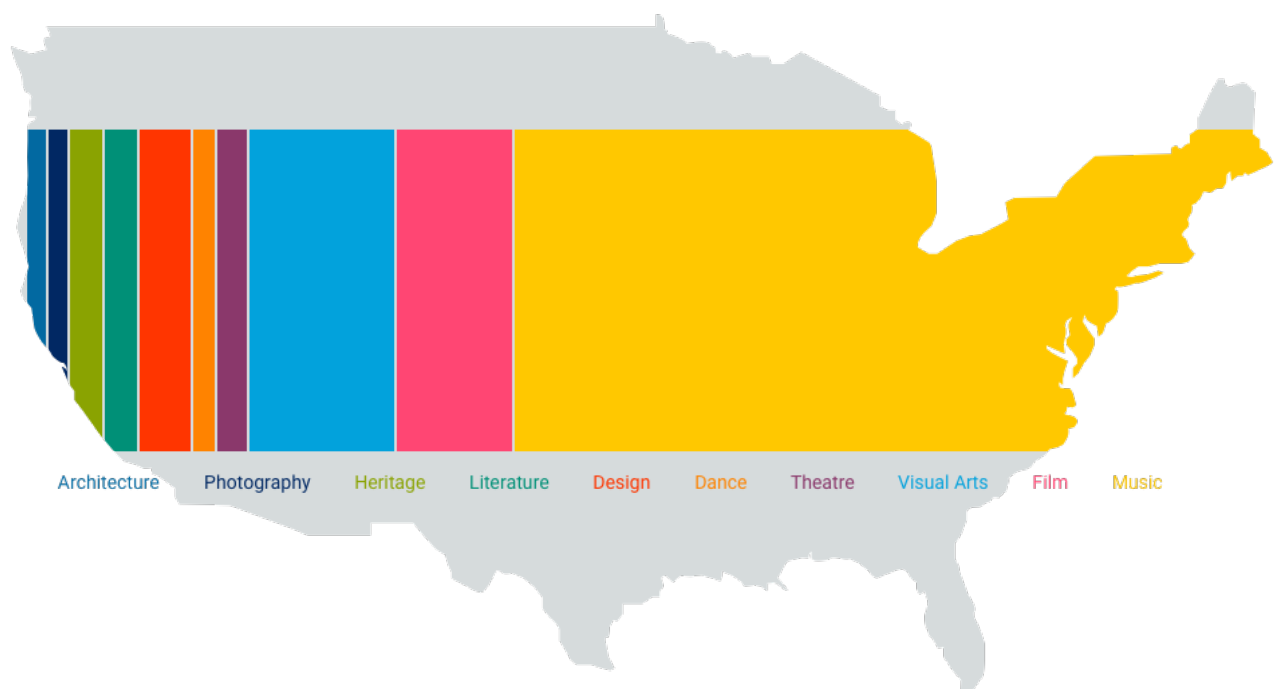


Representing the Nation

An Examination of the Cultural Policy and Practices of the Consulate
General of the Netherlands in New York City



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1. Introduction

During my Masters Arts & Society at the University of Utrecht, I chose to concentrate on cultural policy. The study became practical when I got the opportunity to do an internship at the Consulate General of the Netherlands in New York (CGNY). The work practices at a cultural diplomatic post intrigue me, particularly when seen as part of the global political relations and the international cultural policy (ICP) of a country. One of the central themes within the field of cultural policy is the relation of policy to practice. Therefore, I have chosen to examine that theme within a specific case: the translation of Dutch governmental cultural policy into the practices of one of its consulates in the United States of America (US). In this research I focus on the Department of Press and Cultural Affairs (PCZ) at CGNY. Within the broad context of cultural diplomacy, I examine the practices of this particular setting. This diplomatic post reflects an ambiguous relationship between policies and practices: on the one hand, the ICP as formulated by the Dutch government and the strategic plan for the diplomatic post, and on the other hand the practices of CGNY. As a result of my internship at CGNY, I gained insight into the daily practices of the cultural department and how ICP functions. I observed friction between the practices of CGNY and the policy mandates at both the government level and level of CGNY.

The US is considered one of the eight focal countries for the ICP of the Netherlands. CGNY belongs to the diplomatic missions network in the US. The other diplomatic posts consist of the embassy in Washington and three Consulate Generals located in Chicago, Miami and San Francisco. The embassy in Washington is a bilateral post, which means that the employees primarily work on the relations between the Netherlands and the US. Also, the department for Public Diplomacy and Press in Washington is responsible for the translation of the National and Foreign Policy of the Netherlands to the American public. The other Consulate Generals have departments for Economics, Innovation, Consulate Affairs and Public Diplomacy, while CGNY is the only post that has a department that is particularly focused on Cultural Affairs and its diverse art disciplines.¹

CGNY is located on the 18th floor in the building adjacent to the Chrysler Building. CGNY has three departments: Economics, Consulate Affairs, and Press and Cultural Affairs (PCZ). The PCZ department at CGNY, also known through its online platform Dutch Culture USA (DCU), contributes to the dissemination of Dutch art and culture in the US. The main task of CGNY is to identify new trends and developments, support (young) Dutch artistic talent in the US, and facilitate Dutch art and culture as worldwide models for innovation and creativity. CGNY works closely with relevant cultural organizations and political institutions in the Netherlands and the US. The PCZ

¹ Rijksoverheid. United States of America. <<https://www.nederlandwereldwijd.nl/landen/verenigde-staten-van-amerika>>. Accessed on January 29, 2018.

² The theory of representation as presented by Hall entails more elements, such as language, as formulated in theories on language and semiotics by Ferdinand de Saussure (1857-1913) and Roland Barthes (1915-1980), but such refinement is not relevant for this analysis.

department at CGNY operates not only in New York, but also across the US. Further, PCZ supports future-oriented initiatives that can facilitate multiannual, sustainable cultural exchanges between the Dutch and American cultural worlds. For that reason, CGNY maintains and updates a professional American and Dutch network of the art industries in the press and media.

As preparation for this study, I have searched for relevant literature about CGNY and found research previously done on the policy and practices for this diplomatic post. A few previous interns at CGNY also focused their thesis on the Consulate and some of its practices. For example, research has been done on the influence of policy changes on the communication activities of the PCZ department at CGNY (Van Borkum 2014), the contribution of shared cultural heritage to the Dutch cultural diplomacy in the US (Van Zoelen 2016), the deployment of social media for the execution of public diplomacy by, amongst others, the Dutch embassy in the US (Fan 2014), and the evaluation of ICP with CGNY as a case study (Zeef 2016). Also Toine Minnaert's dissertation (2016) on the position of national identity within the ICP addresses the proceedings and some activities of CGNY, which I consulted during my research. Overall, my thesis employs an approach not previously applied to CGNY.

In this thesis I examine Dutch cultural policy within an international context, with CGNY as my case study. The government actively propagates the nation through art and culture. The diplomatic post also makes individual decisions on which Dutch art and culture to promote in the US. In this study I provide an analysis of the practices of CGNY. During my internship at CGNY I noticed a discrepancy between the policy as directed in the Netherlands and the daily practices at the Consulate. There is variation in how to represent the nation and its national art and culture. I use the term 'representation' as an umbrella concept for this research and more specifically for the theoretical framework. I look at the practices of CGNY from this conceptual approach. This gives insight in the different ways in which the nation can be presented, as evident in the policy documents and the activities of CGNY. Initiating the study from the notion representation is an appropriate perspective because the work practiced at a Consulate General is principally about representing the Netherlands. I am interested in what manner representation is evident in the policy and practices at CGNY. That leads to the following question, which guides the thesis:

- How does representation become apparent in the daily practices of the diplomatic post?

A supplementary question helps facilitate this query:

- What are the rationales of the policy measures, grants and support activities undertaken by CGNY?

The motives behind the selection for projects may help understand how representation is evident in the practices of CGNY.

I research the main question by broadly sketching the notion representation as theoretical framework. This study of CGNY employs three theoretical concepts that serve as a 'lens' through which to examine how representation is present in the policy and cultural practices of CGNY. First, I present and make use of the theoretical notion

'representation' by Stuart Hall (1997). Hall believes representation is the production of meaning through language. He perceives the construction of representation in a particular way. However, I present the other two concepts as different approaches for representation. All three concepts have features of the general notion of representation and are linked to the formation of identity. So, to avoid confusion about the use of the term representation, Hall's theory deals with this concept, but I also refer to this term in relation to all three concepts and examine in what way representation is achieved. Second, I examine the concept of 'representative thinking' by Hannah Arendt (1968). She considers representative thinking as the ability to inhabit other standpoints. Third, I introduce and explain a concept that is used in marketing strategy, termed 'nation branding' (Hurn, 2016, Szondi, 2008, Varga, 2013). This notion refers to presenting a desired image of the nation. It is suitable to use a term from marketing strategies inasmuch as a Consulate can be considered an institution that advertises and promotes its nation abroad. In relation to nation branding, the notion cultural diplomacy is also relevant. The three main notions can reflect how representation is apparent in the work of the Consulate.

After discussing the theoretical notions, I present the data collection and analysis components of the study. Several methods and procedures for collecting and analyzing data were employed: an interview, examination of policy-related consulate documents and Dutch government documents on ICP, and participant observation performed within the consulate during my six-month internship. I analyze this collection of materials from the perspective of the above-mentioned theoretical concepts. In relation to the policy documents, I concentrate on the current ICP plan for 2017-2020 since this plan was just implemented during my internship at CGNY. The ICP is a general framework, wherefore I also reflect on the strategic plan made by the diplomatic post. CGNY has to incorporate the goals of the ICP, but also reacts to what happens in the cultural field in the US. For this reason it is relevant to look at both policy documents. Nevertheless, the minimal use of policy documents imposes limitations on this study. Note that I do not give a historical overview of the policy and practices at CGNY, but instead provide an analysis of the current situation and the role of representation therein.

The analysis chapter is composed of two sections. First, I analyze the content of the policy plans. Second, I examine the motives behind decisions for grants and support for specific projects by CGNY, mainly based on the interview that I conducted. Third, I discuss in what way representation is visible in the ICP and the accompanying strategic plan by CGNY, and the various activities of CGNY. By means of the theoretical framework I examine the meaning of the policy targets and motives for grants that reflect the role of representation. The different roles of representation and the applied notions can help in understanding the tension that is present in the work of CGNY. In addition, I look at the role of CGNY within these decision processes and the degree of agency it has, the capacity to act, regarding what is represented.

Finally, in the third and last chapter, I draw conclusions based on the analysis and make suggestions for extending this exploratory study. Overall, my research can best be

described as cultural policy study. According to the Dutch cultural policy researcher Quirine van der Hoeven, the policy researcher fulfills the role of the mediator. This means that the researcher does not need to master all the disciplines that are involved in the analysis (in this research those include sociology, policy sciences and cultural studies), but that the policy researcher can instead be considered as a mediator for these different scholarly approaches (Van der Hoeven 2012: 34). For this reason, I also examine the different motives behind the supported activities of the diplomatic post that highlight a similarly broad disciplinary palette. This study is not designed as evaluation research; rather, I use theoretical concepts to understand the practices related to policy and to explore possible deviations from policy pronouncements. The role of representation serves as a touchstone in this examination of the policy and practices of CGNY.

