

## Public Diplomacy of small states: case of Kosovo

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### Abstract

This paper aims to elaborate and analyse the public diplomacy of small states, the case of Kosovo. Today in the era of globalization and in a world with some powerful states the development of foreign policy and diplomacy is very important and difficult especially for small countries. Small countries with limited capacities should see the need to focus foreign policy and diplomacy in areas as specific and interest as possible. Public diplomacy is an effective tool that small states should use to benefit and promote their interests. The purpose of this paper is to provide information and guidance to the drafters and promoters of public diplomacy of small states with emphasis on the state of Kosovo. Goals and profits can be achieved by specifying areas where public diplomacy can be conducted, especially in Kosovo through cultural and sports diplomacy. The methodology used during the paper is based on the analysis of various materials and resources related to public diplomacy, which through discretionary, analytical, historical and observational methods we have tried to discuss the importance of public diplomacy of small countries, case of Kosovo. In order to have a clearer and more concrete result, we have elaborated on the case of Kosovo and its public diplomacy. Based on this study as a conclusion we can say that Kosovo still needs to focus on public diplomacy

and its promotion especially in the areas of cultural and sports diplomacy.

**Keywords:** Public diplomacy, Kosovo, small states, image

## 1. Introduction

Public diplomacy is a branch of traditional diplomacy which is used more and more every day in certain fields for certain interests of different countries, small or large. Many different scholars and theorists define public diplomacy in different ways and consider that the key elements for public diplomacy are; foreign policy, culture, national values, and many different actors and public factors. There are also many definitions of public diplomacy with multiple approaches. Public diplomacy is the communication of an actor with the citizens of foreign countries. This actor can be a representative of civil society, a non-governmental or multinational organization, a journalist or a media outlet, a specialist in a different sector of industry, politics or a member of a public (Pamment, 2013).

Public diplomacy is of great importance for all countries which with all their capacity try to use this form of diplomacy. Small states often aim for certain strategies, with low cost as well as better profits. To achieve their goals, small states use all possible means which include public diplomacy to achieve the improvement of the country's image, change public opinion and to establish the best possible relations with institutions, countries and different organizations

In our study of public diplomacy of small countries, the case of Kosovo aims to address the public diplomacy of small countries, the way of using public diplomacy by small countries, strategies and areas in which small countries focus mostly on achieve the fastest and most profitable which results through public diplomacy.

The case of Kosovo in our study is presented as a case of a small state which uses public diplomacy and branches of public diplomacy in order to improve its image in the international arena and to influence the creation of a public opinion as much as possible positive. We have tried to clarify that small states can have effective public diplomacy with great results. We also aimed to highlight the achievements of Kosovo as a small state, through public diplomacy which have influenced several areas, in a positive way to improve the country's image.

Through this paper we have tried to present that small states with an emphasis on Kosovo by focusing on a clear strategy in public diplomacy, especially through cultural and sports diplomacy, can achieve profitable results and impacts with a lower cost.

Our paper discusses in a interconnected way the public diplomacy of small states, trying to provide explanations based on scientific and practical facts and arguments. It also discusses the case of Kosovo and its actions through public diplomacy which have been used and should be used in the future, in order to achieve results that affect the favour of the state of Kosovo as a small state.

## **2. Public diplomacy of small states**

According to the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations (1961), the tasks of diplomacy are: a) representation, b) defence, c) negotiation, q) information and d) deepening relations (Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations, 1961). All the above points constitute the tasks of diplomacy which are used by diplomacy for the interests and purposes of states. Based on the past, the citizens did not have much interest in diplomacy and did not have much access and knowledge in the relations between the states, this happened as a reason that diplomacy was thought as a secret work in the relations between the states. US President Thomas Woodrow Wilson at the end of the First World War made a revolution and changes in this regard, cracking down on secret diplomacy and calling for open and public diplomacy. While over the years the term public diplomacy has undergone changes as well as all diplomacy in general. Today the term public diplomacy has to do with the attitude of public opinion towards foreign policy, also today the interest of public opinion towards foreign policy has greatly increased.

In earlier times the term propaganda was used instead of the term public diplomacy. Public diplomacy is seen as an extension and concealment of propaganda. The use of the term propaganda sounds and carries with it rudeness and fear in relation to diplomacy. Many scholars and practitioners have confused public diplomacy with propaganda, with public relations... (Gilboa, 2008). But these notions are not equivalent even though they often seem to have similarities. Public diplomacy seeks to persuade external opinions through dialogue, while propaganda seeks to provide as much information as possible that often manipulates reality

(Melissen, 2005). Ellul sees propaganda in a broader sense, emphasizing that: Propaganda is based on scientific psychological and sociological analysis (Ellul, 1973).

