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EUROPEAN PERSPECTIVES

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Letter from the Editor

With the new spring also the new issue of our journal comes around. We continue to be surrounded with anniversaries of various kinds, though this should not take our attention away from discussing, commenting as well as contemplating the current social and historical situation. Doing this is important because with this we try to reach a better understanding of events and processes. But we also should struggle to continue with policy changes that would achieve to make the world a better place. Better both in moral and legal sense.

This would be, however placed in a highly indirect way, but understood at least at the end of the day, our mission. We all know it already: to seek for an innovative and challenging scientific production from promising, consistent and enthusiastic authors, who would be able and willing to contribute. And who would feel responsibility to do so. Our careful peer-reviewers take a close note on contributed papers, but still having in mind that also authors are only human beings. *Errare human est*, to be open the safe side. Let us try to understand this as an everlasting motivation to achieve more, better and higher. One would wish that also top level policy and decision makers would have the same ambition on the screen. Though, as far as the prospects of the enlargement process are concerned, one can not but share a concern that it is not just like that. It seems as if the enlargement dynamics would vanish behind the horizon. Right or wrong, already a possibility of such impression is worrisome. Also once so omnipresent enlargement fatigue disappeared from the vocabulary. Do we really want this, do we really agree with this? One would hope that not only our contributors would strongly oppose it and show the direction.

There are four articles in this issue. Two promising authors place their contributions within the frame of think global, act local: Celebrity diplomacy with some reflections on the Western Balkans, and Sports diplomacy in reimagining the Western Balkans both argue on the importance of various interpretation of this what diplomacy all is nowadays and how it helps to make

the case. The contribution on payment discipline of companies as a part of the ethical climate points out broadly spreading behaviour – better say misbehaviour – that is far from being only a reflection of the ongoing financial crisis. Hard choices from the US Presidential candidate Hillary R. Clinton is the second contribution in a row from our series of articles, each of them contemplating a single outstanding book from the IR area.

The recent Guest View presents the role and the mission of one of the oldest and most outstanding think tanks in the broader region – the Institute of the International Politics and Economics from Belgrade. The institution that was established in 1947 developed itself throughout decades as a leading research, academic and publishing (journals, monographs, conference proceedings etc.) organization and has paved the way for many similar to follow. Our current Croquis again points out to the early times of European philosophical and intellectual tradition as a whole. It portrays the port city of Constanza (Constanța or Tomis or Ponto) on the Romanian Black Sea coast, rich with historical messages and symbolism.

Sarajevo 2014 section dwells on the issue of new middle classes, religion and politics: how does this cope with Islam in the region, in particular with the cases of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Turkey.

Overall, again rich, diverse and challenging offer of this spring's reading. Hope it will at least partially satisfy our readers' attention and encourage new potentials contributors. Both is highly welcome and appreciated from our point of view.

At the end – as it has already been established – we wish you a fruitful and critically coloured reading. We are grateful that you continue to be with us and wish to see you again in this autumn.

The Castle of Jable, April 2015

M. J.



guest view

**Institute of International Politics
and Economics (IIPE)**

Duško Dimitrijević

Institute of International Politics and Economics (IPE)

Duško Dimitrijević¹

INTRODUCTION

The Institute of International Politics and Economics is one of the oldest research institutes in South Eastern Europe specialised in the field of international relations. It is headquartered in Belgrade, Serbia.

Since it was established in 1947, the Institute of International Politics and Economics has had a special place in the academic life of the country. From a small group of researchers who laid foundations of the Yugoslav science of international relations, the Institute has gradually turned into the largest scientific institution in the country and one of the most reputable research and Para-diplomatic centres in the world. The Institute studies the processes and phenomena in the field of international politics and economics, this also including legal aspects of international relations, which are of interest for the position and foreign policy of the state.

Today, the Institute has a predominantly scientific character. It is accredited as an institute in the social sciences which performs its activities of general interest for the Republic of Serbia.

The Institute has a rich research tradition, very fruitful scientific and publishing activities, possessing one of the largest specialised libraries in international relations in South Eastern Europe, including the rich official documentations of the UN, EU, NATO and some other significant international organisations. So far, the Institute has published over 500 books, monographs, proceedings and documentation papers. It also publishes 4 scientific journals: „Međunarodni problemi” (International Problems),

¹ Duško Dimitrijević, Ph.D. Professorial Fellow and former Director of the Institute of International Politics and Economics, Belgrade.

whose first issue was published in 1949, „Međunarodna politika” (International Politics) that has been published since 1950, “Review of International Affairs”, which until recently was an English edition of „Međunarodna politika”, but meeting the wishes of foreign readers it grew into a separate periodical dealing with international affairs, as well as „Evropsko zakonodavstvo” (European Union Legislation), a specialised scientific journal treating the European law and practice, which has started in 2002.

In its long research practice the Institute has established close co-operation and a working partnership with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Providing a research and documentation basis for defining the country’s foreign policy priorities, for many years the Institute has assisted the authorised bodies in creating and formulating the strategic directions in establishing and developing foreign political, economic and cultural relations. Moreover, it has recruited a large number of diplomats and officials for the diplomatic and some other significant public services that deal with international relations. Until today, the Institute has preserved different functional status from the other institutes of social sciences for the above mentioned role in pursuing the foreign policy.

It should be also stressed that for years, the Institute has developed good co-operation with the Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development of the Republic of Serbia.

In the 2005-2015 periods, the scientific work has been intensified and several researches, publishing and information and documentation projects have started. The number of the research works carried out within the Ministry fundamental projects: Serbia and the contemporary world – Prospects and ways for consolidation of its foreign political, security and economic position in the contemporary processes in the international community and Serbia in contemporary international relations – Strategic development orientations and consolidation of Serbia’s position in international integration processes (being a part of the programme of the basic studies in the 2006-2010 and 2011-2015 periods). As a result of these projects, a large number of studies, monographs, analyses and expertise’s have been published.

Finally, the Institute has developed different forms of international co-operation with significant research organisations, universities and specialised think-thank institutions of strategic studies. So far, it has organised many important domestic and international conferences. A lot of prominent domestic and foreign professors, researchers, statesmen, political figures, diplomats and journalists have delivered lectures or participated in other forms of the Institute's activities.

In the forthcoming period the Institute's scientific results should become an integral part of the European research area. In this way, the Institute's contribution could be optimally used in conducting the foreign policy and foreign economic affairs.

A BRIEF CHRONOLOGY

The Institute was founded two years after the end of World War II. It followed all the changes that it has gone ex-Yugoslavia and Serbia. Despite the great difficulties that the Institute had regarding funding, as well as various political influences, the Institute has managed to survive to the present day. In these first days of its existence, the Institute has provided an objective scientific basis for determining the overall strategy of foreign policy of former Yugoslavia that the realization of the independent position has been *conditio sine qua non* for preservation the cohesion of the new federal structure of the state and the construction of a socialist society.

In the first years of the Institute, a scientific team made up about thirty researchers under the direction of Professor Milan Bartoš from the Law Faculty of the University of Belgrade, which was also its first director.

The Institute and its collaborators among whom were prominent pre-war scholars like Albert Weiss, Marian Hubeny, Stevan Belić, Rudolf Blum, Radoš Stamenković and Aleksandar Jovanović, even revolutionaries like Ivan Karaivanov, with the generous help of Professor Miloš Radojković and Professor Borislav Blagojević from the Faculty of Law in Belgrade and Professor Jurij An-drassy from the Faculty of Law in Zagreb, had a pioneering role in building our scientific thinking on international relations.

Until the end of the fifties of the 20th century, a period when the directors were Vilko Vinterhalter, Radivoje Davidović, Jovan Marinović and Vlajko Begović, there is a dilemma about the basic orientation of scientific work at the Institute. Only with the arrival of Janez Stanovnik and Leo Mates at the head of the Institute, this issue is satisfactorily resolved.

At the end of the sixties and early seventies of the last century, there was a full affirmation of the Institute on the national and international scientific plan. Under the leadership of Leo Mates, the organizational structure of the Institute is finally formed. In addition to the scientific sector which are managed by Ljubivoje Aćimović and Anton Kolendić (international relations), Milan Šahović (international law), Sonja Dapčević Oreščanin (regional studies), Vladimir Glišić (world economy) the Institute founded the documentation sector, library and publishing sector. In 1973, the Institute joined a group of scientists from the Centre for Documentation and library of the former Institute of the international workers' movement led by Vladan Pantić. This has increased the number of employees in slightly more than fifty scientists.

In the eighties, during which Milan Šahović, Božidar Frangeš and Jokica Hadži Vasileva were directors of the Institute's core functions are retained. However, the possibilities for their implementation were quite aggravating, because Yugoslavia was in the process of deep political and social changes. During this period the Institute has been involved in numerous scientific and political activities in the country and abroad. Associates of the Institute as Zdenko Reich (European integration), Draginja Arsić (USSR, East European integration), Ljubisa Adamović and Đordje Lađević (international economic relations), Arsen Jovanović, Negosava Petrović, Stane Južnić and Anton Bebler (regional studies), Bojana Tadić (nonalignment movement), Alexander Magarašević, Bogdan Babović, Miodrag Sukijasović, Dimitrije Pindić, Olga Šuković, Obrad Račić, Milan Šahovic (international law), were recognized scientists in the country and the world.

In the early nineties, the Institute has rocked the deep crisis that arose as a consequence of the disintegration of the Yugoslav federation and the emergence of a new order that is sought adapting to market conditions. It is specifically meant turning to new

realities and finding stable revenue to fund its activities. Thanks to the support of the Republic of Serbia, as well as participation in the project of the European Community for financing higher education cooperation programs in the countries of Eastern Europe (TEMPUS), Institute managed to survive the difficult years of Yugoslav crisis under the leadership of Predrag Simić and then Milenko Kreća, professor at the Faculty of Law in Belgrade.

From 2000, onwards, the Institute is under the direction of Vatroslav Vekarić, Aleksandar Fatić, Edita Stojić Karanović and Duško Dimitrijević sought ways to rejuvenate its work in the framework of the new political circumstances. During this period, the Institute has reorganized its functioning. It enhanced international scientific cooperation at the regional and wider global plan. It also preserved the existing infrastructure and the material basis necessary for the consolidation of human resources. The deep economic crisis and many political and social upheavals had a negative impact on the work of the Institute, but did not prevent its activity, since the Institute has managed to keep its research core formed in the previous period and which was made up of prominent scholars like Blagoje Babić, Vladimir Grečić, Konstantin Obradović, Vid Vukasović, Ana Damian, Ljuba Prvušević, Brana Marković, Mladen Kovačević and others.

Despite numerous challenges during the past nearly seven decades, the Institute for International Politics and Economy remained one of the leading research institutes in the area of international relations in Southeast Europe.

LEGAL STATUS

Since its founding in 1947, the Institute has several times changed its legal status. In the beginning it had been federal scientific institution of strategic interests of former Yugoslav state (*Decree on Establishing the Institute for International Politics and Economics*, “The Official Gazette SFRY”, No.107 / 1947; *Law on the Institute for International Politics and Economics*, “Official Gazette of SFRY”, No. 11/1974, *The Regulation on the Federal Public Institution - Institute for International Politics and Economics*, “Official Gazette”, Nos. 11/1997, 5/2002). The

aforementioned legislation scientific activities of the Institute were regulated in order to achieve foreign policy functions of the Federation. After the breakup of Yugoslavia and the disintegration of the state union of Serbia and Montenegro, the Institute ceased to function as institutions of federal importance.

With the *Government Decision on the exercise of founding rights in public enterprises, public institutions and organizations in which the founder's rights was the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia* ("Official Gazette of the Republic of Serbia", No. 49/2006), the Institute came under the jurisdiction of the Serbian Ministry of Science and Technological Development (*Law on Scientific Research*, "Official Gazette of the Republic of Serbia" No. 110/2005, 50/2006 - corr. and 18/2010).

In 2012, Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development of the Republic Serbia accredited the Institute of International Politics and Economics as a scientific institution in the field of social sciences of general interest.

RESEARCH FIELDS

During its existence, the Institute of International Politics and Economics has proven to be a scientific research institution of special social and national interest. Associates of the Institute were engaged in the study of important issues in the field of foreign policy, international economy and international law. For many years, the Institute of International Politics and Economics has been the center of the study of international relations.

In the modern world, international relations experienced the rapid development thanks primarily to its applicability in practice. Fundamental research in the field of international relations is highly developed in the United States and Western Europe. Considerable attention is paid to the study of international relations and Russia and other countries in transition as well as in China, India and Latin American countries. No major country in the world which have not specialized interdisciplinary institutes that study the trends in international politics and economy and international law. Their results generally used by government institutions in the conduct of foreign policy of the country. Globali-

zation and the expansion of international cooperation at all levels of the role of research in international relations have been growing steadily.

According to the modern classification of scientific disciplines field of scientific research of the Institute is covered by the so-called *International Studies*, which, by definition, using the methodology of political, legal, social and economic sciences and related disciplines and sub-disciplines. Within research centres which existed in the previous period (centres of international relations, world economy, international law, regional studies, etc.), the Institute studied political, economic, social, military, technological and cultural processes in the contemporary world. In its several decades long scientific work the Institute has carried out a large number of research projects, studies, monographs, articles, analyses, expertise's, documentation papers and most of them have been published. In our time, the scientific results involve the systematic and continuous study of the following fields and phenomena:

- Studies of international relations – include analyses of the post-Cold War international relations, security and co-operation in Europe and the world, military and political problems, disarmament, military alliances, institutional framework of international relations, the reform of the United Nations, the status of international organisations, environmental protection, migration, etc. It also includes research of the international position of states, especially of Serbia in relation to the global and regional interests of the most relevant factors in international relations, bilateral and multilateral relations, its participation in the work of international organisations, internal reforms and the adjustment of the country to globalisation, trans-Atlantic and European integrations.
- European studies – include research of economic, political, social, and cultural development in European countries and Europe as a whole, the integration processes and all-European institutions – the European Union, OSCE, Council of Europe, and some others, as well Serbia's position, role and interests within the context of its EU association, Serbia's

institutional adjustment to the EU and analyses of the domestic legal system harmonisation with the one of the EU.

- Security studies – include analyses of global security problems in the world, security of Serbia in the new world order, unconventional security threats, the NATO enlargement and the NATO relationships within the Partnership for Peace system, comparative analyses of the positions and roles of the great powers on the new geopolitical map of the world, studies of the new methods to stamp out conflict hot spots, terrorism, corruption and organised international crime.
- Regional studies – includes analyses of the position of Serbia in South-Eastern Europe, analyses of bilateral and multilateral co-operation in the Balkans, co-operative initiatives in South Eastern Europe and the Danube-basin area, relations with the neighbouring countries, studies of the elements for strengthening of the political and economic position of Serbia in the Balkans, regional inter-state co-operation forums, regional co-operation in the territories of the former USSR, America, Asia and Africa.
- World economy studies – includes analyses of the strategic directions in the development of the world economic trends and international economic relations, international trade, international finance, technological development and information science, regional economic development, North-South relations, global and regional international economic co-operation, financial organisations (IMF, World Bank, WTO, IBRD, EBRD, etc.), studies of the economic diplomacy methods.
- International law studies – includes analyses of the development of international public law and its codification on the part of the UN and other international organisations and associations, the legal systems of the UN and other international organisations, European Union law studies, international legal regulation of environmental protection, international private law as well as international procedural law within the context of international settlement of disputes.

Recent results of basic and applied research of the Institute are not gone unnoticed in Europe and worldwide. The research results should be applicable in practice and to become an integral part of a unified research area, which enables dynamic and sustainable economic development based on knowledge. This presupposes the improvement of qualitative and quantitative standards in Scientific Research, which is usually considered as the crucial basis of a strategy which the European Council adopted in Lisbon in March 2000 (Lisbon Agenda) and the Strategy adopted by the EU Commission in March 2010 (Europe 2020).

Development and inclusion of Serbia into modern political, economic, legal, cultural and educational trends in the coming period will require a wider differentiation of tasks in the field of scientific education and research of foreign policy, the economy and international law. The interest of the Institute is to maintain its dominant position in the above scientific sphere in the future, but also to encourage the activities of other scientific institutions for dealing with foreign policy, economic and international legal issues.

INFORMATION AND DOCUMENTATION ACTIVITIES

According to the current *Law on Scientific Research*, the Institute library was converted into a library and information center. Activities of library and information center of the Institute follows the world standards in terms of gathering and consolidating various types of bibliographic and library materials and information. Library and information center is an integral part of the Institute. According to the *Law on Librarianship*, Library and Information center operates as an open library. The library is under the authority of the University Library “Svetozar Marković” and the National Library of Serbia.

The Library of the Institute for International Politics and Economics is one of the largest specialized libraries in the field of international relations in Southeast Europe. It consists of the general fund depository libraries and three international organizations, namely:

- General a library of nearly 200,000 book titles, magazines and periodicals. The library collaborates with dozens of

other libraries in the world, constituting the exchange of publications.

- Centre for European documentation as the only depository library of the European Union to the Republic of Serbia in which there are publications, periodicals and documentation EU. The Centre has operated as a specialised European Union depository library since 1968 and it contains most of the EU official publications, including its entire EU legislation from the time it was founded up to the present day.
- Documentation Centre of international organizations that includes archival materials and publications of the United Nations and its specialized agencies, UNCTAD, UNITAR, GATT, WTO, OSCE and NATO.
- The library has three databases, and they are as follows:
 - Book holdings database,
 - European Documentation Centre database, and
 - United Nations database.

The Library of Institute of International Politics and Economics is a public library accessible to scholars, public administration experts, diplomats, students, and other interested users. Most of its services are provided free of charge. The Library is subscribed to the world most important on-line libraries and documentation centres. The access to the Internet is available in its reading room. A large number of periodicals are obtained through donations by international organisations and in exchange of publications between the Library of the Institute and other scientific libraries and institutions.

Apart from the prominent researchers from foreign countries who have visited the Institute for delivering lectures, study visits or participation in the international round tables and conferences the Institute has also hosted a large number of eminent statesmen, political and public figures. Among them was the following: Edward Kennedy, Alec Douglas Hume, Lord Chalfont, Andreas Papandreu, Maurice Schumann, Joseph Klaus, Erdal Ineni, William Fulbright, George Allen, Francois Mitterrand, Evangelos

Averoff, K.P. Menon, Alois Mock, Alva Myrdal, William Zimmermann, Luis Echeverria Alvares, Boutros-Boutros Ghali, Kofi Anan, Chien Chi Chen, Glafkos Klerides, Yasushi Akashi, Erhard Busek, Hans Koschnik, Jacques Klein, etc.

PUBLISHING ACTIVITIES

Publishing is one of the Institute's fields of activities, which has been of exceptional significance in the last fifty years. It reflects the overall research, expert and documentation work of all Institute associates. In terms of numbers, the picture is truly impressive. So far, the Institute has published over 500 books, monographs and proceedings, a large number of short studies, articles and documentation papers. At nearly seventy years of its work, the Institute has published 17 periodicals on regular or occasional basis. Unfortunately, primarily due to the financial difficulties, the Institute was forced to cease many publications of exceptional significance. Among them are the following: *Yearbook of IIPE*, (1963-1983), a unique survey of developments in all fields the Institute dealt with; *The Chronicle of International Events* (1963-1981); *Foreign Policy Documentation* (1949-1981); *Bulletin World Economic Trends*, which was published in cooperation with the Institute of Economics in Zagreb, Ljubljana and Sarajevo until 1986, etc.

Today, the Institute publishes books, monographs, proceedings, short studies and documentation papers. It also publishes journals reputable both in the country and in the world – „Međunarodni problemi” (*International Problems*), whose first issue was published in 1949, and „Međunarodna politika” (*International Politics*) that has been published since 1950. Several years ago, the English edition of *International Politics* developed into a specialised journal entitled *Review of International Affairs*. Since 2002, the Institute has started a new journal - „Evropsko zakonodavstvo” (*European Union Legislation*). In separate parts of this section, I shall give brief information of our journals.

“MEĐUNARODNI PROBLEMI” (*INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS*)

“Međunarodni problemi” (*International Problems*), is the most reputable journal published by Institute of International Politics and Economics. At the same time, it is oldest and we can say the only one in our country that deals with international relations. Its first issue was published in April 1949. In its regular and periodical sections the journal publishes studies, debates, essays, articles, surveys, documents, chronologies and book reviews in the field of international relations. One of its basic objectives is to present to the scientific, professional, political and broader public in the country and abroad results of the research that is mostly carried out by the Institute in the field of international political relations, world economy, international economic relations, social, economic and political development in some countries and regions in the world, international law and institutional frameworks of international relations as well as some events in our county that are primarily related to the processes in international relations. By publishing studies and articles written especially for the journal it has developed a broad co-operation with many domestic and foreign authors, prominent experts in international relations.

International Problems belongs to the category of international journals. It is registered (indexed) in the following international information databases: ABC POL SCI, A Bibliography of Contents: Political Science & Government, ABC-CLIO, Santa Barbara, California, Oxford, England; International Political Science Abstracts, International Association for Political Relations, Paris; Ulrich’s International Periodicals Directory, New Providence, N.J., USA; NIRA - National Institute for Research Advancement, Tokyo; The Europa World Year Book, Europa Publications Limited, London, England and other leading world index books in the field of international relations. The journal is published quarterly. The texts are in Serbian or English, while abstracts and summaries are in English or Serbian, respectively. The office of the Editorial Board is at Institute of International Politics and Economics, 25, Makedonska St., Belgrade. Editor- in-chief is Miroslav Antevski Ph.D. E-mail address: miroslav@diplomacy.bg.ac.rs

“MEĐUNARODNA POLITIKA” (INTERNATIONAL POLITICS)

This journal is one of the oldest in our country that studies international relations. Its first issue appeared as early as in 1950. In the previous 58 years, it has been recognised in the country and the world as a source of authoritative articles, analyses, studies and documentation on the contemporary development of international relations and the position of our country in the world. The priorities of the editorial concept of the new „Međunarodna politika” (*International Politics*) are to strive for a rational outlook on contemporary international relations and, in particular, on Serbia’s foreign policy. This means that the editors give priority to the contributions that contain a professional and balanced approach to the topical international issues and the authors who offer open-ended, unbiased and intellectually inquisitive views on the contemporary international processes. The journal seeks to explain as credibly as possible numerous new and insufficiently explored phenomena on the international scene.

“Međunarodna politika” attempts to be a forum for such elucidations and debates and in these efforts it attempts to rely on the contributions from researchers and public figures, professionals, diplomats and other experts in international relations from the country and abroad. As a journal of the Institute of International Politics and Economics, it also makes an effort to affirm the views of the Institute on the fundamental issues of foreign policy, voiced in its numerous published and unpublished studies and publications. In other words, the Editorial Board works hard to assert the journal as a serious and tolerant source of information, not losing sight of the experiences and tradition of „Međunarodna politika”. Still today, it has subscribers from dozens of countries in the world.

„Međunarodna politika” (*International Politics*) is published quarterly in Serbian. The office of the Editorial Board is at Institute of International Politics and Economics, 25, Makedonska St., Belgrade. Editor-in-Chief is Dragan Đukanović, Ph.D. E-mail address: dragandj@diplomacy.bg.ac.rs

REVIEW OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Until recently, *Review of International Affairs* was an English edition of the journal „Međunarodna politika”. For the changed conditions and needs of its users abroad, the editorial conception of the journal has been altered. Today, *Review of International Affairs* is a separate scientific and information journal that publishes articles and book reviews by famous scientists, journalists and experts in international relations. The basic objective of journal is to present to the public abroad Serbia’s foreign policy in a highly professional way. A large number of subscribers from the country and abroad show their interest in the journal. The office of the Editorial Board is at Institute of International Politics and Economics, 25, Makedonska St., Belgrade. Editor-in-Chief is Marko Nikolić, Ph.D. E-mail address: markon@diplomacy.bg.ac.rs

“EVROPSKO ZAKONODAVSTVO” (*EUROPEAN UNION LEGISLATION*)

“Evropsko zakonodavstvo” (*European Union Legislation*), is a periodical of applied research that publishes results of the permanent study of the European Union legislation. For years, the Centre for European Union Legislation of Institute of International Politics and Economics has been doing research of this subject, systematically exploring and analysing the legal and institutional solutions adopted in the EU that are of relevance for our country. The Library of the Institute is a depository of the official documentation of the European Union providing a basis for the studies and analyses published in the journal. As early as in 1998, Professor Blagoje Babić from the Institute of International Politics and Economics started the journal „Pregled evropskog zakonodavstva” (*Survey of European Union Legislation*). Since 2002, it has been published under the new name „Evropsko zakonodavstvo” (*European Union Legislation*).

The journal is published quarterly. The contributions are prepared by experts in particular branches of law, coming from the scientific and lawyer circles. The journal is primarily adjusted to the needs of experts dealing with the European Union legislation and they come from the judiciary, administration and industry.

The journal consists of synthetic texts covering all fields of European Union law and EU politics. The Office of the Editorial Board is at Institute of International Politics and Economics, 25, Makedonska St., Belgrade. Editor-in-Chief is Duško Dimitrijević, Ph.D. E-mail address: dimitrijevicd@diplomacy.bg.ac.rs

INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION OF THE INSTITUTE

International co-operation of the Institute was and still is a very significant part of its activities. It has developed regular or occasional contacts with over 200 research, university and other scientific institutions and think-thank organisations in in over ninety countries of the world. Its forms include international conferences, bilateral talks, exchange of visits, study visits, lectures by prominent foreign guests, post-graduate courses, and participation of the Institute associates in the conferences held abroad, exchange of study papers and publications, etc. At times when the Institute had not financial difficulties, associates of the Institute have participated as experts in the state and other delegations in numerous international conferences and meetings of the international organisations such as the UN General Assembly, the Special UN Committee for the Study of the Principle of International Law on Friendly Relations, ECOSOC, GATT, UNESCO, FAO, congresses of the World Association for International Law, International Association for Peace Research, International Association for Industrial Relations, etc.

The Institute has established regular or occasional co-operation with many research institutes and organisations abroad and among them are the following: International Institute for Strategic Studies, London; Royal Institute of International Affairs, London; Wilton Park, Steyning, Institute for World Economy and International Relations, Moscow, Institute for International Economic and Political Studies, Moscow; Institute for Strategic Research, Moscow; Polish Institute of International Affairs, Warsaw; Institute of Foreign Affairs, Rome; Institute for Foreign Relations of Italy and African, Latin American and Middle East Countries (IPALMO), Rome; French Institute of International Relations; Paris; Swedish Institute for International Relations, Stockholm; International Peace Research Institute, Stockholm;

Aleksanteri Institute, Helsinki; Johns Hopkins Institute, Bologna Center; Institute for International Relations and Foreign Policy, Sofia; Hungarian Institute of International Affairs, Budapest; Council on Foreign Relations, New York; Pittsburgh University; Harvard University; International Academy for Peace, New York; Center for International Studies, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Boston; The Netherlands Institute of International Affairs “Clingendael”; John F. Kennedy Institute, Tilburg; International Institute for Peace Research, Oslo; Greek Foundation for Defense and Foreign Policy (ELIAMEP), Athens; “Jose Ortega y Gasset” University Institute, Madrid; Royal Institute of International Affairs, Brussels; Copenhagen Peace Research Institute (COPRI); Kiel University; Institute for South-Eastern Europe, Munich; Institute for World Economy, Bucharest; The Bulgarian Diplomatic Institute, Sofia; Israeli Institute for International Relations, Tel Aviv; Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, Beijing; Japan Institute of International Affairs, Tokyo, The Center for Strategic Research, Ankara; Europäische Akademie, Berlin, etc.

PLANNED OBJECTIVES FOR FUTURE ACTIVITIES

The Institute of International Politics and Economics in the past provided a huge contribution to science education, and the wider public of the basic trends in international relations. Programme for the next period it is planned to continue expansion of the aforementioned activities through the establishment of scientific and research projects at national and international level. In the framework of the existing projects in the field of basic research of the Ministry of Science of the Republic of Serbia (which I am the manager), is planned improvement of qualitative and quantitative standards in the scientific and research areas of importance for the systematic monitoring and study of phenomena and processes in contemporary international relations. Sophisticated interdisciplinary research of dynamic flows of international relations Institute should contribute to the creation of reliable and systematized the basics necessary for understanding the link between the world's most significant factors and current global trends in the international community that affect the strategic di-

rections of the political, economic, social, technological and cultural development of Serbia, as well as its foreign policy, international legal, economic and security status.

The aforementioned rational approach would provide an eclectic synthesis of theoretical and empirical knowledge about contemporary international relations which would further practical elaboration should lead to optimal solutions for the sustainable development of Serbia in the European integration process and its strategic positioning in a balanced holistic system of the international community whose structures are trying to create a new global architecture.