2. Theoretical Framework

In this chapter I present the theoretical framework for this study that departs from the concept representation. The framework consists of the following three notions. First, I examine the theory on representation by Hall (1997). Second, I present the concept of representative thinking by Arendt (1961). Third, I introduce and explain the strategic marketing concept of nation branding (Hurn, 2016, Szondi, 2008, Varga, 2013). Together, the concepts present a theoretical framework that I term 'directed' representation. The term directed is employed to exemplify the matter of agency of CGNY and to what extent representation is consciously applied in relation to the three concepts of representation, representative thinking, and nation branding. This theoretical framework serves as nuanced perspective for examining the intended perception of representation and the accompanying national identity in the practices of CGNY. I discuss the three notions in this chapter and in the next chapter I apply them to the strategies and practices of CGNY.

2.1 Representation by Stuart Hall

Representation is significant for cultural formation through meaning and language. The concept representation provides the ability to describe or imagine something and to symbolize concepts through objects. According to cultural theorist and sociologist Stuart Hall (1932-2014) representation is a key factor by which meaning is produced and shared between members of a culture; it can be considered a construction (1997: 17). It involves the use of language, signs, images and most importantly the intention to represent things (Belassi et al. 2014: 2). Hall describes representation as the production of meaning through language. Representation, in other words, is the production of meaning of concepts in our minds through language. "It is the link between concepts and language which enables us to *refer* to either the 'real' world of objects, people or events, or indeed to imaginary worlds of fictional objects, people and events" (1997: 17).

A 'system of representation', in the vision of Hall (1997: 17-18), does not consist of singular concepts, but of different ways of organizing and arranging concepts.

Establishing complex associations between concepts is culturally determined. Due to these associations society is able to construct a shared culture of meaning and thus create a social world, which people inhabit. Different conceptual maps are constructed as possible and carried around by members of society. When applying this to a culture and nation, this means a country is a constructed representation in itself, and within it, different representations of it are possible. This allows people to interpret the world differently. Every person is culturally conditioned: nobody is free of preconceptions.² In this way Hall suggests that there is no set representation and considers the construction of identity, within a nation and culture, a non-directed and unconscious process.

In relation to the above, Hall suggests that the word culture, within a social science context, is used to refer to whatever is distinctive about the 'way of life' of people, a community, nation or social group: a kind of collective mental programming that distinguishes one group of people from another. Further, Hall explains that culture can also be used to describe the shared values of a group or a society (1997: 2).

Additionally, Hall defines individual identities as "points of temporary attachment to the subject positions which discursive practices construct for us" (1996: 6). For this reason, he also describes identities as "a 'production', which is never complete, always in process, and always constituted within, not outside, representation" (1989: 68). According to Hall we cannot speak of a representation of an identity, the representation *is* the identity. Moreover, "(...) identities are the names we give to the different ways we are positioned by, and position ourselves within, the narratives of the past" (70). This concept also relates to how Hall considers national culture, a collective identity. He argues "national cultures construct identities by producing meaning about 'the nation' with which we can identify" (1996: 612-613). National identity only gets meaning through its representations: The nation produces meanings, for example through stories and memories that connect its present with the past. "They [people] participate in the idea of the nation as represented in its national culture" (Hall 1996: 612).

In addition, Hall designates culture and identity together as 'cultural identities'. Recognizing the different parts and histories and the related perspectives are what can be called in retrospect cultural identities (Hall 1990: 236-37). Similar for national identity, cultural identity is a matter of becoming as well as being: "It belongs to the future as much as to the past" (1989: 70). According to Hall, identities are always in process.

However, according to Hall unity of national and cultural identity is not self-evident. A national culture seeks to unify its members into one cultural identity, but we cannot speak about one experience and one identity. Minnaert suggests, in elaboration on Hall's theoretical perspective, that although a cultural unity is implied with the term 'national cultural identity', this unity is often enforced and there are also differences and discontinuities between cultures to be acknowledged (2016: 37).

² The theory of representation as presented by Hall entails more elements, such as language, as formulated in theories on language and semiotics by Ferdinand de Saussure (1857-1913) and Roland Barthes (1915-1980), but such refinement is not relevant for this analysis.

Altogether Hall argues that if we are to understand expressions of individual or collective identity, we must look for their roots not in any given 'history' or 'culture', but in contemporary discursive structures and that these structures give rise to malleable notions of the individual and society. For this reason, seen from Hall's perspective, there is no control and influence over representation and its related identity formation. He considers representation to be an identity in itself, which is, no matter if individual, national or cultural identity, a production always in process constructed out of our hands.

2.2 Representative Thinking by Hannah Arendt

In contrast to Hall's theory on representation and its related identity formation, stands Hannah Arendt's (1906-1975) political concept of representative thinking, which she discussed for the first time in 1961. Arendt considers representative thinking as the ability to inhabit other standpoints and constructed conceptual maps. In other words, representative thinking enriches one's ability to engage in impartial judging. This idea is related to the post-war time she wrote it in: to find solutions to help humans think independently. Arendt's approach suggests one's positionality is flexible and contrasts with Hall's idea that we are all culturally determined and positioned by the past.

Representative thinking can be considered a narrative that is based on different perspectives. Arendt wrote in *Between Past and Future* (1977) that the biographical reality "is always different and more than all of the facts" (261). Or in other words, as Joke Hermsen suggests in elaboration on Arendt's theoretical perspective, "there is always more to one side of the story" (2014a: 57). This 'more' could, according to Arendt, be expressed through storytelling. In a story the facts are selected, ordered, and interpreted in a special way. Stories teach us how to place oneself in another and also give insight in ourselves (Hermsen 2014a: 57).

Furthermore, stories can be considered the equivalent of perspectives and standpoints. Arendt explains "the more people's standpoints I have present in my mind while I am pondering a given issue, and the better I can imagine how I would think and feel if I were in their place, the stronger will be my capacity for representative thinking (1967: 49)". Arendt argues that an opinion is formed by considering a given issue from a different perspective and mentally visualizing the standpoints of those who are absent; that is, by representing them. One's competence for representative thinking will be better if more people's standpoints are present when deliberating a given issue. This multilateral approach will make one's final conclusion and opinion more valid. Because of this, Arendt argues, "I remain in this world of universal interdependence, where I can make myself the representative of everybody else" (1977: 242). Arendt argues we are all part of a bigger picture and share the same world. For this reason we also have opinions and make decisions based on, and for, this plurality.

Arendt considers representative thinking – placing oneself in the perspective of others – an important condition for democracy because the world is populated in multitude. Plurality is therefore the only condition of existence for this world (Hermsen 2014b). More so, Arendt argues that there is a connection between thinking and

plurality. She defines responsibility as the act of thinking and defines thinking as an exercise in achieving a 'pluralistic self'. Meaning, during the act of thinking one needs to consider being part of society and take other perspectives into account. "Thinking, she tells us, is the process through which we maintain company with ourselves" (2017: 227), as Judith Butler summarizes the position of Arendt in *Sovereignty in Ruins*. Arendt writes, for instance, in her essay "Some Questions of Moral Philosophy" that "even in the singularity or duality of thinking processes, plurality is somehow present in a germinal form insofar as I can think only by splitting up into two, although I am one" (In *Responsibility and Judgment*, 2005: 106). Arendt is suggesting that the self, and its related identity formation, is dyadic and constitutes a social relation.

In relation to the above, Arendt demonstrates an important crossing between the *I* and the *we* in matters of judgment. Every human has to be a plurality, a thinking being, in order to be part of the *we*, who makes and remakes the world. One plurality belongs to what she calls the self, and another belongs to a broader sociality, one that she associated with the political sphere (Arendt 1998: 7). The two pluralities cross when thinking becomes action: this happens in language and in asserting rights (Butler 2017: 235). "Plurality is the condition of human action because we are all the same, that is, human, in such a way that nobody is ever the same as anyone else who ever lived, lives, or will live" (Arendt 1998: 8). Arendt states that human action is based on being part of a social context and community.

For this reason, Arendt believes thinking can be understood as the normative exercise of judgment (Butler 2017: 223). Thinking can take the form of judgment and, at the same time, judgment is a kind of action (232). Arendt adopts the ideas of Immanuel Kant in her writings on judgment. She refers to him in her book *Eichmann in Jerusalem* (1963) that, "to him [Kant] every man was a legislator the moment he started to act; by using his 'practical reason' man found the principles that could and should be the principles of law" (121). Kant argues that one's judgment and taste must be an object of universal delight. According to Arendt, spectators exist only in the plural: "The spectator is not involved in the act, but he is always involved with fellow spectators" (qtd. in Passerin d'Entrèves 1994: 131). In other words, the spectators always judge as members of a community and have to appeal to the opinions of their fellow-spectators. This compares to Kant's idea of universality in relation to judgment.

It is here that the importance of common sense, *sensus communis* as described by Kant, becomes evident.³ This sense is both the ground of impartial judging and is reconstituted by judgments themselves to the extent that these judgments exhibit the existence of an enlarged mentality. Impartiality is obtained by taking viewpoints of others into account. The capacity of impartial judgment, Arendt writes, "is one, if not the most, important activity in which this sharing-the-world-with-others comes to pass"

³ Kant wrote the following on *sensus communis*: "...under the *sensus communis* we must include the idea of a sense *common to all*, i.e. of a faculty of judgment which, in its reflection, takes account (*a priori*) of the mode of representation of all other men in thought, in order, as it were, to compare judgment with the collective reason of humanity (...). This is done by comparing our judgment with the possible rather than actual judgments of others, and by putting ourselves in the place of any other man (...)" (Kant [1790] 1951: 136).

(1977: 221). Judging requires that individuals make decisions with a focus on the public world, not the private self. In this respect, the process of opinion formation is never a solitary activity; rather it requires a genuine encounter with different opinions.

“The power of judgment rests on a potential agreement with others (...) such judgment must liberate itself from the “subjective private conditions” (...) but which are not fit to enter the market place and lack validity in the public realm. And this enlarged way of thinking (...) cannot function in strict isolation or solitude; it needs the presence of others “in whose place” it must think, whose perspective it must take into consideration, and without whom it never has the opportunity to operate at all (...) [J]udgment, to be valid, depends on the presence of others” (1977: 220-221).

Arendt states that one’s judgment can only be valid based on the presence of others, so that we are able to look at the world from a number of different perspectives. Meaning, one’s opinion and judgment cannot be focused on the self, but on the plurality, as discussed earlier. Identity is constructed through collective plurality. We are not unaccompanied, but have the presence of others around us and so should try to be inclusive. For this reason Arendt argues in favor of representative thinking: to inhabit other perspectives. This way of multilateral thinking will enhance engagement in impartial judgment to be able to participate in the existing plurality.

