think Young, a think-tank and advocacy body concerned with young Europeans, established a project called *Kosovo Young*.



The project aims to raise awareness at a European level about the current situations of young people in Kosovo; lobby the European Institutions (Parliament and Commission) for visa liberalization so that young Kosovars can work and study in the EU; and create opportunities for work and study in Brussels. Think Young has produced a documentary to portray the life of young Kosovars, their dreams and hopes for themselves and their country.<sup>42</sup>

Behxhet Pacolli, head of the New Kosovo Alliance (AKR) party and a successful international businessman, has used his own initiative, resources and networks, in parallel to the government's efforts, to lobby for recognition of Kosovo. Several statements of recognition of Kosovo, among them from Swaziland, Vanuatu, the Comoros Islands, Malta, Mozambique, the Islands of Mauritius, the Maldives, Tuvalu and Guinea-Bissau, are considered to have come about as a result of his lobbying, although the government disputes this.

The Kosovar diaspora has taken private initiatives to promote Kosovo and lobby for its recognition around the world. James Berisha, a Kosovo-born pilot, undertook a unique mission to fly a single-engine plane through all the countries of Central and South America to persuade governments to recognize Kosovo.<sup>43</sup> The Kosovo flag was painted on the tail of the plane, and on the body was written "Please Recognize the Independence of Kosovo" in English and Spanish. Berisha took off from El Paso, Texas (USA) and landed in 85 different destinations across the continent. He has become an unofficial ambassador for Kosovo around the Central and Latin American continent.

Kosovo-Thanks-You is a website managed by private citizens which communicates information related to recognition of Kosovo's independence and visas.<sup>44</sup> The site publicly thanks other countries

and their people in their own languages. It also provides statehood recognition statistics as well as further economic data about Kosovo.<sup>45</sup>

The Kosova, the Country of Sport initiative has been developed by individuals from the private sector, civil society and media to make Kosovo the first country to declare, promote and establish itself as the country of sport. The initiative recommends utilizing sports as a strategic focus for Kosovo. This sports initiative has political backing as well as investments from within the country.<sup>46</sup>

Another new, independently organized effort is Kosovo 2.0 (Kosovotwopointzero.com), an online interactive portal and network site that serves as an interactive generator of stories, commentaries and documentations from Kosovo and around the world.<sup>47</sup> Through its portal website, Kosovo 2.0 documents and promotes Kosovar youth. The portal engages Kosovars in creating the framework and image through which Kosovo's youth will be documented locally and represented abroad. Youth throughout Kosovo blog, write feature articles and express their views through art, music and writing. The portal provides a space for them to express themselves while also informing the outside world about their lifestyle and Kosovo in general. The sections of the portal are divided into Lifestyle, Politics, Art, Kosovo, People and Economy.

Similarly, the free Kosovo Guide intends to offer comprehensive information on "hopefully everything one can enjoy and do in Kosovo."<sup>48</sup> The online guide is open to contributions about things to do and visit in Kosovo.

## **Learning From Other Public Diplomacy Approaches Worldwide**

Much could be learned from other public diplomacy approaches around the world. The following three examples aim to motivate

further comparative thinking about public diplomacy. The case studies of Macedonia and Rwanda were chosen because of their similarities to Kosovo: small, post-conflict, landlocked. The case study of Serbia was included as it is a major and effective lobbying opponent against Kosovo's independence.

*1. Macedonia:* On the initiative of the then-Foreign Minister Antonio Milosok, Macedonia began to enhance its public diplomacy capacities at the end of 2006.<sup>49</sup> Among other things, this resulted in the creation in January 2007 of a Public Relations and Public Diplomacy Department within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and extended the role of the Ministry's Spokesperson.<sup>50</sup> In December 2006, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs launched the diplomatic journal *Crossroads*, which is devoted to promoting the country internationally and strengthening its public diplomacy by publishing articles on foreign policy issues. In association with the Macedonian Information Center, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs also issues the *Macedonian Diplomatic Bulletin*. It provides an array of domestic and foreign perspectives on foreign policy issues affecting Macedonia.<sup>51</sup> Both publications are used as tools to inform academics, diplomats and other decision-makers who follow current developments in the region.<sup>52</sup>

Since 2007, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Public Diplomacy Directorate has been actively working on creating a Macedonia brand.<sup>53</sup> One of the major aims is to make the country better known to further its attempts to join the EU and NATO. It is also hoped that Macedonia will be strengthened economically through investment, trade and tourism. The governmental Agency for Foreign Investments launched an "Invest in Macedonia" campaign to promote Macedonian business potential (low profit and income taxes, prompt registration of companies, low gross average salary, access to large consumer market, macroeconomic stability and good infrastructure).<sup>54</sup> As stated by the government, the campaign was intended to encourage

investors to think about investing in Macedonia, and also to have a positive effect on the country's overall image, branding the country as the investment destination of the Balkans.