Various theorists and scholars base and define public propaganda and diplomacy in many forms and approaches. While the point that distinguishes propaganda against public diplomacy, as a special form of diplomacy, lies in the fact that propaganda is the activity of state bodies, while public diplomacy includes many non-state actors such as: civil society, political parties, media, etc. (Petric, 2012). Today, by public diplomacy we mean the instrument used by states, associations of states, and some sub-state and non-state actors, to understand culture, attitudes and behaviours; to create and manage relationships and to influence opinions as well as mobilize actions to advance their interests and values (Gregory, 2011). Public diplomacy is defined not only relations with foreign governments but also special talks and interactions in addition to formal negotiations that are frequently made within the framework of non-governmental individuals and organizations (Nye, 2004). Today, more space and importance are given to public diplomacy than to propaganda, given that public diplomacy has to do with interactions between state and non-state actors. Also, a big reason is globalization, interconnectedness and the era of mass communication development as well as advanced technologies which can hardly be controlled by states, so public diplomacy is much more efficient and profitable than propaganda. So, in a way we can say that the facilitation and democratization of public diplomacy has been done.

A small country in international relations obviously has difficulties in promoting and influencing its interests at the international level, so the foreign policy and diplomacy of this country must make many efforts and certain strategies to achieve success. Ernest Petrič, a Slovenian scholar and diplomat, elaborates that: For this reason, it is necessary for the small state to use in its foreign policy, first, the means of persuasion, especially diplomacy. With the rational use of the means of persuasion, with skilful diplomacy, which knows how to rely on international law and which is able to gain the support and help of friends and allies, the small state can achieve diplomatic success, first of all compromise good at protecting and realizing their own interests (Petric, 2012). So public diplomacy is an efficient method which should be used by small and young states which do not have large general capacities compared to powerful big states.

In order to develop an effective public diplomacy, small states must focus on certain goals and specifics that are directly related to the interests of the country, as they do not have the capacity to build comprehensive and costly mechanisms in the field of public diplomacy. The small state is also required to hire trained multidimensional experts in the scientific and practical fields, who must have enough knowledge of the country in which to act through public diplomacy.

Contemporary means of communication and cooperation enable even the small state in various ways and forms of diplomatic activity to cover the wider spaces... (Petri, 2012). Thus, the diplomatic mission as well as the diplomatic staff must be prepared and well informed about the techniques, tactics and strategies for the development and implementation of public diplomacy. One of the main points of competent actors who implement public diplomacy in the countries where they operate is to be active and prepared.

Building strategies with specific interests, less costly by the so-called small states (low cost), as well as cooperation with the media, use of new technologies, cooperation with civil society, and many other actors, is of great importance. for the perpetuation and development of the best possible image of the small state in front of other states. This way brings positive effects for the small state using public diplomacy, where through this form it influences the public opinion of other states.

A very powerful tool today is the use of technology and the Internet. The Internet and social media today enable contacts and the development of activities over a great distance as well as without having physical contacts, which saves time and distance. Social media can play an important role in almost any country if properly developed and nurtured (Kiehl, 2012). Public diplomacy developed through social media is a communication related to public opinion in general and is a very influential factor for improving the image of the country.

A well-coordinated public diplomacy of small states and focused on certain strategies and actions can bring a very rich feedback. A positive image, investments, tourism, public opinion, collaborations and many other profits can bring a good defined public diplomacy to the small state.

For a public diplomacy with appropriate profits of a small state, specific objectives must be defined and the necessary tools and resources for the realization of these objectives must be coherently synthesized.

### 3. Case of Kosovo

Public diplomacy functioned by being well-planned, with clear and long-term goals, coordinated with clear goals and objectives to achieve the best possible results for the state, especially for the small state. The Republic of Kosovo is also part of the group of small states. Given that Kosovo does not have large financial resources available, it must find the most adequate and low-cost way to represent the country in the international arena and to improve its image.

Kosovo during various phases after its independence has undertaken various campaigns in order to improve its image. By engaging in public diplomacy, Kosovo has made various broadcasts and spots in world-renowned media. According to the BBC as a global broadcaster it is stated that; in some Asian, African and European countries, in the first half of 2013, there were 23-25 chronicles, reports and articles from Kosovo and for Kosovo (BBC, 2013). Most of these were taken from other media or referred to presentations from other media.

Today digital diplomacy is a field and method which is showing success when used by public diplomacy in an innovative and adequate way. This form of diplomacy is inexpensive. Kosovo has paid special attention to digital diplomacy as a field and tool to use for benefits of state. Kosovo's digital diplomacy has been described as one of the best in the world by foreign experts (Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Diaspora - Republic of Kosovo, 2008).