To conclude, the concept representative thinking demonstrates that one’s viewpoint is based on awareness, which can be considered semi-directed since it is a possibility to inhabit other perspectives. Hence, Arendt’s idea opposes the theory on representation by Hall, which reasons from a non-directed perspective. In relation to representative thinking one’s awareness and ability are based on intentionality wherefore the role of the one who is sending is crucial. Arendt’s perspective stands in contrast to Hall’s standpoint, which considers representation an unconscious phenomenon. Such contrast reflects that the role of agency lies differently in these views. In Arendt’s perspective the person who is representing is sending and has agency to choose his or her positionality. In contrast, according to Hall, people have no influence on the process of representation and formation of meaning, and so, no agency.

2.3 Nation Branding

The third concept that I will highlight as part of the theoretical framework is nation branding. In comparison to the previous two concepts, nation branding is not so much an academic term, but it originates from marketing strategies. The concept of nation branding concentrates on promoting and presenting one’s own country or the brands of a specific nation positively. In relation to the two previously discussed concepts, this can be considered the most directed and premeditated phenomenon.

The nation is a group of people with a common identity, history, and destiny (Szondi 2008: 6). Nation branding, then, has at its core idea to determine the ‘uniqueness’ of the country, its people or culture, and to identify and draw on features

that distinguish and differentiate 'us' from 'them'. Mutual understanding is not the ultimate goal of nation branding, but raising awareness of a country (16). Somogy Varga, Associate Professor of Philosophy at the University of Memphis, explains the term in the following manner: "Nation branding is broadly conceived as a marketing strategy that targets external markets to establish and communicate a specific image of national identity, to increase exports and to attract tourists, investments and skilled workforce" (2013: 826).

To accomplish this strategy, advertising techniques began producing complex signs in the first half of the 20th century. These signs or 'brands' came to represent an immaterial value that identifies a product or a particular organization. The brand value that marketing adds to products and services is not tangible, but represents capital in that it enables producers to maximize their financial gain and long-term relations with customers. Many brands help to create a sense of identity, of belonging, just like the idea of a nation (Olins 2002: 247).

Creating a sense of identity relates to the conception of 'imagined communities' by anthropologist and political scientist Benedict Anderson. National identity is supposed to connect people that do not know each other, but are actually only connected through the formation of states. Therefore, according to Anderson, national identity is only considered a human-constructed identity (1983: 15). The idea that nations are products of human interventions resides in Anderson's conception of nation as "an imagined political community" (1983: 6). Anderson argues that all communities larger than primordial villages are imagined and that it is the community or national consciousness that invents nations where they do not exist.

Still, when successful nation branding is practiced, it is thought to enhance the cultural stability of a nation and to ameliorate social integration and cohesion by advancing national confidence. The ultimate aim of contemporary branding practitioners is for their brands to become handles and tools in the social world that people use to create meaning and by which to live (Varga: 827-829).

Similarly, nations can behave like brands. Some branding experts, like Wallace Olins (1930-2014), argue that we probably know more about a country's brands than about the country itself. Therefore, Olins thinks that the brand of a nation is functionally equivalent to what we usually refer to as national identity, since the latter already entails an image and a projection of attributes to a national and international public of 'consumers' (Varga: 831). Each nation seeks to promote its individual personality, culture, history and values, projecting what may be an idealized but also recognizable idea of the nation (Olins 2000: 255). This is managed to promote 'customer loyalty' by association.

For example, France can be associated with good wine and haute couture, and Scotland can be associated with whiskey (Hurn 2016: 81). Similarly, Japan can be associated with Sony, Germany with Mercedes Benz and Italy with Max Mara (Olins 2000: 256). On a side note, these associations and classifications of nation branding can be considered related concepts of stereotypes. In this way, stereotypes are actively deployed to promote the nation and its identity. Because of this, nation branding also

has common ground with academic concepts. Nation branding is an important global phenomenon whereby multinational companies aim to make their products internationally recognizable brands, by means of associations, to increase their market profile and their sales.

The aim of nation branding can therefore often be related to cultural diplomacy. There are many forms of diplomacy: public diplomacy, nuclear diplomacy, but also cultural diplomacy. According to Milton C. Cummings, Jr., professor of political science at John Hopkins University, the term 'cultural diplomacy' itself can aptly be described as "the exchange of ideas, information, art and other aspects of culture among nations and their peoples to foster mutual understanding" (qtd. in Schneider 2003: 1). Culture and also cultural diplomacy adjust to the era and the tools it offers, such as digitalization and technology. The definition of the term remains vague because there is no such thing as *the* cultural diplomacy: it is dependent on the country where the diplomacy is executed and the culture then adjusts to the society. The purpose of cultural diplomacy explains more clearly what the term entails.⁴

The purpose can consist of the following aspects: influence, image building, preventing conflicts, and a better understanding and cooperation with other nations. Cultural diplomacy can be successful to reach governments, people, and create a narrative between countries. Moreover, cultural diplomacy helps understanding one another and gain knowledge through art and culture.⁵ Cultural diplomacy can also be considered a tool that is employed by a nation in foreign countries and this way resembles nation branding.

Nation branding, as explained in all of the above, can – especially in relation to public and cultural diplomacy – be considered an appeal factor, also called 'soft power'. Joseph Nye, an American political scientist, who initiated the concept of soft power, defines power as "the ability to achieve one's purposes or goals" and "the ability to get others to do what they otherwise would not do (1990: 177-192)." Soft power is a form of civil persuasion, the opposite of 'hard power', which involves the use of force. Soft power can be described as the ability to shape what others want, which can rest on the attractiveness of the presented country and its culture and ideology (Kim 2011: 2-3).

A recent cultural example is the new Louvre Abu Dhabi that marks the global ambitions of France and the United Arab Emirates to deploy art as a diplomatic tool. In *The New York Times* the United Arab Emirates minister of state, Zaki Anwar Nusseibeh, says "It [soft power] means it is no longer sufficient to have military or economic power if you are not able to share your values. Exchange – this is what soft power is about."⁶ The new museum will be economically beneficial for the country. Through the established name of the French Louvre, the new Louvre Abu Dhabi is expected to gain

⁴ This point was elaborated more fully in a lecture I attended by Jan Kennis and Robert Kloos for a New York University master class at CGNY, March 16, 2017.

⁵ Ibidem.

⁶ Carvajal, Doreen. "Louvre Abu Dhabi, a Cultural Cornerstone Where East Meets West." *The New York Times*, 7 Nov. 2017.

much promotion and recognition. In this case, soft power is used through cultural appeal.

In this manner, nation branding can be considered a form of soft power. Nation branding often refers to the application of branding strategies and tools for nation states: a nation's image is communicated through the application of branding and marketing communication techniques. Nation branding is concerned with positive image promotion. Minnaert indeed explains that "nation branding has some similarities with propaganda, a term that has a negative connotation because it emphasizes the constructed nature of the image and the clear focus on influencing the perception" (2014: 107). Nation branding is used to portray a desired image of the nation. It can also be described as an attempt to project a consistent and ideologically dominated national identity. Therefore the link between national identity and nation branding is interesting. On the one hand, "nation branding can shape national identity – defining nation branding as an updated form of nationalism – and on the other hand, national identity is a source for the nation's brand" (Minnaert 2014: 107). Nation branding can both shape a certain image of an identity to the rest of the world, but national brands also benefit from the representation of national identity.

Primarily, the notion of nation branding is a building process of communicating the name and identity of a country in order to build or manage its reputation. The aim of nation branding is to increase a country's international profile and project an image that is recognized and respected worldwide (Szondi: 4-5). Therefore, nation branding can be considered creating an appeal factor, a form of soft power, internationally.

However, in the literature that I examined, I discovered some issues regarding the experience of arts when the arts are treated as promotional instrument. One issue that arises in relation to online promotion according to Giep Hagoort, Professor Emeritus of Art and Economics at Utrecht University/HKU, is that the non-digital expressions will not come across online (2005: 53). The social media do not express the cultural underlying voices, only when one actually goes to see the artworks or cultural events in person will this become evident and bring forward the cultural expression. The artwork's 'aura', the status and authenticity of an individual piece, is only apparent when seen in real life.⁷ Images of artworks can be reproduced online, but will not reflect the here and now experience of its originality.

Another issue, as Kees Vuyk describes, is that the arts, considered in relation to exchange with other cultures, are: "not a means of producing works of art that function in a capitalist society, but rather as instruments of experience. (...) The arts are treated as a means of production instead of as instruments of perception (2010: 180-183)." Works of art reflect a certain culture and the experience evoked can give audience members insight into other cultures and perspectives. Let me explain this with an example. James Turrell is an artist who is interested in the experience evoked with his art. He shows us our ability to see and perceive. Turrell often cites the Parable of Plato's Cave to introduce the notion that we are living in a reality of our own creation, subject to

⁷ Walter Benjamin (1892-1940) introduced the word 'aura' (*Das Kunstwerk im Zeitalter seiner technischen Reproduzierbarkeit*, 1935) and means that there is a certain atmosphere or quality to unique works.

our human sensory limitations as well as contextual norms. With his artworks, he shows us that even our way of looking at light and space is culturally determined.⁸ The alliance and experience of art, like those that Turrell arouses, is one of the explanations as to why it is so difficult to measure the impact of art. It is difficult to find hard evidence for their impact.

In comparison to the previous two concepts in the theoretical framework, nation branding can be seen as the most directed and intended notion of the three, regarding representation and identity formation. It is something that can be consciously applied by nations or corporations in a political, economical or social context. Nation branding can be considered an employed strategy, a form of soft power, to attract people, consumers, through cultural or ideological appeal. The first discussed concept of representation, according to Hall, is not deliberately applied, but originates from our unconscious 'cultural maps' to create meaning. Further, the notion of representative thinking, according to Arendt, is an approach that can be exercised by the person who is sending the message, but is not necessarily present like the idea of unconscious representation as developed by Hall, nor as strategically practiced as is the case with nation branding. The three concepts reflect a gradation presented by the terms 'not directed', 'average directed', and 'fully directed' representation. In the next chapter I look at these different representational concepts that provide a useful framework and echo through the practices at CGNY. The gradation of direction in representation functions as common thread in the research to examine the degree of agency of CGNY and the active imaging of the nation the Consulate employs. Also, I use this theoretical framework consisting of these three concepts, to analyze the meaning of the different policy targets, especially in the ICP, and the activities that CGNY is involved in. The various sources for the researched data reveal something about the motives of CGNY for granting and supporting certain projects. The next chapter initiates the discussion of the supplementary question, as mentioned in the introduction:

- What are the rationales of the policy measures and grants and support activities undertaken by CGNY?

The central question that guides the research is discussed in the third section of the following chapter:

- How does representation become apparent in the daily practices of the diplomatic post?