In 2008, Macedonia presented a series of tourism promotion ads on CNN to showcase the country's cultural and natural treasures. The campaign, launched under the slogan "Macedonia—Timeless," describes Macedonia as a jewel in the heart of the Balkans, full of undiscovered ancient sites and natural beauty. It features images that highlight the country's Orthodox Christian heritage, traditional crafts and medieval architecture as well as the Lake Ohrid National Park.<sup>55</sup> Neighboring countries such as Greece, Croatia and Montenegro ran similar commercials.

2. *Rwanda*: Rwanda has faced an immense challenge in attempting to reverse its negative image abroad, which was characterized by two particular realities: a small, landlocked and impoverished country emerging from a civil war which left close to a million people killed in 1994, and a country located in Africa, which is considered as an economically-backward continent. Emerging from the conflict, Rwanda has directed its public diplomacy efforts solely through an economic development approach: economic diplomacy. Rwanda's branding approach is to devise a strategy to replace the genocide image with hope and economic prosperity.

Rwanda aims to become an economic power, or "the African Gorilla of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century."<sup>56</sup> The country has expressed a vision of becoming a middle-income, knowledge-based and globally competitive economy by the year 2020: Rwanda Vision 2020.<sup>57</sup> The objective is to transform Rwanda into a dynamic global hub for business, investment and innovation, and reverse its image as a post-conflict, poor country. All public diplomacy channels and efforts by Rwandan public institutions are geared to the country's economic perspectives and the fulfillment of Vision 2020.

A central approach of Rwanda's public diplomacy has been to target wealthy, powerful and famous friends: those who could help generate economic activity for the country and keep its story alive. These are business executives, international corporations, investors and importers, celebrities, goodwill ambassadors and international leaders.<sup>58</sup> President Paul Kagame's personal branding strategy has been to reach out to influential supporters to attract private investment. He has aggressively pursued Western investors to turn Rwanda from an impoverished nation to a powerful popular brand. His network includes people like former Alltel CEO Scott Ford, Costco CEO Jim Sinegal, Starbucks CEO Howard Schultz, former British Prime Minister Tony Blair, "purpose-driven" pastor Rick Warren, Real Networks founder and CEO Rob Glaser and Google CEO Eric Schmidt. Kagame has sold people the story of Rwanda and its promise: that it is a place where they can make a difference as well as profits.<sup>59</sup>

Another vital aspect of Rwandan public diplomacy is to keep its story alive. Reminding the world of the harsh experiences the Rwandan people went through during the conflict of 1994 generates global attention and sympathy for the country. International organizations deploy resources for peace and conflict resolution, education, sustainability and the development of agriculture. Hollywood makes movies; celebrities and rock stars have become unofficial ambassadors to help raise awareness and promote the place.<sup>60</sup>

Rwanda's approach to branding is unusual in the sense that it invests time, energy and resources in branding products so they become viable for sale, rather than directly branding the country itself.<sup>61</sup> Special focus is put on Rwandan coffee, which has reached out to the US, European, Middle Eastern and Asian markets. Starbucks, Green Mountain Coffee, Costco and Paramount coffee stores are among the main coffee purchasers throughout the world

to have introduced and promoted fair trade Rwandan coffee as one of their best brands.<sup>62</sup> Rwandan coffee serves as an excellent ambassador for the country and its promise. The coffee brands have won several international prizes and account for 40% of agricultural exports with around \$50 million of profit a year.<sup>63</sup>

The Mountain Gorillas of Rwanda have become an international brand in themselves. They have turned into the country's symbol, promoting tourism, and serving as a focus of international attention to the causes of environmental conservation and protection of the world's endangered species. Each year since 2005, the government has hosted an online international ceremony for naming of baby gorillas, also marking International Environment Day. The gorilla adoption and conservation campaign is another tool for both awareness and fundraising, targeting wealthy individuals and international corporations. The highest-priced adoption, of twin gorillas, costs USD \$1,000,000.<sup>64</sup> Each government portal and website features a gorilla face with a "Welcome to Rwanda" logo.

Rwanda remains vital in the international arena as a brand for strengthened governance, leadership and achievement of global agendas. In the 2008 elections, Rwanda set a world record for the number of women who hold seats in parliament. Fifty-six percent of the Rwandan Parliament and a third of the cabinet is comprised of women. Sweden comes second, with 45.3% female parliamentarians.<sup>65</sup> In 2010, Rwanda became the global host country for World Environment Day. In addition, President Kagame was presented the Energy Globe Award for outstanding commitment to promoting environmental management. Rwanda is seen as a success story for its attainment of the United Nations Millennium Development Goals. In 2010, the World Bank Report "Doing Business 2010" named Rwanda as the World's Top Reformer. This is the first time an African country has received this title. These

examples have helped draw international attention to the rebirth of the country and its achievements.<sup>66</sup>

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

As part of its public diplomacy and in order to change its negative image, Serbia has encouraged and invested in sports, the film industry and cultural and youth activities that target foreign audiences. Tennis stars Novak Djokovic, Jelena Jankovic and Ana Ivanovic currently represent the Serbian brand without any state investment. Djokovic even brought a tournament to Belgrade, doing more than all local PR experts. Dejan Stankovic, a Serbian football player for Milan Internazionale (Inter), promoted Serbia by wearing a large Serbian flag while celebrating Inter's Championship win in May 2010.