The state of Kosovo, the biggest challenge that has followed it continuously, is to improve its image. The impact on Kosovo's image has come from several factors and actors who have portrayed Kosovo as a place of organized crime and instability. The biggest challenge for Kosovo is from Serbian and Russian lobbies who are constantly lobbying against the image of Kosovo, to present it negative as possible.

State soft power is established through many actors and activities that impact the outer public- artists of arts, music programmes, civil activities, Non-Government Organizations (NGOs), politicians, political parties, writers, journalists, media, businesses, enterprises, universities, professors, religious leaders etc (Batora, 2005). Kosovo as a small state should seize every opportunity by using and trumpeting it through public diplomacy. Positive points such as: ICJ opinion, inter-religious tolerance, the role of women in politics, especially the position of president, various musical

organizations, cultural and many other organizations in order for the foreign public to get acquainted with the country and culture of Kosovo and create a generally positive public opinion.

Given the challenges that Kosovo faces in facing it internationally, then there must be a great deal of care regarding the use and exploitation of soft power with an emphasis on public diplomacy. Care must be taken in this regard as it can easily be lost due to improper management. In this regard Joseph S. Nye says: Soft power may appear less risky than economic or military power, but it is often hard to use, easy to lose, and costly to re-establish (Nye, 2008). So public diplomacy must be used with great skill and extra care. Public diplomacy is not just for today, it must be planned to give results that are expected to be seen in the future. To reap has results, it comes slowly and is not always measurable (Olins, 2005).

Small states with an emphasis Kosovo need to focus on certain segments of public diplomacy through which, with lower costs and more efficiently, it can achieve goals. Kosovo needs to base its focus on two segments of public diplomacy which can be quite effective if used meticulously and pay special attention to: Cultural diplomacy and sports diplomacy.

In general, Cultural Diplomacy includes and constitutes an arena of development of international relations where countries and peoples know the customs, art, different values, way of life of other peoples, religiosity and much more in order to strengthen mutual understanding and trust. Kosovo uses cultural diplomacy as a very good segment of public diplomacy based on the resources it has. The promotion of culture has a central role in the cultural environment of Kosovo. It also plays a strategic role in strengthening local institutions and promoting cultural initiatives between different communities in Kosovo, as well as between Kosovo and the rest of the world (The Republic of Kosovo, Ministry of Culture, Youth and Sports). Also, the coordination between foreign policymaking and diplomacy, especially the public one with various local institutions and actors make possible the promotion of the country in the international arena. The Ministry of Culture, Youth and Sports of the Republic of Kosovo, in the culture department, has the activity of the Cultural Promotion Division in the following sectors: Promotion Sector, Diversity Sector and Cultural Dialogue, Creative Industry Sector, Diploma Sector (The Republic of Kosovo, Ministry of Culture, Youth and Sport). Public diplomacy by the Ministry of Culture as well as public diplomacy designed

by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs with coherent interactions among themselves can bring great results for the country.

Kosovo through cultural diplomacy is possible to make the dissemination and presentation of mutual cultures, cooperation, cultural heritage, interfaith tolerance, education, art, science, music, youth, emblematic figures that Kosovo donated to the world of Albanian descent who have had influence around the world. Mother Teresa is one of the great figures who is Albanian, and Kosovo can trumpet and promote its culture in different countries in different forms. Today many different countries of the world use cultural diplomacy in different ways such as foundations, institutes, programs and many ways. Germany uses the Goethe-Institut in many parts of the world. Britain uses the "British Council", the Frances Institute, the Italian Institute, the "Pushkin" Institute, the "KulturKontakt" program of Austria, etc. Also, the state of Turkey through the "Davutoglu strategy" recently aims to revive the Ottoman culture in the Balkans, where this is the strategy of Turkey's foreign policy. The use of this method of diplomacy by the large states mentioned above does not mean that it cannot be used in a not very costly way even by small states, in the case of Kosovo. The specification and planning of public diplomacy plays a very big role in this aspect, despite the capacities of the state.

Religious coexistence and harmony have historically been a special case for Kosovo, which should be used to the maximum by making various collaborations for the establishment of centres of religious dialogue, which through cultural diplomacy should be a profitable resource for state. Another resource for Kosovo is cultural diversity: Cultural diversity is a valuable and unique resource in any society. Respect for cultural diversity through dialogue and interaction significantly contributes to peace and stability of Kosovo society where the cultivation of solidarity also results in improved living conditions. Moreover, cultural diversity itself plays a major role in the socio-economic system to be a priority for both individual and social capital, as well as for the economic development of the country (The Republic of Kosovo, Ministry of Culture, Youth and Sport).