THE INTERNET PRESENTATION OF THE INSTITUTE

The web site of the Institute is <http://www.diplomacy.bg.ac.rs>. It contains the information in English on the foundation and organisation of the Institute, researchers, research projects, international conferences and lectures Institute has held. It also provides the information on the latest books published by Institute and the contents of the Institute's journals with selected articles (full text). The Institute web site can also be found through the most well known Internet search engines (Google, Yahoo, etc.).

The Case of Celebrity Diplomacy with Some Reflections on the Western Balkans

Nina Matijašević

“Bosnia? The war? Oh wait, I know it – Džeko and Begović!”

The Role of Sports Diplomacy in Reimagining the Western Balkans – The Case Study of Bosnia and Herzegovina

Tamara Juričić

The Impact of Ethical Work Climate on the Payment Discipline of Companies

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Hard Choices for Hillary Rodham Clinton

Boris Tomašič

The Case of Celebrity Diplomacy with Some Reflections on the Western Balkans

Nina Matijašević¹

ABSTRACT

This article reflects the changing role of the diplomacy in 21st century, which is result of globalization and information communication technologies. In the last few decades numerous, mostly western celebrities began taking part in various development and humanitarian campaigns.

The present contribution shows how celebrities in international policy and activities spread awareness of the global issues and use their appeal not only to draw attention to policy-makers but also to demand action from political representatives. The study's focal point is the analysis of why and how high profile individuals such as Angelina Jolie and Princess Diana become involved in international relations. Part of this research focus will be on their promotion of Balkan issues. Signing the Ottawa Treaty in 1997 has been a remarkable success of Princess Diana. Likewise, Angelina Jolie is involved in promoting humanitarian causes on a political level too. She regularly attends World Refugee Day in Washington and World Economic Forum and has successfully lobbied Congress for her causes. The main aim of this research is to show how celebrity diplomats help to put certain global issues higher up on the global agenda. We will also comment and change/update the definition of celebrity diplomacy.

KEY WORDS: Celebrity diplomacy, globalization, soft power, Western Balkans, Angelina Jolie, Princess Diana

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POVZETEK

Članek se ukvarja s spreminjajočo se vlogo diplomacije v 21. stoletju, ki je posledica globalizacije in sprememb v informacijsko komunikacijski tehnologiji. V minulih desetletjih so namreč številni, predvsem zahodni zvezdniki postali vidni v različnih razvojnih in humanitarnih kampanjah.

Namen prispevka je prikazati vpliv zvezdnikov v mednarodni politiki, saj imajo sposobnost ne samo pritegniti in ozaveščati javnost o globalnih problemih, temveč tudi vplivati na oblikovalce mednarodnih politik in spodbujati državne akterje, da bi posegli po potrebnih spremembah. Skozi predstavitev Angeline Jolie in princese Diane skušamo ugotoviti, zakaj se je pojavila potreba po vključevanju zvezdnikov v diplomatski prostor. Analiza se ukvarja tudi z njuno promocijo in prispevkom k rešitvi te problematike na Zahodnem Balkanu. Princesi Diani lahko pripišemo velik vpliv na sklenitev Konvencije o prepovedi uporabe, skladiščenja, proizvodnje in transferja protipehotnih min in njihovem uničenju leta 1997. Angelina Jolie se intenzivno posveča humanitarnim vprašanjem. Obiskuje krizna žarišča, vpliva na politike, ki odločajo o reševanju, in lobira za humanitarne interese. Prispevek skuša na tej osnovi prikazati vpliv zvezdnikov na določanje politične agende in njeno širitev na vprašanja, ki presegajo nacionalne meje in do sedaj še niso bila rešena. Ob tem skušamo dopolniti in nadgraditi definicijo zvezdniške diplomacije.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: zvezdniška diplomacija, globalizacija, meška moč, Zahodni Balkan, Angelina Jolie, Princesa Diana

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this study is to examine possible theoretic and factual roles of celebrities in diplomacy, using the research methods, text and discourse analysis. Celebrity diplomacy is still in its infancy, some even argue that may formally not yet exist. However, we find some indicators that make possible the constitution of this field and still keep some space open for academic scepticism.

The end of the Cold War was a turning point in diplomacy. Until then responsibilities for global governance were in primary hands of the states. Thereafter supra- and transnational actors took on the responsibility for it, which means that diplomatic actions are no longer concentrated only in embassies, but several new actors has emerged and are participating in different aspect of international diplomacy. The old diplomacy as we know is changing and growing beyond the state. Although here discussed phenomenon is not new and celebrities are involved in politics more than ever, traditional diplomacy still exists, it just needs to work with new actors on the international area.

Communication between countries and between countries and the public has become increasingly important. Today, knowledge and input for creating public policy are provided by numerous non-state actors, such as NGOs, media, celebrity diplomats and others. Non-governmental organizations and popular celebrity diplomats (ex. Bono, Angelina Jolie and Princess Diana) can raise awareness, influence public opinion, and make civil society part of the agenda-setting process, which are tasks traditional diplomacy is not more able to fulfil completely. They act where governments fail and this has made diplomacy more transparent.

We can say that celebrity diplomacy has emerged from a transition between state-centric to public forms of diplomatic initiatives. This led to a discussion about the credibility of celebrity forms of activism in international political matters. Some authors (Richey and Ponte, 2011) argue that celebrity activism is related to the interests of corporations to influence the sale of brands. On the other hand, Cooper (2009: 21) argues that celebrity diplomacy is designed as an alternative form in which credible stars fill the void in public confidence towards politics. He also believes (ibid.) that Bonoization of diplomacy² has led to new and existing ways in which celebrities do not only affect attention and awareness of the global problems, solidarity and events at international level, but also encourage nations actors to intervene those necessary changes.

² It shows us that celebrities indeed can get involved in high-politics bringing in culture and diplomacy to create sustainable change.

We will examine the rise of transnational forms of celebrity diplomacy. In this respect, a new currency of public diplomacy has occurred in which emotion and rhetoric has shaped the outcome of international affairs. Moreover, with the rise of 24/7 news programming and the social media, there has been a decentralization and fragmentation of opinion, which challenges the traditional orthodoxies of global power. Thus, politicized celebrities have made dramatic interventions within international campaigns and diplomatic arenas (Wheeler 2012: 1). The bottom line question is, does celebrity diplomacy help or harm (Wiseman 2009:5). Based on answers to these questions we will try to complement the definition of celebrity diplomacy.

As the focus of this study is to explore the extent to which and ways celebrities are involved in diplomacy and international relation, we used different methods, such as presentation, analysis, comment and comparison. We examined different ideas, text and observations and analysed compared the existing knowledge on diplomacy. The key question is not only what celebrity diplomacy is as such but what do various researchers consider as celebrity diplomacy and how do they reflect upon this phenomenon? In this case comes to the fore the analysis and comparison and our own comment to the discussion. Case studies are particularly useful where the research context is highly complex and not suited to experimental or survey research (Bloor - Wood 2006: 27). Consequently, we analyse Angelina Jolie and Princess Diana to demonstrate the involvement of celebrities in diplomatic activities as well as their contribution in the Western Balkans. On the basis of the findings in article we made a critical comment of celebrity diplomacy.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

DIPLOMACY

Celebrities' involvement in international environment is as widespread as it is diverse. For this reason, we present what are those reasons for engagement celebrities in diplomacy. Prior to this, it is necessary to examine the definitions of diplomacy in terms whether they permit the involvement of other (non-state)

actors in their activities or not. This theoretical framework therefore provides the necessary conceptual tools for analyse and understanding of celebrity diplomacy.

As a preliminary point, it is necessary to clarify that there are many different definitions of diplomacy, which are not contrary and are complementing each other. The concept of diplomacy is difficult to define and has numerous different meanings and depends on how the term itself is used (Udovič - Brglez 2011: 29). "Although its different meanings correlate to some extent with the state-centric/multicentric typology of foreign policy definitions, it is more useful to define diplomacy in the context of its international relations, foreign policy and interaction" (McGowan et al. 2007: 124). What is more, the consensus about what diplomacy is about is not yet formed. To that end, we will present and comment on three general definitions, summarize those perspectives and determine whether we can draw a connection to understanding of celebrity diplomacy.

Nicolson (1988: 3-4), one of the famous examiners of diplomacy of the last century, argues that diplomacy is synonymous for foreign policy and foreign affairs, as well as the process and the course of action. His renown definition followed the Oxford English Dictionary that "diplomacy is the management of international relations by negotiation: the method by which these relations are adjusted and managed by ambassadors and envoys; the business or art of the diplomatist". He argues that diplomacy is primarily a political instrument to maximize the national interests of states and to pursue foreign policy goals and objectives (Du Plessis 2006: 124; Nicolson 1939: 12). He also adds two more important interpretation of diplomacy, namely diplomacy is the part of foreign ministry and an abstract ability or talent (Nicolson 1988: 5).

White (2005, p. 388) points out that *diplomacy* is a key process of communication and negotiation and an important foreign policy instrument. In his words, diplomacy is "a communication process between international actors that seek through negotiation to resolve conflict short of war" (ibid.)

Berridge (1995: 1), one of the leading contemporary experts, makes the definition in a rather different way. He argues that diplomacy is “the conduct of international relations by negotiation rather than by force, propaganda or recourse to law, and by other peaceful means Which are either directly or indirectly designed to promote negotiation”. He gives a further explanation that ‘diplomacy consists of communication between officials designed to promote foreign policy either by formal agreement or tacit adjustment’ (ibid.).

Notably, the concept of diplomacy authors equate with the concept of foreign policy, which is because of the strong intertwining of these two concepts. Some theories are alike but other authors see a significant difference between the two concepts. An understanding of diplomacy in the context of foreign policy means that diplomacy is the political instrument to maximize the national interests of states and to pursue foreign policy goals and objectives. If diplomacy is understood as a part of foreign policy, then it is clear that it is linked with state actors and officials who are responsible to implement foreign policy. In this content, diplomacy is seen as a profession and is not only instrumental in foreign policy implementation but also plays a role in the making of foreign policy (McGowan et al. 2007: 125). On the other hand, if we see diplomacy as a process of negotiation, then diplomacy refers to a dialogue between international actors. To put it another way, these definitions see diplomacy as a process, which depends on communication and negotiation skills of diplomat (ibid.). Overall, such an understanding of diplomacy is dealing only with foreign ministries and diplomatic services, the employment of ambassadors and envoys, and the official contacts between governments either bilaterally or multilaterally, including via international organizations.

Even so, the distinction between diplomacy and foreign policy must be kept in mind. Diplomacy should be understood as “method or technique whereby states conduct their relationship with one another” (Ghosh 2013: 104). Hence, diplomacy is not the substance of foreign policy nor does it represent the process where governments formulate foreign policy. It is one of the ways in which policies are being implemented, day-to-day, through the

world (*ibid.*). Foreign policy is therefore the substance of foreign relations and diplomacy is the process by which this is carried out (Childs 1948), where the purpose of diplomacy is to provide the machinery and personnel by which foreign policy is executed (Ghosh 2013: 104).

Diplomacy possesses a number of significant connotations, meanings and interpretations³. This makes it complex inevitable and it depends on the context. In fact, diplomacy was formed in the “function of the historical situation where the needs and interests have dictated its formation, development and existence (Benko 1998: 40). Furthermore, if we refer to actors in diplomacy – can in abovementioned context diplomacy be understood as an art and not as professional skill acquired through training and experience? This gives us the basis for the view of diplomacy from a different perspective. At this point, we would like to emphasize that the broad and narrow definitions of diplomacy discharged definition of diplomacy as state apparatus (Petrič 2010: 307). To equate diplomacy only with the foreign policy of countries is not the appropriate starting point for the study and critical analysis of celebrity diplomacy, because by exposing only the country, we are ignoring other players who are important for celebrity diplomacy. Hoffmann (2003: 530) states, that the state itself does not exist; it is fiction and reality at the same time. We are the ones who shape this reality with our view and understanding of country. A broad definition does not include the element, caused by reality and is important for further understanding of celebrity diplomacy, i.e. human. If diplomacy is understood only as a special part of the state apparatus, this neglect the individual, who is, as we shall see, a key element of celebrity diplomacy.

Accordingly, diplomacy today is not done only by state actors, but many non-state actors. The globalization and information age has led to an increase of non-state actors in international arena and can be the practitioners par excellence of public diplomacy (La Porte 2012: 2). On a general level, we may say that globalization has not only brought in new actors, but has also introduced new issues in interstate relations what makes diplomacy a lot more complex. This has enhanced the cross border relevance

³ For more on different meanings of diplomacy see Nicholson in Nihal Singh 2002: 22.

of many issue areas in international politics and has led to difficulties in identifying the blurred line that connects domestic to international affairs. More, it has led to greater cohesion through technologies as Internet and social networks such as Facebook, Twitter and YouTube where global society can receive information, gives its opinion, and has allowed non-state actors to play an important role on the international stage.

This has changed the appearance and substance of global political activities, and has showed diplomacy within the context of globalization⁴. Information can reach global public faster and are more accessible to everyone. ICT gave them power to shape and influence state behaviour by setting the agenda and participate in negotiations at high level (Kelley 2010: 302). Additionally, progress in ICT made diplomacy more efficient and diplomats more mobile. Because of the internet, less mobility and actual physical transportation is required. Some websites have hundreds of millions of visitors, or Instagram/twitter followers. This is the important way for these movements to reach out to those who share their values and can imagine joining, and thereafter influence the consciousness of the whole society (Andersson 2007: 24).

CELEBRITY DIPLOMACY

The first who gave us depth understanding of celebrity diplomacy was Andrew F. Cooper. His book, *Celebrity diplomacy* (2007), was the first to examine celebrity diplomacy as a serious global phenomenon with important implications. Regardless the fact he did not made an explicit definition of what celebrity diplomacy is, he noted certain groundbreaking guidelines for its understanding. He explains the concept of celebrity diplomacy with the distinction, in comparison with the functioning of state actors and diplomats, in the manner and means used by celebrities in problem solving and in efforts in different actions on global problems. He declared such methods with a mixture of public diplomacy and advocacy. He also gives a detailed description of actors, and argues that celebrity diplomats are those who “not only possess ample communication skills, a sense of mission, and some global reach” but who also “enter into the official diplomat-

⁴ For more on diplomacy and globalization see Jazbec 2009: 53-56.

ic world and operate through the matrix of complex relationships with state officials.” (Cooper 2008: 7). In general, one of the basic objects on which attention is focused in diplomatic studies as in celebrity diplomacy is a diplomat i.e. celebrity diplomat. In pure theory of diplomacy, the latter is normally reserved for diplomats, politicians and decision-makers. However, today’s public sees this as just boring speeches of world leaders, or articles/posts about the content of summits, in which they do not see any interest. It was therefore necessary to find different way to attract their attention – the one that can call immediate attention to important global issues. So, for our approach, not only celebrity as diplomat is important but also his activities (many of them are the same as official diplomats do as part of their profession) and behaviour as well as their ideas, thoughts and beliefs, which contribute to creation of relations and construct diplomatic reality. Fundamental questions for understanding celebrity diplomacy refer to the question of “diplomat” and are: who and what celebrity diplomats are, how they act in international environment and what are the results of their actions, what are their characteristics, separating them from other celebrities, who are they promoting and what are the networks they create through their involvement in politics.

It is difficult to assess the impact of celebrity diplomacy only in terms of good vs. bad; there is always some intermediate, grey area. Some would argue that it is unclear whether celebrities help to promote goals of organizations and are helping in building the worlds peace etc. However, the appropriate and easiest way to describe the impact of celebrities on diplomacy is by stating Cooper’s observation that “celebrities push for recognition and support by becoming plugged into transnational policy making, the political elite use celebrities to boost their own credibility” (Cooper 2008: 3). Their work is not only a reflection of the humanitarianism, moral and ethical guides, but also a desire for legitimacy, which is receiving more and more attention nowadays. Great example was the Ottawa Treaty⁵ of 1997, which was championed by Princess Diana. The International Campaign to Ban Landmines had built up a network of over 1000 NGOs from over 60 coun-

⁵ Known as the Anti-Personnel Mine Ban Convention.

tries, which created political pressure for states to agree with the ban (Kelley 2010: 302).

If we focus on the very celebrity diplomat, we can say that she is shaping our ideological literacy through cooperation with NGOs. But what is the essence of their power to increasingly bring attention to global problems? They need to be distinctive and recognizable, and must have the personality and the image of themselves, which is built up over the period. Despite this, being a celebrity diplomat is something more than just talk about global issues and to participate in charity events or appear in the media. This means they cooperate with government officials and institutions. Although, some of them may act very unprofessional. Inexperience and lack of knowledge of profession celebrity diplomacy was firstly considered as incompatible with traditional and later political diplomacy, but it was soon adopted as a good complement to diplomacy. This has led to conclusion that diplomacy has changed its structure from individuals who have chosen to be diplomats by their profession to celebrities.

The involvement of celebrities in politics should not be understood as a betrayal of the proper principles of democratic representation, but as their extension (Street 2004, p. 445. Evans (2005: 43) even argues that the “function of celebrities is to convert very complex economic and political arguments (...) into digestible and easily understandable (...) information that will fit into the context of media viewing” as well as understanding. Given this points, main question arise out of findings, whether celebrities are dealing with diplomatic work and is it justifiably to call this “diplomacy”? Moreover, can celebrity diplomacy be a kind of ad hoc diplomacy?

At this point, we will focus only on the latter questions, namely, is celebrity diplomacy a kind of ad hoc diplomacy? It seems reasonable to assume that celebrity diplomacy is an ad hoc diplomacy. It is considered as the oldest form of diplomacy and is utilized for casual, temporary and specific issues. For example, it is applied to peacefully resolve certain conflicts, to resolve an issue of common interest and to negotiate peace. Today ad hoc diplomacy is quite common and with many positive results, although it may not seem obvious at first glance. In such context, ad hoc means for this special purpose. Yet, if we understand diplomacy only as activity of

the country and its foreign policy, than celebrity diplomacy cannot be understood as ad hoc diplomacy. However, if we step outside the box, and think broadly and consider the variety of factors in 21st century (globalization, ITCs, etc.) that contributed to changes in diplomacy, we are able to draw some parallels. Celebrities are individuals, ad hoc diplomats who are sent on mission for a special purpose. This special mission and special purpose is to spread awareness and affect political agenda. They perform tasks very well due to their impact and because they possess some for diplomat essential features. Although they are not professional, trained diplomat, what is usually understand under the traditional term of diplomat.

However, there is no point to equate them with career diplomats, as they appeared in the postmodern diplomacy⁶ only because of the need for non-professional addressing issues. Petrič (2010: 331) adds that despite changes that have marked our environment, the tasks of diplomacy remains the same as they have been for centuries. He adds that far behind are the times when ambassador was the only through whom ruler communicated with each other. Bučar B. (2007: 875) agrees while pointing out that the only difference between classical and post-modern diplomacy and diplomacy of 21st century is that the last was forced to deal with wider range of issues and involves several actors who are not necessarily traditional.

CASE STUDIES: ANGELINA JOLIE AND PRINCESS DIANA

Based on the analysis and comparison of two celebrity diplomats, we will try to determine if these celebrities perform the same or similar function as professional diplomats. We will try to prove that their work actually fills gaps in political diplomacy and contributes to its efficiency as they met with world leaders to discuss humanitarian issues and to contribute to their solving. We will show that the essential feature of celebrity diplomats is in already established relationship with the public and their great impact on them, which can be used as an advantage to spread awareness of global problems.

⁶ For the understanding of postmodern diplomacy see Jazbec 2009: 31-53.

ANGELINA JOLIE⁷

Angelina became a goodwill ambassador in 2001 and she was travelling in the name of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees to some of the world's most remote regions of the planet and various crisis areas (Matthew 2006). Her concern, interest and determination to help refugees, bring awareness to the global public of their struggle, whilst also lobbying for international aid, have become her passion and she has set herself very high standards of operation. In 2012, the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, Antonio Guterres appointed her as Special Envoy, for her year's long cooperation with the UNHCR, and sacrificing her time trying to solve the refugee issue. She became a proponent and a representative of the UNHCR and Guterres in diplomatic circles, whilst also debating the topics with people who have the power to change things regarding world's emigration problems worldwide. With such activities, she gets involved in the processes of finding solutions for people, who were forced to emigrate because of conflicts.

Amongst her UNHCR missions, her goal is to defend the rights of refugees and emigrants and prompt the political elite worldwide to play a bigger, more active role. Since 2001, she has donated more than 5 million dollars to these causes, using some of the funds to build schools, whilst also using money to raise the quality of living for people who have been forced to flee.

It is definitely worth mentioning that she regularly attends events at the World Refugee Day, taking place in Washington; in 2005 and 2006, she also made public speeches at the World Economic Forum in Davos. She started lobbying for humanitarian work in Washington, where she is meeting with the members of the Congress ever since 2003 (Matthew 2006).

Her role in the Western Balkans⁸

In April 2010, she visited refugees and displaced persons in a camp near the towns of Goražde⁹ and Rogatica in eastern Bosnia and Herzegovina. She called for steps to end the suffering of

⁷ More on celebrity diplomacy in Matijašević, 2014: 54-74.

⁸ For more on Angelina Jolie's role in the Western Balkans, see Matijašević, 2015.

⁹ It was an UN-protected enclave throughout the 1992-1995 war.

people who were forcibly displaced during the Bosnian War¹⁰, after hearing their stories and seeing their grim living conditions. Her visits and meetings with the Chair of the Presidency, Haris Silajdžić, and Presidency member Željko Komšić drew attention to the plight of 117,000 people who were not able to return to their homes even though the Bosnia war ended 16 years ago. The visit resulted in a U.S. government donation 500.000 US dollars that provided housing for the last 15 people living in one of the rundown facilities (SAPA-AP 2011).

The situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina made such an impact on her, she decided to make a four-language film *In the land of blood and honey*, about the ethnic cleansing and civil wars of the early-to-mid 90s in Bosnia. The purpose of this film was to remind people of what happened not so long ago and to give attention to the survivors of the war. Mass rape was a taboo topic in the immediate aftermath of the country's 1992-95 war between Serb and Bosnian Muslim forces and film was an eye opening fact that this was such a major issue during the war. She has moral and ethical values, which she believes in and fights for, separating her from politicians and gives her an extra amount of credibility worldwide. She wanted to point out with the film crimes against women worldwide, not just in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the mistakes of the international community, which failed to react just when they were supposed and expected to. The film was honoured in August 2012 at the Sarajevo Film Festival with the award *The Heart of Sarajevo*, which was a top endorsement for its subject matter and has been given to her for persisting in her active engagement in the complexities in the real world we live in (Nikšić, 2011). However, film received mixed reviews from critics. Most of them emphasized the good intentions Jolie had in making it but in Serbian media, the film received more negative reviews, arguing that the film ignored Serbian war victims and unfairly presented Serbs as evildoer (S.M. 2012). Some even called it a propaganda film (Kusturica 2012).

In 2014, Angelina Jolie and UK Foreign Secretary William Hague travelled to Sarajevo to meet victims of the conflict in

¹⁰ More than 2.2 million people to flee their homes, making it the largest displacement of people in Europe since the end of World War II.

their campaign to end sexual violence against women in war. Main point of her visit was to highlight the war again at a time when it has mostly faded from the public consciousness and to draw the world's attention to their search for justice, and to call for global action to end the use of rape as a weapon of war once and for all. This visit was very important because few weeks later they co-hosted a global high-profile summit in London¹¹ on preventing rape being used a tactic in war. She wanted to draw attention that we can and must change the entire global attitude to these crimes, and shatter the culture of impunity. Angelina Jolie dedicated Summit to Bosnia Rape Victim. Not only governments that have endorsed the UN Declaration of Commitment to End Sexual Violence in Conflict were invited, but also legal, military and judicial practitioners and representatives from multilateral organizations, NGOs and civil society. Global summit was an important opportunity for states, in concert with civil society, to move forward on an urgently needed plan of action to address sexual and gender-based violence in conflict. Amnesty International was urging participating states to adopt, and commit to implementing, a practical and cohesive program of action; one that addresses the multiplicity of factors that make sexual and gender-based violence such a common feature of modern day armed conflict (ibid.).

On the basis of what has been told, can we say that in this case we are dealing with elements of cultural and public diplomacy? Cultural diplomacy plays an important role in how the country, nation or the issue is perceived by the 'outside world'¹². Not only that, film is an extremely powerful medium; it can depict human rights abuses and repressions through storytelling in a way that challenges each individual to empathize and think about the justice required. It brings people together and creates a forum for individuals on both sides of the lens; it can empower audiences with the knowledge that personal commitment can make a difference. Often movies bring up issues, which cannot be reached through other, more traditional media. They often show very new subjects and start the social discussion, a discussion that can

¹¹ Global Summit to End Sexual Violence in Conflict.

¹² For more on cultural diplomacy see the Report of the Advisory Committee on Cultural Diplomacy (U.S. Department of State, 2005).

lead to change. Film can foster the growth of civil society, mutual cooperation and understanding, serving as a flexible, universally accepted vehicle for rapprochement, even with countries where diplomatic relations have been strained or are absent” (U.S. Department of State 2005). It seems reasonable to assume that it is about cultural diplomacy. Does this also apply for public diplomacy? Film plays a vital role in formation of public opinion and could mean the soft power. As Oshood and Ethrude (2010:259) argue, “There is no greater tool for creating mental images that powerfully shape identities and define cultural relationships than film”. And if we understand public diplomacy as Cull (Osgood - Ethrude 2010: 258), by ‘an international actor’s attempt to conduct foreign policy by engaging with a foreign public’ and covers five activities: Listening, Advocacy, Cultural diplomacy, Exchange, International news broadcasting, then both movies are also the product of public diplomacy. However, it is difficult to put them into these categories, although they are a tool used to conduct public and cultural diplomacy. Altogether, with the elements of cultural and public diplomacy this can be seen as a complementary to Angelina Jolie’s celebrity diplomatic activities and to increasing her diplomatic influence.

PRINCESS DIANA

British Princess Diana, the queen of people’s hearts, developed special interests in the serious diseases that are outside the jurisdiction of the royal involvement, including AIDS and leprosy. Since 1980, Diana was very active in various humanitarian organizations, and made visits to people who are seriously ill and took care of them. She took an advantage of her reputation and status for warning about AIDS, while she was very committed to demining areas where wars took place. She spoke on a number of issues and made an impact on people’s awareness.

In addition, she sponsored various charities and organizations dealing with the homeless, young people, the elderly and the drug addicts. Perhaps one of her high-profile charity appearance was a visit to Angola in January 1997, when during her voluntary work in the international Red Cross she visited the mine survivors in hospitals, under the leadership of the project for demining, led

by HALO Trust Fund (The British Monarchy, 2014). She also visited the training on awareness of the mines problems. Her image on a minefield, wearing a bulletproof vest and helmet was seen around the world. In the last year of her life, she supported the international campaign to ban the use of landmines. A campaign has received the Nobel Peace Prize in 1997, a few months after her death (cnn.com).

Her contribution to changing public attitudes towards AIDS was detected for years after her death, since Bill Clinton stated in one of his speeches about AIDS that in 1987 when it was believed that AIDS could be transmitted through physical contact, princess Diana sat beside a man with AIDS and holding his hand. She tried to change the world's opinion, give hope to people with AIDS and help save people's lives in danger (Leadership Theory and Behavior 2010).

Her role in the Western Balkans

Princess Diana was invited to Bosnia on a private visit, trying to forge a role as a roving humanitarian ambassador, by the Washington-based Landmine Survivors' Network to highlight the plight of land mine victims. She met survivors of landmine injuries and met rehabilitation specialist, as part of her charity work. At that time, up to 70 people a month in Bosnia were injured by land mines left over from more than a year and a half after the war ended. That visit brought much publicity to the landmine issue around the world. Her involvement drew a lot of attention to the topic and was a motivation for other individuals to become involved with landmine issues.

Many people interpreted the Princess's work with landmines as a political statement, but she herself stated, "I am not a political figure ... my interests are humanitarian. That is why I felt drawn to this human tragedy." Her visit also attracted the attention of some important institutions. The World Bank financed a \$16.2 million effort, with demining units on both the Serb and Muslim-Croat sides of the former front lines. In addition, the United Nations asked donors for \$23 million to pay for mine removal that year.