The Exit music festival in Novi Sad has become a trademark that benefits both Vojvodina's regional government and Serbia itself. A pioneering student-led enterprise has been transformed over the last decade into one of Europe's most acclaimed music festivals. It now receives funding from the municipal government and the Serbian Ministry of Finance.

In 2009, the Serbia Film Commission was established to "promote and develop Serbia as a cost-effective, high-quality, competitive destination for international filmmaking, and to provide information and support to international filmmakers considering using Serbia for their productions." Its main goal is to brand Serbia as the best place

to make Hollywood movies.<sup>67</sup> The commission lists ten reasons why filming in Serbia is better, from the cost of operations and available incentives to the night-life in Belgrade. The excellent promotional video produced by the Film Commission displays the country as ideal for any movie genre set anywhere in Europe.

More and more Hollywood films use Belgrade and Serbia as locations. The country's studio infrastructures are still in good condition, with many talented professionals. Gerard Butler recently shot a movie there and praised Belgrade in interviews as an energizing place where he spent each night in a different place and ate well.<sup>68</sup>

In 2007, the National Tourism Organization of Serbia launched a campaign to brand Serbia through two different spots on CNN, one on Serbia and one on Belgrade.<sup>69</sup> However, they were not as successful as anticipated in changing Serbia's image and so they were cancelled after a few airings.

Serbia has proved its ability to lure and keep internationally recognized companies: Microsoft (U.S. IT, 2005), Zesium mobile (German IT, 2004), Streit Group (French automotive parts, 2004), Euronet (U.S. customer support center, 2004), U.S. Steel (steel, 2003), and Progetti Company (Italian leather industry, 2003). The Serbia Investment and Export Promotion Agency (SIEPA) has been promoting Serbia to other corporations around the world as an economically friendly and stable location for investments.<sup>70</sup>

### **Process Questions to Guide Public Diplomacy Policy in Kosovo**

Public diplomacy is not an easy task, particularly in a post-conflict situation such as in Kosovo. Practitioners and researchers argue that vision, courage and creativity are needed to run successful public diplomacy.<sup>71</sup> To stimulate debate about further means to promote



Kosovo abroad and enhance its international standing, the following five process questions are put forward as suggestions:<sup>72</sup>

*1. Targeting: What is the main target of Kosovo's public diplomacy?*

As an initial step, objectives must be identified and defined for planning a public diplomacy strategy. Targeting has two dimensions: a) concerning particular content (What is the main message we want to send across to other countries? What is the overall foreign policy aim of Kosovo? How is public diplomacy connected with the overall foreign policy of the country?), and b) concerning a particular audience group (What is our main target audience, e.g., groups, individuals, general, influential opinion-formers, an already informed audience, diaspora, NGOs, business community, research and educational institutions, or a specific geographical focus such as another country's population? What do we want to get, from whom?).

As a next step, short-term, medium-term and long-term priorities can be set, such as which countries does Kosovo need help from in order to raise the number of countries acknowledging Kosovo's independence, and which countries does Kosovo want to be close to long-term (e.g., the U.S., Germany)? One option for Kosovo, for instance, is to approach largely Arab countries whilst keeping the disadvantages of this option in mind. By employing a pinpointing strategy, for example, Kosovo could stress that it is more than the "Young Europeans": it can also be the "European Muslims" and the bridge between East and West in Europe. Another option is to focus on countries which have similarities with Kosovo, i.e. other small, landlocked, post-conflict countries. The UN Office of the High Representative for the Least Developed, Landlocked Developing Countries and Small Island Developing States might provide a useful starting point for networking.<sup>73</sup>

*2. Coordination among governmental bodies: How should Public Diplomacy efforts inside official Kosovo institutions be coordinated?*

A key aspect of enhancing the efficiency and consistency of public diplomacy efforts is coordination. Although there is an Inter-ministerial Committee and also a working-group in the Ministry of Economy and Finance dealing with the “Kosovo—The Young Europeans” nation branding campaign, further structures still need to be fully developed.