3. Data Collection and Analysis

In this chapter the different policies and activities of CGNY are interpreted and analyzed with the use of the concepts representation, representative thinking, and nation branding. The notions are used to state in what way representation is reflected in the policy and practices. The chapter consists of three parts. The first part focuses on the policy documents, with an emphasis on the ICP. The second part of the analysis is based

⁸ James Turrell. <<http://jamesturrell.com/about/introduction/>>. Accessed on May 29, 2017.

on my empirical research and observations. The third part of the following chapter reflects on the examined theory and how the three notions of representation relate to the discussed policy texts and practices of CGNY. The discussed notions in the theoretical framework may give insight in the type of argument posed by CGNY for supporting particular activities and the degree of agency of the post in relation to these choices.

In relation to the above, I researched the main motives for the policy plans, the current ICP and strategic plan of CGNY for 2017-2020, and the motives of CGNY for the various activities that it is involved in. By way of the introduced motives, I present in this analysis how representation becomes apparent, examined from the framework that I set up in the previous chapter. The theoretical framework can increase understanding regarding how representation is projected in the policy documents and activities of CGNY.

Further, I collected data by means of examining the two main policy documents: the ICP (2017-2020) and strategic plan for CGNY (2017-2020). The report by the Inspection of Development Cooperation and Policy Evaluation (*Inspectie Ontwikkelingssamenwerking en Beleidsevaluatie* (IOB), 2009-2014) is used for the analysis as supplementary document. The IOB may not be related to the timeframe my research is focused on, but it does tell something about the policy and how the operations at CGNY are or were carried out. I also analyzed the budget and expenses for 2016 and 2017, which demonstrates the different choices that are made for projects and activities. Additionally, I used empirical material for this chapter: I conducted one interview with Robert Kloos and Vera Kuipers, senior policy officers at the PCZ department, observed discussions and activities of the CGNY staff, and participated in activities of the cultural division during my six-month internship. I have drawn on all of these activities to conduct an analysis of CGNY and how representation is apparent from the theoretical perspective as reflected in the three concepts. I directly connect the two academic concepts by Hall and Arendt and the marketing term, nation branding, to the specific policy plans and practical examples at the Consulate.

3.1 Analysis of the ICP and Strategic Plan of CGNY for 2017-2020

Before analyzing the policy plans by means of the theoretical framework, I will first explain briefly how CGNY gives meaning to cultural diplomacy.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, broadly considered, cultural diplomacy helps understanding one another and gain knowledge through art and culture. The Netherlands' cultural diplomacy, by means of its ICP, has two additional goals: improving the quality of Dutch artists and helping them enlarge their possibilities, and opening new markets. More specifically, operating in the US through CGNY as executive diplomatic post brings the following purposes through culture: image building, being innovative and experimental, looking for new developments, and trying to connect initiatives that reflect those values.

CGNY stands at a sort of crossroads with different sorts of diplomacy: a combination of cultural- and public diplomacy. Other countries execute cultural

diplomacy through choosing artists to present in other countries. However, the Dutch government and CGNY believe in the 'preference' and interest of America in Dutch culture: it wants the Dutch artists to be presented by an American cultural institution. Because of this reactive approach more people can be reached and the artists will be more successful than when Dutch artists attempt to implement their ideas without such institutional support. Not organizing its own projects, but working with a demand-driven approach is what CGNY terms 'soft diplomacy' (CGNY 2016: 8). This gives CGNY agency to work independently, based on the extensive network that is created over the years. Besides, CGNY is the only post in the US that has a department focused on cultural affairs, which allows for independent operations and gives the diplomatic post agency as well.

I will now return to examining the diverse policy plans and how representation is apparent within these plans. Policy aimed at the role of culture in foreign relations and the presentation of the nation abroad is referred to as international cultural policy, abbreviated to ICP. ICP was first employed as a term in 1997, as it was previously called foreign cultural relations. This name change reflects a shift in policy. It changed, as Minnaert wrote, from "a policy focused on the role of culture in the relations with other countries to a policy that concentrates on the international dimension of cultural policy" (2016: 32). For this reason there is an interdepartmental character present in the ICP. Minnaert distinguishes three 'tensions' as a result of this interdepartmental character of the policy of which one is relevant for my research. Namely, one of the difficulties can become present with the people that have to work with the policy. For my case study, CGNY, that involves the various cultural attachés that have to work with the policy as established in the Dutch parliament. The policy goals need to be translated locally. According to Minnaert, this shows that the ICP is not a "one-way street" (33).

During the same time as the employment of the term ICP, the function of cultural attachés was professionalized at 13 posts. Minnaert explains:

"At those embassies or consulates, the cultural department has been strengthened and at least one person is working fulltime on ICP. Some of these positions are held by public officials from the Department of Culture and people from the cultural field. (...) One of the tasks of the attaché is to implement ICP and assist the theater companies, orchestras, visual artists, etc. when they travel abroad. They need to represent the Netherlands in cultural matters and through their actions also contribute to the export of Dutch identity" (2014: 110).

The cultural attaché is the head of the cultural department and responsible for the execution and implementation of ICP in the field. The tension between the implementation of policy and the departments responsible for the formulation of policy and also the different meaning of policy in practice will become more evident in the next section where I will focus on the activities CGNY is involved in.

Further, the interpretation of ICP has over the years been consistent, namely aiming at the role of culture in foreign affairs, strengthening the cultural image abroad,

and exploring the foreign market. More specifically, in 2012 in a letter from the government, in which the focus of the ICP is clarified after questions from the parliament, the following objectives came forward: strengthening the economic interests is an explicit goal and cultural diplomacy is a term to define the arts as tool for international relations (Minnaert 2014: 104-106).

Even though in the current ICP the role of culture seems to be more idealistic, namely that the value of culture should be equal to the economic value (Ministry of OCW/BuZa 2016: 5), in reality the role of culture remains diplomatic and, therefore, is applied as instrument. Regarding the ICP framework focused on the intrinsic value of art and culture Kloos also mentions in the interview, “this doesn’t mean that the goals arts and culture pursue no longer exist, that is always inherent and it is possible to support issues, but it is no longer the main goal.”⁹

For this reason, over the years the role of representation in the Dutch ICP can be considered as creating a desired perception abroad that brings economic benefits for the country. The central policy is sending and has an economic mission. This becomes even more apparent in the fact that in more recent years, the Departments involved in policy making (Economic Affairs, Foreign Affairs, Culture) have developed plans for a more strategic ICP. “Design, architecture, and fashion have been identified as fields with economic potential in which the Dutch are doing well” (Minnaert 2014: 105). In the current strategic plan of CGNY is also stated that the emphasis laid and still lies for the coming period for a big part on the field of design. CGNY argues it will work proactively for this discipline because the interest is high and there is global press attention for example (CGNY 2016: 16-17).

The priority for design becomes evident in the budget overview of CGNY in 2016 and 2017: The number of projects involved in the field of design is the most and also the largest amount of budget is granted to this field. In 2016 the granted budget for design was about \$95.000 and in 2017 this was even more, namely \$118.000. This amount is almost 45% of the total available budget (€300.000). Accordingly, seen from the theoretical framework, the concept of nation branding becomes evident. The role of representation is constructed and directed in the policy plans. When using the term nation branding in the context of ICP, culture is used as a tool to feed the brand and to create a desired image. In relation to “the increased economic focus of ICP, the use of the term nation branding seems (...) correct” (Minnaert 2014: 107). Minnaert argues this in connection to the previous ICP. Although the current ICP states that there should be consideration for the intrinsic and societal value of culture as well as the economic, it seems the role of the arts can still be considered as an investment tool to provide image and economic profits.

Nation branding is a marketing strategy, which is practiced by means of the ICP plan and locally for CGNY with their strategic plan. CGNY is steered by the central policy framework. Minnaert writes that the term Holland promotion was already adopted in the 80s and eventually ended up in the policy paper of 1985 (2014: 104). The strategy,

⁹ Interview conducted with Robert Kloos and Vera Kuipers at CGNY and recorded with an iPhone, June 30, 2017. A full transcript of the interview can be found in Appendix A.

for the Dutch image representation abroad, has been implemented in the ICP from early on. The way the nation presents itself affects the way other countries perceive it. Nation branding and cultural diplomacy are instruments that can be proactively utilized in the presentation and expectations of a country and that defines and recognizes one's nation. An image and identity of a nation are consciously brought forward and represented. Thus, a nation and deployed government have the possibility to impact the image of a country by means of instructions for nation branding.

The ICP (2017-2020) demonstrates that imagery is very important when representing Dutch culture abroad. Imagery, promoting Dutch art and culture online, closely relates to nation branding because it benefits visibility of Dutch art and culture that are presented in the US. The first words of the ICP, in relation to the motivation and context for the document, even state: "Globalization and digitalization have expanded and changed the cultural field" (OCW/BuZa 2016: 1). This shows that the Dutch government is aware of the digital domain, which has become the new meeting place. Cultural activities and manifests are a valuable connecting instrument to realize goals of the foreign policy – such as profiling a positive imagery of the Netherlands. The social media instruments are used for broadening the networks, creating access to new audiences to gain better visibility and imagery, and quickly and effectively sharing information.

Regarding the quantitative monitoring and evaluation, performance indicators and goals are employed in the ICP plan. The ICP states as indicators that there should be emphasis on the connecting role that culture can play internationally and importance of exchange and networking is formulated (2016: 5). As a result, art and culture are, again, illustratively deployed as an instrument. Also, in the ICP main goal number three reads, "culture is effectively utilized within modern diplomacy" (OCW/BuZa 2016: 9). This target illustrates culture to be an instrument within diplomacy and ICP, which shows the evident usage of nation branding by means of art and culture. Also, the government embeds cultural diplomacy rationally, through (existing) cultural relationships and networks, to aim for policy targets (OCW/BuZa 2016: 9).

Summing up, the ICP concentrates on applying art and culture as formal instrument in modern cultural diplomacy. The ICP is a strategic tool that steers a desired image of the nation in foreign countries. Now, I look at the strategic plan by CGNY for the same timeframe and examine how it responds to the ICP. CGNY responds to the aspirations around imagery with its website and all the different social media platforms, DCU, to reach a large audience. The same objectives as in the ICP are evident in the strategic plan of CGNY, which says, "communication and social media are consequently embedded as instrument. Not as after-thought but as central part of the work" (CGNY 2016: 8-9). The online platforms of CGNY can be considered as a proactively managed nation-branding instrument to bring forward a preferred image. Moreover, the cultural activities and events taking place all over the US are presented as the nation's 'brands'. The promoted activities and events help create a sense of identity and belonging for, mainly, the Dutch people living in the US. The association with the nation is provoked.

The promotion of Dutch cultural activities is articulated clearly as part of the ICB and the strategic plan of CGNY, wherefore the representation of the country is directed.

Also, in the interview I conducted with Kloos and Kuipers it was mentioned that the social media that is used for promotion is meant as a marketing campaign and, therefore, can be considered as positive, and proactively applied nation branding. But, Kloos and Kuipers state the quality of the art and culture promoted is still a priority. Also, the main audience remains the American and Dutch people living in the US, and not Dutch followers in the Netherlands. Kloos states that working together with the Americans is the main priority, where nation branding is an extra advantage.