Diana's trip, organized by the U.S.-based Land Mine Survivors Network, was meant to highlight the dangers of land mines. She took the world's media attention with her. Her plan was to bring out the humanity in people – of being filmed in one-on-one situations with ordinary, everyday folk, no matter their nationality or their political bias. She was asserting a bigger influence on public opinion that their own propaganda machine was able to counter: the princess was out manipulating the manipulators (King-Beveridge 2010: 182)

It is a great example that highlights how effective Princess Diana's campaign was. She almost single-handedly forced the issue of antipersonnel landmines into the forefront of the political arena (ibid: 183). Until the princess's intervention, the powers-that-be had been more than content to keep this issue locked safely away in the political closet (ibid.). And the way she did it was fascinating. It all began when the photo of her in 1997, walking a minefield, in helmet and flak jacket in Angola, was seen around the world. In August that year, she visited Bosnia with the Landmine Survivors Network. Her interest in landmines was focused on the injuries they create, often to children, long after the conflict for which they are intended has finished. She is widely credited for her influence on the governments of the UK and other nations, in their signing of the Ottawa Treaty in December 1997 which created an international ban on the use of anti-personnel landmines. Introducing the Second Reading of the Landmines Bill 1998 to the British House of Commons, the Foreign Secretary Robin Cook paid tribute to Diana, Princess of Wales's work on landmines: "All honourable Members will be aware from their postbags of the immense contribution made by Diana, Princess of Wales to bringing home to many of our constituents the human costs of landmines. The best way in which to record our appreciation of her work, and the work of NGOs that have campaigned against landmines, is to pass the Bill, and to pave the way towards a global ban on landmines." (Parliament.uk, 1998).

A CRITICAL OVERVIEW OF CELEBRITY DIPLOMACY

We believe that a debate on celebrity diplomacy is needed. Although there is not a lot of literature about it, there are signif-

icant factors that encourage a reflection on the involvement of celebrities in the process of diplomacy as such. Some celebrities have taken on real problems like debt reduction and health issues and have brought them to the public in a way politicians cannot and this is why we cannot ignore the involvement and influence of celebrities in diplomatic process. For this purpose, we offer a theoretical and empirical basis for its understanding and possibly subsequent update. At the same time, we offer clues for further academic debate.

CROSSROADS IN DEFINING DIPLOMACY

Conventional definitions of diplomacy, which referred only to state actors, are now applying to non-state actors such as non-governmental organizations, civil society organizations, international organizations or even celebrities. In the middle of the 19th century, diplomacy was known as an important tool of foreign policy, as evidenced by the numerous definitions of diplomacy. However, the post-Cold War diplomacy is facing new challenges, including an expanded foreign policy agenda that requires experts in various fields – finance, economics, human rights, organized crime, terrorism etc. This is the result of changes in information communication technologies, which is a consequence of the need for faster reactions in diplomacy. As decades ago, the essence of diplomacy was described with the following components: state-centric environment, ministry of foreign affairs as the exclusive institution for foreign policy implementation; exclusiveness of diplomatic institution in representing important governmental issues; communication by traditional ways of information exchange and presence of generalists during dialogs (Klavins 2012: 2). Now the main changes are: ministry of foreign affairs has delegated some functions to other actors, the role of nongovernmental actors has increased; the structure and functions of diplomatic institutions are redefined; the influence of information on agendas of foreign affairs is growing; global information environment is defining the work of foreign office; the ways of communication are diversified; innovative ITC technologies are introduced; fast exchange of information minimized the importance of previously planes policy, fast decisions are empha-

sized and experts' role in negotiations become more important (ibid.).

Would it be in a view of these changes still reasonably to rely on the standard definition of diplomacy? We argue that the appropriate for its understanding would be division of definition into two perceptions. The first, narrow one is based on traditional interpretations as the tool of foreign policy. But we need to take into consideration that 21st century diplomats work in other government organizations on a large scale as well as that there are different actors in the international system, so we have to use a wider definition of diplomacy that offers a more exposed interpretation. In this case, diplomacy is usually closer to international communication and dialogs (ibid. 2-3). Diplomacy can no longer be considered only in terms of relations between states, but must now take into account wider relationship and modes of dialogue, involving increasingly significant entities such as regional and international organizations, multinational corporations, social economic zones, local and city government, advocacy networks and influential individuals (Wiseman 2004:36).

The recurring question is whether should be understanding of new forms of diplomatic relations, which includes non-state actors, included in understanding of very definition of diplomacy. The concept and definition of diplomacy, or at least its understanding, should continue much stronger to adapt to changes. As mentioned at the beginning, Cooper followed these changes when theorizing celebrity diplomacy. However, as he did not provide a precise definition, we need to reach some conclusion that give, in our view, a better understanding of celebrity diplomacy.

IS CELEBRITY DIPLOMACY A DIPLOMACY?

This brings up question, whether celebrity diplomacy can be understood as one type of diplomacy. It is clear that celebrities are increasingly involved in the international environment. However, can we call this a diplomatic activity? In order to answer the question we need to examine actions of celebrity diplomats based on the main features and functions of a diplomatic mission referred to Article 3 of the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Rela-

tions: representing, protection of interests, negotiating, ascertaining and reporting, and the last promoting friendly relations.

Representing. The primary role of celebrity diplomats is to represent specific goals and values as well as various organizations and their interests. As we discuss in this contribution, they represent and fight for values of common case (land mines awareness, disease etc.). They bring effective attention to the humanitarian problems and rely on the power of persuasion and publishing reports, as they want to bring the values of order and justice into international relations. This is how do they represent that what they stand for.

Protection of interests. Bolewski (2007:71) claims that the protection of interests of the organization that celebrity diplomats represent does not classifies among their duties. Celebrities are in fact, fighting for their interests and are protecting them either through their own foundations or through organizations they represent. With this in mind, we would like to draw attention to the crucial difference between diplomats and celebrity diplomats, as they do not perform the function to protect the interests in the way diplomats do: Celebrity diplomats do not perform protection of interests of bodies of private and corporate law as one of the most important consular functions.

Since human security is not only a national problem, but has become a problem of international community carried out by both countries and international organizations, NGOs, civil society and individuals, this has also become a value that celebrity diplomats favour and try to protect. Their aim is therefore a humanitarian protection and monitoring and reporting on the management of states on human rights, putting pressure on violators, legal assistance and cooperation in the development of mechanisms for their prevention. In this sense, it is about ethical and moral behaviour, committed to values as safety, dignity, protection from hunger, disease, poverty, violence and abuse of women and children and many other human rights and freedoms.

Negotiating. Celebrity diplomats negotiate and represent specific interests and are changing the existing national and/or international policies and/or answers. The key difference between

celebrity and career diplomats is in the fact that diplomats are negotiating on behalf of the state, while celebrities negotiate on behalf of organizations or their own foundation. Jolie began to lobby humanitarian interests in the U.S. capital, where she met with members of Congress at least 20 times from 2003. Celebrities were especially successful at Jubilee 2000 campaign for reduction of Third World debt and at International Campaign to Ban Landmines with the participation of Princess Diana, which contributed to the acceleration of the conclusion of agreement on the Ottawa Treaty.

Ascertaining and reporting. In contrast to the above-mentioned functions, ascertaining by all lawful means conditions and developments in the receiving State, and reporting thereon to the Government of the sending State, cannot be attributed to the celebrity diplomat. This function is performed exclusively by diplomats, arising from the nature of their work (representing the sending state in the receiving one). However, reporting can be attributed to celebrities, which differ from the function of informing of career diplomats primarily in who they inform and to what extent. A great importance was the development of information and communication technologies, through which celebrities spread their messages and we dare to say that due to their recognition and impact on civil society they are doing this even better than professional diplomats. Ultimately, their findings, information and knowledge are transmitted to decision makers. Celebrities are in fact fully aware of the problems they advocate, because they have faced those problems and are therefore able to present the situation objectively and realistically to civil society and the officials.

Promoting friendly relations. Among their key tasks is also promotion of friendly relations in various fields, so it is important for them to attend important events, social life and respect foreign habits and traditions. As they act as some kind of mediators, they can calm parties in conflict and can come to solutions to improve lives of people. For example, Bono met with George W. Bush, Bill Clinton, Tony Blair, Vladimir Putin; Angelina Jolie met with Pakistan's President Pervez Musharraf and Prime Minister Shaukat Aziz, members of World Economic Forum etc.; Op-

rah met Bill Gates and Nelson Mandela and Princess Diana met Mother Teresa. Celebrity diplomats have important influence on developing friendly relations.

To wrap up, as the analysis shows, celebrity diplomats perform majority (perhaps in some reduced version) functions of professional diplomats referred to Article 3 of the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic relations, although they are not career diplomats. However, this does not mean they cannot be seen as a kind of diplomats that actually complement standard diplomacy with their work. Speculation about whether they deserve to be called diplomats or not, seems pointless if we understand the theoretical foundations of celebrity diplomacy as such. Based on this, the activities of celebrities in the context of celebrity diplomacy do not endanger the activities of professional diplomats and the content itself. It also does not replace the traditional diplomacy. It is simply an extension of postmodern diplomacy that derives from it and has occurred due to the needs of modern international community facing with new issues and new players. In our view, this is a new form of diplomatic communication, which includes non-diplomats/non-traditional actors into diplomacy, which moves diplomacy closer to the public. In the following Table we present the above explained findings.

Table: A Comparison of executing diplomatic functions by diplomats and by celebrity diplomats

Function of diplomatic mission, the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations	Diplomat	Celebrity diplomat
Representing	Yes	Yes
Protection of interests	Yes	Yes
Negotiating	Yes	Yes
Ascertaining and reporting	Yes	No
Promoting friendly relations	Yes	Yes

Source: own

We can see that on a general level the execution of the functions remain within pretty much the same frame, although they are performed by different diplomats. This means that they

are flexible and broad and consequently able to respond to the changes in international community. Adapting to conditions that vary from day to day is therefore essential to its survival (Watson 1999: 223). Petrič (2010:331) adds that despite all the changes that have marked our world, the functions of diplomacy are still the same as they were for centuries. Despite this, he admits that the times when only ambassador was the one through which his ruler communicate with others, are far behind (ibid.: 332).

However, diplomacy needs to adapt to the changes in the international community in the 21. century. Langhorne (1997:13) stresses that modern diplomacy is able to adopt to each new actor that appears and to new conditions. Notwithstanding the foregoing considerations, it must be emphasized that celebrity diplomats should not be equated with professional diplomats, as they appeared in postmodern diplomacy only because of the need for non-professional treatment of issues related to diplomacy and are not necessarily linked to sovereign state, which is normally represented by diplomats.

EFFECTIVENESS OF CELEBRITY DIPLOMATS

What are the key factors that enable celebrities to take the lead in transnational advocacy network? If we look into the past, no new celebrity diplomats appeared in recent years – at least not globally known. The essence of celebrity diplomats is that they must be globally recognized. If they are globally known, they are attractive and powerful. Yet, is it all about being globally known? Why some celebrities become diplomats and others do not? Why some do not establish the same kind of political relationship like others? Cooper (2008:7) gives clearly interpretation of who celebrity diplomats are. He argues they “not only possess ample communication skills, a sense of mission, and some global reach” but also “enter into the official diplomatic world and operate through the matrix of complex relationships with state officials”.

We could even say that visibility is the oxygen of celebrities. However, visibility alone is not enough. The ability to attract attention is becoming increasingly important in celebrity status. On the other hand, we have the media. Couldry (2004 in Tsali-

ki et al 2011: 108) emphasizes that “media space is constructed as special and significant, and to enter it ... is to receive a form of symbolic capital”. Moreover, there are various symbolic capitals¹³, which attract different degree of attention. What is more, the one with better exchange rates than other cut across different media spheres and get more visibility. For example, Angelina Jolie has gained her visibility through her films. Her celebrity status is likewise global. If we follow this pattern, it is clearly, why Angelina Jolie has achieved the status of super celebrity. She is not only visible around world’s media, but also command attention for a number of reasons. And when celebrity achieves these elements as visibility and the power to attract attention, s/he must keep them to maintain celebrity status on all fronts. Fame itself cannot be retained without continuous publicity and they need to be ranked high in the celebrity hierarchy. When they have this, the promotion of causes and solidarity is easy. With this in mind, can we argue that they depend on their own abilities and the success of diplomatic efforts of international issues? Solving global problems by celebrity diplomats is much more associated with their values, norms and ethics and not with political values. They have become the leading character, a proponent for or advocate of a political cause. In addition, as Collins (2008) argues their symbolic value is setting a certain issue, as well as the identities and relationship between people who are involved in this issue, from a specific social, political and cultural framework to another. At this point, we should note that those who are just supporting and promoting political persons, parties or some movements could be called activists. And those who undertake action by appointment on behalf of an organization, state or movement in order to promote an issue of international interest are celebrity diplomats.

Yet, do celebrities really care about charities or issues they support or are they just doing that because of the publicity. Many of celebrities do not need extra publicity. But not all celebrities have identical motivations. Some really want to make changes and are compassionate and justice-minded; however, for some this is just image-making strategy. Due to the fear of disapproval, some are

¹³ Symbolic capital can be referred to as the resources available to an individual on the basis of honour, prestige or recognition, and serves as value that one holds within a culture (Bordieu 2008 in Gavreliuc – Gavreliuc 2014).

also avoiding getting involved in taboo issues. Therefore is the audacity of those who engage in these topics even more noticeable. Angelina Jolie exposes those subjects even in her movies *In the Land of Blood and Honey*, and *Unbroken*. In terms of fundraising, celebrities have given significant sums of money to charity and can be effective in raising money from others (companies and civil society).

What do these celebrity diplomats have, that makes them so convincing and successful in the international environment? The independent relationship with governments, the reliance upon the influence of distinguished people, the limited means, but moral leverage, the large pool of vehicles and wide range of available tools – particularly outreach through the media – and the general attempt to reach consensus, all suggest a position half way between the crisis itself and the response of states. Such a position can come much closer to the crisis if it is the kind of state collapse where nothing is occurring by proxy and external intervention is not in view. In all such cases, it can involve sophisticated diplomacy at both personal and organizational level (Jöhnsson - Langhorne 2008:338). Can we even go so far as to say that the state itself were the reasons that we begin to think about organizations and other non-state actors such as celebrities as diplomatic entities? For example, humanitarian organizations have to go way beyond their originally intended roles, with diplomatic consequences (Jöhnsson - Langhorne 2008:338) as well as celebrities.

In short, globalization and development of ITCs has led to increase in the power of non-state actors in the international stage¹⁴. Those celebrities have their international or even global star power, status in the world of media, personal wealth and power to attract global society and politicians. As they have great power resources, they can advocate for the rights of people, organize demonstration that states cannot ignore and are shaping international system like never before and states must share the stage with them. In order to attract attention, they must possess charismatic personality. This allows them to be seen as leaders of social change, to be able to communicate the message and try to

¹⁴ There are over 40,000 internationally operating NGOs.

inform, inspire and influence people. In addition, they are important opinion-builders, so people will listen to what they say – not only civil society but also business and political elite. However, celebrities must also be credible to reach legitimacy, which they gain through successful projects and activities such as: awareness raising (Live 8), funding (Live Aid) and political advocacy (DATA) (Andreson 2007:54).

CONCLUSION

Over the last decade, celebrities have used their star power to help draw the world's attention to international issues. But little discussion has taken place to examine whether celebrity diplomacy can be understood as one kind of diplomacy; whether celebrity diplomats have a beneficial impact in addressing international issues and whether they are influencing on political agenda, our intention was to examine and explore this area.

We began with comparing the classic definitions of diplomacy, where we try to identify whether they follow the changes in diplomacy in 21st century. We came to conclusion that if we equate diplomacy only with the foreign policy of countries, we ignore other players who are important for celebrity diplomacy, i.e. person. Today's diplomacy goes beyond the functioning of states, due to the information communication technologies and globalization, which requires the involvement of other non-state actors that create new forms of governance. In this context, public mistrust towards governments as well as power of celebrities in donation and fund raising play an important role. They are able to mobilize public opinion and awareness that traditional diplomacy cannot do. However, the involvement of celebrity diplomats in international relations can be understood as a supplement support to diplomatic activities performed by states. This is one of the most effective ways to tackle global problems that require close cooperation between governments, non-governmental organizations and individuals such as celebrities.

Finally, we believe that the involvement of celebrities in diplomacy presents a special type of diplomacy that supplements political diplomacy in areas where it alone is not efficient. In this

way, celebrities have the power to shape foreign relations as they are building personal relationships with world leaders beyond the borders, which represents a good starting point for official dialogue and negotiations between countries.

It is necessary to be aware of the fact, that not every celebrity is celebrity diplomat. Beside their fame and charisma, they must cooperate with government officials and institutions and must bring attention to global public. Consequently, the more characteristics of diplomat a celebrity has, the lower is the number. There is only a few of them who possess all features, whereupon there are many of those celebrities who have little diplomatic characteristics. Based on these findings, we can carry out the formula for celebrity diplomacy, which consist of the following elements: Visibility¹⁵ + great power resources¹⁶ + enter the official diplomatic world and work with state officials + affecting on political agenda = celebrity diplomacy.

Thus, we try to upgrade the existing understanding of celebrity diplomacy. By adding new elements, we can create a new definition of celebrity diplomacy, which could serve for further research. Hence we would say that celebrity diplomacy is the engagement of globally known and attractive celebrities who use their celebrity status to raise awareness and attract global society and politicians in order to push issues into public/political agenda. Their activities are primarily in the voluntary, non-government sector and are autonomous from central government funding and control. They play an ad hoc diplomatic role as entering the official diplomatic world and operating with state officials through complex relationship in order to persuade the world's leader to take on global issues.

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¹⁵ Being globally known + attractive.

¹⁶ Influence + ability to attract.

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“Bosnia? The war? Oh wait, I know it – Džeko and Begović!”

The Role of Sports Diplomacy in Reimagining the Western Balkans – The Case Study of Bosnia and Herzegovina

Tamara Juričić¹

ABSTRACT

The negative role of football in the rise of nationalisms in former Yugoslavia has been well documented. On the other hand, some recent sports successes have been re-imagining the Western Balkans states internationally and therefore improving their sports diplomacy. The paper presents a case-study of Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH), which made its debut appearance at the FIFA World Cup in 2014. The findings are drawn from ethnographic fieldwork and media analysis. While the ethnographic findings suggest that the 2014 FIFA World Cup failed to unite the ethnically divided society of BiH, the international media kept presenting divided BiH as finally united behind their World Cup heroes. Ethnographic interviews revealed that the Bosnians did not believe in the reconciliatory power of the World Cup, yet they were very supportive of (unrealistic) stories finally presenting BiH in a positive way. The paper concludes that although the Bosnian football team and international media reporting have set the milestone for Bosnian sports diplomacy, the state should systematically devel-

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op its sports diplomacy, following both domestic and foreign policy goals.

KEY WORDS: sports diplomacy, Bosnia and Herzegovina, sports mega events, country rebranding, inter-ethnic relations, media reporting

POVZETEK

Negativna vloga nogometa v porastu nacionalizmov v nekdanji Jugoslaviji je splošno znana. Po drugi strani pa trenutni športni uspehi držav Zahodnega Balkana spreminjajo njegovo podobo v tujini in tako prispevajo k izboljšanju športne diplomacije. Članek predstavi študijo primera Bosne in Hercegovine (BiH), ki je v letu 2014 debitirala na Fifinem svetovnem prvenstvu. Raziskovalne ugotovitve izhajajo iz etnografskega obiska BiH ter iz analize medijskega poročanja. Medtem ko je etnografija pokazala, da svetovnemu prvenstvu ni uspelo združiti etnično razdeljene BiH, pa so svetovni mediji prikazovali ravno nasprotno zgodbo. Iz etnografskih intervjujev je razvidno, da so prebivalci BiH dvomili v pravno in združevalno moč svetovnega prvenstva, kljub temu pa so zelo podpirali medijsko poročanje, ki je BiH (nekoliko nerealistično) prikazovalo v pozitivni luči. Članek zaključí, da sta bila bošnjaško nogometno moštvo ter pozitivno poročanje mednarodnih medijev ključna za razvoj športne diplomacije BiH, toda da mora država v nadalje bolj sistematično razvijati športno diplomacijo, ki naj zasleduje tako notranje- kot zunanjepolitične cilje.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: športna diplomacija, Bosna in Hercegovina, veliki športni dogodki, spreminjanje državne podobe, medetnični odnosi, medijsko poročanje

INTRODUCTION

There is still a negative connotation when using the words Balkans or Western Balkans – the term, while referring to the geographic area in the South-Eastern Europe, is often synonymous with war, poverty, corruption and underdevelopment. Similarly, sport in general and football in particular in the Balkans are often linked to violence, hooliganism and nationalistic upheavals. Clashes between Croatian and Serbian fan groups, Arkan's mobilisation of the Red Star football hooligans for mass killings in

the 1990s and violence between the Turkish rivals Fenerbache and Galatasaray are just few of the cases indicating the negative role of sport in the Balkans. Recent incident during the Serbia vs. Albania EURO 2016 qualifier – the drone carrying the Greater Albania flag (which includes the disputed territory of Kosovo) – further strengthened the belief into the barbaric state of sports in the region. However, there has also been a reverse trend. Novak Djoković, the best tennis player in the world, appearances of the Croatian, Slovenian and Bosnian national teams at the FIFA World Cup, Luka Modrić playing for Real Madrid and Edin Džeko and Asmir Begović playing for Manchester City and Stoke City, respectively, Turkey hosting the 2010 FIBA World Championship and bidding for the 2020 Olympics, Slovenian, Croatian and Serbian teams' successes in international handball etc. all present the Balkans in a more positive light. The paper will try to answer the following question: What role does and/or can sports diplomacy play in the Western Balkans? After theoretically conceptualizing sports diplomacy, which has been relatively neglected field of study within the mainstream International Relations and Foreign Policy Analysis disciplines, the paper will present the case study of Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH), a small country in the Western Balkans that made its debut appearance at the FIFA World Cup in 2014. The case study makes an interesting case for sports diplomacy since there was an obvious gap between the sensationalistic foreign media reporting and a bit less sensationalistic reality in BiH. While the theoretic part is based on literature review, the case study is primarily based on textual media analysis and ethnographic visit to BiH during the group stage of the 2014 FIFA World Cup. The paper aims to present a positive case for sports diplomacy in the Western Balkans, i.e. encourage the policy makers in the region to include systematic sports diplomacy as a means to achieve the foreign policy goals of their states.

SPORTS DIPLOMACY AND SOFT POWER

Sport is a major part of the modern society, ranging from political sphere to entertainment industry. While the sports sector employs many people worldwide, its impact extends well beyond

its pure functional role – it is safe to claim that sport is probably the most popular past-time activity (either in terms of active participation or mere spectatorship, or both) of the human race. The fact that sports appeals to common sense, attracts attention of millions or even billions of people (especially during sports mega events), and generally stands for positive values, has historically inspired many leaders and politicians to use it for various political purposes. The 20th century has been characterised by two processes, highly relevant for the increased presence of sports diplomacy: rise in scope and power of international sports organisations and their events and increased influence of global media. As Allison (2005, 2) explains, governments are keen to work closely with and even pool their sovereignty to organisations such as the International Federation of Association Football (FIFA – Fédération Internationale de Football Association) or the International Olympic Committee (IOC), which are in charge of organising two largest sports mega events: the FIFA World Cup and the Summer and Winter Olympics. Global media, one of the major stakeholders in the international sports industry, has the power to inform the global public about a specific country and help build its image if message is thoughtfully crafted. States are therefore increasingly seeing sport as a means for their development, popularity and foreign policy implementation.

Sports diplomacy refers to various representative activities undertaken by sports people on behalf of and in conjunction with their governments, and diplomatic engagement in sports-related activities. By being involved in sports events and activities states try to achieve a positive perception among the foreign publics, which can contribute to achieving the foreign policy goals or it is a foreign policy goal in itself (Murray 2011, 6–9). Eden (2013, 15) recognises the following roles of sports diplomacy: to improve a state's image, promote peace, friendship and trust between nations, promote trade and tourism, accelerate international development, integrate minorities and improve international relations in general. These are normally purposefully planned goals of sports diplomacy, as found in different foreign policy strategies. It has to be noted that sports diplomacy can also have negative impacts on international relations, especially because sport is normally about competition between nations. Governmental en-

gagement in sport contributes to state's soft power due to sport's strong power of attraction. Soft power is "the ability to affect others through the co-optive means of framing the agenda, persuading, and eliciting positive attraction in order to obtain preferred outcomes" (Nye 2011, 19). While resources of hard power include tangibles like force and money, resources of soft power are based on intangibles like institutions, ideas, values, culture and perceived legitimacy of policies. According to Nye (2005, 11), the soft power of a country rests primarily on three resources: its culture (where it is attractive to others), its political values (when it lives up to them at home and abroad) and its foreign policies (when they are seen as legitimate and moral). As emphasised by Freeman (2012, 1263), sport fits such definition of soft power since governments and people find it appealing and since it involves co-opting and intangibles like culture, values and morality, ideology and institutions. Governments want to transfer part of sports popularity to the political field since home and foreign publics are persuaded by sport and culture much more easily than by high politics. This is related to nation branding, states' practice to raise their reputation by creating an appealing and positive image abroad. The nation brand is therefore a sum of how positively people perceive the cultural, political, commercial, human, investing and tourist assets and potentials in the country. Any country that deliberately creates its own nation brand, often by conducting public diplomacy, is actually using and building soft power (Potter 2009, 51; Freeman 2012, 1263).

The condition for sports diplomacy is an effective government which formulates sports policies that are further conducted by the ministry of foreign affairs together with other state and non-state actors, such as ministry for sport, non-governmental organisations, sports associations, athletes etc. (Lavery 2010, 3). Sports-diplomacy falls under the wider umbrella of public diplomacy since its means and scope are unlimited and its actors are diverse, coming from both governmental and non-governmental sectors (Murray 2011, 8). The role of public diplomacy is to include the public in diplomacy, inform it and analyse its behaviour and role while planning and implementing foreign policy (Udovič 2009, 42). The principle of public diplomacy is therefore communication between governments and other countries

and their peoples. An important communication channel are international sports mega events which serve as a platform for transmission of information and representations due to the international (media) focus on the hosting country (an important part of each sport event is the opening ceremony which is a great opportunity for state's propaganda) (Manzenreiter 2010, 30-1). Sports mega events² are one of the most recognisable tools of sports diplomacy since they offer a hosting country a chance to present itself in a positive way through a successful organisation of the event. Additionally, they are strongly tied to large finance and infrastructure investments, diplomatic and political negotiations with international sports organisations, tourism, and global media attention. Two other most common tools are sports achievements of national teams or player and sporting boycotts. Governments often emphasise good sports achievements of their national teams and with the rise of social media, this has been even more evident. For example, the majority of Slovenian embassies around the world post congratulatory posts about successful Slovenian athletes on their Facebook or Twitter profiles. McClory (2013), who has developed a soft power index, uses the number of Olympic gold medals and position of a country on the FIFA rankings as two sub-indexes to measure soft power. By being successful in sport and consequently being associated with vitality, hard work and power, a government can gain legitimacy among the international public. A country's success on the international level increases its reputation and serves as a basis for comparison with other countries (Freeman 2012, 1263). Boycotts classify as negative diplomacy and they include boycotts, threats with boycotts, prohibitions to the athletes to enter international sports competitions, and exclusions and suspensions of national associations' membership in international sports organisations. Such activities are conducted by both state and non-state actors. These instruments are used in order to oppose to a certain policy or even the whole regime of another country (Lavery 2010, 4). Such soft sanctions are an alternative to political and economic sanctions. In 2000, the British Parliament adopted a recommendation to oppose the right of China to host the 2008 Olympics

² Mega events are "large-scale cultural (including commercial and sporting) events, which have a dramatic character, mass popular appeal and international significance" (Roche 2000, 1).

in order to warn about severe human rights violations in Tibet. Due to China's economic power, an alternative, economic embargo would not pay off for Great Britain (Lincoln and Monnington 2002, 109). Probably the most renowned example of boycotts are mutual boycotts of Olympic Games between Russia and the USA as well as sports boycotts of South Africa which are believed to have slightly contributed to the fall of the apartheid regime.

The implementation phase of the foreign policy process includes both state and non-state actors, whose opinions and behaviour co-influence the formulation of foreign policy decisions. For example, Canada recognises that the role of public diplomats is played, besides diplomats in the traditional meaning, also by artists, students, researchers, athletes etc. (Udovič 2009, 42-3; Xifra 2009, 504). While the inclusion of a variety of actors into diplomatic efforts brings many benefits, especially appealing to common sense and being more approachable to foreign publics, it also has its drawbacks. Firstly, sports diplomacy is unpredictable since a big part of it depends on the results of the athletes. Secondly, violent and improper behaviour of fans can shed a negative light on a country of their origin. Thirdly, internal political, social or economic problems get more exposed when hosting sports mega events so sports diplomacy can actually have adverse effects. This is currently the case of Qatar, which is about to host the 2022 FIFA World Cup. While Qatar's goal is to become one of the leading nations in global sport, such efforts are overshadowed by rising criticisms over corruption and its human rights records, primarily workers' rights and the kafala system. And lastly, sport alone cannot achieve the foreign policy goals, but has to fit the overall foreign policy strategy and complement other diplomatic means. States should therefore plan their activities and means of sports diplomacy very carefully and systematically.