Public diplomacy and its segment, cultural diplomacy should be designed depending on the situations and circumstances in which the problems and opportunities for action extend from states in general, especially small states. The current modishness of cultural diplomacy - and public diplomacy more generally - should be seen in the context of the

changing architecture of international relations in an increasingly interdependent and interconnected world (Appadurai, 1996).

Sport unites people, this has been proven in the past. Sports diplomacy is a segment that can be used by public diplomacy very efficiently. The French Ministry for Europe and Foreign Affairs has presented sports diplomacy on its website and the importance given to it, where it is emphasized that: "Sport plays a major role in attracting visitors to France and showing the international reach of the country". (The French Ministry for Europe and Foreign Affairs). It's a very good model which Kosovo does not have and can implement without any great cost, given that Kosovo has athletes inside and abroad the country with international renown, around the world. Kosovo has paid attention to sports only through the Ministry of Culture, Youth and Sports where it is emphasized that: The Department of Sports has supported and helped the development of numerous sports activities, through which it aims to contribute to substantive organization, staff development, membership and licensing of Kosovar sports in the international arena, involvement of all in sports activities, regardless of nationality, race and religious affiliation (The Republic of Kosovo, Ministry of Culture, Youth and Sports). The use of public diplomacy and its segment of sports diplomacy is quite necessary for the state of Kosovo. Considering that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has not paid due attention to this aspect, then the results from this are also few.

Many popular athletes serve as a role model to world youth, at some point they are seen as a representative of their country's public diplomacy (Sancak, 2015). Paying attention to the importance and using the segment of sports diplomacy, Kosovo has the resources and actors through which it can express public diplomacy to the world. The important thing to remember in terms of sports diplomacy; athletes, coaches, referees and sport managers of a country are important ambassadors although it is an international image of the country (Gök, 2016). Kosovo has athletes who in different countries of the world own different sports and are at the peak of their careers who constantly show their origin and raise the symbol of Kosovo, this is very important for the image and recognition of the country. Also, Kosovo with emphasis on the sport of judo has reaped many successes where they have excelled in the Olympics and world championships with emphasis on the Majlinda Kelmendi.

The use and importance of all athletes (inside and outside) and sports from Kosovo is catalyst which through public diplomacy can be used for very profitable results and purposes for state.

#### **4. Conclusion**

Diplomacy is the most important tool of a country's foreign policy, whether large or small. The capacities and general personnel resources are well known whether you are a small state or a large state. All this does not mean and does not determine that a small state cannot have professional and elite diplomacy of a professionally prepared and successful calibre. In order to achieve results, it is necessary to determine in adequately the position and goals by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, coordinating all the capacities, actors and factors that it possesses and uses in a linear line to achieve the goals. and state interests.

One area that can be used powerfully by a country's foreign policy is public diplomacy. Public diplomacy can be used as a powerful tool at the international level by small states. The use of public diplomacy in a specified and well-defined way by small states can bring great positive results and can be achieved with little cost.

The case of Kosovo using public diplomacy makes it clear that a small country can generate and benefit results that improve the image of the country, change public opinion and attract attention in the international arena. Kosovo needs to design even more public diplomacy as specific as possible, especially in the cultural and sports, as in these areas it enjoys abundant product and has "staff" around the world through which the country is presented in the best possible ways. We have achieved to conclusions during this paper that Kosovo needs to use the two levers of public diplomacy, cultural diplomacy and sports diplomacy, which are a profitable generator for the state of Kosovo in public diplomacy.

Kosovo needs to expand cultural diplomacy as much as possible and use the capacities it possesses. Bilateral cooperation through cultural diplomacy Kosovo needs to use. Also, the dissemination and presentation of mutual cultures, cooperation, cultural heritage, interfaith tolerance, education, art, science, music, youth, emblematic figures that I donate to the world of Albanian origin (Mother Terze) and the use of the diaspora in different countries.

Also, Kosovo needs to play sports diplomacy a priority of public diplomacy by coordinating it with diaspora diplomacy. Kosovo has many athletes who play in different countries of Europe and the world. These athletes are in various fields of sports and in the highest ranks. Most of the time these sports and athletes have communication with the public of the countries where they are and through them this affects the display of a positive image of Kosovo and the creation of public opinion of their countries for Kosovo. Also, athletes (Majlinda Kelmendi etc) who operate within Kosovo and represent Kosovo in the international arena directly affect the image of Kosovo. So, Kosovo can use the successes of its athletes as important tools and instruments for benefits at the international level, especially through public diplomacy.

We have mentioned and emphasized some points, ways and cases which do not express in an absolute way all the possibilities for the development and use of public diplomacy by small states, the case of Kosovo, so that the research and exploitation of all potentials as much as possible. and resources related to public diplomacy always influences the best results for the country. Also, we recommend that competent institutions and people continue to research and develop the importance of using public diplomacy in general.

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