Remaining questions are: Which ministry should ideally take the lead in future public diplomacy activities which go beyond nation branding? Should activities be centralized in the Prime Minister’s Office, as current action is said to be? Should the Ministry of Foreign Affairs take the lead (see Part A of this study)? Is an Inter-ministerial Committee truly needed for coordination? Who is or should be responsible for agreeing on a public diplomacy strategy (e.g., approval by Parliament?), advising resource allocations and monitoring the performance of public diplomacy activities? Should Kosovo’s Public Diplomacy be centralized (cf. UK or USA) or decentralized (cf. Germany)?<sup>74</sup>

*3. Potential Institutions: Through what kind of infrastructure does Kosovo want to run its public diplomacy?* Some countries have established non-governmental institutions, alongside governmental bodies, to deal with public diplomacy matters.

Questions which could be considered are: Does Kosovo need and want a Public Diplomacy Institute? What other institutions could be useful to achieve targets and make them sustainable (e.g., university programs on public diplomacy, or a public diplomacy component in a Diplomatic Academy of Kosovo)? Should institutions be governmental, private or hybrid? An example is the Serbian Institute for Public Diplomacy, which lobbies as a non-profit organization in Brussels to promote the interests of Serbia. To this end, it seeks to join

its forces with Serbian and foreign government officials, members of the European Parliament and their staff, staff of non-governmental organizations, and the media. The Serbian Institute for Public Diplomacy also advances the practice of public diplomacy through research, consultation, publications and professional services (see the Serbia case study above).

*4. Communication: By which means does Kosovo want to communicate its public diplomacy?* The spectrum of means and tools for public diplomacy is endless. TV ads and billboards are only some of the possibilities which can be used to reach a target audience. Different instruments of Web 2.0 and viral marketing can open chains of communication to make Kosovo known through conventional and also unconventional ways.

Would a Diplomatic Bulletin (see the Macedonia case study above) be useful? How can the targets identified be communicated internally and externally? How can information be accessed? Which “outside the box” methods have not been considered? As an example of a snowball effect in public diplomacy, the Israeli government recently began a campaign to turn every Israeli into a traveling public relations agent in an attempt to reverse the country’s declining image internationally. With a website backed by an advertising blitz, the Information and Diaspora Affairs Ministry began issuing Hebrew-language information to passengers on Israeli airlines and offering coaching courses to groups heading abroad. The message is: “Are you fed up with the way we are portrayed around the world? You can change the picture.”<sup>75</sup>

*5. Collaboration: Who could be partners in Kosovo’s public diplomacy?* Spreading the word and reaching out to other countries requires strong partnerships. As public diplomacy is everyone’s business, it requires a “we-are-all-in-one-boat” approach.<sup>76</sup> Internal

and external alliances can be created (e.g., media, business partners, “groups of friends” such as Kosovo donor countries).

Questions which need to be asked are: To what extent are current public diplomacy approaches interlinked and do they complement each other? How can the Government, non-profit organizations, the Kosovar diaspora and the business world collaborate to make sure the country puts out messages which represent what they view as “the fundamental common purpose” of their country? How can Kosovo strengthen friendships with influential countries and individuals so that they help reach out to other countries? An example of public-private collaboration is the German campaign “Land of Ideas,” which was initiated by the German government in cooperation with the Federation of German Industries (BDI) as well as several German companies. In Rwanda, a Development Board has been created to unite all efforts by the government and the private sector to attract investment and brand the country.

## **Conclusion**

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

The first part of this study looked at the “Kosovo—The Young Europeans” campaign, and found that the professionalism of the campaign’s production was in little doubt. Rather, criticism related mostly to the added value of the campaign and its follow-up: Could the € 5.7 million cost have been used to fund a more wide-ranging

campaign? Despite public interest, the government did not involve civil society organizations, artists, the private sector and members of opposition parties in development of the new Kosovo brand. The government thus created critics of the campaign rather than partners. Only subsequently has the contracted company given presentations to attempt to explain the campaign to various audiences. The “Kosovo—The Young Europeans” campaign was designed as the first step in a long-term process to make Kosovo better known abroad. However, as it stands, the campaign has not reached any clear objective. Citizens, including politicians, seem not to have understood the main aim of the campaign: Was it to make Kosovo known abroad, to achieve recognition of its independence, to create a new identity for the country, or to bring in investment?

The second part of this study compared public diplomacy approaches around the world and suggested that a clear vision of a country facilitates public diplomacy. It can, for example, be economic as in the case of Rwanda, or identity and investment-based as in Macedonia. The vision for public diplomacy in Kosovo appears to be in its initial phases. Defining a vision is a necessary prerequisite. Equally, infrastructures for public diplomacy are not yet fully operational, as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is still in the process of being set up at home and abroad. Kosovo could learn from the public diplomacy concepts developed by different state and non-state actors and the experiences of other countries in recent decades. Parallels could be drawn with cases such as Rwanda, a small, poor, post-conflict, landlocked country, as well as with neighboring countries such as Macedonia and Serbia, or Germany—a country with large-scale public diplomacy efforts. As seen in the presented case studies, successful public diplomacy requires communication to be aligned with the reality on the ground. In future Kosovo might do well to be careful what messages it tries to convey to foreign audiences, as to not misrepresent itself to domestic and foreign publics.