METHODOLOGY

The first part of the case study (background information) is based on literature review of secondary sources. The case study proceeds to textual media analysis, which I conducted prior to and during the 2014 FIFA World Cup. Since I was interested in foreign perceptions of Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH), I analysed

reporting of some leading global media outlets, such as BBC, Guardian, New York Times, Sky, Eurosport, ESPN etc. While they do not represent the actual opinion of global public about BiH, they probably influenced it since media are very likely one of the rare sources of information about BiH, a country that does not make international headlines that often. For a complete insight into foreign public's perceptions, a public opinion survey should have been conducted.

I paid an ethnographic visit to BiH during the group stage of World Cup (15-27 June 2014), applying methods of covert observation and semi-structured interviews. I observed fans' behaviour during the three group stage football matches – each one of them in a different mono-ethnic or divided town (Sarajevo, Mostar and Banja Luka)³. Since Croatia participated in the 2014 FIFA World Cup as well, I observed Croats in the Western part of Mostar (which is predominantly Croatian) during both Croatian and Bosnian football matches in order to make a comparison of their supporting patterns. While observation revealed the events on surface, interviews offered a greater breadth of data (Fontana and Frey, 2000).⁴ Semi-structured interviews are the most promising method to ascertain the reality of participants' experiences from their own perspective (Hoepfl 1997). Overall, I conducted 81 interviews: 26 with Bosniaks, 26 with Croats and 29 with Serbs. They were further divided according to age and gender. There are some limitations to such approach. Firstly, I observed Bosnians in only three towns - which are the centres of respective ethnic groups. I would have probably come to different conclusions had I observed and interviewed Bosnians in the Brčko district, which is an example of peaceful multi-ethnic coexistence, or in some other towns. Secondly, due to limited resources and access, I conducted semi-structured interviews and not a macro-level questionnaire, which could reveal some broader trends. However, ethnography deliberately rejects the positivist model of research since positivism fails to capture the true nature of social settings. In semi-structured interviews, interviewees are able to

³ Sarajevo is predominantly Bosniak and Banja Luka Serb populated. Mostar is divided by the Neretva River and Bosniaks populate Eastern Mostar and Croats mainly reside in Western Mostar.

⁴ Find the transcribed interviews in Appendix 2.

elaborate on the answers and explain their feelings in more depth (Bryman 2004; Silk 2005).

BACKGROUND INFORMATION – AMBIVALENT ROLE OF FOOTBALL IN BIH

Sport, particularly football as a favourite sport of the three constituent nations, plays an ambiguous role in the Bosnian society. In Yugoslavia, sport was an important tool for reinforcing the state and strengthening the multi-ethnic Yugoslav identity. Towards the end of the 1980s, football underwent a strong politicisation. ‘Ethnicification of politics’ (Offe 1994) politicised football to an unprecedented degree and hooliganism and violence became a legitimate source of expressing ethnic/national identity (Vrčan and Lalić 1999). The largest and most criminal Serbian militia, Tigers, was actually founded from the Red Star football club’s fan base in Belgrade and was led by a war criminal Željko Raznatović Arkan. It was one of the first paramilitary groups to have arrived to BiH to start ethnic cleansing. Football supporters were an important source of recruits for national armies and paramilitary formations. Such football nationalism culminated into “the worst soccer riot in Yugoslav history” (Sack and Šušter 2000, 311) on 13 May 1990 in Zagreb before a Dinamo vs. Red Star match, where Serbian and Croatian fans clashed with each other, invaded the pitch and later spilled over their fighting outside the stadium. The riot is believed to present a symbolic end of Yugoslavia (Mills 2012; Wood 2013).

When the war started in BiH, each ethno-national group organised its own separate football federation and football league. The Bosnian Serbs and Bosnian Croats identified with Serbian and Croatian national teams respectively, and not with BiH representative team, which was controlled politically by the nationalist Bosniak party SDA (Sterchele 2007; Gasser and Levinsen 2010). Under strong pressure and conditionality of FIFA and UEFA,⁵ Croatian and Bosniak federations merged in 2000, and the Football Federation of Republika Srpska joined them in 2002, when one united Football Federation of BiH (Nogometni/Fud-

⁵ FIFA AND UEFA played a big role in the transformation of Bosnian football. See more about Europeanisation of football in the Balkans in Juričić (2014a).

balski savez Bosne I Hercegovine – NFSBiH)⁶ was established. One common Premier league was set up, although the lower divisions remain ethnically separated at the entity and cantonal levels. The structure of the federation was based on a tripartite presidency and a seats-rotation system between the representatives of each ethno-national sub-federation, following the Dayton political structure. Such governance model was considered non-democratic and inefficient by UEFA and FIFA, which suspended NFSBiH from their membership and all Bosnian teams from international competition in April 2011. NFSBiH was replaced by a normalisation committee that dismissed the past officials and amended the statute by replacing the tripartite-rotational structure with a single-member presidency, based on competence instead of ethnicity (Sterchele 2013; NFSBiH 2014). “While political institutions have remained wedded firmly to the post-war principles of division, rendering much of the state apparatus unworkable, the Bosnian Football Association has demonstrated that even the most entrenched of bureaucracies can make progress” (Kinder 2013, 161).

The world of football has lead towards partial integration of all Bosnians in a single sports community (Sterchele 2007). The unified Bosnian Premier league has increased travelling of football fans to away matches in ethnically different towns and there has been a lot of renewed encounters of people, who had known each other before, but were separated by the conflict (Sterchele 2013). Furthermore, “Telecom Premier League of BiH has long ago, but particularly this year, showed that football in Bosnia and Herzegovina has overcome national and entity divisions” showed a survey by the Bosnian press agency Patria (Sport.ba 2014). Namely, in the majority of the Bosnian clubs, players come from all ethnic backgrounds and are selected on the basis of their performance rather than ethnicity, which was not always the case. As well, the Bosnian national team has become more multi-ethnic over the last decade and an increasing number of Bosnian Serbs and Bosnian Croats support it (Kinder 2013). On the other hand, a lot of football matches in the Premier League, but mainly in the lower divisions, are still characterised by riots,

⁶ Its official name includes both Croat and Serb words for football (*nogomet and fudbal*) in order to avoid disputes.

violence and slogans and offences based on the use of war symbolisms. Serb fans are called 'četnik' by the Croat and Bosniak opponents, while Croats are called 'ustaš' and Bosniaks are insulted with the word 'balija'.⁷ Although national and war symbolisms are used also by Bosniaks against Bosniaks, Serbs against Serbs or Croats against Croats, and are therefore used not only to express somebody's ethnic belonging, but rather to provoke football opponents as much as possible, the memory of the war is far from gone (Sterchele 2013). According to Azinović et al (2012), football hooliganism is one of the main factors for fuelling nationalism and inter-ethnic violence, especially because football clubs are used instrumentally by political elites and young people are easily mobilised for violence and riots as a form of their collective expression of dissatisfaction (juvenile delinquency is very high as a result of lack of opportunities, failing education system and ineffective political and economic reforms).

While BiH "is at a standstill in the European integration process while other countries in the region are moving ahead (European Commission 2013, 1), its emergence as a footballing nation and its participation at the 2014 World Cup have significantly increased its presence on international stage. Reports about football violence have been replaced by stories about Džeko, Begović, Misimović and other international football stars representing BiH at the largest sports event in the world. How did this contribute to sports diplomacy of BiH?

RESEARCH RESULTS

GLOBAL MEDIA ANALYSIS – POSITIVE PORTRAYAL OF THE BOSNIAN TEAM AND UNITY

FIFA World Cup is one of the most dramatic and high profile spectacles in global sports and therefore a platform for national pride and prestige. It is also one of the major global media events, producing discourses of identity and globalisation, and trans-

⁷ Četniks were the Serbian royalist paramilitary combatants during the World War II and the ustaši belonged to Croatian fascist anti-Yugoslav movement. Both names are used as derogatory terms. The word balija used to describe descendants of Turks of Ottoman Empire in the Balkans and has become an insult for Bosniaks, used by Croats or Serbs (Sterchele, 2010).

mitting information and representations about the participating states to billions of people (Tomlinson and Young 2006; Horne and Manzenreiter 2006). International media was keen in portraying BiH as a country “*rising from the ashes*” (Hall 2014) and leaving its past behind; its players were represented as “*the children of the war*” who are now Bosnia’s golden generation, “*uniting a once bitterly divided nation*” (Beanland 2013):

“/.../ for the first time in 20 years, this victory and this team brought together a nation torn apart by economic turmoil and political and national differences for so long. These young men showed that a united Bosnia can stand tall and proud and take its place as an equal among equals at the world stage” (Cubicle No More, 2013).

“Once I stood in soccer field-turned-graveyard in Sarajevo. Now free Bosnia qualifies for World Cup for the first time. Congratulations!” (a comment by the CNN reporter Christiane Amanpour, who used to report on the war in BiH, on Al Jazeera: Fadilpašić 2013).

The majority of news about the Bosnian team’s qualification to the World Cup began with (often personalized) stories about the 1992-1995 war. The centre of such stories was often Edin Džeko, the best Bosnian player, who “*overcame a terrible childhood under siege in Sarajevo to become one of football’s biggest names*” (Vulliamy 2014). The stories went on to explain about the divided nature of the Bosnian society and then presented Bosnian footballers as a counterbalance to all the divisions. “*Bosnia-Herzegovina team a symbol of resiliency, rebirth*” (Baxter 2014); “*Despite its inescapable past, Bosnia-Herzegovina writes new chapter*” (Wilson, J. 2014) were just few of the comments indicating the changed image of BiH abroad.

Foreign media was basing such claims on two main arguments – massive celebrations in Sarajevo and other towns on 15 October, when BiH qualified for the World Cup, allegedly attended by fans of all ethnicities; and the multi-ethnic composition of the national team. In reality, the celebrations were mainly attended by the Bosniaks, and the national team consisted of 20 Bosniaks, 1 Croat and 2 Serbs (Juričić 2014b). However, many

Bosnian players, interviewed by foreign journalists, expressed their belief in unification of the country through football. For example, Džeko saw his team's successes "*as another useful metaphor in the struggle to reintegrate his homeland*" (Baxter 2014). "*The country has been through a lot of tough times, there's no secret about that, but this is the first major tournament for myself, and for Bosnia, it's all new and it's going to be great*" said the goalkeeper, Asmir Begović (Wilson, P. 2014). The players themselves were therefore promoting their country as united, improved and on the way to reconciliation.

ETHNOGRAPHY – A DIFFERENT REALITY

All in all, the World Cup did not unite or reconcile BiH. Supporting was very different in three towns – while Sarajevo was covered in flags and thousands of fans gathered at the fan zone to watch football matches, Eastern Sarajevo (which is mainly Serb-populated) was quiet on the night of the match. Similar situation was in Mostar. When BiH played its second match against Nigeria, Eastern Mostar was going crazy and there were even more decorations than in Sarajevo. Almost everyone on the streets wore the Bosnian outfit. Across the bridge, in Western Mostar, the streets were quiet during the Bosnian match. The situation was reverse when Croatia played – Western Mostar was full of waving Croatian flags and fans were gathering massively in pubs and other public places. Many interviewees and informants told me that supporting and cheering is even stronger and louder in Mostar than in other towns since both sides want to provoke each other. After Croatia won 4-0 over Cameroon, some fans in Mostar burnt Bosnian flags and sang "F*** you Bosnia, I f*** you, Croatia is my homeland". Similarly, two minors wearing Croatian jerseys were attacked by some masked men in Fojnica, a Croat-Bosniak town, and after Croatia lost its decisive match against Mexico, there was a firework from the eastern part of Mostar. In Banja Luka, there was not a sign of the World Cup and people there did not pay much attention to what was going on since Serbia was not participating. On the day of the last Bosnian match, the pubs were completely empty and the majority of them showed Đoković play a Wimbledon match (Juričić 2014b, 23-8).

While the interviews revealed many interesting issues about inter-ethnic relations, perceptions, mutual fears and rising divisions among the youth⁸, they also showed one common wish – to be recognised internationally. When asked about the meaning of the World Cup for the whole country, only few (Bosniaks) mentioned reintegration or unification themselves. However, the majority of the respondents saw the main benefit in international promotion of BiH. Their main argument was that BiH is a small state that the world either does not know about or only knows for the war, meaning that the World Cup would inform the international public about BiH in a positive way:

“It means a lot, both from a sports aspect and a social aspect. Finally, a different side of Bosnia will be presented, not the one that everyone knows about. In terms of sport, we’ve developed a lot. After you are kicked out five times, the World Cup is a huge thing. Now the foreigners will see Bosnia in a different way, and most importantly, the nation will have something different than just the ugly things that have been haunting us since the war” (a young Bosniak in Sarajevo).

“I don’t support them, but I’m glad. Now people will hear about BiH which means a lot because we could develop our tourism. In any case, it’s a good thing” (a young Croat in Western Mostar).

They disagreed with the reporting of global media, namely that the World Cup had a peace-building and reconciliatory capacity for the divided society, but they supported such reporting anyway since it was building a positive case for BiH:

I think it is just an ignorance of the context in which the World Cup is taking place. They [foreign journalists] see it as something good because in general such things contribute to improving relations, but they neglect the political and historical context. I actually think that such examples are positive because they show the potential, even if actual unification will not be possible for the next ten years. But I think it is good that they show this is possible (a young Serb in Banja Luka).

⁸ For detailed research results about inter-ethnic relations, see Juričić (2014b).

Let them write even more, it's a free promotion for us! We have a specific history, a story behind the national team so I think they find it interesting and special. It's good to write also about positive sides of football so I am glad Bosnia is mentioned as a good example (a young Bosniak in Sarajevo).

No, I don't think it will unite the country. But the world will hear about us so maybe the situation will improve. We hope there will be a better future (an older Croat in Western Mostar).

Additionally, there were some contrasting opinions about the representative team of Republika Srpska, which was seen by some Bosniaks as Serbs' provocation and their claim for separation:

Everybody knows that Republika Srpska wants to separate. Now they want to separate in football, too (a middle-aged Bosniak from Sarajevo).

Some younger interviewees, however, perceived it as promotion for Republika Srpska and not detrimental for the relations in BiH:

It is nothing relevant, but they have all the right to have their own team, just like Catalonia for example. Their team is a means to promote their entity and inform the world about it. I do not think it presents a problem for Bosnia (a young Bosniak from Sarajevo).

Generally, people think it's important. For example, Kosovo has just done the same and started to build its own identity through its team. So we can do something similar. We won't be recognised by FIFA, but our team will send an important message. It means pressure, lobbying to show our wish for independence, autonomy, a separate national identity (a young Serb in Banja Luka).

ANALYSIS AND CONCLUSION

Sport has historically had a double role in the Western Balkans, particularly in the countries of former Yugoslavia. On one hand, it served as a tool for nation building, enhancing the com-

mon Yugoslav identity and presenting Yugoslavia abroad – especially its basketball victories gained a lot of international attention. On the other hand, it contributed to nationalistic upheavals, violence, and many football fan groups were one of the main recruiters of paramilitary formations. Connection between nationalism and football in the Western Balkans has persisted up to date. However, athletes and national teams from the region have been increasingly presenting their countries as successful and on the path to recovery. Đoković's wedding in Sveti Stefan, Montenegro, captured the front headlines of many international media companies who praised the beauties of Montenegro. Additionally, the countries, known mainly for their existence in Yugoslavia and its bloody break-up, have been able to register their presence as independent states in international community mainly through sports mega events that attract the world attention.⁹ An example is Croatia, which “arrived for their maiden shot at the FIFA World Cup in 1998 as virtual unknowns” (FIFA 2014a), just seven years after its declaration of independence, and registered its international presence through securing the third place in the tournament. A small post-war country from the Balkans therefore became a world football-superpower in the eyes of international public.

Similar was the case with BiH that made its debut appearance at the FIFA World Cup 2014. Especially the debut participation at the FIFA World Cup, with the help of the global media, a) increases a state's visibility in international affairs and b) changes foreign public's perceptions and a state's international reputation. This is especially important for small or less powerful states that do not appear in the international news headlines often. Emerging and small states are much more excited when they make the international news and often cite the international media in their own national or local news report – being mentioned in internationally renowned media becomes news in itself. Slavica Pecikova, the spokesperson at the NFSBiH, confirmed an increasing in-

⁹ Even becoming a member of FIFA, “the United Nations of Football”, which has more members than the United Nations (FIFA, 2014b), becomes a medium for newly independent states and/or small and resurgent nations to register their presence in the international arena both on and off the football pitch. This was especially the case for newly independent African nations in the 1970s, when FIFA's power was on rise (Sugden and Tomlinson 1998; Tomlinson and Young 2006).

terest of international media in the Bosnian national team: “For the preparations of our team in Sarajevo between 15 and 27 May, 92 journalists, cameramen and photo-reporters from all around the world have been accredited. We don’t even count anymore, how many there are. We have a lot of work, but we are all proud that BiH is in the centre of the world media attention, and this time for beautiful things” (Al Jazeera Balkans 2014).

What can the case-study of BiH teach us about sports diplomacy? Firstly, it has to be noted that international achievements of the Bosnian national team and its most prominent players are not a direct result of any kind of governmental strategy, which is generally the case with sports diplomacy. However, they contribute to the international presence of a country. It is the role of the government to understand this process and get actively involved. For example, even Milorad Dodik, the leader of Republika Srpska and a strong proponent of Republika Srpska’s separation from BiH, congratulated the Bosnian national team and expressed his support (Sport.ba 2013). Although many interviewees thought this was just on paper, it did send a message of unity. Congratulations came also from the president of the tripartite presidency, Bakir Izetbegović, who admitted that the national football team had done a lot for the country (SDA 2013). However, a mere expression of congratulations and support is not sufficient. More governmental action needs to come both prior to and during or after the sports events themselves. It is a bit unfair of policy makers to sign under the achievements of national teams without contributing much to the conditions enabling those successes. The governments in the Western Balkans should therefore adopt systematic sports strategy that would take into account the needs of athletes and contribute financial and infrastructural resources for their trainings. Furthermore, politicians and ambassadors, but also businessmen could use sports events to organise diplomatic or business meetings – meeting with international partners in the positive atmosphere of the World Cup has a lot of chances to succeed since all parties are more relaxed and act less officially. Bakir Izetbegović and Zlatko Lagumdžija (the chief of Bosnian diplomacy) did not go to Brazil due to the floods that had severely affected the country just before the World Cup (Klix.ba 2014), but this is something to be considered for the next occasions.

Secondly, the role that the media plays in successful sports diplomacy was strongly evident during the 2014 World Cup. Huge media coverage of the World Cup has the power to change foreign perceptions about a state, improve its image by emphasising its good sports performance and therefore help the country reposition itself in the international community (Lincoln and Monnington 2002). “We are finally famous for something good rather than the war” was a common comment by my respondents from BiH. Headlines such as “Divided by war, united by football” did transform the image of BiH as a war-torn country to an internationally successful country on the path to recovery, but also reconciliation and peace. Although such reporting did not reflect the reality, Bosnians were happy with it and some were even of an opinion that it might change the mindset of the three constituent nations and subtly lead them to believe that reconciliation is possible. Regardless of the concerns about (un)realistic and sensationalist portrayal of international media and of the fact that the World Cup did not offer a solution to all national problems, such reporting does provide an opportunity for collective expression of pride and harmony rather than difference and might facilitate reconciliation (Van Koningsbruggen 1997).

Thirdly and relatedly, sports diplomacy seems to have the capacity to contribute to peace-building, and not only in BiH. Football as a representational sport can contribute to the construction of an imagined community (Anderson 1983, 6) by symbolising its prowess and success. National symbols, such as national flags, banners, anthems, are constantly present at international sports competitions and together with the competitive spirit of sport, they have the power to transform total strangers into a unified community struggling for common goals (Cronin and Mayal 1998; Sack and Šušter 2000). Reconciliation can be achieved more easily in a positive environment at sports events that bring a sense of security and normality. Vicious circle of hate can be broken by celebration of common sports achievements (Borsani 2009; Cárdenas 2012). Sports mega events have a specific place in nation-building since they generate a number of occasions “when nations are embodied in something manifestly real and visible” (Smith and Porter 2004, 1). “The imagined community of millions seems more real as a team of eleven named people”

(Hobshawm 1990, 143). Seeing Edin Džeko and Asmir Begović (ethnic Bosniaks), Zvezdan Misimović (ethnic Serb) and Boris Pandža (ethnic Croat) play together does leave an impression of unity and cooperation. When “groups work together towards a superordinate goal, the newly created team of former ingroup and outgroup members has a connecting point”, which can make people accept and trust ‘others’ (Schulenkorf 2010, 278). While this was partly the case with BiH, many Serb and Croat interviewees warned about one problem that prevented them from supporting the Bosnian team: unequal representation of all three ethno-national communities in the team.

Fourthly, it does seem that sports diplomacy is gaining momentum in the Western Balkans. While BiH was in the centre of international attention paid to the Western Balkans last year, other states and entities are trying to register their presence in the international community through sports diplomacy as well. During the summer of 2014, Republika Srpska was preparing a friendly match between Serbia and newly established team of Republika Srpska. Although many Serbs from Banja Luka admitted the team does not have many chances to be recognised internationally¹⁰, they see it as an important platform to register their separate ethno-national identity and wish for independence. Similarly, Kosovo has recently engaged in many diplomatic efforts to gain the membership of different international sports organisations (International Olympic Committee, International Basketball Federation etc.) as a way to register their presence, independence, and allow their athletes to compete and represent their country internationally. Furthermore, Croatia made a very original effort to market Croatia as a tourist destination by using social media during Super Bowl 2015. Bill Belichick and Pete Carroll, coaches of the finalists New England Patriots and Seattle Seahawks, were reported to be both of Croatian descent. In response, the Croatian National Tourist Office offered the winning coach a free trip back home, offering him “a chance to explore the land of his ancestors as he and his family experience the impressive history, stunning landscapes, rich cultural heritage, medieval architecture

¹⁰ According to the FIFA Statutes, only one association is allowed to represent one country (Chapter II, Section 10: Admission, Par. 1, p. 19) and FIFA and UEFA already refused to recognize the Football Association of Republika Srpska.

and delectable cuisine of Croatia” (Kirkman 2015). Furthermore, the Croatian National Tourist Board announced a Super Bowl selfie contest on Twitter, inviting fans to tweet a selfie during the game and tag it #SuperBowlCroatia for a chance to win a trip to Rovinj, a beautiful port city on the Istrian peninsula (*ibid*). The example shows limitless possibilities to use sport for diplomatic and branding efforts.

CONCLUSION

To conclude, sport does play a big role in promoting the Western Balkans abroad. The case-study of BiH showed the main role of sports diplomacy in the region: repositioning of a country and creating a new national brand. Foreign media strongly contributed to this effort and even the Serbs and the Croats were happy that BiH was finally presented in a positive way. Secondly, sports diplomacy can contribute to identity building and registering a country or entity’s presence internationally, as seen in the cases of Kosovo and Republika Srpska. This was also the case with BiH, which was a member of FIFA even before it became a member of the United Nations (Sugden and Tomlinson 1998). Thirdly, it can contribute to the development of tourism – many Bosnians expressed such belief and the case of proactive Croatian Tourist Board during the Super Bowl certainly proves it. Lastly, its role in peace-building is contested and not clear – symbolically, it can contribute to unification, but in practice its power is limited, as shown by the worsening inter-ethnic relations in BiH during the World Cup. Borsani (2009) warns that although sport can contribute to positive relationships, social inclusion, tolerance and reduction of tensions, it cannot do much alone, but it should be associated with wider programs of peace and reconciliation. As Manzenreiter (2010, 34) observes, sports diplomacy and nation-branding have only marginal role in reimagining the nation since there are many other factors and especially the inconsistency between the domestic reality and promotional image can severely limit the effectiveness or even have a reverse impact. Qatar is just one such example. McClory (2013, 14) adds that developing countries aiming to change their image abroad need more structural reforms in the fields of human rights, democra-

cy, free media, elimination of corruption etc. which will contribute to their soft power probably more than mere branding efforts. This is strongly relevant for the countries of the Western Balkans that lack democratic reforms. In BiH, reconciliatory efforts mainly come from external institutions such as the European Union, Council of Europe and Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe; even in the football field, the main reforms came from FIFA and UEFA and not from Bosnian institutions themselves. Once the countries strengthen their domestic reforms and actively begin contributing to sports development, sports diplomacy will have even greater capacity to increase the soft power of the Western Balkans' states.

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The Impact of Ethical Work Climate on the Payment Discipline of Companies

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ABSTRACT

Often, payments in commercial transactions between businesses are carried out much later than agreed (Directive 2011/7/EU, 2011). These late payments are a key problem, not only in Slovenia, but also at the European level. If one wants to improve payment discipline, it is first necessary to investigate its causes. All research in the field of payment discipline has focused either on the scale of the phenomenon and its trends or on the examination of financial reasons behind late payments. However, the authors of this study have been interested in whether company ethics affect a company's payment discipline. The purpose of the research was to explore the relationship between a company's ethical work climate and its payment discipline. Ethical work climate refers to the moral atmosphere of the work environment and the level of ethics practiced within a company. Quantitative analysis was performed within several Slovenian companies with 10 or more employees, and ethical climate was analysed by means of a questionnaire. Random sampling was used, and answers from 205 companies were obtained. The data on payment discipline of the companies was obtained from the company I d.o.o. The authors used the following statistical methodologies: exploratory factor analysis, correlation coefficients, multiple linear regression and

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multiple logistic regression. The results show that certain types of ethical work climate (caring and rules) influence whether a company is late on payments or not.

KEYWORDS: Ethics, ethical work climate, payment discipline, late payments.

POVZETEK

Na medorganizacijskem trgu so zamude plačil precej pogoste (Directive 2011/7/EU, 2011). Zamude plačil so eden ključnih problemov ne le v Sloveniji, ampak na tudi na evropski ravni. Če želimo izboljšati plačilno disciplino, moramo najprej raziskati njene vzroke. Dosedanje raziskave na področju plačilne discipline so bile osredotočene na merjenje razsežnosti problema in trendov ali pa raziskovanje finančnih vzrokov zamud plačil. Avtorje te raziskave pa je zanimalo ali etika podjetja vpliva na plačilno disciplino. Namen raziskave je bil raziskati, kakšna je povezava med etično klimo podjetja in njegovo plačilno disciplino. Etična klima se nanaša na moralno ozračje delovnega okolja in na nivo etičnega vedenja v podjetju. Kvantitativna analiza je bila narejena na vzorcu slovenskih podjetij z 10 ali več zaposlenimi, vzorec je bil izbran naključno. Etična klima je bila analizirana s pomočjo vprašalnika, pridobljeni so bili odgovori 205-ih podjetij, podatki o plačilni disciplini podjetij pa so bili pridobljeni od podjetja I d.o.o. Avtorji so uporabili naslednje statistične metodologije: raziskovalno faktorsko analizo, korelacijske koeficiente, multiplo linearno regresijo in multiplo logistično regresijo. Rezultati kažejo, da določena tipa etične klime (skrbnost in pravila) vplivata na to ali podjetje s plačili zamuja ali ne.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: etika, etična klima, plačilna disciplina, zamude plačil.

INTRODUCTION

When a company delivers products or services to other businesses or to public authorities, each transaction can represent a significant share of the turnover of the economic operator concerned. Therefore, the majority of companies expect payment within a reasonable deadline, so they can pay their own debts and invest in future activities and assets. The deadline for payment is either specifically agreed upon or it is laid down in general com-

mercial conditions of the economic operator delivering the products or services. However, many payments in commercial transactions between businesses or between businesses and public authorities are carried out later than agreed. Although the goods are delivered or the services performed, the invoices are paid well after deadline. This practice impinges on liquid assets and complicates the financial management of enterprises; it affects a seller's competitiveness and profitability when the seller needs to obtain external financing because of late payments; and it has a negative effect on intra-community commercial transactions (Commission of the European Communities, 2009).

Research conducted in 2006 in 10 EU countries using a sample of 2,000 companies reveals that more than 80 % of sales on the inter-organisational market are realised on a deferred payment basis (Euler Hermes, 2006). Although purchase on a deferred payment basis is also an important source of working capital in the USA (Lee and Rhee, 2011), only 30 % of American companies included in the research reported that their customers had used deferred payment as a financing source (Ng, Kiholm and Smith, 1999).