However, reasoning from the quality of art as most important feature for choices gives difficulties for measuring the impact of art and culture as desired in the ICP. Quantitatively, concrete and measurable results give the opportunity to justify the achievements. Still, CGNY would like to concentrate more on qualitative results. Qualitative research on the effects of supported projects is a way of giving depth to the results. 'What' has been done, the quantitative measurements, which is also called evidence-based research (like number of projects and activities, number of visitors, and spent budget (see Image 1)), can be juxtaposed to 'how well something is achieved' (the qualitative results, like press reviews, experience of the public, or issued and number of awards) (Bunnik, Van Huis 2011: 24-25, 79).¹⁰

In respect to the above, as explained in the new monitoring and evaluation framework, qualitative monitoring is described to be done by means of evaluation forms (Lijn, Nick van der, et al. 2016: 7). The evaluation forms are supposed to be given to the Dutch artists that are granted financial support. However, the policy officers at CGNY explain that for them this type of evaluation can be difficult because they work exclusively with American parties. Kloos points out the following in the conducted interview: "To give an example: Viviane Sassen had a solo exhibition in Chicago, but she maybe doesn't even know that we grant that exhibition. We are not in contact with her. So, if we would ask her 'To what extent was it important for you that the Dutch Consulate financially supported you?' she will answer she has not noticed it as much. But, if you would ask the Museum of Contemporary Photography the same question, they will say it was indispensable." The example illustrates that CGNY does not lobby in the field, but are a point of contact in the local environment, in the US. The positionality of the employees at CGNY also reflects their degree of agency, a certain perseverance to work independently and what they find relevant. This method of working reveals that the ICP and the work in the field of CGNY do not always correspond and can cause friction between the two actors. CGNY works less directly with the Dutch artists than

¹⁰ The exhibition by artist Gwenneth Boelens is an example of a project that was granted financial support and, indeed, submitted an evaluation report after the exhibition. 'Gwenneth Boelens: At Odds' took place at The MIT List Visual Arts Center. CGNY received an evaluation report that included the number of visitors (6000) and how it was received (reception in the media through reviews). Also, the evaluation states what is achieved with the granted money of CGNY (see Image 1, financial report). This is a perfect example of evidence-based policy: quantitative, as well as qualitative results show the reception of the exhibition and what has been achieved with the granted money.

other posts or the Dutch funding agencies, which might translate into a different monitoring and evaluation framework.

The proposal of a specified monitoring and evaluation framework is also suggested by the IOB. In the research for this policy review came forward that the support for the diplomatic posts requires customization. “Especially subsidies need to be deployed country specifically. (...) Conquering the American market requires time for contacting the *influentials*, taking care of showcases, and being present at a big event” (IOB 2016: 103). Presenting yourself and gaining success in the US is done differently than in other countries and therefore the subsidies and advice from CGNY to the Dutch artists differs. CGNY works with Dutch artists, who work on the long term of their career and have set out a path for success in the US. Also, the post often has long lasting relationships with American partners that represent the Dutch artists.

This objective for continuous relationships is evident in the strategic plan of CGNY, which it connected to one of the main goals of the ICP, namely a “sustainable collaboration that is seen and appreciated abroad” (CGNY 2016: 7). CGNY maintains sustainable collaborations with American partners. The general framework wants the post to take on an active role here in the local network and diplomacy. However, CGNY considers their role more independently and wants to work reactively based on the American partners, who inform them. Still, the local sustainable collaboration causes impact and positive effect for the Dutch arts.

In relation to contributing to this positive effect for the Dutch arts, CGNY employed various goals in the strategic plan. The strategic plan mentions various results that will be evident in 2020: for example, reach of a new audience, support Dutch talent, and more emphasis on a greater knowledge and publicity with a large audience on shared cultural heritage of the Netherlands and the US (CGNY 2016: 14-15).

Further, the strategic plan of CGNY for 2017-2020 expresses clearly that it connects to two goals as presented by the ICP plan by the Dutch government: namely the goal of a strong cultural sector that grows in quality through international exchange and sustainable collaboration abroad; and the goal of effectively applying culture within modern diplomacy. For example, CGNY mentions its sustainable relationship with art institutions and art courses like Otis College of Art and Design and California College of the Arts that have organized workshops with Dutch talent for years (CGNY 2016: 12). The result-oriented approach in the ICP plan as well as the strategic plan of CGNY assume that culture could improve the image of the Netherlands, in which lies a risk for the intrinsic value of art that is, I argue, not economically found.

Accordingly, there may be a change in policy with the recently developed monitoring and evaluation framework that will be distributed by the Dutch government. This framework needs to serve the diplomatic posts to concentrate on the measurable and quantitative value of art and culture instead of the qualitative value of art and culture. Because of this, the government will be able to focus more on the results given in numbers (e.g. number of events taken place in the US) that art and culture bring forward for the nation. For example, for the third year in a row the US was the biggest

export country for the international cultural presence of the Netherlands.¹¹ The international cultural export is measured and compared statistically by means of the database *Buitengaats* and the press list, both of which demonstrate the scope of Dutch culture to which CGNY contributes. In relation to the monitoring and evaluation framework, CGNY advocates to have this centralized in the Netherlands and to zoom in on qualitative indicators. The diplomatic post states in their strategic plan that it has limited staff, wherefore the administrative load needs to be kept to a minimum (CGNY 2016: 32).

To conclude, despite the fact that CGNY would like to act autonomously and does not consider itself as active post, but responsive to the host country, the strategic plan follows the ICP closely. The difference between the two policy documents is nuanced. The strategic plan of CGNY takes on the economic mission a little less, but it mainly uses the same types of terms as, and responds for the majority to the ICP. The policy texts can be considered a way to fixate meaning in the discourse of culture and identity. Representation of national identity in the ICP and the connecting strategic plan of CGNY takes on the role of nation branding by means of applying art and culture as promotional instrument. In the policy jargon the term cultural diplomacy is frequently, and the term nation branding sometimes, implemented. The representation of the nation is constructed and directed because a certain image of the Netherlands and how this should be presented abroad is formulated clearly as motive in the ICP plan. The role of representation emerges unilaterally in the policy plans as displaying a desired image of the nation. The intended image of the Netherlands is kept in mind in the policy documents. By means of culture the Netherlands is able to present itself, support dialogue, and help the imagery or economic interests of the country. Nation branding as strategy is visible when Dutch culture is advertised, for example online. This marketing strategy is directly used to positively represent the Netherlands abroad and create a sense of belonging for the Dutch people living abroad. CGNY gets steered by the central ICP framework and has a formal function as executor in the field. For this reason, the diplomatic post can be considered as a policy instrument. However, one issue that seems to emerge is that the arts are no longer considered for their true nature and value. As Minnaert argues, "(...) the arts seem to have lost their place in ICP in favor of less risky expressions that shape a nations' image or brand" (2014: 101). The intrinsic value of art and culture is substituted for a desired representation of the country.

3.2 Analysis of the Motives Behind Activities

In this section, I discuss what the motives are of CGNY to grant and support certain activities. The motives reflect the different reasons that are behind the choices made and how much agency CGNY has in making these choices. Further, I analyze how representation is visible in the practices and activities at the Consulate.

To begin, CGNY works a bit different than other Consulate Generals and other posts working as part of the Dutch ICP. As mentioned earlier, the policy officers at CGNY

¹¹ DutchCulture, *Buitengaats* 2016. <<http://dutchculture.nl/sites/default/files/Buitengaats2016.pdf>>.

work mainly ad hoc, depending on the request that comes from the US, which is in contrast with the promotional intention of ICP. The Consulate is not so much leading and being a mediator for the cultural sector, but more responsive to what is happening in the field. Through working ad hoc, one could say, the agency of CGNY is little because the American partners seem to have the influence of what Dutch art and culture to present. The Consulate is able to work like this, instead of proactively because over the years it has managed to build a long lasting network and relations with people in the field, like the large infrastructure that connects cultural heritage professionals. Therefore, the interest of the US in Dutch culture is high. For example, the Dutch are known for the Old Masters – seventeenth-century painters – and the Dutch DJs, mainly from the dance scene, which are both popular and represented well in the US. For the Netherlands, these artistic disciplines serve as a good branding reputation. CGNY works reactively with these types of projects, because these two artistic fields are in favor and well presented already. Sometimes the policy officers at CGNY decide to grant a part of the project, but the events, for example DJ gigs, are often not strategically advertised. This has to do with the fact that most of the DJs that go to the US are already established artists and do not need financial support. The DJ performances are often only posted on Twitter to make people aware of the events.

However, in some cases the Consulate chooses to work proactively and strategically. When the employees at CGNY see certain chances they anticipate a situation. Like Kloos mentions in the interview, “(...) nowadays we act a little more to the forefront and sometimes to redeem ourselves a bit, (...) a podium where we like to be visible. (...) We call that stimulating policy.” This is evident with some yearly returning projects and profitable events. For instance, two major projects on which I worked during my internship were South by Southwest (SXSW) and the design month in New York City (NYCxDesign). These events are based on sustainable relations with American partners, which is an important aspect for the motives behind activities by CGNY because it has influence on the certainty of the amount of impact. Like Kloos argues: “We have several partners with whom we collaborate, just because we think that the success rate is well (...)”. Thus, it is in relation to these other actors, in this case American partners that CGNY steps in to work proactively.

First, the SXSW Conferences and Festivals offer a convergence of original music, independent films, and emerging technologies. SXSW fosters creative and professional growth alike. A myriad of Dutch artists and companies participate in art, music, film, and interactive programs. The Netherlands showcases its broad position in the world of creative industries.¹² SXSW is also an example of a project where there is a crossover of disciplines, which relates to the vision of the ICP as well as the strategic plan. Representatives from both the economic and cultural department were present at the festival last year because of the mix of activities. This also reflects the collaboration within the Consulate. The activities at SXSW are not organized by CGNY, but CGNY still strategically directed the promotion of this event and not only promotes the cultural

¹² DutchCultureUSA. 'The Netherlands Has a Great Presence at SXSW'. March 14, 2017. <<http://www.dutchcultureusa.com/blog/3590/the-netherlands-has-a-great-presence-at-sxsw>>.

events, but all of the events where Dutch creatives are involved. In this case CGNY does not literally propagate the 'Dutch' name or brand, but gives extra attention to the Dutch participation at the event.

Another example of the association of the cultural with the economic department is the NYC Smart Cities Conference that was held in 2017 for the first time. The theme and subject of the conference were economically related, but FormNation designed the Dutch booth at the conference and furniture was provided by the design brand Moooi New York.¹³ The collaboration of the economic and cultural department can also be associated to the cultural attaché that is in service: As mentioned earlier, each cultural attaché gives a specific interpretation to the proceedings at CGNY. The background and work experience of the attaché, which may or may not be related to the cultural sector, might reflect in the work translation.