The third part of this study examined process questions which can assist in policy formation. Kosovo must define the goals it wishes to reach and its target audiences. It will then become clear which messages need to be communicated and, therefore, which of the many tools available for countries to operate their public diplomacy will be appropriate. Segmenting the audience is helpful, in order to make it easier to navigate the media and outreach domains. Constant evaluation and learning from past experiences with public diplomacy will strengthen the approach and impact abroad.

Kosovo has financial constraints; however, successful public diplomacy does not depend only on budget. All citizens can be used as tools for public diplomacy, whether they are ordinary individuals, in government, civil society, the private sector, the diaspora or friends of Kosovo abroad. Finding a way to use all available resources could be cost effective and easily deployable. The inclusion of the diaspora as an integral part of public diplomacy structures and outreach abroad is crucial. The Kosovar diaspora accounts for more than half a million people (more than a quarter of the population). Each Kosovar who lives abroad is an ambassador of the country in some way. The Government could be more strategic in mobilizing the diaspora by providing it with the necessary tools and means to reach out to wider audiences, at little cost.

Getting the private sector on board is equally crucial. The private sector has the flexibility, human resources and capital to support public diplomacy efforts abroad, as companies break into foreign markets with their products. Combining their efforts would benefit both the government and the private sector. Meanwhile, it is worth at least considering some more radical, “outside the box” ideas for Kosovo’s public diplomacy.<sup>77</sup>

Public diplomacy is a continual process and should be treated as such. Kosovo cannot afford to end its efforts with the “Kosovo—The

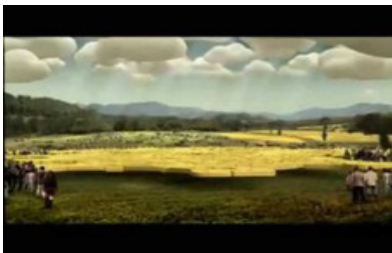
Young Europeans” campaign. As a small country, it needs constant, innovative and inclusive efforts to reach out to different audiences around the world. The International Court of Justice’s advisory opinion of July 2010 has brought Kosovo back onto the radar of the international community. The opinion, covered by media worldwide, is considered to have legitimized the statehood of Kosovo, and the hope is that it will lead to recognition of its independence by more countries. Kosovo needs to build on this momentum with strong, synergized and targeted public diplomacy.

## Appendix

### 1. The “Kosovo—The Young Europeans” Logo



### 2. The “Kosovo—The Young Europeans” TV Ad





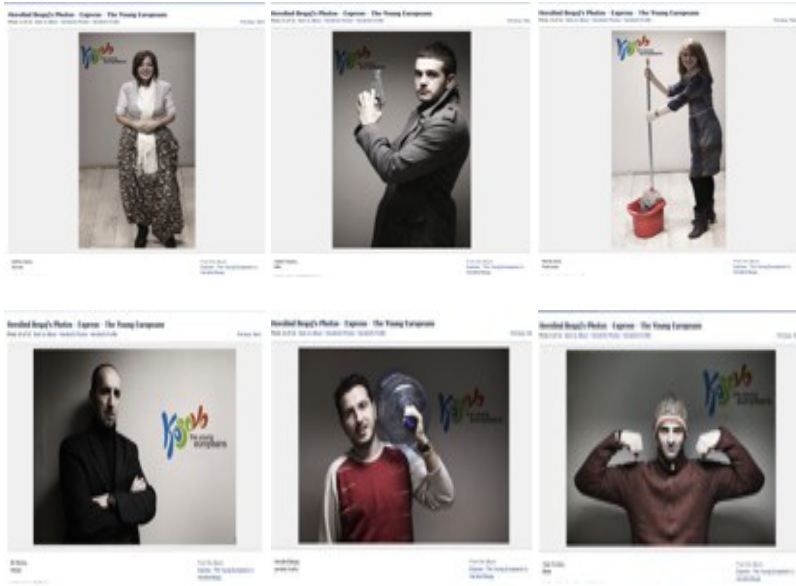
### 3. The “Kosovo—The Young Europeans” Poster Series