Deferred payment sales also entail a financial risk, which became especially critical after 2008 (Wu and Olson, 2014, p.502). The lack of payment discipline among companies in Europe is a massive problem, with 98 % of European companies encountering difficulties due to the lack of payment discipline among their customers (Euler Hermes, 2006, pp.3–5).

Extended payment deadlines and late payments are the primary causes of insolvency affecting companies' survival, and one consequence is significant job losses (Directive 2000/35/ES, 2000). Late payments can provoke difficulties with cash flow, even in companies with healthy sales growth (Tsai, 2011). The European Commission's estimate that the lack of payment discipline affects the survival of 35 % of companies is alarming (Commission of European Communities, 2009, p.46).

Payment discipline among European countries varies. Table 1 shows "the payment discipline index" in the year 2013 for 29 European countries. "The payment discipline index" is calculated

taking into account contractual payment term, effective payment duration, age structure of receivables, payment loss, estimated risk trends, characteristics of the consequences of late payment and causes of late payment (Intrum Justitia, 2013). It is evident that payment discipline in Northern Europe is significantly better than in Southern and Eastern Europe.

Table 1: Payment discipline index for 31 European countries

Country	Payment discipline index
Austria	149
Belgium	158
Bulgaria	190
Croatia	191
Cyprus	180
Czech Republic	176
Denmark	135
Estonia	153
Finland	125
France	152
Germany	144
Greece	195
Hungary	175
Iceland	137
Ireland	160
Italy	168
Latvia	165
Lithuania	163
The Netherlands	154
Norway	128
Poland	166
Portugal	190
Romania	187
Slovakia	164
Slovenia	185
Spain	173
Sweden	128
Switzerland	137
United Kingdom	162

Source: Intrum Justitia, 2013

Legend: Explanation of the Payment Index values

100: No payment risk, cash on delivery, pre-payment, no credit

101-129: Low risk profile,

130-139: Low to medium risk profile, intervention necessary,

140-149: Medium risk profile, action needs to be taken,

150-159: Medium to high risk profile, immediate actions need to be taken,

160-169: High risk profile, immediate actions are necessary,

More than 170: Emergency risk profile.

However, companies are not affected only by the external environment; they also create "good" or "bad" internal environments that can influence unethical decision making at an individual level. It is more probable companies in which the atmosphere of "to each his own" is promoted will encourage unethical decisions. In contrast, there are companies in which the climate of the employees prioritising the benefits of customers, community and other employees exists, as well as other companies in which rules-respecting climate is predominant (Kish-Gephart, Harrison and Treviño, 2010).

"Decisions on ethical issues are complex and influenced by individual differences, as well as by situational limitations" (Kurtines, 1986, p.790), and "pressures within companies are the best predictor of ethical or unethical behaviour" (Ferrel and Gresham, 1985, p.90). Therefore, the risk of adverse effects provoked by the lack of payment discipline increases significantly in times of economic crisis (Directive 2011/7/EU, 2011). This is reflected in decreased investments, reduced trading volume and increased interest rates (Lin and Martin, 2010), and it is harder to obtain sufficient financial resources to ensure liquidity (Vojinović, Mikac and Oplotnik, 2013).

The research on the lack of payment discipline, conducted in 25 European countries on a sample of almost 6,000 European companies, has shown that more than 85 % of companies believe a debtor's financial difficulties to be the primary cause of late

payments, and approximately 63 % of companies are convinced late payments are intentional (Intrum Justitia, 2011). In contrast, a study on the lack of payment discipline in Slovenia has indicated that the most common reasons for lack of payment discipline are intentionally late payments, the illiquidity of companies, their excessive indebtedness, and insufficient and slow revenue collection procedures (Prašnikar, Pahor and Cirman, 2010). Consequently, the majority of companies consider the causes of lack of payment discipline to be both financial and non-financial.

Considering payment discipline as a priority is a prerequisite for a company to ensure timely payments. Only by prioritising payment discipline will managers and employees attempt to take all the necessary measures to achieve it. Companies should consider their payment discipline as a value. Payment discipline, after all, affects the reputation of a company. If companies want to achieve long-term success, they must be considered credible and trustworthy partners, and a prerequisite for this is ethical behaviour (Duh, Belak and Milfelner, 2010, p.473; Meško, et al., 2010). One of the most significant current challenges companies face is obtaining and promoting consistency in ethical behaviour at all levels (Kulkarni and Ramamoorthy, 2014, p.15).

This study proposes that the payment discipline of companies depends on their ethical work climate. It is true late payments are a particular feature of companies with difficulties ensuring liquidity and solvency (Bastos and Pindado, 2013, p.614), although authors consider a company's ethics nonetheless have a significant role to play in providing payment discipline, as it influences how much the company strives to take all necessary measures to settle its liabilities timeously.

The fact that Directive 2011/7/EU allows Member States to encourage "the establishment of prompt payment codes, which set out clearly defined payment time limits and a proper process for dealing with any payments that are in dispute, or any other initiatives that tackle the crucial issue of late payment and contribute to developing a culture of prompt payment" (Directive 2011/7/EU, 2011, p.7) also indicates the ethical component of lack of payment discipline issues.

Even though the subject of the lack of payment discipline and its negative impact on the economy being quite topical and relevant, authors have not found any research verifying the link between the ethics of a company and payment discipline. The ethical dimension of a company's internal environment is measured according to the ethical work climate or ethical culture (Kish-Gephart, Harrison and Treviño, 2010), while the use of an ethical work climate is significantly predominant. This study's objective is to research the impact of different types of ethical work climate on the lack of payment discipline among companies.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUNDS

Ethical climate is a type of climate in companies, and it consists of norms for handling ethical issues (Lemmergaard and Lauridsen, 2008, p.654). Ethical climate is a social frame for the development of ethical values and ethical behaviour (Birtch and Chiang, 2014, p.290). Belak and Mulej call the ethical work climate a tool for understanding the ethical atmosphere in companies (2009, p.1380). Victor and Cullen are pioneers in research on ethical work climate (Lemmergaard and Lauridsen, 2008, p.656). Almost 75 % of all studies on the subject of ethical work climate are based on their theory and their tool for measuring ethical work climate (Arnaud, 2010, p.346) and authors have accordingly applied their methodology in this study.

Victor and Cullen's (1988, p.104) typology of ethical work climates is two-dimensional. Each dimension is represented by an ethical criterion used in decision-makings. Ethical criteria can be egoistic, benevolent or principled. The second dimension, which is the focus or locus of the analysis, represents the reference group focused on during moral judgement (Victor and Cullen, 1988, p.104). The focus (or locus of analysis) can be individual, local or cosmopolitan. The result of the combination of both dimensions is nine theoretical types of ethical work climates, as shown in Figure 1.

Figure 1: Typology of ethical work climates according to Victor and Cullen (1998, p.104)

		LOCUS OF ANALYSIS		
		Individual	Local	Cosmopolitan
ETHICAL CRITERION	Egoism	Self-interest	Company Profit	Efficiency
	Benevolence	Friendship	Team Interest	Social Responsibility
	Principle	Personal Morality	Company Rules and Procedures	Laws and Professional Codes

The authors of the research assume that late payments are an unethical way of optimising a company's costs. Late payments cause liquidity problems for suppliers and they can trigger a so-called domino effect (because suppliers are not able to pay in time to their suppliers and so on...). The authors believe there are many reasons for late payments, the company's financial situation being one of them, but they also believe the ethical work climate can influence a company's payment discipline.

"Self-interest" ethical climate

The combination of the egoistic moral judgement and individual locus of analysis is specific for the "self-interest" type of ethical work climate. A particular feature of this climate is that individuals behave in a manner that is best for them, while the sense of belonging to a company is low (Victor and Cullen, 1988, p.107). If the employees do not feel part of their company, then according to authors' assumption it is even less probable they would ask themselves what would be ethical in relation to their suppliers when making decisions. For this reason, the authors expect low payment discipline is common for this type of a company. The previous research on links between the types of ethical work climates and unethical behaviours has shown a positive relation between ethical work climates based on the criterion of egoism and unethical behaviour (Wimbush, Shepard and Markham, 1997, p.1714; Peterson, 2002, p.324; Bulutlar and Ünler, 2009, p.289; Soltani, 2014, p.264).

H1: *The ethical work climate “self-interest” has a negative impact on payment discipline.*

”Company Profit” ethical climate

The “Company Profit” ethical work climate is a combination of the egoism criterion of moral judgement and the local locus of analysis. Decisions are made on the basis of the criterion of company benefit. Therefore, authors suppose that companies with this type of ethical work climate will tend to maximise profit by all means (even if this requires them to delay settlement of their liabilities to suppliers); consequently, in such companies the rules are breached “benevolently” (Vardaman, Gondo and Allen, 2014, p.113). Since previous research indicates a positive link between the types of ethical work climates that are based on the egoism criterion and unethical behaviour (Wimbush, Shepard and Markham, 1997, p.1714; Peterson, 2002, p.234; Bulutlar and Ünler, 2009, p.289), authors suppose a company with a “company profit” ethical work climate will have a particularly poor payment discipline.

H2: *The ethical work climate “company profit” has a negative impact on payment discipline.*

”Efficiency” ethical climate

“Efficiency” is the type of ethical work climate that is the result of the egoism criterion of assessment, combined with the cosmopolitan locus of analysis. This study proposes that this type of ethical work climate will not have any impact on payment discipline because the two opposite impacts on payment discipline will neutralise each other:

- efficient exploitation of all resources (including interest-free lending in the form of delayed payments), and
- efficient financial functioning of companies, which enables companies’ timely settlement of liabilities to suppliers.

H3: *The ethical work climate “efficiency” does not have any impact on payment discipline.*

“Friendship” ethical climate

“Friendship” ethical work climate is a combination of the benevolent criterion of moral judgement and the individual locus of analysis. During decision making, the interests of friends are prioritised, regardless of whether they are part of the company or not. As the suppliers of companies can be relatively regular (with the exception of capital goods), certain types of personal relations are set among the employees in sales departments of suppliers and employees in purchasing department of a company, which can positively influence payment discipline. Purchase officers within such an ethical company work climate would tend to ensure that their behaviour does not contribute to the liquidity problems of their business partners. Since previous research indicates a negative link between ethical work climates based on the benevolent criterion of moral judgement and unethical behaviour (Wimbush, Shepard and Markham, 1997, p.1714; Peterson, 2002, p.324), the authors believe that in companies with this type of ethical work climate payment discipline will be good.

H4: *The ethical work climate “friendship” has a positive impact on payment discipline.*

”Team interest” ethical climate

“Team interest” is an ethical work climate specific to the benevolent criterion of moral judgement and the local locus of analysis. Collectivism, cooperation and achievement of common results are inherent in such an ethical work climate; in this case, the team is more important than the result. Long-term relations with suppliers, who (in a certain way) become part of an “extended team”, are essential for long-term effectiveness. Therefore, authors assume that, in companies with such a type of ethical work climate, business partners are regarded important enough so as not to cause them problems with late payments. Since previous research indicates a negative link between ethical work climates based on the benevolent criterion of moral judgement and unethical behaviour (Wimbush, Shepard and Markham, 1997, p.1714; Peterson, 2002, p.324), the authors support the contention that in companies with this type of ethical work climate, payment discipline will be good.

H5: *The ethical work climate “team interest” has a positive impact on payment discipline.*

”Social Responsibility” ethical climate

The ethical work climate “Social Responsibility” is a combination of the benevolent criterion of moral judgement and the cosmopolitan locus of analysis. Such a climate encourages socially responsible behaviour, and authors assume that socially responsible companies are more careful about a timely settlement of their liabilities than less socially responsible companies are. Furthermore, previous research indicates a negative link between ethical work climates based on the benevolent criterion of moral judgement and unethical behaviour (Wimbush, Shepard and Markham, 1997, p.1714; Peterson, 2002, p.324). Therefore, authors expect this ethical work climate will have a positive impact on payment discipline.

H6: *The ethical work climate “social responsibility” has a positive impact on payment discipline.*

”Personal Morality” ethical climate

The climate of “personal morality” is a combination of the principle criterion of moral judgement and the individual locus of analysis. Specifically, individuals base their decision making on their personal ethics. Different pressures by companies (for example, in the case of ambitious objectives) can encourage individuals to behave unethically in order to achieve results. New managers often have to “reconcile themselves to unethical behaviour and accept it as required in line with their managerial role” (Dean, Beggs and Keane, 2010, p. 64). Unethical behaviour of employees in purchasing departments (e.g., the purchase of goods despite the company not being able to pay for them within the payment deadline) is the consequence of a growing tendency of pressures on purchasing departments to reduce costs (Rottig, Koufteros and Umphress, 2011, p. 189). Because of such tendencies, employees in financial departments prefer to delay payments to their suppliers rather than to apply for a loan at a bank. Although company pressure is often the reason why employees behave unethically, authors assume employee behaviour is more ethical if they consistently adhere to their ethical principles.

Therefore, authors assume that payment discipline in companies with the ethical work climate of “Personal Morality” will be good. In addition, previous research confirms that ethical work climates based on the principle criterion of moral judgement are negatively linked to unethical behaviour (Wimbush, Shepard and Markham, 1997, p.1714; Peterson, 2002, p.324).

H7: The ethical work climate “personal morality” has a positive impact on payment discipline.

”Company Rules and Procedures” ethical climate

The combination of the principle criterion of moral judgement and the local locus of analysis is specific for the type of ethical work climate called “Company Rules and Procedures”. If this type of ethical work climate is predominant in a company, it is less likely a breach of rules will occur (Vardaman, Gondo and Allen 2014, p. 114). Therefore, the authors propose that this type of ethical work climate has a positive impact on payment discipline. In addition, previous research has indicated a negative link between ethical work climates based on the principle criterion of moral judgement and unethical behaviour (Wimbush, Shepard and Markham, 1997, p.1714; Peterson, 2002, p.324).

H8: The ethical work climate “company rules and procedures” has a positive impact on payment discipline.

”Laws and Professional Codes” ethical climate

“Laws and Professional Codes” is a type of ethical work climate based on the combination of the principle criterion of moral judgement and cosmopolitan locus of analysis. In a company with such an ethical work climate, decision making is based on ethical principles set in the legislative system or in professional organisations, and this climate has a positive impact on the ethical behaviour in companies (Simha and Stachowicz-Stanusch, 2012, p. 58). Since the European Union has already adopted two directives regarding payment discipline issues at the European level (Directive 2000/35/EC, 2000; Directive 2011/7/EU, 2011), and since national legislation has also been adopted in Slovenia in response to a lack of business discipline, the authors propose that this type of ethical work climate will have a positive impact

on payment discipline. In addition, previous research has also confirmed a link between ethical work climates based on the principle criterion of moral judgement and unethical behaviour (Wimbush, Shepard and Markham, 1997, p.1714; Peterson, 2002, p.324).

H9: The ethical work climate “laws and professional codes” has a positive impact on payment discipline.

METHODOLOGY

In order to verify the hypotheses, the data on the payment discipline of companies and the data on the ethical work climate in companies were required. The data on the ethical work climate were obtained using quantitative research, which was conducted by means of Cullen and Victor’s research instrument (1993, pp. 669–671); it contains 36 statements. The respondents indicated on a six-point Likert scale the extent to which they agreed with each statement in the questionnaire. Cullen and Victor’s instrument (1993, pp. 669–671) was translated from English into Slovenian. In order to avoid mistranslations, the statements were first translated into Slovenian, and then back into English. Afterwards, the original statements were compared with translations, and any lack of clarity was resolved, as needed. Finally, the research instrument was tested on the sample of 33 persons and, based on the test results, some of statements were modified.

In order to avoid partiality resulting from the research methodology used, the questions referring to the payment discipline of a company were not included in the research instrument. The average payment delay was used as the dependent variable representing payment discipline (the longer the payment delay, the worse the payment discipline) in the multiple linear regression. In multiple logistic regression, the binary variable was used as the dependent variable (does the company pay on time or is it late with payments).

The information on average payment delays of companies was received from credit-rating house I d.o.o., which is in partnership with the multinational auditing company Dun & Bradstreet, and has been collecting such data since 1995. The average

delay of payments of each company was calculated as the average value of a limited number of received invoices. This means the authors did not have access to the exact information of payment discipline for each company, but only a summary regarding it, although the data on payment discipline of companies are mutually compatible, since the methodology of their calculation has been the same for all companies.

The control variables which might have impacted the payment discipline of companies were included into the analysis. According to the companies, the most frequent cause of the lack of payment discipline is intentional payment delay, followed by illiquidity and excessive indebtedness, i.e., capital inadequacy (Prašnikar, Pahor and Cirman, 2010, p.54); both liquidity and capital adequacy are essential conditions for good company management (Žager, et al. 2008, p.244). Therefore, the current ratio, which is used to measure liquidity, and debt-to-asset ratio, which is used to assess indebtedness, were included in the analysis. In addition, the size of companies and the gross return on assets (we expect that it is easier for successful companies to settle their current liabilities) were included, too. The data from financial statements used to calculate the financial indicators and information on the size of companies were obtained from the JOLP web service (public posting of annual reports) on the AJ PES website www.ajpes.si (Agency of the Republic of Slovenia for Public Legal Records and Related Services).

The data were collected in spring 2012. The research was implemented on the population of 4,468 companies from Slovenia with at least 10 employees. Random sampling was used to select companies from the population. 1,489 informants from 1,489 companies (one third of the population) were invited to participate in the research. 205 fully completed research instruments (a response of 13.77%) were received (partially completed research instruments were not considered). In order to identify potential partiality at non-response bias, a comparison of payment delays of early and late respondents was made with the t-test for independent samples.

Whether the research instrument complies with the criterion of construct validity was verified by means of factor analysis.

Moreover, the adequacy of the sample for factor analysis was verified with the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin test (KMO) for sampling adequacy. The data obtained by means of the factor analysis had to be adequate for use in the regression analysis. Therefore, varimax rotation was chosen for factor analysis, since it is the most appropriate in cases like this, according to experts (Kline, 2000, p. 71).

The data were analysed with the regression analysis, because the authors wanted to explain payment discipline using several independent variables. Multiple linear regression was used to explain average delays of payments expressed in days. In addition, to explain payment discipline expressed with a binary variable (whether the company was late with payments or not), multiple logistical regression was used.

RESULTS

The t-test indicated there are no significantly statistical differences in payment discipline among early and late respondents ($t = 0,448$, $p > 0,05$).

Verification of validity and reliability

Five factors resulted from factor analysis, namely: "Caring", "Rules", "Efficiency", "Self-interest", and "Company Profit". With that factor analysis, 59.58 % of variance, i.e., the variability of the observed variables in total, can be explained. These five factors were obtained after excluding the statements 1, 9, 11, 17, 22, 23, 24, and 26. Descriptive statistics reliability, communalities and factor loadings are presented in Table 2.

Table 2: Descriptive statistics, reliability, communalities, and factor loadings

Item	Mean	Standard Deviation	Cronbach's Alfa	Komunalities	Factors (ethical work climate type)				
					Caring	Rules	Efficiency	Self-interests	Company Profit
People are expected to comply with the law and professional standards over and above other considerations.	4.94	1.048	.797	.667		.764			
Everyone is expected to stick by company rules and procedures.	5.25	0.971		.677		.749			
The first consideration is whether a decision violates any law.	4.70	1.423		.594		.699			
In this company, people are expected to strictly follow legal or professional standards.	4.81	1.111		.607		.661			
It is very important to follow strictly the company's rules and procedures here.	4.50	1.199		.530		.612			
The most efficient way is always the right way, in this company.	4.46	1.109	.736	.652			.742		
In this company, each person is expected, above all, to work efficiently.	5.20	0.847		.627			.738		
Decisions here are primarily viewed in terms of contribution to profit.	4.38	1.142		.568			.701		
The major responsibility for people in this company is to consider efficiency first.	4.69	1.014		.484			.632		

People in this company are very concerned about what is best for themselves.	3.75	1.230	.651	.665					.777
In this company, people protect their own interest above other considerations.	2.91	1.418		.685					.749
In this company, people look out for each other's good.	3.95	1.138		.521					.628
Everyone is expected to stick by company rules and procedures.	3.62	1.435	.666	.612					.756
The first consideration is whether a decision violates any law.	2.81	1.441		.572					.728
In this company, people are expected to strictly follow legal or professional standards.	3.75	1.591		.611					.713

In cases of medium-sized communalities (around 0.5), the required sample size is between 100 and 200 (Wuensch, 2013, p. 11), and since there have been only four communalities lower than 0.5, one can affirm that the size of our sample ($n = 205$) was sufficient. Cronbach's alpha values (more than 0.6 and 0.9 at the factor with a larger number of statements) confirm the internal consistency and reliability of all factors.

Linear multiple regression

In order to explain the variability of an average payment delay ($=5.68$, $sd=9.806$) the following control variables were included into multiple regression: the size of companies (77 micro, 71 small, 25 middle and 31 large companies), the current ratio ($=1.7124$, $sd=1.33093$), the debt-to-asset ratio ($=.6181$, $sd=.28563$) and the gross return on assets ($=,0092$, $sd=1.08877$). The linear regression model is presented in Table 3, and can explain 10.3 % of the variability of average payment delay of companies ($p < 0.05$).

Table 3: The linear regression model

Model	Unstandar. Coefficients		Standar. Coefficient	t	Sig.	Collinearity Statistics	
	B	Stand. Error				Beta	Tolerance
(Constant)	11,376	3,199		3,556	0,000		
Caring	-0,529	0,671	-0,054	-0,789	0,431	0,982	1,019
Rules	-0,360	0,675	-0,037	-0,533	0,594	0,970	1,031
Efficiency	-0,207	0,674	-0,021	-0,307	0,759	0,974	1,027
Self-interes	0,144	0,681	0,015	0,212	0,833	0,953	1,049
Company Profit	0,305	0,678	0,031	0,450	0,654	0,962	1,039
Size	-0,727	0,653	-0,078	-1,114	0,267	0,935	1,070
Current ratio	-2,277	0,625	-0,309	-3,645	0,000	0,639	1,564
Debt-to-as-set ratio	-0,487	2,889	-0,014	-0,169	0,866	0,649	1,540
Gross return on assets	0,234	0,640	0,026	0,366	0,715	0,911	1,097

n=205, R²=.103, F=2.491, p < 0.05

No ethical work climate is significantly statistically related to the average delay of payments, as expressed in days. Among the control variables, only the link between the liquidity expressed with the current ratio and average delay expressed in days ($\beta = -0.309$, $p < 0.001$) is statistically reliable, which means the higher the liquidity of a company is, the shorter the average delay of payments is. In the regression model, there are no issues with multicollinearity, as all factors of increased variance are lower than 4, and all variances are higher than 0.25.

Logistic multiple regression

The model of logistic regression is presented in Table 4 and, considering Nagelkerke's coefficient R², 20 % of delays, can be explained with the independent variables of this model. The

model corresponds to the data, as the Hosmer and Lemeshow test is higher than 0.05 ($p = 0.864$).

Table 4: The logistic regression model

Model	B	Standard Error	Wald	df	Sig.	Eksp. (B)
Caring	-0,345	0,170	4,152	1	0,042	0,708
Rules	-0,388	0,179	4,669	1	0,031	0,679
Efficiency	0,037	0,159	0,054	1	0,817	1,038
Self-interes	-0,208	0,166	1,586	1	0,208	0,812
Company Profit	0,081	0,160	0,260	1	0,610	1,085
Size	-0,253	0,152	2,773	1	0,096	0,776
Current ratio	-0,389	0,173	5,067	1	0,024	0,678
Debt-to-asset ratio	0,650	0,731	0,789	1	0,374	1,915
Gross return on assets	-0,928	0,602	2,381	1	0,123	0,395
(Constant)	1,374	0,799	2,957	1	0,086	3,951

$n=205$, $R^2=.200$, $\chi^2=3.922$, $p = 0.864$

With regards to the independent variables included in the model, only three have been statistically significantly related to payment delays: “Caring” ($B = -0.345$, $p < 0.05$), “Rules” ($B = -0.388$, $p < 0.05$) and the liquidity expressed with the current ratio ($B = -0.389$, $p < 0.05$).

DISCUSSION

When using Cullen and Victor’s research instrument (1993, pp.669–671) it is normal to identify types of ethical work climate that are not identical to the nine theoretical types. Figure 2 presents ethical work climates that were identified in the sample. Figures 1 and 2 can be used for comparison between the empirical types of ethical work climate that were identified in our sample and the theoretical types of ethical work climate. As shown in Figure 2, the existence of all three types of ethical work climate, for which the egoism criterion of assessment is specific, was confirmed. Using empirical data, all three types of theoretical climates based on the benevolent ethical criterion were merged

into a single ethical work climate, which was named “Caring”, the same name Victor and Cullen gave it (1988, p.111). Authors were not successful in empirically confirming the theoretical type of the ethical work climate of “Personal Morality” in their sample. The remaining two theoretical types of ethical work climate based on the principle criteria of assessment were combined in the empirical ethical work climate, which was named “Rules”.

Figure 2: Empirical types of ethical work climates identified in our sample

		LOCUS OF ANALYSIS		
		Individual	Local	Cosmopolitan
ETHICAL CRITERION	Egoism	Self-interest	Company Profit	Efficiency
	Benevolence	Caring		
	Principle	Rules		

At the regression, the independent variables were identified in such a manner that positive coefficients indicate a negative impact on payment discipline, and vice versa.

The hypothesis regarding the negative impact of the ethical work climate of “Self-interest” on payment discipline (Hypothesis 1) was not confirmed, as neither the linear regression ($\beta = 0.015$, $p > 0.05$) nor the logistic regression ($B = -0.208$, $p > 0.05$) has shown statistically significant impacts of the ethical work climate of “Self-interest” on payment discipline.

The hypothesis regarding the negative impact of the ethical work climate “Company Profit” on payment discipline (Hypothesis 2) has not been confirmed, as neither the linear regression ($\beta = 0.031$, $p > 0.05$) nor the logistic regression ($B = -0.081$, $p > 0.05$) has shown statistically significant impacts of the ethical work climate “Company Profit” on payment discipline.

The hypothesis that the type of ethical work climate “Efficiency” does not have any impact on payment discipline (Hypothesis 3) has been confirmed, as neither the linear regression ($\beta = 0.021$, $p > 0.05$) nor the logistic regression ($B = -0.037$, $p > 0.05$) has

shown statistically significant impacts of the ethical work climate “Company Profit” on payment discipline.

Since the theoretical types of ethical work climate “Friendship”, “Team Interest” and “Social Responsibility” have been included in one ethical work climate, “Caring”, Hypotheses 4, 5 and 6 have been verified in such a manner that the impact of the “Caring” ethical work climate on payment discipline was analysed. Research shows that “Caring” in general does not have any impact on the duration of delay expressed in days (linear regression: $\beta = -0.054$, $p > 0.05$), but it does affect whether the company will be late with payment or not (logistic regression $B = -0.345$, $p < 0.05$). Therefore, Hypotheses 4, 5 and 6 can be confirmed, since the empirical type of ethical work climate “Caring” does have an impact on payment discipline.

The hypothesis about the positive impact “Personal Morality” on payment discipline (Hypothesis 7) could not be verified, since the presence of this type of ethical work climate was not confirmed in the sample.

The theoretical types of ethical work climates, “Company Rules and Procedures” and “Laws and Professional Codes”, have been merged into a single ethical work climate named “Rules”. Therefore, Hypotheses 8 and 9 were verified analysing the impact of the empirical ethical work climate on payment discipline. Research shows that the ethical work climate “Rules” generally does not have any impact on the duration of a delay (linear regression: $\beta = -0.037$, $p > 0.05$), but it does affect whether a company will be late with payment or not (logistic regression $B = -0.388$, $p < 0.05$). Therefore, Hypotheses 8 and 9 were confirmed, since this type of ethical work climate does have an impact on payment discipline.

Consequently, five out of nine hypotheses were confirmed. The impact of ethical work climate on average payment delay expressed in days could not be confirmed for any of these five hypotheses; however, authors could only confirm whether ethical work climate contributes to the timely or late payments of companies. Therefore, this study proposes that certain types of ethical work climate have a positive impact on whether companies settle their liabilities to suppliers within the agreed deadlines. The

question regarding the factors that affect the duration of payment delays remains open.

CONCLUSION

In this research, five different types of ethical work climate in Slovenian companies were identified, using the typology of Victor and Cullen (1988, p.104): “Self-interest”, “Company Profit”, “Efficiency”, “Caring”, and “Rules”. All these ethical work climates were already identified in previous research (Victor and Cullen, 1988, pp.111–113; Cullen, Victor and Stephens, 1989, p.57; Wimbush, et al., 1997, p.1714). Our study could not confirm the impact on average payment delay expressed in days for any of the types of ethical work climate. However, with “Caring” and “Rules” there is a statistically lower probability that a company will have payment delays. Therefore, authors can confirm that these two types of empirical ethical work climate have positive impacts on payment discipline.