Second, NYCxDDesign creates a collaborative platform for cultural and commercial opportunities, elevates established and emerging design practices, and increases awareness of and appreciation for design by all audiences. Hosted in New York City, NYCxDDesign brings together all the disciplines of design, commerce, culture, education, and entertainment with a full, varied program, including exhibitions, installations, trade shows, talks, launches, and open studios. The Dutch are popular for their design in the US, so much so that the brand Moooi has expanded to New York and opened a store in the city. Various Dutch designs were showcased around the city throughout the month. Dutch design can be viewed as a product on the market, a brand.¹⁴ Also, this is an example of an event where CGNY intently informs the American host institutions of Dutch participation and is actively involved in promotion, by means of a directed marketing strategy, to bring the nation forward.

Both SXSW and NYCxDDesign illustrate the numerous and collective Dutch presence. SXSW represents the Dutch heterogeneity in the creative industries, but all of these disciplines can be considered a Dutch brand that presents itself abroad to be discovered. The Dutch design during NYCxDDesign, however, is even a clearer item and brand that is being promoted and, literally, on the market to be sold. The design items during the month in New York range from furniture to cutlery, which are usage items. NYCxDDesign is therefore more comparable to a fair taking place at different venues and displaying different design.

A good example is the design fair where, during my internship in 2017, Ventura Projects was present. Kloos says in the conducted interview, "this project was really meant to bring Dutch design to the foreground." Besides a large amount that was granted, the Consulate took on an organizational and partner role in the production of this event. CGNY took on a result-oriented position because it saw economic and artistic

¹³ DutchCultureUSA. 'Dutch Design @ Smart Cities Conference 2017'. April 30, 2017. <<http://www.dutchcultureusa.com/blog/3672/Moooi%20NYC%20-%20Smart%20Cities%202017>>.

¹⁴ DutchCultureUSA. 'Ventura New York featuring the work of 17 Dutch Designers at Wanted Design during NYCxDDESIGN'. April 28, 2017. <http://www.dutchcultureusa.com/blog/3698/ventura-new-york-featuring-the-work-of-17-dutch-designers-at-wanted-design-during-nycxdesign>

potential in the young design talents that would present their work. The economic motive is the reason CGNY proactively stepped in to support this event.

Kloos also mentioned the solo exhibition of Joris Laarmans at the Cooper Hewitt Museum in New York as potentially artistically and economically appealing. He said, "We are going to grant a lot because we know beforehand that the progressive and experimental positioning of the Netherlands can score well." Again it demonstrates that imagery is an important aspect CGNY employs and is directed in their practices, guiding the vision of ICP. CGNY chooses to support events where the Dutch visibility will be favorable, but also where their own presence and image will be noticed.

Another example where CGNY decided to step in proactively was for the book titled "The Happiest Kids in the World: How Dutch Parents Help Their Kids (and Themselves) by Doing Less" (2017). The book is a hit in the US and therefore the PCZ department decided to host a reception at the CGNY. Rina Mae Acosta and Michele Hutchison are the authors of the book – an American and a Brit, respectively, both married to Dutch men and raising children in the Netherlands – and give us the lowdown on the unique environment that enables the Dutch to turn out such well-adjusted, happy, and independent children. This book, which even has the word 'Dutch' in the title, puts the Netherlands, its environment, and parenting in a positive light. As a product, it would not be considered highbrow culture, but CGNY chose to deliberately contribute to and promote this book because it represents the Netherlands as a nation in such a positive manner. In this case, one could say that the nation in itself is promoted and also exhibited as the brand. For this reason the motive to promote this book is based on popularity and is, for that reason, closely linked to the notion of nation branding. CGNY did not work based on request from the American field, but decided to actively promote the book. Again this reflects the agency of CGNY to sometimes work autonomously. At times, CGNY intentionally and deliberately chooses to organize an activity. But still, presenting the nation positively, guiding the ICP.¹⁵

Further, the yearly event 'Kingsday', which is celebrated extensively in the Netherlands, is an event that CGNY organizes for the Dutch citizens living in the US. This activity can be considered more as public diplomacy, a national event that is celebrated abroad meant for the Dutch citizens living in New York. Another more public instead of cultural diplomatic example where CGNY was a big part of in the establishment, but I was not a part of, was the celebration of the 400 years Dutch-American relation (NY400) in 2009. This event also presents how culture was clearly used as instrument for the imagery of the nation. With this celebration emphasis was laid on the 'footprint' that the Netherlands had left on the genesis of the US. Central themes in the activities were shared history and shared values. Also, the trade and economic relation was a focal point in the celebration (BuZa 2008). The program of the celebration had to show the sustainable relationship and its impact and focus on the role of the Netherlands and its success. The investment in the manifestation was a way to raise awareness of the product 'Holland' (Minnaert 2016: 34). As a result, increase for the appreciation of the

¹⁵ DutchCultureUSA. 'The Happiest Kids in the World Q&A with the Authors'. April 13, 2017. <<http://www.dutchcultureusa.com/blog/3655/the-happiest-kids-in-the-world-qa-with-the-authors>>.

Netherlands was desired. Because of this, the event was a clear form where communication to the US was deployed as improvement of the image of the Netherlands. After the event the ambition for CGNY remained to present a specific message and clear image of the Netherlands. This event resulted in the website DCU to give an overview of all of the activities of the Netherlands in the US. Overall, the state event demonstrates how cultural relations can have an economic and diplomatic meaning (Minnaert 2016: 202).

However, NY400 was not so much focused on creating a cultural exchange with American partners, but more about the genesis of New York and the rich history between the Netherlands and the US (NY400 2009: 2). This event and communication strategy the PCZ department also had to work with, reflects the ambiguous position CGNY can be in: On the one hand following the policy plans and strategic goals and, on the other hand, working independently with American partners. Also, it reveals that the amount of agency of CGNY seems to be minimal and the diplomatic post is steered by the Dutch government. This manifestation was the vision of the Dutch government, where CGNY was turned into a production company to explicitly propagate nation branding. Considering the intention and type of activity, NY400 was different than the reactive position CGNY usually takes on. CGNY may want to work in a certain way in the field, but the Dutch government remains sending with the ICP.

Moreover, the discussed projects demonstrate that the policy officers at CGNY can work proactively and grants a big amount because they know the profit will be substantial and is result-oriented. For this reason the choices for these activities can also be considered a 'safe' choice. The choices stand closely in relation to the goals mentioned in the policy plans. Besides, specifically the art discipline design has been over the years, and is currently one of the priority fields as mentioned in the current ICP and strategic plan to which CGNY responds.

Furthermore, the previous examples illustrate the decisions and role of CGNY in the diplomacy traffic of the Netherlands. The activities and projects CGNY motivates to support are based on its own strategic plan and choices, but also on the ICP plan of the Dutch government. This shows how the diplomatic post participates formally in the execution of the ICP. A promotional practice, which relates to nation branding, may be evident in the choices made by CGNY, guided by the Dutch government. However, the proceedings at CGNY sometimes indicate a tension in the pursued goals by ICP and the preferred choices by the policy officers. The ICP wants CGNY to participate proactively in the diplomatic network, while CGNY takes on a reactive position. The employees at CGNY face a dilemma between the two pulling actors.

In the interview the two policy officers explained that they use the following expression: cultural diplomacy is always public diplomacy, but according to them not all of the public diplomacy is cultural diplomacy. Kloos explains, "this means that sometimes there are things in the cultural sector that you are unsure if you should do it (...) Public diplomacy is emphatically implemented in our policy plan, but it should not be leading. (...) Kuipers: "You do see this at other places abroad or for example with our colleagues in Washington [at the Dutch embassy] (...). The culture part does get shown,

but so is the [Dutch] Liberation, while we separate that clearly here.” The quality of art is the most important aspect when supporting artists in the US, even when not everybody will know the artist: in these situations, the opinion of the policy workers counts. Public diplomacy should not be leading, according to the policy officers, which is why smaller projects will also be granted and represented if the quality is good. “Cultural diplomacy is about influencing the American *influentials*.” This demonstrates CGNY works in the local field and collaborates with American partners.

Though, the Dutch embassy in Washington is responsible for all of the public diplomacy and, so, the represented image of the Netherlands in all of the US. The embassy has the responsibility to present a fixed image of the Netherlands, which it needs to translate to the other Consulate Generals in the US. For this reason the embassy has weekly calls with CGNY and, based on my observations, can have comments and additions on how the social media, DCU, is used. Sometimes CGNY does not agree with the interpretation of the embassy, but it does not have the position to present the Netherlands on social media autonomously. This reveals that the embassy is another factor of influence on the practices and agency of CGNY.

To return to the interview, I had the impression that popularity, expectations, and quality are in conflict within the practices of the work at the CGNY. The practices at the PCZ department reveal a difference the policy officers need to balance. Although the policy officers explain that the quality of art is priority in their choices, they also choose for the profitable and acknowledged events. In some cases, as the previous examples, CGNY chooses to proactively bring the nation to the forefront by promoting well-known Dutch brands or culture to live up to the expectations of the preferences in the US as well as the policy guidelines. CGNY is able to direct and manage the desired representation of the nation. The promotion of successful art and culture, like the big manifestations NYCxDesign and SXSW, has economic interest for the Netherlands, and the country can also be put in a positive light. The practices of nation branding can have a negative connotation when presenting the uniqueness and culturally grounded differentiation of the country and focusing on its target audiences. In this way, nation branding can fail to reflect the nation’s integrity.

However, CGNY, as actor for implementing ICP, from a different perspective has quite some freedom and agency to make choices to support certain activities. Most of the time the initiative comes from American partners to CGNY and the post still gets to make choices within these offers. The ‘quality standard’ is leading for CGNY, which indicates a degree of subjectivity is taken into account. Along with the ICP, this also is an important aspect for decisions and has consequences for what gets granted and support.

Along with this freedom the policy officers also choose to support smaller granted projects. These smaller grants are called ‘seed funding’ by CGNY (Strategic Plan 2016: 29). CGNY considers these small amounts as a relevant role for which other, bigger grants are generated. The impact of the support by CGNY may not be so evident, but it might have set other grants in motion wherefore it has impact on the total project.

Regarding the above, the economic impact by the Netherlands is measured through the percentage of support by CGNY in relation to the total budget of a cultural

project. Even when the percentage of CGNY's support in relation to the total budget does not seem high, CGNY might still choose to grant something. The Consulate does this because the economic interest for the Netherlands can still be evident, according to my experiences and talks with the policy officers at the Consulate. Smaller grants can still be helpful or show impact on the long term in the artist's career. This, however, is not something that is evident on the short term or measurable.