### 4. The “Vetëvendosje!” Counter Campaign



### 5. The “Gazeta Express” Campaign



### 6. The “Kosovo—The Oldies Europeans” Reaction



## Endnotes

1. The field research for this study was conducted with the generous support of the Friedrich-Ebert Foundation (FES) Pristina Office in collaboration with various governmental and non-governmental stakeholders within Kosovo, as well as experts on public diplomacy from the region and beyond in 2010. The authors would like to thank Beate Martin (Country Director) and Besa Luzha (Program Coordinator) of FES Pristina Office as well as all interviewees and partners for their kind support throughout the conduction of the study. The authors are also grateful to the USC Center on Public Diplomacy at the Annenberg School, University of Southern California for publishing this summary of the study in the *CPD Perspectives on Public Diplomacy* series. Download the full initial report here: <http://library.fes.de/pdf-files/bueros/kosovo/07845.pdf>.
2. See: Execution of Nation Branding and International Media Campaign for the Republic of Kosovo. Procurement No. 1201-08-003-211. Announced on December 4, 2008. Deadline for submission on December 22, 2008.
3. "Production of the Nation Branding advertising is underway." Kosovo Government. 10 September 2009. Print.
4. "Kosovo's international campaign warmly received." Kosovo Government. 4 November 2009. Print.
5. Ibid.
6. Official webpage of the campaign: <http://www.kosovo-young.com/>.
7. "Kosovo's international campaign warmly received." Kosovo Government. 4 November 2009. Print.
8. "The Kosovo Nation Branding Campaign is launched." Kosovo Government. 26 October 2009. Print.
9. "Production of the Nation Branding advertising is underway." Kosovo Government. 10 September 2009. Print.
10. Clip in full length: <http://www.kosovo-young.com/#video>.
11. "Dawn rolling over, The clouds bring the rain. It's time to start over, Time to join hands. The sun slowly rising, Shining on earth. The sky's open-minded, Today. And I'm feeling the life that I wanted Coming to me. I'm feeling the love that I want you, Want you to see."
12. See "the making-of" film of the clip: <http://www.kosovo-young.com/#video>.

13. The print ads are accompanied with the following lines in English: "The Republic of Kosovo was born on February 17th 2008, making it one of the youngest countries in the world. It's also home to the youngest population in Europe with an average age of 25.9, giving the place a spirit of optimism and enterprise you won't find anywhere else. ...And today Kosovars embrace the future with open arms. It is the start of something amazing. We'd love you to be part of it."
14. See: <http://www.youtube.com/user/kosovoyoung/>.
15. See: <http://www.youtube.com/KosovoNet/>.
16. See: <http://www.flickr.com/photos/kosovoyoung/>.
17. Kevin Roberts. *Lovemarks: The Future Beyond Brands*. New York: Power House Books, 2004. Also see: <http://www.lovemarks.com>.
18. Roberts73.
19. "Production of the Nation Branding advertising is underway." Kosovo Government. 10 September 2009. Print.
20. See for instance: David Taylor. "Lovemarks: Brand Theories Unwrapped." *The Brandgymblog*. 8 March 2007. Web; "Struggles of a Mad Man." *Business Week*. 3 December 2007. Web; Rick Poynor. "Forget brands. What you need is an intimate bond with your dandruff shampoo." *Eyemagazine.com*. 13 May 2004. Web. Latest access of all Internet sources cited on 18 January 2011.
21. See: Taylor.
22. Anna Schwan. "Ein Staat ist doch kein Schokoriegel." *Die Welt*. 23 September 2007. Web.
23. See: Randall Frost. "Mapping a Country's Future." *Brandchannel.com*. 19 April 2004. Web.
24. Lee Hudson Teslik. "Nation Branding Explained." *U.S. Council on Foreign Relations*. 9 November 2007. Web.
25. "Kosovo's international campaign warmly received." Kosovo Government. 4 November 2009. Print.
26. Ibid.
27. Ibid.
28. See: <http://www.mandmawards.com/winners2010/>.
29. See: <http://www.mandmawards.com/shortlist/>.
30. "Evropianët e izoluar." *Vetëvendosje*. 12 January 2010. Web.
31. Online video. *YouTube*. Web. [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=O7\\_\\_YNC0-QA&feature=related](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=O7__YNC0-QA&feature=related).