In order to improve payment discipline at the European Union level in the year 2000, Directive 2000/35/EC was adopted, but since it has not produced the desired results, Directive 2011/35/EC was adopted in 2011. The directive from 2000 set the maximum payment deadline and the amount of late-payment interest, while the directive from 2011 also introduced the recovery of internal costs for collection in the amount of €40, as well as recovery of reasonable fees for the collection of revenues due; for example, engaging a lawyer or a debt-collection agency (Directive 2011/7/EU, 2011, p.7). Both directives are focused on charging companies for their late payments (with the difference that these costs are higher since 2011) despite the fact that only 7 % of companies regularly charge the late-payment interest, 48 % of them do so rarely, and 30 % never charge it, because of potential negative consequences on their relations with customers (Commission of the European Communities, 2008, p.2).

By confirming the impact of certain types of ethical work climate on payment discipline (which previously had not been the subject of any research), the basis for legislative authorities to frame new measures combating the lack of payment discipline

is given. Such measures are, of course, most necessary in countries with the lowest payment discipline, and the countries of South-Eastern Europe are among them.

One can contribute to the ethical work climate of companies by introducing ethical programmes in these companies (Beerli, et al., 2013, p.59). Practical evidence proves that training programmes shorter than three weeks are inefficient, and training programmes longer than 12 months are no more efficient than training that lasts between three and 12 weeks (Schlaefli, Rest and Thoma, 1985, p.319 and p.347). More resources to establish a strong ethical work climate and to implement the appropriate ethical strategies and policies, which would enable the maximising of the ethical potential of students, should be provided at the faculties of business studies (Birtch and Chiang, 2014, p.292). Moreover, the state could subsidise trainings in ethics subjects for existing managers, since it would enable managers who are ethical leaders to create an ethical work climate in their companies more easily (Lu and Lin, 2014, p.221).

The most important limitation of this research is the geographical focus on Slovenia and, considering the fact that there are significant differences in payment discipline among European countries, it would also be reasonable to research the links between ethical work climate and payment discipline in other European countries, and then compare the results.

There are other independent variables that influence payment discipline and it would be useful to identify these variables in future research. It would be interesting to include a company's age, export and import activity, sector membership and market structure and investigate whether these variables influence payment discipline. With the inclusion of additional variables into multiple regression, the correlation between ethical climate types and payment discipline can change.

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APPENDIX

Statements excluded due to factor analysis:

1. In this company, people are mostly for themselves.
9. Each person in this company decides for himself what is right and wrong.
11. The most important consideration in this company is each person's sense of right and wrong.
17. People are concerned with the company interests – to the exclusion of everything else.
22. In this company, people are guided by their own personal ethics.
23. Successful people in this company strictly obey the company policies.
24. In this company, the law or ethical code of their profession is the major consideration.
26. It is expected that you will always do what is right for the customer and public.

Hard Choices for Hillary Rodham Clinton

Boris Tomašič¹

ABSTRACT

Hillary Clinton in her book *Hard Choices* presents “smart power” diplomacy. The article discusses some important novelties in the approach to foreign policy introduced by Clinton. At the same time it points out that the USA has a clear strategy, which does not change with the change of parties in power. The main role of foreign policy is to promote economic development. Her predecessors have used the hard-nosed method. Clinton has tried to accomplish these objectives by involving civil society and more active cooperation in education and civilization. Her approach to problem solving has been successful. She succeeded in increasing the impact and the reputation of the United States. Cooperation with China was improved. On the other hand, this approach has failed to stop aggressive Russian policy. Putin understood soft policy as a weakness and has strengthened his position. Successful foreign policy must be balanced. Smart power can be successful only if it is supported with strong military and financial power.

KEYWORDS: USA, Smart power, it’s all about the money, Richard Holbrooke, Russia, Asia

POVZETEK

Hillary Clinton v svoji knjigi *Hard Choices* predstavi diplomacijo mehke moči. Prispevek poskuša predstaviti nekatere pomembne novosti v pristopu k zunanji politiki, ki jih je uvedla Clintonova. Hkrati pa opozarja, da ima ZDA jasno strategijo, ki se ne spreminja

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z menjavo strank na oblasti. Zunanja politika je v funkciji gospodarskega razvoja. Njeni predhodniki so uporabljali trše metode. Clintonova pa je skušala cilje dosežati z vključevanjem civilne družbe in aktivnejšim sodelovanje na področju izobraževanja ter kulture.

Njen pristop k reševanju problemov je bil uspešen. Povečala je vpliv in ugled ZDA. Izboljšalo se je sodelovanje s Kitajsko. Po drugi strani pa ta pristop ni uspel ustaviti agresivne ruske politike. Putin je mehko politiko razumel kot šibkost in okrepil svojo pozicijo. Uspešna zunanja politika mora biti uravnotežena. Pametna moč je lahko uspešna, samo če za njo stoji močna vojaška in finančna sila.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: ZDA, pametna moč, vse je v denarju, Richard Holbrooke, Rusija, Azija

INTRODUCTION

Hillary Rodham Clinton wrote her memories focusing on the period when she was the Secretary of State of the United States of America (2009-2013). The book is a good demonstration of how the largest diplomacy in the world is put functions within an operational system. The book can also be read as an international political guide, since it contains brief reminders of the countries she has visited.

We must not forget that H. Clinton, as a former senator and first lady, is an expert of political games, and usually achieves her goals. Clinton has not renounced the goal to become the first female President of the United States. When reading her book, one should be aware that the book is also self-promotional and is designed to present her as a perfect candidate for the office of the president of the USA. This is also the reason why she is avoiding some controversial events such as the terrorist attack in Benghazi or disputes with President Obama and some of his advisers.

Nonetheless, the book is an excellent manual for diplomacy as it is practiced. Beside German Chancellor Angela Merkel, Hillary Clinton is the politician with more acquaintances in international politics than anyone else in the world. With her “smart power” and her female approach (although her predecessor was also

woman), she had managed to achieve most of her goals. With an exceptional sense of communication, with experience and excellent education, Hillary Clinton managed to rebuild the reputation of the United States in the world.

Clinton took the position of the USA Secretary of State when the USA was facing enormous problems and challenges in foreign policy. The USA was involved in two wars, the economic crisis was ruining the economy, the influence of China was increasing and, above all, America had a low reputation in the world. One could say that Hillary Clinton represents the antithesis of Colin Powell, her predecessor on September 11, 2001, when a terrorist attack on the Twin Towers happened. The Republican administration under Bush's leadership and foreign policy, led by Powell, a former general, responded logically, with war. We will never know how Democrats would have reacted if they had been in power. As Senator, Hillary Clinton voted in favor of the invasion of Iraq. That was exactly what Mr. Obama accused her of during the presidential campaign. Therefore, it was quite a big surprise when President Obama invited her to the White House. This was her first difficult decision and she put state and homeland before her personal interests; a belief, typical for USA politicians. She was aware of the changes necessary to rebuild USA status and reputation, to the level at the end of the Cold War. To achieve this goal she had to change the approach and performance of the USA diplomacy. This was a crucial change in her policy. Military strength or hard power had been used as a tool of foreign policy for decades. Later, in the theory and practice of American diplomacy economic, humanitarian and cultural influence gained prominence as Joseph S. Nye developed the idea of »soft power«. Based on attractiveness, soft power is not used only in public diplomacy or communication, but also in other spheres of the social environment (Fabiani 2014, p. 3). With soft power, you can persuade others that they want to follow you (Fabiani 2014, p. 18). In the 21st century, soft power should be one of the most effective approaches for increasing international influence of countries. Smart Power expanded to a combination of persuasion and attraction. (Nye 2004, p. 5).

As well as traditional diplomatic tools, such as negotiation and conclusion of agreements and participation at diplomatic conferences, Clinton believed that foreign policy is the right combination of diplomatic, economic, military, political, legal and cultural skills to solve each individual situation. With smart power, she appeared before the Senate Committee of Foreign Affairs, where she stressed the need for the US to restore its reputation and gain new partners in the world. Use of military force had to be left as a last resort. With this change, it is necessary to point out that USA strategic objectives have not changed. Successful USA economy and the spread of peace and democracy around the world is an objective of all post-war USA Governments. This applies to both presidents, G. W. Bush and B. Obama. The USA has a clearly defined foreign policy strategy. Its origins and destinations have not changed significantly, even though there were changes in the management. That became clear when Hillary Clinton took over as the head of the State Department. On the one hand, we have hard power, personified by Colin Powell. Problems are solved with a firm hand. On the other hand, there is smart power, represented by Hillary Clinton, who engaged diplomatic problems by finding allies and personal connections.

Powell's and Clinton's approaches could not be more different. Clinton put the subtitle of the book in italics: *How to gain allies, how to find solutions to conflicts, and how to increase influence*. Hillary Clinton is very well aware of all this. Although she uses smart power, she is uncompromising.

Introducing smart power, she needed reliable and experienced diplomats. One of the most important collaborators was Richard Holbrooke. Clinton's team has been carefully selected and immediately started to work. She visited Asia first and sought to strengthen the role of the USA. Special emphasis was also given to relations with Russia. To be precise with its president Putin. However as it is seen today her approach in this case wasn't successful.

SMART POWER

In her autobiography Hillary Clinton leads us through many details of diplomatic engagement based on four years in the office.

Without knowing that a well-trained team, hard work, and above all coordinated planning stand behind all foreign policy activities, we could get a feeling that diplomacy is anything but complicated. All her countless observations of peripheral events are the result of the fact that she is a woman. Obama left her with a wide field of decision-making in foreign policy, although she had always stressed that she is aware the President is her ally and that they together follow the guidelines of USA foreign policy. The foreign policy strategy is exactly what determines the specific objectives for each priority areas, including the identification of ways and means to achieve this.

In addition to official visits, organised by Protocol, she always wanted to meet university students and journalists, and if necessary she also met leaders of the opposition in a particular country.

Estimated trade with the country she visited was often a prominent figure for Mrs. Clinton. The USA exports mostly to the two neighbouring countries, Canada and Mexico. The end of the Cold War brought democratization and remarkable economic and political progress in Latin America. The USA wanted to exploit the power of proximity to the fullest extent with different modes of partnership. Clinton administration organized the first summit of American States. USA gave substantial financial support to Mexico and Brazil during the financial crisis of the 2008. The Bush administration invested great efforts into the fight against narco-cartels. The Obama administration considered Latin America as being an equal partner. Cuban Americans could visit Cuba regularly and send large sums of money home. For Mrs. Clinton it was extremely important to respect the connection between these cultures and economies and those of the United States.

Notwithstanding the general impression that diplomacy is a special and romantic profession, in reality it is just a process of making difficult, often even brutal decisions. Especially if we speak about a country that has adopted the role of global guardian of peace and democracy.

In addition, since strategic objectives of the USA do not change in content, regardless of the current administration, form became the most important in the implementation of this strategy. In fact, form is a protocol. Moreover, although today it is no longer as rigid as it used to be, it still plays an important role. We could also say that the protocol is a basic tool of diplomats. Diplomatic protocol is a set of rules on showing honour and respect in international relations. Protocol therefore mutually, symbolically and actually demonstrates honour and respect for attention, courtesy and confidence, with the intention of deepening and developing friendly relations between countries and eliminating distrust between them. The common denominator of all these actions is an equal treatment, resulting from the principle of the sovereign equality, despite the existing differences in size, organization etc.

Even Hillary Clinton agrees, based on her experience as first lady: “As First Lady, I learned how important protocol is to diplomacy. Being a generous and gracious host, helps build relationships, while the alternative can result in unintended snubs.” (Clinton 2014, p. 27)

There is much truth in this. Protocol was developed in diplomacy because it makes diplomacy more effective. Despite changes it is and will remain an important part of diplomacy. We must admit, however, that in spite of the Vienna Convention, traditions and unwritten rules, protocol is not the same for everyone. Bigger, stronger and more influential countries can accomplish more. Hillary Clinton, who is aware of the importance of the protocol, admires former Secretary of State Dean Acheson: “Beneath his formal exterior, he was a highly imaginative diplomat, breaking protocol when he thought it was best for the country.” (Clinton 2014, p. 21)

Therefore, sometimes we can observe quite unusual appearances and statements of US Ambassadors. If it looks like they are violating diplomatic protocol just because of their own personal characteristics, this is certainly not the case. American diplomacy is a perfectly functioning machine, where breaking protocol never happens by chance.

Not every country can afford this. The Latin proverb “Quod licet Iovi, non licet Bovi”² is largely valid in diplomacy. It may sound paradoxical, but that is the reality. It is quite irrelevant if we think it is not right, and should be changed. A smart and experienced diplomat will prefer to accept this fact and act in such a way that it will be taken into account. Even if one doesn’t like some things, sometimes they just need to be accepted. One can take advantage of it for one’s own benefit. The stronger and richer have more rights than others. It may not be pleasant, but it is a fact. It cannot be changed overnight. However, thanks to diplomacy things have changed drastically in the past decades and centuries. Diplomacy allows solving conflicts peacefully and without wars. When diplomacy fails, war starts.

IT IS ALL ABOUT MONEY

When talking about foreign policy and the diplomacy of the United States, it is necessary to say something about the role of the USA in international relations. The USA, despite the growing influence of China, is still the most important country in the world. It can be safely said that no important decision can be made without the USA. They have the economic, military and financial power and (probably the most important) the best diplomacy in the world. In the time before the two World Wars, the USA did not play such a vital role as today. This changed after the end of WWI and foremost at the end of WWII. Help of the USA was crucial for the victory of the democratic forces. Due to the Cold War, the United States became the world’s guardian of peace and democracy. Important milestones were also the fall of the Berlin Wall and the attack on the Twin Towers on September 11.

Interestingly, the USA does not perceive its role in the world only through their interest, but actually sees itself as a peacekeeper. According to H. Clinton: “General Marshall, a hero of World War II who served both as a Secretary of State and as a Secretary of Defense under Truman, understood that America’s security and prosperity depend on capable allies who wouldn’t share our own interests and buy our goods. Even more important, he knew that America had a responsibility and an opportunity to lead the

² “What is permissible for Jove is not permissible for an ox”.

world and the new challenges that meant leading in new ways.”(- Clinton 2014, p. 32). And, explaining the essence of success and purpose of USA foreign policy, “... buy our goods.” Allies will buy our goods. In the end, it all ends with cash or economics. Even though it sounds so trivial, everything revolves around money.

The USA is a story of success which is obvious today. Despite difficulties, the USA has always succeeded in going on. At the same time, USA politicians realized the world has changed dramatically since the end of the nineties, and that they have to face new challenges. In particular China and consequently the whole Asia, which Clinton duly did. The importance and fragility of the relations with China are shown in her statement: “Our first task was to reassert America as a Pacific power without sparking an unnecessary confrontation with China.” (Clinton 2014, p. 46)

The desire for a large American sphere of influence in the Pacific area remains strong, mainly due to awareness of China’s growing power. Therefore, as a top diplomat, Clinton has addressed the problem indirectly by strengthening links with the USA allies: Japan, Australia and South Korea. When following the USA moves under Clinton, things look simple and logical. As an example, one can observe a very cautious approach to China, with the idea of “surrounding” and motivating it for cooperation at the same time.

The American foreign policy strategy is clear and simple. Reading between the lines of their documents, or translating from diplomatic language, prosperity and economic wealth are vital interest of the USA. This also follows from the very essence of the United States. It is based on individual freedoms and the theory goes that there is no freedom without economic freedom. Therefore, one can easily understand the USA efforts for peace, security and development of democracy in the world. The USA economy is global, so it needs to have partner countries with a stable, secure and predictable political situation. It believes that the only real way is its way. Such thinking is not the result of ego-centrism or a sense of superiority. These are the realities of international relations since WWI. Whenever Europe needed help, the United States was there. Victory in the Cold War has further confirmed the correctness of its strategy.

CAREERS

To achieve smart power Clinton needed experienced professionals who can be trusted. Personal acquaintance and trust were not enough. Therefore, she promoted the best people in the most important areas, which she considered to require an improved diplomatic approach (Afghanistan and Pakistan), confiding the area to what in her opinion was the best diplomat, Richard Holbrooke. Holbrooke had proved himself already in 1995 at the Dayton peace agreement when he negotiated with Slobodan Milošević.

Richard Holbrooke was, at a heart, a negotiator. In the 1990s, as he described in his book, *To End a War*, he bullied, threatened, cajoled, and drank whiskey with Slobodan Milošević— whatever it took to force the Serbian dictator into a smaller and smaller corner until Milošević finally gave in. On one difficult day during the peace talks hosted by the United States in Dayton, Ohio, when Milošević was refusing to give an inch, Richard walked him through a hangar at Wright-Patterson Air Force Base full of warplanes, providing a visual reminder of American military power. The message was clear: compromise or face the consequences. The whole effort was a dazzling display of diplomatic skill, and a war that had appeared hopelessly intractable ended. (Clinton 2014, p. 150).

The previous paragraph shows that Holbrooke had extraordinary diplomatic quality. He proved to be a good negotiator. During the negotiations, he had to choose between different negotiating tactics. Once he drank whiskey with Milošević, which suggests that he wanted to win him over to the task of signing the peace agreement. In the next moment, threats and harassment were needed. Words can be as strong as weapons – they can exert a strong influence. Finally, Holbrooke tricked Milošević: under the pretext of closing a deal, he set an ultimatum to finish the war in Bosnia or all military aircraft that you see in the hangar will attack. Holbrooke took such a negotiating approach because he was aware that the USA military is stronger and better equipped than Serbian. Besides this, he proved himself a patient and calm diplomat, waiting for the right moment to come, while distress-

ing opponents until the conflict is resolved. A war that seemed insurmountable at the start, ended with help of diplomatic skills.

Diplomacy means negotiations. Diplomats are negotiators. Their main task and mission are negotiations. Negotiation skills include a wide range of different skills, qualities and approaches, which can be used to achieve success.

Holbrooke successfully completed the task and the peace agreement was signed. That was the result, on the one hand of his hard approach, on the other, the soft and permissive approach of a negotiator (Jazbec 2009, p. 49). Success was achieved through a combination of different approaches.

“Diplomacy would be easier if you could just talk with your friends.” (Clinton 2014, p. 163). However, in the real world that is never the case. Peace is difficult to achieve.

As President, Kennedy said: “Let us never negotiate out of fear. However, let us never fear to negotiate.” (Clinton 2014, p. 163-164). This proverb Holbrooke took to his mission: negotiations are necessary to end the war!

Holbrooke wanted to repeat the Balkan’s story in Afghanistan. He knew the negotiations would be successful only if both parties are satisfied. He prepared a new strategy and chose the best team of experts to help him in the task. Their common point was dedication to the task.

Hillary Clinton (Clinton 2014, p. 138) describes him as an impressive figure with different talents. He gathered experience in Vietnam, Morocco, as ambassador in Germany, he served in the Carter administration and so on. He believed that diplomacy and politics are crucial keys in ending wars. He proposed a diplomatic offensive going to towns in the region, looking for diplomatic contact which could lead to a political solution, urged neighboring countries to begin to trade with Afghanistan. With his intelligence and perseverance he plotted a combined strategy.

RUSSIA

“Hard men present hard choices,” Clinton describes the events with Putin. With Obama, they decided to find common ground with Russia starting with topics where interests are aligned. The USA remains unwavering where there is disagreement. The approach is known as “the reset”. Before meeting with Foreign Minister Lavrov, Clinton had consulted with Holbrooke. He described Russian foreign minister as an extraordinary diplomat with no small degree of arrogance. Lavrov had a tumultuous diplomatic relationship with Clinton’s predecessor Rice. Therefore, Clinton decided to try to make a change with some humor. She followed a famous Chinese strategist Sun Tsu who said that the “biggest art is to defeat the enemy without fighting “. In the years when Russian president was Medvedev, the USA and Russia signed an agreement on limiting the number of nuclear warheads. In 2012, Putin was reelected, and relations started cooling. Putin was a tough negotiator. Clinton had assessed that he was full of resentment and distrustful to the United States. During this period, she was struggling to reduce the strategic influence of Russia in various ways. She visited countries, which pose a threat to Russia and publicly urged Russia to end its occupation of Georgia. She also appointed special envoy Richard Morningstar to negotiate concerning the South Stream project that had become one of the most important USA diplomatic initiatives in the field of energy.

Before meeting with Putin at the G-20 summit in Mexico, she advised Obama that he should negotiate hard, because Putin will “give no gifts.” After events that followed the invasion of the Crimea in 2014, she considered that Obama’s administration did not discourage Putin’s aggression. Despite that, when she wrote a report for President Obama at the end of her term in office, she still believed the USA should have a productive relationship with Russia, without ignoring the danger Russia is posing to its neighbors. She predicted that relations with Russia, according to circumstances, would become tenser. Current international developments confirm her forecast. Relations between the US and Russia are, because of the invasion of Crimea, probably the most tense since the end of the Cold War.

“Smart power” has failed with Russia. Why? If we compare the duo Rice- Powell with Kerry- Clinton, they can be described by the metaphor of good cop - bad cop. It is a well-known tactic of negotiations, one is acting vicious, aggressive, and another is acting friendly and compassionate cop/ negotiator. Rice and Powell were tough and tough; we can say “quick on the draw”. Kerry and Clinton were looking for compromises and allies. The second tactic can be perceived as weakness. This was proved with Syria, where the United States for the first time obviously lost to Russia. This gave Putin momentum. His next step was to annex Crimea and he obviously does not want to give up eastern Ukraine. We know what the international community in such cases should do. First the UN Security Council should pass a resolution issuing a warning, followed by sanctions and finally even military intervention.

- Here arises the first problem. A resolution cannot be passed because Russia is a permanent member of the Security Council and has the right to veto.
- The second problem are the sanctions. Are they effective and would they be obeyed?
- The third problem is of course a military conflict with Russia as a superpower, which can quickly turn into World War III.

Putin has predicted the USA will not start a conflict with Russia. Based on the policy in recent years, his prediction is clearly correct. If we are honest, the USA is the only force that can successfully oppose Russia. It is likely that under Colin Powell Crimea could not happen and the United States would have intervened in Syria.

To be effective, smart power also needs occasional hard power and that is something Hillary Clinton wasn't well aware of at the time. However she managed to took advantage of it during her mandate.

ASIA

Clinton shared with President Obama the opinion that Asia is the strategic focal point of American diplomacy. Therefore, her first trip was to Asia. She prepared the trip well in all possible ways; she was talking by phone with Asian leaders and the Australian Foreign Minister, she invited Asia experts to dinner, visited the Asian Association in New York. On all her trips, she wanted to overcome cultural differences and established contacts. She considered student exchange as a remarkable source of soft power. Thus, for example, she notes that more than 100,000 Indian students are studying each year in the United States. Some return home, some remain and contribute to the USA economy. On a visit to China, she visited the Beijing National Museum, where exchange students presented their experiences studying abroad. Clinton took the opportunity to implement soft power diplomacy, through the exchange of students, cultural tours and scientific cooperation. She set a priority to send more American students to study in China, up to 100,000 in four years, which would have a long-term impact on relations on China.

She received many invitations and it was necessary to choose those that were the most important. For example, in Tokyo, she met with Empress Michiko (the first time she met her was when her husband was the President of the United States). In addition, she wanted to get to know the students, activists, volunteers, teachers, people from the working class and especially the representatives of civil society, because they were neglected in the past. Civil society compares with the 'third leg' of the chair. Meetings of this nature were necessary because if the Japanese government did not support the USA objectives, at least the people were on her side. They are the ones who are fighting against corruption, organized mass movements, and thus attract attention, especially in the areas of environmental degradation, violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms and economic inequality.

Even as a senator she maintained that the United States must begin to deal seriously with the rise of China since it became a serious competitor through its economic and financial power. In the past, emerging new powers have rarely come without friction. "In this case the situation was particularly complicated be-

cause of how interdependent our economies were becoming. In 2007, trade between the United States and China surpassed \$387 billion; in 2013, it reached \$562 billion. The Chinese held vast amounts of U.S. Treasury bonds, which meant we were deeply invested in each other's economic success. As a consequence, we both shared a strong interest in maintaining stability in Asia and around the world and in ensuring the steady flow of energy and trade. Yet beyond these shared interests, our values and world-views often diverged; we saw it in old flash points like North Korea, Taiwan, Tibet, and human rights, and newly important ones such as climate change and disputes in the South and East China Seas." (Clinton 2014, p. 42)

A great example of soft power was cooperation on major international exhibition such as the 'World Fair, which was hosted by China in 2010. Each country had an opportunity to present its culture and traditions. USA at first did not respond to the invitation. Clinton admitted that she did not recognize the importance of cooperation in this exhibition. China understood American non-cooperation as disrespect by the USA and the decline of its interest in the region. Therefore, Clinton promised the United States would also take part in this exhibition. At the end, it was visited by a million visitors and offered the opportunity to present American history and values: perseverance, innovation and diversity. American students, who have taken up this task, spoke Mandarin and that made a big impression on domestic visitors. This is again proof that personal contact is important, sometimes even more than diplomatic meetings or meetings of senior politicians.

The effect of the so-called 'soft diplomacy' will be visible in the future. As pointed out by Clinton, one of the results will be an increased number of student exchanges, cultural visits and scientific cooperation between the USA and China. She has set as a priority to encourage more USA students to study in China (target: 100,000 students over four years) and to persuade Chinese officials that the USA is interested in increasing cooperation between the countries. This would be an investment for future generations!

Large countries such as the USA, besides financing, also increased human resources in diplomacy. So they can organize, or even carry out, various projects for the international promotion of their culture and country in general. All this, of course, is for the benefit for the global market.

CONCLUSION

Hard Choices by Hillary Rodham Clinton will become an important document of the time. Although the primary mission of the book is to show Clinton as a capable political leader, there are contributions and analyses in it that serve as an excellent display of high diplomacy. Setting aside the candidacy for President, the basic story remains persistent and tough pursuit of goals and pronounced patriotism and boundless dedication to serve the country. There are several (maybe too many) emotional conflicts and personal dilemmas. But that makes the book readable.

Introducing the smart power approach to foreign policy has brought a major change in the USA diplomacy. This applies in particular when compared to the approaches of her predecessors, Condoleezza Rice and Colin Powell. Nevertheless, we can state in closing that a major change in the direction of foreign policy does not imply a change of strategy. This proves to be an important phrase in the book: “Nonetheless I remained fundamentally optimistic about America’s future. My confidence was rooted and a lifetime of studying and experiencing the ups and downs of American history and a clear-eyed assessment of our comparative advantages relative to the rest of the world. Nations’ fortunes rise and fall, and there will always be people predicting catastrophe just around the corner. But it’s never smart to bet against the United States. Every time we’ve faced a challenge, whether war or depression or global competition, Americans have risen to meet it, with hard work and creativity.” (Clinton 2014, 25)

Whether foreign policy is in the hands of a Democrats or Republicans, it always toughly defends USA interests. American diplomats are always proud patriots who firmly believe that they are doing well. This also applies to Hillary Clinton. Despite her smart power appearance, she was determined and no less indul-

gent than her predecessors were. She has brilliantly exploited her advantages to enforce USA interests. Even her political opponents must admit that she was successful. Will she get the opportunity to rise to the presidency, we do not know. It would be interesting to read *Hard Choices 2*, by the former President of the United States.

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book reviews

Bosnia and the Destruction of Cultural Heritage

Helen Walasek with contributions by
Richard Carlton, Amra Hadžimuhamedović,
Valery Perry and Tina Wik

Andreja Kerševan

The False Apocalypse – From Stalinism to Capitalism

Fatos Lubonja

Anamarija Kamin

Andreja Kerševan

Helen Walasek

*with contributions by Richard Carlton, Amra
Hadžimuhamedović, Valery Perry and Tina Wik*

BOSNIA AND THE DESTRUCTION OF CULTURAL HERITAGE

Ashgate, Surrey, 2015, 430 pages

ISBN 978-1-4094-3704-8

There are many lessons to be learned from the 1992-1995 Bosnian war as the break-up of Yugoslavia. The events that followed amounted into the worst crimes on European soil since the Second World War and represent one of the most discussed topics in contemporary history. Hence, it is difficult to imagine there are still some aspects of the war that have not yet been covered. *Bosnia and the Destruction of Cultural Heritage*, a book written by experts who worked actively in cultural heritage preservation in Bosnia during and in the aftermath of the war, seeks to assess the questions of cultural heritage preservation, restoration and protection as a part of post-conflict and development aid while offering the first comprehensive overview and analysis of the destruction of Bosnian cultural heritage during the war.