An example: stage director Jorinde Keesmaat, who received support for her opera 'Anais Nin & Odysseus Woman' at the Center for Contemporary Opera in New York, has gained much impact because of the help of CGNY. The opera was well reviewed in *The New York Times* and even won the 'Operadagen Rotterdam Gala Award' for the same opera.¹⁶ CGNY only committed 3% of the total grant that was awarded to this project. The granted amount by CGNY can be considered as seed funding. This example of Jorinde Keesmaat also says something about the agency of CGNY. The policy officers choose to grant a project because they see a certain potential. The support for this project was based on the vision of CGNY. Making these choices is only possible because CGNY is part of the 'field' and has a solid network and local parties it works with. Again this reflects the tension and ambiguity of on the one hand the image of the Netherlands in the US and the responsibility CGNY has as part of ICP and, on the other hand, the decisions the Consulate makes and being part of the cultural field and press in the US. It shows that in practice CGNY directs its own initiatives to present and balance a diverse scale of activities. Sometimes these choices might be daring because CGNY is not sure what the outcome will be. Still, a sustainable plan from the artist and American partner are key for the choices CGNY makes. Besides, the Consulate cannot always take on a proactive position in their choices to support activities. Because of this, the involvement of the Consulate has limitations and the actual agency of CGNY is minimal. The policy officers only select activities of which they are certain that they can do and preferably have a desired appearance for the nation.

CGNY also often grants other smaller amounts, which are not risky, but do have impact for the artist because it might be able to make their project possible. These small grants are often meant for flight costs or hotel nights in the US. This becomes evident in the budget overview of CGNY. For example for film there is the 'umbrella' budget of \$25.000 that can be divided over different projects. Usually, the amounts of money granted are small amounts that are missing in the overall budget of the film that is presented at a film festival, for example for the director's/actor's transport or hotel costs. These amounts are often not directly granted to the artist themselves, but to the American partner or institution that the artist is related to for their performance or event.

For example, during the half-year of 2017 there were 10 projects granted and there was still \$11.250 budget left. In 2016 there was a total of 16 film projects granted. The same applies for the field of music, for which, during my internship, were already 16

¹⁶ Tommasini, Anthony. "When Anais Met Circe, and Other Operatic Adventures." *The New York Times*, October 21, 2016. <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/10/22/arts/music/review-when-anais-met-circe-and-other-operatic-adventures.html?_r=0>.

projects funded and still counting. With these umbrella budgets, one can see that there can be many projects helped with just small amounts of money that are efficient support. The majority of these relatively small projects, or small grants for CGNY, are based on the choice and vision of the engaged policy officer. This way CGNY engages in impartial judgment and is able to represent the rich variety of Dutch culture and might appeal to a broad audience.

Other aspects that influence the choices and selection of projects that CGNY grants have to do with the collaboration with the Dutch funding agencies on which it relies as well. CGNY works closely together with the Dutch art funding agencies and there can be disagreements on what to grant and what not: One example Kloos gave was that of the yearly event *Photoville*. This is something CGNY finds to be a good project and something it wants to support, whereas the Netherlands does not want to support it and the Mondrian Fund has rejected it for three consecutive years. It can also happen the other way around, where CGNY does not find certain projects important, while the funding bodies in the Netherlands do. CGNY needs to take the perspective of the Dutch funding agencies into account, wherefore their position is not fully autonomous. The Dutch funding agencies cannot always match with the strategic plans made by the diplomatic posts: for the funding agencies that is only a small part of the work and they have their own four-year policy plans to work with.

Another example, which CGNY did not want to support but some of the Dutch funding agencies, such as the Mondrian Fund, have been involved with for a longer while, is the residency project in the Kings County Hospital Center in Brooklyn called *Beautiful Distress*. The art depicts the topic of 'madness' through the perspective of the artists and does not only make the public aware of the suffering of a psychic disease, but also the conflict and desires the patient experiences. Distinctive for the creation of the artworks are the interaction between the patients and artist. In the interview Kloos mentioned that he gave a negative advice to the Dutch funding agencies because, according to him, it does not conform to the quality requirements. In relation to this, Kuipers mentioned that she notices the same issues regarding quality requirements with bands in the music industry. "Not that the bands aren't good, but for instance that they do not invest in the long term. And so, I see tricky business that I discuss with the Dutch funding agencies." The artists need the required papers for the US, such as the correct visas, and only then CGNY can decide to invest in them. As mentioned earlier, a long term plan and sustainability is of the essence for CGNY in making choices and decisions.

In the interview the motives for the quality standard in relation to the *Beautiful Distress* project were not further elaborated and what is considered qualitatively good art is subjective and unconsciously determined. For this reason, the negative advice can also reflect the policy officer's personal preference. As mentioned in the interview, "people remain people". The cultural attaché has influence on the contributions for projects and emphasis of the practiced policy, and so, as Kloos explained "Jan [Kennis] likes cultural heritage and will work harder for that than his predecessor. His predecessor, Ferdinand Dorsman, had mainly interest in contemporary art so will work

hard for that.” Thus, the cultural attachés have favorable choices, which are of influence for working proactively and leading for the whole Consulate. In these cases the cultural attaché might deviate from the policy. The same applies for the policy officers, who can also have favorable choices for their specific arts disciplines. Then, representation of Dutch art and culture is unconsciously decided and not intentionally directed for the entire CGNY. It is in these decisions that the agency and vision of the policy officers becomes visible.

Besides, the same residency program in the Netherlands, called *Het Vijfde Seizoen*, is a real success, but the same types of projects are sometimes not translatable to a different location and culture. However, on the website of the project I see that CGNY is supporting an upcoming exposition in Brooklyn this year.¹⁷ The exposition will combine works from the residency project in the Netherlands and of the residencies at the Kings County Hospital. It is interesting to see that in the end CGNY decided to take part in this project. It may be that the policy officers at CGNY think this specific exhibition is worthy to grant instead of the residency programs as motivated in the interview. Or it might be that they still think the project does not match with their quality requirements, but just chose to support it regardless in collaboration with the Dutch funding agencies. This is merely speculation because I am unaware of the motives. I am also unaware of the amount that is granted for the project because this was decided after my internship. It does reflect the ambiguous position of CGNY and the process of decision-making. CGNY and the Dutch funding agencies make independent decisions, but it can be the case that the funding agencies requested CGNY to be a part of the project to help establish it with the required grants. This reveals how the Dutch funding agencies are a significant part of the framework in which the Consulate makes their decisions and also has to engage in impartial judgment.

Altogether, CGNY works for the majority with a stimulating demand-driven policy and an external impulse. The motives behind choices for activities are most of the time based on a sustainable relationship with American partners or on the quality of art. As illustrated in this chapter, the Consulate works closely together with the Dutch funding agencies, which play a role in their decision-making. Furthermore, CGNY grants smaller amounts of financial support that it sometimes describes as seed funding or that help realize a smaller project. This way, CGNY is able to grant numerous Dutch cultural activities taking place in the US. It becomes clear that it is only in relation to external involved actors, other interests, or when there is an economic motive involved that CGNY works proactively. In the next section I discuss the examined policy and activities in light of the theoretical framework. How representation comes forward in the policy documents and activities is reviewed.

¹⁷ In the upcoming projects, following the art manifestation in Amsterdam, there is an exposition planned in 2018 in New York. It states that the Netherlands America Foundation (NAF) and CGNY, amongst others, support the projects in New York. <<http://www.beautifuldistress.org/projecten-1-1/>>.

3.3 Role of Representation as Projected in Policy and Practices

Now, I discuss how representation is apparent as related to the previous analysis of the policy, practices and motives behind support of activities by CGNY. In order to do so, I connect the theory with the analysis. The selection behind the grants of certain activities show a various role for the notion of representation and what role art and culture can have for the nation. This reflects a tension in the reactively and proactively applied representation of the country. It also reveals something about the amount of agency of CGNY, where there is also a tension visible. As presented in the previous section, the ICP and the daily practices of CGNY do not, and cannot always correspond, which reflects a tension between the different actors who are sending in the representation and desired imagery of the Netherlands. I elaborate on representation through the glasses of the theoretical framework: in order from not directed and unconsciously applied representation, to average directed representation, to directed representation; respectively representation as discussed by Hall, representative thinking by Arendt, and the marketing strategy nation branding.

First, the role of representation as seen in the practices of CGNY is described in view of the theory by Hall. As described in the previous section, CGNY works mainly reactively, based on the interest of the US. CGNY chooses to support certain projects based on requests from American partners. For this reason there seems to be no direct control over what is represented as 'Dutch' by CGNY because it only responds to the opportunities. The collaboration with American partners is based on sustainable relationships, wherefore CGNY is able to work reactively. This perception of identity formation can be related to Hall's thoughts. He believes that there is no control over identity formation. Identity is only designed through the contemporary discursive structures in society and the nation. Therefore, seen in light from Hall's theory, the motive to work reactively manifests that there is no control over how Dutch identity is represented.

However, CGNY still makes a selection for grants and promotion of the available variety of Dutch cultural projects in the US. These preferences for activities made by CGNY reflect what the policy officers would like to see represented as 'Dutch' and a considerable amount of agency in the role of CGNY. In the interview, Kloos and Kuipers mentioned that the quality of art they represent and the collaboration with American institutions is the most important guidance when choosing to support and promote activities. The employees at CGNY have quite some agency because control through the policy in the Netherlands is minimal, according to the interviewees. The policy officers motivate their choices for certain projects that receive financial support in the written project plans and financial requests. On the one hand, the financially contributed projects need justification based on the policy frameworks by the Dutch government, and on the other hand, the chosen projects are based on the subjectivism and interpretation of the policy officers. As a result, some choices may reflect personal preferences. Individual positionalities can guide the assessments and interpretations the policy officers make in terms of what is represented.

These guided personal preferences also relate to the discussed concept of representation as elaborated by Hall. He believes everyone is culturally determined, positioned and therefore any choice happens unconsciously. So, the choices made are not consciously and proactively directed, considered in light of Hall's theory. For this reason, policy officers also have preferences for certain activities, which can be considered an unconscious and involuntary motive for the choices they make.

Hall's theory also becomes relevant in relation to the promotion of shared cultural history projects and activities. When promoting these projects through visual representation, one could see this, as argued by Hall, as a re-telling of the past. Whether this re-telling of the colonial past can be considered as something positive or negative is arguable. The promotion and notification of the projects focused on shared history between the US and the Netherlands is positively supported by CGNY. However, examining this in light of Hall's theory on representation, a critical perspective is provided. The imagery brought forth and history re-told by CGNY can be of influence on how one perceives the shared and colonial history of the US and the Netherlands. The shared culture and heritage projects reflect on American colonial times and are focused on New York state area, since it was once colony of the Netherlands and called New Amsterdam. According to Hall, the way these projects are presented is related to how CGNY positions itself with the past, and so might not be aware of what connotation certain representations may have. The negative connotations of the colonial times are not something told or shown when promoting projects focusing on shared history. The same can be seen in relation to the earlier discussed 400-year celebration of bilateral relation between the Netherlands and the US. In the communication from the Netherlands the colonial and accompanying slavery history was not exposed. The sending party deployed only positive communication (Van Borkum 2014: 19). The choice for certain communication may be considered as evasive towards other parts of history that are then left untold. Here, I only touch on this critical note in relation to the theory posed by Hall, and do not delve deeper into the concept of representation in relation to the shared history projects supported by CGNY.