32. Online video. *YouTube*. Web. [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JDDUKg\\_2ps8&feature=related](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JDDUKg_2ps8&feature=related).
33. Shkelzen Domi. Personal interview. 7 April 2010. Also see: <http://www.xenini.com>.
34. Interviewee who wishes to remain anonymous.
35. Michael Clancy. "Re-Presenting Ireland: Tourism, Branding and Changing Conceptions of the Nation in Contemporary Ireland." International Studies Association (ISA) Annual Convention 2008. Unpublished Paper. Web.
36. Web. <http://www.albanian.com/v4/showthread.php?s=4d2a0d4fddde37b3566b7ea6b5f778e7&t=28878>.
37. Online video. *YouTube*. Web. <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9FeRSQdxkRM>.
38. See: Ahtisaari Proposal.
39. *VisitKosovawebportal*. Web. <http://visitkosova.org/?page=2,4>.
40. "Image Matters! Deconstructing Kosovo's Image Problem." *Kosovar Stability Initiative*. November 2008. Web. [http://www.iksweb.org/repository/docs/IMIDZ\\_english.pdf](http://www.iksweb.org/repository/docs/IMIDZ_english.pdf).
41. *Hotel Prishtina*. Web. <http://www.sauerbrey-raabe.de/de/projekt/101/0/0>.
42. *Kosovo Young Project*. Web. <http://www.thinkyoung.eu/website/kosovo-young/the-project.html>.
43. *Flying for Kosovo*. Web. <http://www.flyingforkosovo.com/>.
44. *Kosovo-Thanks-You*. Web. <http://www.kosovothanksyou.com/>.
45. *Kosovo thanks you*. Web. <http://www.kosovothanksyou.com/>.
46. *Kosovo, Country of Sports*. Web. <http://www.kosovosport.com/advCms/?id=10,1,1,1,a>.
47. *Kosovotwopointzero*. Web. <http://www.kosovotwopointzero.com>.
48. *Kosovo Guide*. Web. <http://www.kosovoguide.com/?cid=2,198>.
49. Edvard Mitevski. "The Story of the Macedonian Public Diplomacy." *Macedonian Diplomatic Bulletin* 16 (2008) 20.
50. See: "Jusufi, Shpresa. Spokesperson of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs." *Macedonian Diplomatic Bulletin* 1 (2006) 8.
51. "New Diplomatic Journal Crossroads Promoted." *Macedonian Diplomatic Bulletin* 3 (2006) 6.
52. "The USA is Macedonia's True and Sincere Friend." *Macedonian Diplomatic Bulletin* 27 (2007) 4.

53. "MFA's Public Diplomacy Directorate actively works on creating brand Macedonia." *Pioneer Investors*. 11 February, 2008. Web.
54. See: <http://www.investinmacedonia.com/>. See clip here: Online video. *YouTube*. Web. <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EYRJvWANxIA>.
55. See: <http://www.macedonia-timeless.com/>. See clip here: Online video. *YouTube*. Web. [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fP\\_bSxRIZ-I](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fP_bSxRIZ-I).
56. See: Jeff Chu. "Rwanda Rising: A New Model of Economic Development." *Fast Company*. 1 April 2009. Web.
57. "Rwandan diplomats trained on export strategies." *Newtimes.co.rw*. Web.
58. See: Marc Gunther. "Why CEOs love Rwanda." *CNN Money*. 3 April 2007. Web.
59. "Re-branding Nigeria: Lessons from Rwanda." *AfricanLoft*. 19 March 2009. Web.
60. David Gertner. "Place branding: Dilemma or reconciliation between political ideology and economic pragmatism?" *Place Branding and Public Diplomacy* 3 (2007) 3.
61. Gertrude Majyambere. "Rwanda: Local Firms Advised On Branding" *AllAfrica*. 12 March 2010. Web.
62. "Rwandan Coffee Goes from Ordinary to Star(bucks)." *International Trade Forum*. Web.
63. William Easterly and Laura Freschi. "Rwanda's coffee success story." *AidWatch*. 12 May 2010. Web.
64. "Rwanda's Mountain Gorilla: Celebrating an International Treasure." *Rwandatourism.com*. Web.
65. "Women to rule Rwanda parliament." *BBC News*. 17 September 2008. Web.
66. "WED 2010." *UNEP*. Web. <http://www.unep.org/wed/2010/english/messages/#SG>.
67. *Film in Serbia*. Web. <http://www.filminserbia.com/AboutUs.aspx>.
68. Petra Tadić. "Serbia: Creating a brand." *Osservatoriobalcani e caucaso*. 1 June 2010. Web.
69. Online video. *YouTube*. Web. <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TPdp7upFlrk&feature=related>.
70. *Serbia Investment and Export Promotion Agency*. Web. [http://www.siepa.gov.rs/site/en/home/2/about\\_siepa/](http://www.siepa.gov.rs/site/en/home/2/about_siepa/).

71. See among others: Nicholas J. Cull. "Public Diplomacy: Seven Lessons for its Future from its Past." *Place Branding and Public Diplomacy* 6 (2010) 11–17.
72. For further background information about public diplomacy see: Nancy Snow and Philip M. Taylor ed. *Routledge Handbook of Public Diplomacy*. New York: Routledge, 2008.
73. "Landlocked Developing Countries." *UN Office of the High Representative for the Least Developed Countries, Landlocked Developing Countries and Small Island Developing States*. Web. <http://www.un.org/special-rep/ohrlls/lldc/default.htm>.
74. As described in the case studies above, Germany has chosen a decentralized Public Diplomacy approach. In the UK, in contrast, responsibility for Public Diplomacy lies with the Directorate for Strategy and Information. This group is responsible for expenditure including to the British Council, BBC World, scholarships and campaigns etc., and coordinates parliamentary relations and outreach to UK civil society. The British government also set up a Public Diplomacy Strategy Board (PDSB). This includes the Department for Culture, Media and Sport, the Department for International Development, the Devolved Administrations and VisitBritain (the main body for tourism). There is a central image bank for photos about Britain (<http://www.britainonview.com>).
75. Ethan Bronner. "Positive Views of Israel: Brought to You by Israelis." *The New York Times*. 17 February 2010. Web.
76. Cull 11.
77. See Annex of original study: <http://library.fes.de/pdf-files/bueros/kosovo/07845.pdf>.