The awareness of the importance of protection of cultural heritage is not something new and

perhaps ironically but according to 1989 UNESCO report former Yugoslavia was considered a model of good practice with regard to 1954 Hague Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict. As horrified as the world was when hearing about the destruction of the Old Bridge in Mostar or the National Library (Vijećnica) in Sarajevo, the real scale of destruction was much bigger – almost 100% of all Bosniak/Muslim places of worship and more than 75% of all Bosnian Croat/Roman Catholic churches standing on the territory occupied by Bosnian Serbs were found either seriously damaged or totally destroyed. Even though by far biggest damage was done by Bosnian Serbs and the targeted group was in majority Bosniaks/Muslims it must be stressed that all three groups played both roles (victim and perpetrator) in destruction of cultural heritage.

It is true that wars have many devastating effects and the destruction of cultural heritage can-

not be seen as the worst effect of all but the case of Bosnia perfectly shows how destruction of cultural heritage can be systematic, extensive, premeditated and of deliberate nature, representing a fundamental part of violent attempts to create mono-ethnic territories through ethnic cleansing. Aiming at destroying the physical evidence of a people's existence, changing the history and preventing the people's return after the war's end, the destruction of people's cultural heritage represents an aspect of genocide and therefore it must not be underestimated. The subject deserves and needs to be discussed and *Bosnia and the Destruction of Cultural Heritage* represent a valuable contribution to that discussion.

The book consists of 8 chapters which give, through numerous case studies accompanied with more than 120 photos, an all-together comprehensive overview and critical analysis of the destruction of Bosnia-Herzegovina's cultural heritage and its far-reaching impact. The subject of destruction of Bosnian cultural heritage is covered from many different aspects and the book gives us an account of events of destruction with analysing its patterns and rationale behind it during the war. It discusses domestic, regional and international reactions to the events and covers the post-war developments, connected to restoration of destroyed

heritage and an impact these events had on subsequent development of the concept of protection of cultural heritage in international law.

Chapter 1 gives an overview of the destruction of the cultural heritage in Bosnia-Herzegovina, covering destruction of built historic, cultural and religious structures as well as the fate of the country's movable heritage. While analysing actual examples of destruction Walasek looks for patterns of destruction, motivation behind it and its justification. The chapter then critically examines the international reactions to the destruction and gives an overview of the post-conflict Bosnia's heritage.

Chapter 2 examines documentation of the damage to Bosnia's heritage, both local and regional reports as well as international surveys, revealing the lack of scholarly works and surveys on the subject and the continuing damage caused by the lack of independently verified information and by the doubts about the accuracy of the local and regional reports. Lack of independent assessment of the uneven, inaccurate and contradictory information available at the time and the need to critically examine the validity of the highly politicized wartime claims of cultural destruction led Walasek and Carlton to make two fieldtrips to Bosnia in 2000 and

2001, the findings of which are described in Chapter 3.

Chapter 4 provides an overview and the analysis of Annex 8 of the Dayton Peace Agreement and the evolution of its Commission to Preserve National Monuments of Bosnia-Herzegovina, identifying all the lessons that can be learned from this process.

While Chapter 5 analyses domestic and international attitude towards restoration of Bosnian cultural heritage, different actors and their agendas in different domains of restoration and their interaction and engagement in peace process, Chapters 6 and 7 offer case studies of the post-war restoration. Hadžimuhamedović in Chapter 6 describes the restoration of the destroyed heritage of the Bosnian town Stolac while Wik in Chapter 7 presents the restoration from an international perspective. Chapter 7 discusses the work of the in 1995 founded Swedish NGO CHwB (Cultural Heritage without Borders) outlining many issues and challenges it faced in post-war Bosnia.

The book ends with the Chapter 8's examination of the impact the Bosnian war had on the development of international humanitarian and human rights law regarding the protection and preservation of cultural heritage. The chapter outlines the work of ICTY (International Criminal Tribunal

for the former Yugoslavia) and other tribunals which not only treated the destruction of cultural property as a crime but also as a part of genocide.

One must keep in mind that the destruction of cultural heritage during the Bosnian war was not just destruction of the heritage of Bosniaks, Bosnian Croats and Bosnian Serbs, but a destruction of European cultural heritage and the destruction of human/world cultural heritage. This is what needs to be stressed while we can observe the destruction of cultural heritage of some of the world most ancient civilizations.

Bosnia and the Destruction of Cultural Heritage, while a book that cannot be missed by students and others, interested in Bosnian war, offers a valuable and extensive analysis and critical observation of the events and processes, connected to the destruction of cultural heritage and with that some additional valuable lessons that can be learned from the 1992-1995 war in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Walasek and other contributors produced a highly significant volume that from one point of view systematically and empirically uncovers the issue in Bosnia, and from another one points out the topic, its accuracy and universal lessons learned. Both aspects gain on importance while we witness destruction of various countries around the globe.

Anamarija Kamin

Fatos Lubonja

THE FALSE APOCALYPSE – FROM STALINISM TO CAPITALISM

Istros Books, London 2014, 254 pages

ISBN: 978–1908236197

This book review offers an inside into the work of the distinguished Albanian author Fatos Lubonja.

The book: *The False Apocalypse – From Stalinism to Capitalism* offers an overview on disturbing period of time for Albania in the year of 1997. The book can be read as a novel about an activist Fori Qorri who is telling the story of his country from a complex period of time. But going behind the curtain of obvious stated facts, the book provides and inside into a real story of people, who were exposed to the unpredicted circumstances after the collapse of economy in Albania. Beyond that, it can be understood as an insight into events of riots, fall of the government, anarchy and near civil war in Albania.

Fatos Lubonja, who spent all together seventeen years in labour camp, is considered an outspoken critic of Albanian politics and government in the times of post-communist world. He is a writer, an editor and a main figure

in Albania's political life. Already from the back side of the cover of this book, we can get the impression also how important intellectual person he is. His thoughts were, not so safely, written in his diaries, which contained criticism of the president of Albania, Enver Hoxha. The book is placed in time of the president Sali Berisha, Albanian president who presented himself as anti-communist, and turned out not to abandon previous Hoxha's authoritarianism.

The book offers an inside into the year of 1997, which was a disturbing period for Albania. In years before, post-communist country faced the transformation from Stalinist dictatorship. From here on country continued its path to capitalism. In the hope for the better future and maybe even because of pure craving for higher economical standard, people put their trust into the system of financial pyramids. Truly there were uncertain times in Albania. This system turned out to be full of fraudsters who intentionally invited people to participate. Some

put into the system their last savings, the others fortunes of money. At the beginning of the year 1997 the system began to collapse what launched demonstrations and protests all over Albania. Despair of people to obtain their money and of the government to retain the power and the position, led to violence and collapse of the state and its institutions. Characteristics of anarchical environment at that time were also based on released prisoners and armed crowd. As such Fatos Lubonja's book, *The False Apocalypse* presents two dimensions, where one is mentioned above. With the other dimension the book also shares personal experience of the author, which is written from prospective of the main character, Fori Qorri.

In Lubonja's book we get a clear overview of changed circumstances in Albania's internal sphere after the collapse of financial pyramids. The political regime was not capable of responding to changed circumstances. It couldn't stop imitating the regime of Enver Hoxha, and at the same time it would not behave the same way. In the coastal city Vlora, closest city to Italy, is where the protests and fights against the government started. After February the south of Albania started the fight that ripped the country apart. The people could not trust the government. Even the police violence, acts of the army, aircraft bombing, governmental agree-

ment from 9th March or the plan of the establishment of the State of Emergency, didn't subordinate the people. The state institutions became weaker and weaker, and nobody knew anymore who was responsible for the state. The criminal actions were more and more present in the south of Albania and in Tirana. The events were showing that people had to defend themselves from an army that might disarm them, imprison them, take away the available food, essential supplies, but they also had to defend themselves from criminal.

In the presented feelings of loyalty and belonging of Fori Qorri to the state and its people, the book reveals an even deeper dimension. He became the main person of Forum of Democracy, opposition and group of people, which demanded new elections and peaceful surrender of power of the government. Even after the members of diplomatic staff in Albania, important politicians, intellectuals and many of Qorri's friends fled from the country, Qorri stayed in Albania. He recognized different conditions in the country and believed that people of Albania did not fight in the civil war, as they were not fighting against each other. The circumstances in the state were just formed around desperation of people who didn't know what was going on or what would happen to them. And if at this point we

name the character of Fori Qorri as alter ego of Fatos Lubonja, the author truly described the development of events in a detailed way. At the end every reader can recognize the false apocalyptic drama and bittersweet realization, that events from the beginning of the year 1997, might just leave everything as it was before.

Nevertheless the book is written as a novel, which is why it doesn't stress out some important facts of Albanian history that also contributed to the collapse in 1997, which could help us understand the presented development of the events. Even more, the background knowledge would help us to understand the position of the author and his personal experiences that have so importantly contributed to this book. That's why the foreword by the journalist and author, Andrew Gumbel is more than welcome. Albanian president Enver Hoxha was the socialist leader of Albania from 1944 until his death in 1985. In the times of his political career he was a chairman of the Democratic Front of Albania, first Secretary of the Party of Labour of Albania, commander in chief of the armed forces, prime minister of Albania and in between foreign minister and defence minister as well. In his time the opposition was eliminated, death penalty was performed frequently, long prison terms were a usual thing and his opponents were under strict con-

trol. With other Stalinist methods all threats on his power were destroyed (U.S. Library of Congress 1994). From this it can be obvious why finding notes full of criticism of this system in Lubonja's diaries, was enough to condemn the author, first on seven years imprisonment for agitation and propaganda, and later on extra ten years of prison, supposedly because of being part of pro-Soviet circle in the prison.

Overall impression of the book is excellent. The historical facts and events are not tediously stated in a form of one more school book on politics. It reveals many details from an insider's point of view. It should be an obligatory source of information for anyone that truly wants or needs to understand the facts of the important part of the history of Albania; the rise and collapse of Albanian's pyramid schemes and the political and social crisis that followed. The book offers personal experiences and economic and political facts, which are presented in a clear form with just enough symbolism that holds the reader in anticipation of an outcome. And after all the facts and circumstances are revealed, the final outcome of the book should not be unexpected. Everything might just stay like it was before.

sarajevo
2014

**New Middle Classes, Religion and
Politics: The Case of JDP and the New
Political Vision of Politicized Islam for the
Transforming Positions within Class**

Özgür Olgun Erden

New Middle Classes, Religion and Politics: The Case of JDP and the New Political Vision of Politicized Islam for the Transforming Positions within Class Structure in Turkey

Özgür Olgun Erden¹

ABSTRACT

Islamist communities are among leading agencies of overwhelming socio-economic, cultural and political changes more than other groups in Turkey and Bosnia-Herzegovina (BiH) as in all worlds. However, we would essentially study how and why political and economic relations between these two countries have developed by considering regional, historical and cultural legacy remaining from Ottoman Empire and emergence of Islamic capital in these countries. These relations are defined as dependent on many distinct factors that point out economically these groups' new class positions, and ways of capital, culturally their religious and Islamic roots, their ways of consumptions and lifestyle, and politically their political tendencies, and the changing choices of political party. At bottom, the fundamental changes that we are concerned about are economic and political ones in case of BiH and of Turkey. What is meant by economic change is Islamic-based ways of capital in both country and new middle classes in Turkey, creating and maximizing these ways of Islamic capital. By political change, we would mention from the coming of JDP, being an Islamist political party, to power in 2002 in Turkey. Adopting and

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highlighting Islamist-conservative tendencies in domestic and foreign policies, JDP is an Islamist political party that claims to have differentiated from previous Islamist parties in Turkey and had no longer any ties with them. This party would also be one of political parties trying to develop economic, cultural and political relationships with BiH. In this study, we will attempt to analyze both emergence of Islamic capitals in BiH and Turkey and an Islamist political party (JDP), endeavoring to found close relations with BiH.

Keywords: Islam, New Middle Classes, Politics, Turkey and Bosnia and Herzegovina

POVZETEK

Islamske skupnosti so med vodilnimi subjekti v družbeno-ekonomskih, kulturnih in političnih spremembah in sicer bolj kot druge skupnosti tako v Turčiji ter Bosni in Hercegovini (BiH) kot drugod po svetu. Kljub vsemu pa bomo v bistvu preučevali, kako in zakaj so se politični in gospodarski odnosi med obema državama razvijali, upoštevajoč regionalno, zgodovinsko in kulturno dediščino Otomanskega imperija in nastanek islamskega kapitala v teh državah. Ti odnosi so odvisni od različni dejavnikov, ki z ekonomskega vidika nakazujejo nov razredni položaj teh skupin ter vrste kapitala, kulturnega vidika njihove verske in islamske korenine, način potrošnje in način življenja in političnega vidika njihove politične težnje in spreminjajoče izbire političnih strank. Zanimajo nas torej ekonomske in politične spremembe v primeru BiH in Turčije. Z gospodarskimi spremembami je mišljeno islamsko osnovan kapital v obeh državah in novi srednji razred v Turčiji, ki ustvarja in maksimira tovrstne vrste islamskega kapitala. Glede političnih sprememb v članku omenjamo JDP, islamistično politično stranko, ki je prišla na oblast leta 2002 v Turčiji in za katero je značilno sprejemanje in poudarjanje islamistično-konservativnih teženj v domači in zunanji politiki in ki trdi, da se razlikuje od prejšnjih islamističnih strank v Turčiji in da z njimi ni povezana. Ta stranka je tudi ena od političnih strank, ki poskuša razviti gospodarski, kulturni in politični odnos z BiH. V tem članku bomo poskušali analizirati tako nastanek islamskega kapitala v BiH in Turčiji in Islamske politične stranke (JDP), ki si prizadeva ustvariti tesnejše odnose z BiH.

Ključne besede: Islam, novi srednji razred, politika, Turčija, Bosna in Hercegovina

INTRODUCTION

Islamist groups have begun to occupy an important place in political discussions for the last two decades. These discussions have been actualized in both national and international grounds. There are two main reasons for these discussions to occur. One of them is that these social groups have expanded to broader geographical areas due to migration and urbanization, and their population has increased. The other reason is that class structures have been differentiated by the emergence of new middle classes and with growing accumulation of capital, and these classes have spread into a great deal of economic sectors like such as industry, finances, service sectors, education, media, and publication. In order to analyze economic shifts in these communities, this paper studies Turkey and BiH as cases. Taking the mentioning economic-based transformations into account in two cases, it also examines how overall political transformations have materialized within these conservative and Islamic-inclined social groups. Such political transformations, if Turkey is taken into consideration, have been tried to be explained by using approaches distinct from one another. The first of these approaches is more sociological one referring to a number of social events such as urbanization and migration, namely, particularly the excess population mobility of religious-conservative peasant groups coming from periphery [rural] at the beginning of 1950s to centre [state politically] up to the end of 1980s and 1990s. Other approach is a political one which strives to explain the attempts to eliminate socialist leftist hegemony by 1980 military coup in order to shut the existing ideological gap in Turkey. And finally, another is holistic approach which attempts to both politically and sociologically analyze formation of new middle classes within the mentioning groups particularly from 1980 to today. In last approach, analysts touches on many points like ideological positions, politics-making styles, political conflicts, hegemonic policies, and economic transformations and struggles among distinct religious-traditional groups in especially 1980s and 1990s.(Güenalp, 2001; Karakaş, 2007; Çınar & Duran, 2008)

Based on the latest approach, this paper will try to clarify a period to be debated more these social groups [i.e. middle class-

based Islamic groups] who come to political power under organization of a political party, JDP. Before this, in discussions with regard to Turkey there would be seen to be several interpretations which have approached differently to this issue. For instance, liberal front interprets changes as migration from rural to urban due to liberal-economic regulations and market-oriented policies at the beginning of 1950 and thus urbanization. Liberal interpretation sees them as transformation of relationships between centre [modern-secular state and its elites] and periphery [religious-faithful people] in Turkey as theorized by Şerif Mardin (Mardin, 1973) and variation of conservative-traditional lifestyle in forms of consumption, relationship of capitalist production, everyday life practices, individualization within urban life. Conservative-right front accepts as rising to power –mazlum- social groups oppressed and exposed to discrimination by laic-secular political elites for long years.

Lastly, leftist front asserts that these changes arose as a result of social-historical transformations of capitalist production and relationships due to neoliberal-economy policies and mechanization in agriculture and class transformations in Turkey together with globalization. Similarly, in case of BİH, globalization and capital mobility would be one of the basic compulsive components. In this country, the main engine of change has been neo-liberal economic policies and global capital flows.

In this study, by reconsidering these two interpretations there will be three points that we want to analyze within Islamic groups and political parties. One of them is emergence of new middle classes that started to develop during especially 1980s and 1990s together with neoliberal-capitalist crash within traditional-religious groups. These classes are told to symbolize traditional values and norms and conservative tendencies and live according to religious rules. Through transfer Islamic capitals to other countries like BİH, they would be underlined to transform economic structures and relationships toward formation of a global Islamic capital in these countries. Second is reinterpretation of Islam by synthesizing it with secular ideologies such as liberal democracy, entrepreneurialism, rule of law, consumption and neoliberal market-oriented policies. Emphasizing that Islam has an individualist

and entrepreneur spirit, this reinterpretation would be pointed out to have made Islamic economy and capital in economic sectors like education, publication, media apparatus [newspaper, TV, radio], private hospitals and banking in countries such as Turkey and Bosnia and Herzegovina. Lastly, another is the rise of JDP² to power as a conservative and Islamic political party in conformity with the changing socio-economic structures in Turkey. We will strive to explain transforming political vision of Islamic politics in case of JDP by analyzing these three aspects of Islamic groups.

METHOD

We are striving to study both globally and nationally emergence of Islamic capital within Islamic communities or groups by using a historical and comparative approach with help of literature review. That is to say, on the one hand there would be given place some figures about how Islamic capital has grown and formed; on the other, in certain historical context, there will be showed reasons why this capital has established and when and condition under which it has started to develop by utilizing from a comparative method.

This historical-comparative based on a literature review would be applied into both political and economic sphere in our analy-

² Abbreviated as JDP in English and as AK Parti or AKP in Turkish, Justice and Development Party (JDP) is an Islamist and conservative political party in Turkey, which has rejected this tradition in spite of coming from an Islamist tradition. Founded in 2001 by Recep Tayyip Erdoğan who is party's first leader and one of first and foremost founders, Turkish political party includes a lot of leading Turkish politicians such as Abdullah Gül, Bülent Arınç, Ahmet Davutoğlu, Köksal Toptan, Hüseyin Çelik, having quite varied political tendencies like Islamism, nationalism, centre-right. It, thus, consists mostly of coalitions of Islamists, conservatives, nationalists and centre-right. Soon after its foundation, the party has won the three general elections in 2002, 2007, 2011 by taking 34, 3, 46, 6, and 49, 8 percent of votes respectively. JDP is a party pronouncing its ideology as 'conservative democracy', which its conservatism is alleged to be linked only to moral and social issues. In addition to 'conservative democracy', it, which claims to be one of prominent supporters of EU, also supports and advocates liberal market economy and neoliberal policies in order to integrate with the globalized capital and to be an important economic actor in global world. It would be known as Pan-Islamist and New-Ottomanist in its foreign and domestic policy, which defends revival of Ottoman Culture and try to increase its political force and domination in previous Ottoman territories. Especially, the party's foreign politics is defined as 'New Ottomanism', being an ideology which promotes Turkish political existence and intervention in former territorial areas of Ottoman Empire. (Yavuz, 2009a; Yavuz, 2003b; Hale & Özbudun, 2010; Cizre (edit.), 2008)

sis because here we are attempting a political analysis in parallel with study of new Islamic capital created. By aid of this method, we will examine in Turkey the changing political-ideological discourse of Islamic politics that refers to new Islamic political vision in the framework of political analysis mentioned above. For Foucault and others too, an important concern of discourse theory is to analyze the institutional base of discourse, the viewpoints and positions from which people speak, and the power relations these allow and presuppose. Hence, discourse theory interprets discourse as a site and object of struggle where different groups [for instance, like Islamic communities in our case] strive for hegemony and the production of meaning and ideology (Best and Kellner, 1991; p. 26). So then, there would be an analysis of discourse studying how Islamic ideological discourse and its hegemony have transformed. Given this method, we should state that it would be a holistic way of analysis which aims to review new political-ideological discourse and formation of Islamic middle classes at political and economic level.

Economy, religion and politics: multidimensional relationships between turkey and bosnia and herzegovina

Drawing attention to economic changes and transformation more, our view indicates that one of the greatest common points between Turkey and BİH is gradually the growing Islamic Capital in Islamic groups. This progressive situation of economy in both countries would have two sides. One of them would be culture or religion, and other, political. When we look at in terms of culture or religion, there would be seen to be the increasing Islamic capital due to the developing economic relationships because in either country, majority of population consists religiously of 'Muslims'. For instance, in the field of educational assistance, Turkey did invest a lot in BİH and as a result, several cultural and educational centres have been opened. One of them is the Konya – Sarajevo Cultural Educational Centre. The main aim of the centre is to negotiate in agricultural, cultural and sport interactions between the two cities. Another aim of this Centre is to organize various courses and by bringing lecturers from Konya to educate the participants in various aspects, like EBRU painting, wood painting, painting on porcelain, making bijouterie, and

learning Turkish (Opacin, 2008; p.3) Apart from cultural or religious relationships, at the same time Dominated and invested by Islamic-capital groups, Turkish economy and its relationships would affect political structures and relationships in sense of rising Islamic political party (i.e. JDP) to power, which has arisen as an outcome of economic changes in Islamic groups. Having captured political power as a religious-Islamist party in Turkey, this political party would shift economic, political and cultural and regional relationships among countries. Except for that, it seems that Bosnia-Herzegovina (BiH) has a tradition of bilateral relations with the Republic of Turkey, since the very beginning of BiH as an independent state. Relations between these two states are based on several aspects, which are political, educational, military, cultural and economic. Whilst some are less developed, certain aspects which comprise relations between Turkey and BiH are further emphasized and expanded. The examples of relations which are significant and impact upon further development of BiH are relations which are focused on political, educational and economic strengthening. Political relations between Turkey and BiH reflect a very strong myriad of assistance and support. Due to deep historical, cultural and social bonds, BiH has always been one of those countries which have a privileged place on the Turkish foreign policy agenda (Opacin, 2008; p. 2) In this respect, there would seem that relationships between Turkey and BiH have improved from both political, economic and cultural (religion) aspects. Therefore, we point out that, as in our example of Islamic groups, economy-based changes have altered regional, cultural and political relationships between countries such as Turkey and BiH, which have many common cultural-religious features.

There would be witnessed that particularly political relationships between two countries have been tried to be advanced. At the start of September 2008, in a meeting that both countries' deputies have come together it would be stated that the parliamentary relations between BiH and the Republic of Turkey are very good, attested by cooperation between the parliamentary groups of the two countries. During the meeting both parties expressed satisfaction over satisfying political relations between the two countries, which serves as a basis for better economic and

trade cooperation. Also, Turkish President Abdullah Gül, who is one of first and foremost founders, and first Prime Minister of government after landslide victory in 2002 general elections, highlighted the importance of its ties with BiH by saying that “we maintain our efforts to protect Bosnia-Herzegovina’s sovereignty, political unity and territorial integrity (Opacin, 2008; p. 3) For this, political attitude that any political party would take on the face of BiH is too much important in terms of developing and promoting economic, cultural and regional associations. Having been an Islamic political party and in political power since 2002 within Turkey, JDP would endeavor to improve political, economic and cultural relationships between Turkey and BiH. At present, Turkish Prime Minister Ahmet Davutoğlu, who were old Turkish Foreign Minister of JDP, introduced a new-found dynamism and assertiveness in Turkish foreign policy in the Western Balkans, and in BiH in particular, without changing its main orientation. Turkey is not new to the region and has shared history and cultural practices. Turkey advocates the re-establishment of the multi-ethnic and multicultural status of BiH. Such reconstruction is not possible without respect to the independence, sovereignty and the territorial integrity of the country. Official Turkish foreign policy also voices full support for the integration of Bosnia-Herzegovina into NATO and the EU. (Eralp, 2010; p. 3, 4-5) For this reason, in our view what is important here is the changing political vision in traditional-Islamic politics within Islamic-based countries but particularly how JDP as an Islamic political party has changed in [secular] Turkey, which reinterprets Islam according to foreign and domestic policies, neoliberal economy, liberal democracy, rule of law, work-ethic or individual rights and so on. For instance, in the case of Turkey, Çayır asserts that traditional-Islamic politics transformed gradually from a social-political position which promises an Islamic order different from capitalism and socialism and represents collective and oppositional essence of Islamism toward one which defines itself as self-reflexive and self-critical faces of Islamism in accordance with individualization, patterns of consumption and the differentiated worldviews referring to not only Islam in modern life but also different resources like liberalism, conservatism or Marxism (Çayır, 2002; p.64-68). From now on, it would be mentioned

from requirement to be blended Islam with distinctive modern ideologies by rejecting Islam as the single and integrated resource in this world. There has begun to emerge the changing political visions of Islam harmonized with modern ideologies by reinterpreting Islam. For instance, in case of BiH this political vision would certainly affect current conditions of Islamic groups. The said effect, as a result of globalization, is to stem from transfer of Islamic capital produced by Turkey and other countries to countries where Islamic groups live. It is thought that one of these political visions is an Islam redefined according to neoliberal-conservative principles together with formation of new middle classes in class structure of Turkey. This new middle class highly represents a religious-traditional lifestyle synthesized with modernity and its lifestyle. As a result of change in class structure, there is claimed to have arisen a political power [example of JDP] which creates political-cultural hegemony and has a 'liberalized' religious and conservative worldview.

New Middle Classes, Islamic Capital and Conservative-Islamic Social Groups in Turkey and Bosnia and Herzegovina

It is often mentioned from formation of a new middle class rising through neoliberal policies imposed Thatcher, Regan and Özal in Turkey. The same class positions would occur within other countries due to global economies. One of them is Bosnia and Herzegovina. For instance, in context of BiH Karcic points out crucially important factor, i.e. impact of globalization, as cause to happen great economic changes. He argues that globalization has enabled universal Muslim ideas and practices to be transmitted around the globe with great speed. He contends that effects of globalization on Bosnians Muslims can be generally divided into the effects stemming from the West and those stemming from the East. From the East, the big players of Muslim world are Saudi Arabia, Iran and *Turkey* since globalization favours big players (Karcic, 2010; p. 152). In fact, as Karcic stated, global economy so clearly indicates us that capital have gained an international dimension due to communication means and computerized-high technology. Moreover, this capital at the same time is without nation.

As stated above, at the beginning of 1970s, transformation of capitalist structures has given rise to establish new and greater intermediate layers by the coming of high-technology capitalist economies, media and communication technologies, computerization and thus larger service sector. These layers are new middle classes. They have been always one of the basic issues of social theories. From the technocratic prophesies of Thorstein Veblen and James Burnham to the “new little man” of C. Wright Mill’s white collars and the post-industrial theories of Daniel Bell and Alvin Gouldner, each generation of social theorists has based on its vision of the emerging social order on the rediscovery or reinterpretation of this class (Burris, 1986; p. 315). The signified new middle classes include a larger class, consisting of both old middle class and lower middle one. In other words, as Glassman have stated, such classes would represent upper middle class, middle class and lower middle one by containing old middle classes. In this way, the middle managers and bureaucrats, the technocrats, professionals, and service sectors make up this new middle class. This, of course, is Mills’ ‘new middle class’ (Glassman, 1997; p. 73). Glassman argues that upper middle class symbolizes financiers as a new high-tech business stratum comprising of individual speculators, financial firms and investor firms and the managers as a new upper class including administrators who begin to control technical knowledge and high-technology-based economic system. Apart from this, middle class consists of technocrats [like engineers, physicists, chemists], service workers [such as doctors, nurses, lawyers, psychologists, other health-care professionals, teachers, child-care workers and another segments of service stratum] and the intellectuals [like writers, academicians, media workers and journalists] when lower middle classes contain the white-collars workers consisting of clerks, typists, secretaries, receptionists, telephone operators and the low-paid working groups proletarianized service sector like cashiers, janitors in hospital or school, security guards, the working persons in café, restaurant, shopping malls. As known, old middle classes comprise of independent small businessmen, shopkeepers, farmers declining gradually as a class (Glassman, 1997; p. 74, 91). Similarly to what Glassman have said, Erik Olin Wright who has a great deal of studies on new middle class states that this class has

the complicating intermediate layers differentiating in itself by criticizing Poulantzas' view of middle classes generally which was constructed on separation of productive and unproductive labor. He developed an alternative theory of new middle class excluding Poulantzas' general approach over this class. For Wright, this an alternative way of dealing with such ambiguities in class structure is to regard some positions as occupying *objectively contradictory locations within class relations*. One of the basic concepts created by Wright to analyze these new middle classes differentiated in itself is notion of *contradictory locations within class relations*. This concept refers to intermediate layers such as managers, small employers, semi-autonomous wage-earners between whether bourgeoisie and proletariat, proletariat and petty bourgeoisie or bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie (Wright, 1976; p. 26-27). Following both Wright and Glassman's conceptualization of new middle class, we express explicitly that there has been a new middle class differentiated in accordance with neoliberal and high-technology-based capitalist economy. The fact of formation of this new middle class is a political and socio-historical event actualized in all worldwide. It may be said that in Turkey this new middle class embodied as a conservative-Islamic social group has both socio-logically a socio-cultural fact as in all world due to conservative and religious bases and political fact in order to rise to political power [example of JDP] with neoliberal-conservative policies.

The same processes have occurred in Turkey as well, as connected with formation of this new middle class. But in Turkey, discussions focused more on this class' political and cultural-symbolic aspects. Quite a while, it would be pointed out that in Turkey, new middle classes have been traditional and religious in cultural context. Additionally, they would be emphasized to have been conservative and neoliberal in political and economic sense. These middle classes as a new business groups energized by Islam have facilitated much needed class mobility. Their expansion fuelled economic growth, industrial diffusion to Anatolian towns, and a rapid rise in export capacity. In Turkey, it is a new class depicted as *Anatolisation* of industrial capital (Özcan & Turunç, 2011; p. 63-64) or known as '*Anatolian tigers*'. This class has been said to begin to comprise through Özal' neo-liberal-inclined policies after 1980 fascist-military coup in Turkey.

As was known, the Özal era was also characterized by a policy of opening markets in Turkey. It led to a massive influx of capital, especially from the Arabic region. This “green” or “Islamic” capital was invested primarily in the banking and tourism sectors. This new inflow of capital also enabled the Islamists to reorganize politically and be more economically active. Özal’s economic policy provided an increased promotion of small and mid-sized companies. Especially the more provincial Anatolian cities such as Kayseri, Sivas and Gaziantep witnessed an upturn that had until then seemed inconceivable. A large number of companies that emerged were able to establish themselves on the world market as producers of, and suppliers for, export goods in the textile, leather, produce, construction and engineering industries. The upswing created a new middle class, the so-called “Anatolian bourgeoisie”, which is deeply grounded in Turkish Islamic culture (Karakaş, 2007; p. 20). Thereby, as Şen has argued, the most salient features of the post-coup societal transformations in Turkey can be found in the intersection and articulation between neoliberalism initiated by Özal’s policies and Turkish Islamism in many areas. However, in order to grasp the dimensions of this articulation, one should examine the increasing involvement of Islamists in economic activities since 1980s (Şen, 2010; p. 70). In parallel to this view, Thumann clearly asserts that Özal’s privatization of the economy allowed the Anatolian middle classes to flourish in the late 1980s. They became one of the pillars of Turkey’s export industries in the 1990s, benefiting as well from a customs union between Turkey and the European Union (Thumann, 2010; p. 45). But it is necessary not to ignore that there was a political organization which represented the so-called Islamic or conservative middle classes. Of course, it is known well to have been Erbakan’s NOP, NSP, and WF in Turkey from 1960s and 1970s until 1990s and 2000s behind these new middle classes.

The formation of this new middle class can be said to have had so long process of development by beginning from Erbakan’s period but nevertheless we see explicitly what provides growth of this class much quickly is neoliberal and market-based policies implemented by Özal. These devout and conservative classes, at the same time, will endeavour to transport their own capital into other countries where Islamic communities live in order to grow

increasingly the accumulated Islamic capitals. In example of BiH, as agents of Islamic revival, Karcic utters to see Islamic communities' institutions or organs embodied by the existence of Islamic capital. He signals that among these there might be Islamic Community's educational facilities, both for lower and higher Islamic education, its media [like televisions, radios, websites] and publishing [such as book, newspaper, magazine] (Karcic, 2011). For instance, as a directly result of transfer the growing Islamic capital to other economic sectors like education, or media in Turkey, Karcic tells us that the Fethullahcis [also known as the Gulen Movement] who forms and organizes too great part of Islamic capital in Turkey have five schools in Bosnia with more than 750 students. Also, there are two Turkish-Bosnian Colleges [Tursko Bosanski koledz], one in Sarajevo and one in Bihac. And two new universities have been established in Sarajevo with the help of Turkish capital, one being the International University of Sarajevo, the other the Burch International University. To Karcic, the first was established by capital from Turkish religious foundation, whereas the second one is believed to be tied the Fethullahcis (Karcic, 2010; p. 160).

For this reason by regarding the institutional, personnel, educational, financial capacity of Turkish Muslim actors, we can state that Turkish entrepreneur actors have operated not so much through discourse and public debate, but through establishing religious and educational infrastructure (Öktem, 2011; p. 7). Indeed, as in education the same picture is witnessed in other economic sectors as well in the case of BiH. Put it another way, as a result of developing gradually and forming Islamic capital in example of education, we see that there have been particularly begun to be founded economic associations like Islamic banking. For instance, BBI might be given in terms of showing to what extent these economic entrepreneurs have reached. Bukvic states that the establishment of Bosnia Bank International (BBI) in 2000 was the first Islamic Bank in BiH and the first bank of its kind in Europe. He says that BBI had big challenges ahead as it needed to satisfy both state banking regulations and Islamic principles at once, create and enhance public awareness, build an expert base and compete with 55 other banks in a 3.8 million-strong market population with limited economic activity (Bukvic, 2013). In

this context, it is self-evident that there has been a connection between Turkey and BiH along with emergence of Islamic capital created by new middle classes.

Together with formation of this class, it seems that this new middle class has begun to constitute its own voluntary association, MUSİAD in order to defend its economic and political interest. This organization was founded in 1990. The MÜSİAD sees itself as a platform and interest group who represents small and medium-sized Islamic businesses to state authorities. In everyday usage, the word “müstakil”[“independent”] in the MÜSİAD’s full title is often replaced by “müslüman” [“Muslim”], as Islam plays an important role in the business philosophy of the association and in its members’ business transactions as establishing trust and solidarity. 2,600 companies were members of the MÜSİAD in 2006, accounting for 12 percent of Turkey’s gross national product (Karakaş, 2007; pp. 21). As would be seen in the following table 1 (Buğra, 1998; p. 525), Buğra concretely indicates us this by comparing TÜSİAD’s figure of member representing secular-laic capital group with MÜSİAD’s figure of member representing conservative-religious capital group according to distinct years within business associations in Turkey.

Table-1 Date of incorporation of TÜSİAD and MÜSİAD member companies

	TÜSİAD	MÜSİAD
Before 1950	21	29
1950-1959	52	42
1960-1969	90	86
1970-1979	150	280
1980-1989	98	744
After 1990	---	589

Sources: MÜSİAD Tanıtım Kataloğu (MÜSİAD Members’ Company Profiles) (İstanbul: MÜSİAD, 1995); TÜSİAD Members’ Company Profiles (İstanbul: TÜSİAD, 1989).

This association’s biggest achievement is to return Islam as a strategic resource for strengthening its own identity, promoting networking among members and lobbying for its own interests

with state authorities (Karakaş, 2007; p. 21). Differently from Karakaş, Şen tries to examine this growth as connected with association's political relationship in a historical context. Signifying that it has brought together about 3,000 members who represent more than 10,000 firms with varying sizes and geographical distribution in order to advocate views and complaints of entrepreneurs affiliated with Islamists groups, he gives more important to political processes than anything else. He asserts that MÜSİAD was in close relations with the WP as well in 1990s, together with saying its relations being to NOP and NSP in his article. Furthermore, for him there are organic ties between this association and the JDP. For instance, about ten MÜSİAD members were also founding members of the JDP and about 20 members became JDP deputies in the 2002 elections. These links were developed through complex network during Erdoğan's İstanbul mayoralty. Some of these ties were inherited from former ANAP members of Özal era and revitalized by the connections of organized religious groups. Thus, with the rise of the JDP into power in 2002, the association once again had a significant political positional at governmental level. According to Şen, a brief analysis of MÜSİAD's member companies, activities, and rhetoric can shed further light on the main characteristic of this newly developed business group as well as the articulation of Islamists groups with neoliberalism through economic activities (Şen, 2010; p. 71). As have seen, although this is a class movement and social mobility between old and new middle classes more, there would be witnessed to overlap political relationships with economic ones. We would see what provides this unity of political and economy is close ideological ties among these classes. The backbone of this ideology comprises of an entrepreneurial society and pursuit of wealth as the core principles of dominant neoliberal view. Islam is such a religion in conformity with these principles.

Lastly, outside of political and ideological relationships that we have stated above, it is necessary to mention that above all, there have been socio-economic transformations in class structure. The central site of this transformation is economy or economic sphere. It has been highlighted before that 1980 periods is a much important threshold for Turkey to establish such a new middle class in the context of implementing neoliberal and open-

ing market-based economic policies. In that period, small and medium-sized business had emerged as a panacea for economic re-structuring and privatization. With deregulation, state control was minimalized and the resistance of organized labor was break down. In addition to this, economic liberalization and new entrepreneurialism stimulated urban growth and industrialization in Anatolia. Industrial production, mostly in the traditional manufacturing sectors of textiles and foodstuffs, began to spread into medium-sized Anatolian towns while capital flight from rural to urban areas increased. Agriculture ceased to be the leading export sector as manufacturing came to account for over 75 percent of total exports by 2000. As an indicator of this, between 1980 and 1999, the urban population increased dramatically, from 44 to 74 percent of the total population (Özcan & Turunç, 2011; p. 67-68). As an outcome of transformations in economic sphere, as Özcan and Turunç have put forward, these facts sociologically show us that social mobility in economic area have affected rural and urban economic structure together with formation of new Islamic-conservative middle class. They argues that a new generation of indigenous entrepreneurs and *conservative* Anatolian urbanities began to undermine the state elite, old middle class and their alliance with transformations in economic sphere (Özcan & Turunç, 2011; p. 68). In sociological context, we have emphasized these economic transformations by not distinguishing them from political and ideological structure and relations. Conversely, we think that these structures [economic, political and ideological] are in close relation with one another. In political and ideological levels, many changes like rise of JDP to power in politically, ideologically reinterpreting Islam and synthesizing it with modern ideologies and economically new middle class's links with political power (i.e. JDP) would demonstrate to be such a close relationship.

Rinterpreting Islam and Its Synthesis with Modern Ideologies

Rinterpreting Islam means not to present own right an alternative social order against capitalist or socialist world. This also points out that Islam might synthesize with modern ideologies such as liberalism, conservatism or socialism. In other words, there might be said that it would be possible to be able to inte-

grate Islam with western world and modernity. At this point, in his article under the head of “The Emergence of Turkey’s Contemporary ‘Muslim Democrats”, the two basic separative points that Çayır have made would be explanatory to comprehend this situation mentioned here. He distinguishes Islam two periods. He begins with by arguing that although there were many nuances in the responses of different Islamic groups, several shared characteristic can be delineated in the context of the 1980s. According to him, the Islamic intellectuals, literary figures’ and politicians’ rhetoric of the period promoted a discourse which shares three common themes. First, Islam was repositioned as an action and belief system ‘in opposition to Western capitalism and socialism. Second, Islam was presented as essentially providing ‘the absolute truth’ and a ‘good life’ which leaves no spaces for other life options. Third, Islamic identity was imagined in collective terms in relation to a homogeneously constructed ‘secular/westernist other.’ Therefore, in his view the Islamic intellectual rhetoric of the 1980s revolved around a claim to formulate an authentic Islamic response that was ‘distinct’ from Western ideologies. This search in itself signifies a new politicization and ideologization of Islam as it compares it with capitalism or socialism rather than with other traditional religions (Çayır, 2002; p. 65). This interpretation of Islam is against western world and all modern ideologies produced by it. It was first period interpretation of Islam. Apart from this, second period refers to reinterpreting Islam. Çayır states that in this period, the other side of the story that determined the trajectory of Islamism in Turkey was Islamic groups’ will to participate in public life. Put differently, despite Islamism’s oppositional posture, what characterized Islamism was not a withdrawal from modern life but a collective will to participate in it by allowing Islamic actors to be in constant relation with modern forms of life. Islamic intellectuals’ plea for “revolt against industry and technology was anymore influential only at the rhetorical level and did not find echoes among Islamic groups who sponsored the training of their own engineers, journalists and economists as the 1980s moved into 1990s. Thus, Islamic actors have acquired modern professions by skillfully utilizing the educational facilities in Turkish context (Çayır, 2002; p.68-69). Another indicator of reinterpreting Islam is existence of different views

to be emerged in approaching Islam. These are said to be ‘political Islam’ and ‘social one’. Political Islam, as stated above, means bringing alternative political-juridical social order to modern socio-political structures. The rise of JDP to power would express to demonstrate this change at political level. In this context, Sambur points out that although JDP and Erdoğan came from the tradition of Erbakanist National View, they are totally different from it. He says that the rise of JDP demonstrates that political Islam is no longer a marginal movement, which represents periphery in Turkey. Its political ideology defined as ‘conservative democracy’ by writer is indeed a rejection of political Islam, particularly Erbakan’s rhetoric of National View –*Milli Görüş*-. Instead of an Islamist agenda, it tries to synthesize conservative values like morality, family, national identity, and historical pride and so on, with the principles of modern-Western world such as democracy, free market economy, pluralism, the rule of law and human rights (Sambur, 2009; p. 121). In parallel with this argument, Yılmaz signals that it would be useful, nonetheless, to note that contrary to the concerns of the secularists who have been trying to maintain the *status quo* that favors them, the new conservative elite has shown the ability to harness a pious and somewhat traditional way of life with a vision that is not only progressive and constructive but also compatible with values attributed to liberal democracy which represents the dominating modern-political order (Yılmaz, 2009; p.130). When we come to ‘social Islam’, it refers to changing positions of Islam in everyday life or civil society due to formation of a new middle class. Since this new class shows itself with cultural life including differentiated consumer choices, lifestyles, art and literature, organic intellectuals, educated positions in everyday life. Çayır argues that this process [social Islam] has continued with the formation of an Islamic middle class that began to create new public spaces and it is compatible with certain symbolic requirements of Islamic morality. He adds that women having religious values and lifestyle and living according to traditional norms have contributed dramatically such evolution of social Islam (Çayır, 2002; p. 69). In conclusion, reinterpreting Islam and synthesizing it with values and principles of modern-Western world demonstrate that Islam has transformed its position in political, economic and socio-cultural spheres.

New Political Vision of Islam: JDP and Neoliberal Islam integrated with Capitalism

This political vision is completely related to reinterpreting Islam in accordance with establishment of a new middle class. Of course, we should denote that there has been a great deal of social-historical factors such as class, capital, globalization, neoliberal policies, religion and politics in shaping such political vision. It is wholly a thing understandable to see that there has been religion due to religious roots of this Islamic politics remaining from the past. Religion coincides with both class [as new middle classes] and new political vision since it is absolutely connected with politics and class in presenting new political approach to Islam. At this point, we can so clearly show to occur how these concepts [religion, politics, and class] are associated with one another. Firstly, in economic sense, we would demonstrate this coincidence of religion with class by referring Özcan and Turunç's article, "Economic Liberalization and Class Dynamics in Turkey: New Business Groups and Islamic Mobilization". According to them, "newly emerging middle classes are engaged in promoting Islam as an ideology and moral glue in the class politics of Turkey (Özcan & Turunç, 2011; p. 82). As for coincidence of religion with politics, this politics, in cultural sense, may be conservative but also it tries to implement neoliberal policies compatible to the existing political and ideological hegemony and to interests of new middle classes. Conservative political direction of Islam is interested in understanding of democracy. In political context, for instance, Erdoğan, leader of JDP, describes himself as conservative democrat in one interview as follows: 'we are conservative democrats.... our notion of conservative democracy is to attach ourselves to the customs, traditions, and values of our society, which is based on the family...' This is a democratic issue, not a religious issue. Therefore, they radically cut their ties with National View – Milli Görüş- tradition and redefine themselves in secular terms. Justice and Development Party (JDP) defines its political identity as the *Conservative Democracy*, which makes Islam not a part of its political agenda, but a part of social-cultural identity. JDP changes itself in liberal and progressive direction, at the same time it shows sensitivity about the importance of the maintaining Turkish national, cultural, and religious identity and values in Turkish context (Sambur, 2009; p. 121). Another name of this con-

servative democracy might be liberal democracy since Yılmaz has signaled that this politics is compatible with values attributed to liberal democracy. Except for this, although we mention from relation class to religion before, there are in economic sense neoliberal political direction that defends and protects new middle classes' interests. This political vision that would be defined as neoliberal, conservative, Turkish national and democrat, pro-liberal democracy would be supported by new classes. Because members of the rising Anatolian middle class have pragmatic, business-driven view of the state and society. Their formula is very simple; for 'success' it is required only promotion of market economy, civil liberty and independent (Thumann, 2010; p. 46). At political level, achievement of this formula depends to implement a politics which would aim market economy, civil liberty and minimal state and so on. JDP promise to carry out broad market-oriented neoliberal policies based on competition. It would be the main agency of this politics. However, since this party came from an Islamic tradition, it would endeavour to use Islam as a political strategy and to blend Islam with neoliberal policies for free market economy. In this context, Atasoy asserts that the party links a neoliberal policy orientation to an Islamic version of what the World Bank calls 'human capital growth'. It goes beyond conceptualizing this as an aggregate of free actors in society making rational choices, and beyond the removal of state-imposed political, cultural, and administrative constraints. Islamic moral principles are seen as a strategy for 'asset building' in human capital. What this 'asset building' means in practice is that disadvantaged individuals and groups must be empowered culturally to become actively engaged in improving themselves in the economy. Through self-reliance and self-discipline, individuals endowed with an Islamic ethos and morality would be able to fully manage their position in society. The identification of individual self-growth with economic freedoms underpins the JDP's neoliberal orientation, politicized as a cultural project of citizen-empowerment based on 'trust' (Atasoy, 2009; p. 111). Creating an entrepreneur individual who has Islamic values and morality harmonized by Western principles and does not enjoy state-intervention in market-economy, this party and its politics tries to cultivate individuals who have self-discipline, hard-work and Islamic ethos. In present political power's view, for instance the implementation of

the Copenhagen political criteria will enable Turkey to secure economic growth because of meaning to integrate its own authentic Muslim values with European liberal principles of democracy, human rights, an individual freedoms elevated to a level of 'universality'. The JDP is also adopting the Copenhagen economic objectives that require a fully functioning market economy. These comprise greater liberalization consisting of restructuring of the agricultural and banking sector, privatization, tight fiscal policy, less state intervention, more equal conditions for competition and financial discipline to the informal sector. As a result, the government policies of the JDP have explicitly outlined a neoliberal programme which redefines development as participation in the world market (Atasoy, 2009; p. 111-112). In parallel with this view, as Akyol has stated the most striking feature of the JDP is its unabashed championship of the free market, which is quite different from the anti-capitalist stance that is shared by many Islamic movements in the Middle East, and even by some "modernist Muslim intellectuals (Akyol, 2007; p. 85). Nevertheless, these explanations are absolutely liberal-conservative-oriented and optimistic ones that support JDP and new middle classes interests which represent this party. Nevertheless, it should be forgotten that Islamic politics in Turkey had anti-democratic components and nationalist-statist attitudes which was shaped within Turkish-political history. In that history, it would be immensely significant to regard political articulations [like nationalism, authoritarianism, or fascism] of Islamic parties. For instance, in the case of Turkey Islamic politics might be reevaluated by considering Islam's ties with Turkish Nationalism and even authoritarianism. Therefore, as liberals interpreted in Turkey, this political vision cannot be said only to be libertarian, equalitarian, anti-authoritarian. But rather, it is required to bear in mind that this politics can be authoritarian, Turkish nationalist, statist and anti-freedom for certain ethnic (Kurds) and especially some religious beliefs and groups like Alevis.

Except for this vision's nationalist and authoritarian roots in Turkish-political history, this new political vision must be analyzed together with middle class theories since current –Islamic-politics that we discuss has been built by new middle classes. In this regard, for instance statist and nationalist aspects of this politics can be discussed together with some notions conceptualized by Pou-

lantzas upon middle class or with his word ‘new petty bourgeoisie’. In his view, one of these basic concepts is ‘power fetishism’ that sees state as an indispensable and imperative apparatus and expresses attitude of the new petty bourgeoisie towards the political power of the state. As a result of the situation of this petty bourgeoisie as an intermediate, polarized between bourgeoisie and the working class, as a result also of the isolation of its agents [petty-bourgeoisie individualism], Poulantzas asserts that this class has a strong tendency to see the state as inherently neutral force whose role is that of arbitrating between the various social classes (Polantzas, 1978; p. 292). In this context, in Turkey in order to rethink authoritarian-statist roots of this Islamic parties supported by new middle classes, it might be also looked at whether Islamic movements or groups who support by voting in both general and local elections to these parties like NOP, NSP, WP³ have such roots or not. This is so much important for any analysis of Islamic parties in Turkey because Islam, state and authority are so closely in connected with one another. In this stage, new political vision of Islamic parties seems to have begun to gradually emerge. *This political vision consists of [Turkish] nationalist, statist, conservative bases and neoliberal and market-oriented tendencies.* It is general name of the existing-dominant political-ideological hegemony in Turkey at the present. This hegemony constantly tries to support and defend JDP and its policies, to protect class interest and to look at it with an optimistic view in order to implement neoliberal and purely market-oriented policies. Consequently, it is necessary to be analyzed this side of politics comprising of statist, authoritarian and nationalist ideological bases related to its Islamic roots and tendencies.

CONCLUSION

Having historically a great deal of deep religious-cultural, economic and political roots, these two countries today are to protect their common roots remaining from the Ottoman Empire due to the continuing reciprocal relationships. The reason why these relationships maintain is that both Turkey and BiH have exposed economic transformations similar as an outcome

³ These three parties given here as shortened are Islamic parties, namely NOP-National Order Party, NSP-National Salvation Party and WP-Welfare Party, founded by Necmettin Erbakan, leader of these parties from 1970 to 1995 in Turkey.

of improving their economic relationships. In BÎH, economic transformation has been in shape of transferring Islamic capital produced by Turkey's new middle classes, which invested education, media like television or radio, publishing, and banking, whilst in Turkey the economic transformation has been in form of emerging an Islamic capital with the formation of new conservative middle classes. As has been stated above, this transformation has brought political changes, as in example of JDP, in Turkey. With advent of religious-conservative oriented Islamist new middle classes, a political party like JDP would come into power, supported and defended by these classes. Pointing out rise of religious-based Islamist political party to power, the political change also would shift positively Turkey's relations to BÎH by asserting that either country has had common religious-cultural roots and a historical heritage. Based on the mentioned historical and cultural legacy, Turkey has tried to develop economic and political relationships. In our opinion, what underlies these relationships is emergence of Islamic-based capital created by new conservative and devout classes and rise of Islamist political party, JDP, to political power in Turkey. Essentially, in this study we have claimed is that there have been both a political-ideological change [political vision] and a class transformation [new middle classes] in Islamic groups. Alongside this political, there has been an Islamic capital accumulated and transferred by these classes, which invested Islamic educational institutions, bankings, various media apparatus such as television, or radio and publications like book, newspaper, magazine. It, thus, has globalized by transporting increasingly Islamic-based capital into other countries as BÎH in our case. Given globalization and production of Islamic capital, this would show us to be so much close connection between BÎH and Turkey. The basic dynamic of this capital-based change would be claimed to be the differentiated class structure which reaches from 1980s and 1990s to today among Islamic groups in Turkey. By considering particularly this capital and class-focused, we would allege that there has been a close connection between an Islamist capital and new middle classes and an Islamist-oriented political party, having been in power since 2002. In political context, this connection would increasingly be endeavored to be promoted with the coming of JDP to pow-

er. In this way, we would see to be gradually developed relations between Bosnia and Herzegovina and Turkey. One of the basic reasons of progressing between either country is the overlap of Islamist economy [in sense of capital] and Islamist politics [in example of JDP] in Turkey, being the main argument claimed and defended by us throughout our study. Our aim is to reveal why and how an economic and political relationship between Turkey and BİH has developed and whether they have been related to the growing Islamic economy and Islamist politics under new political vision or not. In context of this study, I would have the main two arguments as connected with fundamentally formation of the globalized Islamic capital in Turkey and BİH and the developing political relationships between these two countries under JDP's leadership. One of them is that based on Islamic networks and relations, a way of capital is to have been established in both countries due to particularly their historical, cultural and regional bonds. Other is that a political party, JDP, which has Islamic tendencies, Pan-Islamist aims and ideas of new-Ottomanism endeavor to advance political relationships with BİH, one of countries which were located in the Ottoman territories and play an important role during the Ottoman Empire's political history. The reason why we have dealt with these two countries is that they have had a common historical and cultural heritage, based on Islam and existence of broad Muslim groups who were remainders of the Ottoman Empire. The globalized Islamic capital and a political party (JDP), having Islamic leanings, and Pan-Islamist and new-Ottomanist views, is why far-reaching political, economic, cultural and regional relations between both countries have been developed and progressed.

However, those who analyze this change in Islamic communities and its political structures are mostly liberal and organic intellectuals or journalists and conservative-Islamic-leaning newspapermen or women of new middle class. They are creators of current political and ideological hegemony which dominates political-public sphere. This hegemony does not allow any approach like left-leaning [socialist or Marxist] to analyze and explain the transforming processes in Islamic movements and political organizations, except for liberal, and conservative-Islamic views. This study at the least strives to split the mentioning hegemony

by approaching to not only economic structure like class position, capital and globalization but also religion, political events, processes and conflicts in political structure. In other words, it defends autonomy and primacy of politics without reducing politics to economy. In this context, we assert that any analysis cannot conceive political process and structure, which considers only economic changes in case of Islamic groups and political parties. In our view, such analysis at the same time has to regard political events, processes and articulations in political sphere to be able to understand political structure. In this study, we conclude that it is necessary to be look at religion and political articulations such as Turkish nationalism or authoritarianism of Islamic political parties within political structure in Turkish political history as well as class position or economy.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

JDP: Justice and Development Party

NOP: National Order Party

MSP: National Salvation Party

WP: Welfare Party

ANAP: Motherland Party

TÜSİAD: Turkish Industrialists' and Businessmen's Association

MÜSİAD: Independent Industrialists' and Businessmen's Association

BBI: Bosnia Bank International

BİH: Bosnia-Herzegovina

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Croquis

Constanța is an ancient city in Romania (actually the oldest still populated city) and its largest sea port, not only on the western coast of the Black Sea. It is the largest port on the Black Sea and one of the largest in Europe. Constanța is situated at the crossroads of several commercial routes, located at Dobrunja region.

Constanța traces its history some 2.500 years. It was founded for commercial exchanges with the local population. Originally called Tomis, legend says that Jason landed here with the Argonauts after finding Golden Fleece. Tomis was conquered by the Romans in 71 BC and renamed Constantiana by Roman Emperor Constantine the Great in honour of his sister. After becoming a part of the Bulgarian Empire for over 500 years (and later part of independent principality), it fell under the Ottoman rule around 1419. The name was shortened to Constanta during the Ottoman era. In 1878, after the Romanian War for independence, it becomes part of Romania.

Constanța is also known as an exile of Roman poet Ovid. In 8 BC, Ovid was banished to Tomis by the Emperor Augustus. The mysterious causes of Ovid's sudden exile remain unexplained. Ovid wrote that the reason for his exile was "a poem and a mistake". He had probably known about the conspiracy against Augustus. In exile, Ovid wrote two poetry collections titled *Tristia* and *Epistulae ex Ponto*, reflecting his sadness and despair. In the *Tristia*, Ovid makes a direct appeal to the Emperor. It seems that Ovid misses Rome and his third wife very much. From those times the city with its hot and dry summers



as well as with bitterly cold winter winds, is also a synonym for punishment of critical minds.

The greatest Slovene poet, France Prešeren, used the tragic experience of Ovid (along of those of Homer and Dante) as one of the metaphors for an unfair destiny of great minds in his masterpiece *Glos*. This is what the author of *Metamorphosis*, another masterly fresco of life, is facing there: “Cold is biting Ovid in Ponto”. Poets should suffer, echoes across time, because they see and tell more than others.

Constanța is today the third largest city in Romania, an important cultural and economic centre, but also a focal point of Black Sea coast tourism. The old city centre has many Roman vestiges (such as mosaics), historic buildings, facades, mosques and other churches. Surroundings are rich on traditional villages, vineyards, ancient monuments and bird-lover’s paradise on Danube Delta.

The statue of Ovid was made by the Italian sculptor Ettore Ferrari in 1887 as a tribute to a poet and his remembrance. The monument stands in Ovidu Square. Neither his creativity nor his destiny was forgotten.

Anja Fabiani