## **Author Biographies**

**Martin Wählisch** is a lawyer specialized in International Law and Senior Researcher at the Center for Peace Mediation/ Institute for Conflict Management at the European University Viadrina and the Humboldt-Viadrina School of Governan.ce. Together with Behar Xharra, he has been working on Kosovo's Public Diplomacy in a research project of Friedrich-Ebert Foundation in Pristina. Previously, he has been deputized to the German Embassy in Pristina. Mr. Waehlich has been also a Research Fellow of the American University in Kosovo (AUK). Among others, his articles and analyses about Kosovo have been published at Security Watch of the Swiss International Relations and Security Network (ISN) at ETH Zurich, Kosovo's English-language newspaper Prishtina Insight as well as Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty (RFE/RL).

Mr. Waehlich graduated from Humboldt University Law School, and was educated at the German UN Training Centre, MGU Moscow, the Swiss Federal Institute of Technology Zurich, Harvard Law School, and Long Island University. He has been with the United Nations (New York, Beirut), the German Foreign Office (Special Task Force Afghanistan), the European Commission (Berlin) and a Russian refugee and human rights NGO (Moscow, Caucasus). He is currently based as a researcher with the Common Space Initiative in Beirut and most recently joined the Issam Fares Institute (IFI) for Public Policy and International Affairs at the American University of Beirut.

**Behar Xharra** has been working on governmental and non-governmental affairs for the past several years in Kosovo. Most recently, he served as a UNDP Senior Expert for Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) in support to the Parliament of Kosovo and has been the lead author of the UNDP MDG Country Report



2010. Previously, he has been with the Agency for European Integration at the Office of the Prime Minister of Kosovo. He also worked as a consultant and business development facilitator for Chemonics International and CHF International in Pristina. Besides Public Diplomacy, his research focuses on the perspectives of the development of small, landlocked, and post-conflict countries. Hereby he is working on identifying strategies about how newly established country with a weak market economy, deeply rooted political problems, and widespread poverty can become economically sustainable and influential in the international arena.

Mr. Xharra studied international relations at Earlham College (Richmond, IN, USA). He has been a fellow of the Next Generation of Peacemakers program of the American Friends Service Committee and founded the Talk for Tomorrow Initiative which promoted regional cooperation and dialogue among Kosovar-Albanian and Serbian youth through media and technology. He is an Advisors of MDG Jakova, a local initiative in Kosovo, and an ambassador of the One World Youth Project (OWYP). He is currently the Empedocle Maffia Fellow at the Center for International Conflict Resolution (CICR) and a Master's Candidate in International Affairs in Economic and Political Development at Columbia University, School of International and Public Affairs (SIPA).

The views expressed in this publication have been provided in the authors personal capacities, and do not necessarily reflect the views of the mentioned institutions.

## **Other Papers in the CPD Perspectives on Public Diplomacy Series**

*All papers in the CPD Perspectives series are available for free on the Center's website ([www.uscpublicdiplomacy.org](http://www.uscpublicdiplomacy.org)). To purchase any of the publications below in hard copy, please contact [cpd@usc.edu](mailto:cpd@usc.edu).*

- 2011/2 Public Diplomacy, New Media, and Counterterrorism  
by Philip Seib
- 2011/1 The Power of the European Union in Global Governance:  
A Proposal for a New Public Diplomacy  
El poder de la Unión Europea en el gobierno global:  
Propuesta para una nueva diplomacia pública  
by Teresa La Porte
- 2010/4 Spectacle in Copenhagen: Public Diplomacy on Parade  
by Donna Marie Oglesby
- 2010/3 U.S. Public Diplomacy's Neglected Domestic Mandate  
by Kathy R. Fitzpatrick
- 2010/2 Mapping the Great Beyond: Identifying Meaningful Networks  
in Public Diplomacy  
by Ali Fisher
- 2010/1 Moscow '59: The "Sokolniki Summit" Revisited  
by Andrew Wulf
- 2009/3 The Kosovo Conflict: U.S. Diplomacy and Western Public Opinion  
by Mark Smith
- 2009/2 Public Diplomacy: Lessons from the Past  
by Nicholas J. Cull
- 2009/1 America's New Approach to Africa: AFRICOM and Public Diplomacy  
by Philip Seib



Public Diplomacy

La Diplomatie Publique

الدبلوماسية العامة

Общественная дипломатия

Publieksdiplomatie

PUBLICZNA DYPLOMACJA

הסברה

**Diplomacia Pública**

公共外交

Δημόσια Διπλωματία

Публична дипломация