Second, I elaborate on how representation is apparent in the motives behind choices and the activities of CGNY considered in light of the theory by Arendt. The notion of representative thinking by Arendt considers placing oneself in the perspective of others. It enables us to account for adaptive and diverse preferences. For example, the Dutch funding agencies are a factor that influences how representation is present in the practices of CGNY. It can be considered as representative thinking because the Consulate is sometimes asked to commit and sometimes CGNY is determined to say no to certain projects. It reflects the position of CGNY where it has the choice to take a position. The notion of representative thinking can be considered partly reactively and partly proactively. CGNY works independently and also chooses to do certain things or not, in this case, sometimes in consultation and collaboration with the Dutch funding agencies.

Further, one could argue that CGNY represents the Dutch art and culture, as said earlier when discussing Arendt's theory, by making present to the mind the standpoints of those who are absent (the Dutch nation as a whole) and presenting a wide variety of

Dutch culture. As examined, CGNY presents many different and various activities. The diversity of the projects is illustrated in the fact that CGNY sometimes grants a small amount, so it is able to support numerous, multilateral projects. The multiple projects represent the richness of Dutch art and culture. Representative thinking in the practice of CGNY functions as a manner to present what diversity the Dutch culture has to offer. CGNY balances out all the different cultural disciplines and sometimes the geographical location where the activities take place in the US. In this way, the word 'Dutch' will gain a broader meaning in the context of representation. Sometimes the smaller projects and maybe still unknown artists are not the 'safe' choice for the policy officers because they may not know what the exposure and benefit for the country will be. Still, CGNY can consider that these smaller activities are important as Dutch representation in the US.

Seen in light of Arendt's theory, the various supported activities by CGNY also reflect that the opinions and judgments of the policy officers are not focused on the self, but on the plurality – meaning the represented Dutch nation in the US. As Arendt describes, identity is constructed through collective plurality. We are not unaccompanied, but have the presence of others around us and so should try to be inclusive. For this reason the wide range of choices of projects by CGNY can be related to representative thinking: to be inclusive and inhabit other perspectives.

It may also reflect the policy officers' impartial judgment behind their motives for certain choices. Because the employees at CGNY have to take the perspectives and motives of the Dutch funding agencies or American partners into account, they cannot always work from their own preferences. CGNY has to take all the different voices into consideration. According to Arendt, to be able to participate in the existing plurality one needs to engage in impartial judgment. Engaging in impartial judgment is a condition for representative thinking.

Altogether, CGNY represents the Dutch nation in the US and so has to take other perspectives into account: the Dutch nation, citizens and funding agencies as well as American partners. Therefore, the position and agency of CGNY is semi-directed and awareness of the perspectives and motives of others when motivating to support and grant certain projects can be considered as representative thinking. Besides, representation and identity formation become evident in relation to the plurality, the Dutch people and identities. Namely, according to Arendt identity is formed through collective plurality. In this case Dutch identity is formed in relation to other Dutch people and the Dutch nation. Representative thinking reflects a possibility, a choice, to inhabit other perspectives, being aware of others, which can be considered as a semi-directed approach, but not unconsciously nor fully directed. Representative thinking here becomes evident in the fact that CGNY sometimes chooses to take other perspectives into account on what is considered Dutch culture or when presenting the variety of Dutch culture.

Third, based on the previous elaborated practices of CGNY, I reflect on how representation is apparent as being nation branding, a marketing strategy. The Netherlands and CGNY practice cultural diplomacy by means of implementing the ICP abroad and, as previously mentioned, working reactively in the US. In relation to this,

the following quotation is relevant: “It is in relation to the other that the own identity is defined. This makes a confrontation with the other a necessary element of identity construction. It is not possible to see Dutch cultural identity as an isolated element that can be defined from within” (Minnaert 2014: 103). Because of the encounter and confrontation with other cultures and identities one’s own identity is formed. The implementation of ICP abroad and the reactive way of working by CGNY shows that identity is formed in relation to the US. According to Minnaert, the ICP can then be considered a tool in facilitating the encounter with other nations and cultures and so, playing a vital role in the construction of national identity. Dutch identity, and how this is represented, is formed through encounters with foreign countries and cultures, which is practiced by means of the ICP. In this case the agency of the Dutch government is large, for example with NY400, and less for CGNY. The diplomatic post is then requested to work proactively. Thus, the ICP as tool in foreign countries can in this sense be considered as directed and proactively applied by the Dutch government and their leading vision, and practiced by CGNY. For this reason, the role of representation connects to the concepts of nation branding and cultural diplomacy. CGNY is the executor of diplomacy abroad. Both notions, nation branding and cultural diplomacy, can be directed and practiced as facilitating tool.

Although working reactively does not so much reflect nation branding practiced as strategy, yet, the fact that CGNY makes a selection of certain projects reveals how it would like to represent or ‘brand’ the nation. As seen in the previous section, CGNY sometimes works proactively on certain projects. When the post sees a certain potential it responds accordingly and raises awareness for the Netherlands. For instance SXSW festival and NYCxDesign are examples where CGNY works directly to promote the wide variety of culture and the nation. In these cases the role of representation is purely to advertise the country and the uniqueness of Dutch art and culture. The illustrated projects are established and known events. For this reason CGNY knows that the outcome and economic interest for the Netherlands is considerable: CGNY asserts the economic motive when the events are result-oriented. That is also the reason why CGNY chooses to grant a substantial part of these activities, usually a specific event or artist involved because the certainty for promotion and profit is high. The events are in collaboration with the economic and public diplomatic network, which indicates the versatility and potency of the projects. The motives behind SXSW and NYCxDesign relate to the concepts of nation branding and cultural diplomacy, which are proactively applied as tool. CGNY responds to cultural potential, which relates to raising awareness of the Netherlands and therefore to the concept of nation branding. The Consulate takes on a diplomatic role in which culture is executed as instrument to represent the nation. The illustrated projects are strategically chosen to proactively present the Netherlands abroad. This becomes evident in the amount of posts on social media: There is a clear increase in the number of posts in relation to the other months of the year.¹⁸ As a result

¹⁸ The Facebook statistics, for the number of posts online, were measured from January 2017 until June 2017. This gave the following results: January - 56, February - 51, March - 95, April - 81, May - 95, June - 71. The same increase is visible for the number of posted Tweets: January - 163, February - 105, March -

CGNY tries to reach a large audience and encourages them to go. In these cases the role of representation is directed by CGNY and is mainly about the imagery of the Netherlands, guiding the vision of the ICP.

The same applies to the Dutch Old Masters or the Dutch DJ's, which are evidently represented as brand of the country. These two subjects are popular in the US, which also becomes clear from the press analysis for the period January 2017 until June 2017.¹⁹ Dutch DJ Tiësto was the second most popular artist that was mentioned in the American press. Likewise for the Old Masters: Rembrandt van Rijn and Vincent van Gogh are both in the top 20 of most mentioned in American Press. The popularity is also visible in the fact that the Facebook posts, which include an image of a painting by one of the Dutch Old Masters, are 'liked' a lot in comparison to other posts with other images.²⁰ It seems that this subject is popular because of the recognition people have. People, American as well as Dutch, relate the Old Masters to the Netherlands. For this reason the paintings work well as strategic nation branding because the reach is large. Nation branding seeks to use images to fix a particular idea of the nation within the global framework (Kerrigan, et al. 2012: 322).

Besides, the idea that people relate a certain topic to a certain nation demonstrates the argument by Anderson, as discussed earlier, that communities are 'imagined' and national identity is constructed. It is only the idea of a nation that people have and create, which allows a nation to be constructed and have an image. Therefore, when CGNY reasons from the motive nation branding, the representation of Dutch culture is directed and identity is constructed. Though, the desired image of the Netherlands is still secured by the Dutch government and the ICP, wherefore the actual directing position for CGNY is limited.

Further, the fact that the interest from the US in Dutch culture is high might also have to do with how the Netherlands directly presents itself, in a controlled and organized sense. The sparked interest of the US exposes something about the representation of Dutch identity and culture. In other words, the attraction of Dutch art and culture for the US reveals something about how the Netherlands presents itself and its culture. The Netherlands has control over creating an appeal factor towards the US, wherefore the nation is able to respond to the stimulated interest. This appeal factor, also called soft power, is apparent in the fact that CGNY maintains and updates a professional American and Dutch network of the art industries in the press and media. The policy officers spend significant time on networking and keeping the relations strong: They have a diplomatic role. This way the sparked interest remains. How

284, April – 214, May – 360, June – 254. In March and May, respectively, the events SXSW and NYCxDigital took place.

¹⁹ The press analysis is not a public document, but is intended for internal use by CGNY.

²⁰ For example, the post on Facebook for the exhibition "Vermeer and the Masters of Genre Painting: Inspiration and Rivalry" at the National Gallery of Art in Washington, posted on January 2018, was liked 16 times and shared once. While another post on the same day, on a new exhibition of artist Carla Klein, was not even liked once. <<https://www.facebook.com/DutchCultureUSA/>>. Accessed on January 28, 2018.

representation is apparent can again be considered to bring a positive image of the Netherlands forward, which relates to nation branding.

To conclude, the appearance of representation differs as a result of different motives behind the selection for grants and promotion of projects. The divergent motives reveal a tension in the role of representation and in the practices of CGNY. The role of representation has a broad spectrum and varies from the unconscious personal preferences of the policy officers working at CGNY, to showing the richness of Dutch culture, to prevailing a positive and desired image of the Netherlands. On the one hand CGNY wants to work independently and ad hoc with American partners and, on the other hand, CGNY has a mediating role to reflect an appealing image of the nation abroad. The ambiguous role of representation reflects a tension in the reactive and proactive proceedings of the diplomatic post. Another tension is visible in the degree of agency of the diplomatic post.

Additionally, as explained earlier, the ICP resonates for the most part the unilateral marketing strategy nation branding because in reality the policy is dependent on nation branding and it can be proactively applied. In the policy documents the tension falls more to the background. It is only in the operations of CGNY, in which the post also wants to work independently and reactively in the field, that friction with the ICP becomes apparent. The diplomatic post has a certain freedom in the field, but also needs to take other perspectives into account of the American partners or Dutch funding agencies and is also steered by the central policy. CGNY works primarily reactively with US partners, only sometimes it explicitly chooses, or is steered by the Dutch government, to take on the role of the organizer or bring projects proactively to the foreground. In this case nation branding can be strategically employed to give a project extra attention. The tension is the most visible in between working dependently and when CGNY is asked to work proactively. The proactively supported and promoted activities are more a reflection of what other actors (e.g. Dutch government, Dutch funding agencies and American partners) would like to see of Dutch culture in the US. CGNY does not think it needs to portray a certain image in the US. Besides, the role of CGNY within these choices and practices is relative.

For this reason, the observations of the discussed policy and activities reflect the amount of agency of the diplomatic post and how it is divided between the policy and its own practices and activities. The Dutch ICP, funding agencies and partnerships with the American institutions all provide a framework for the practices of and motives behind choices for activities by CGNY. There seem to be very few projects and activities of which CGNY has the independence to select from their own preference. Even if CGNY chooses activities independently, it often is still thoughtfully in line with the vision of the ICP. The proactive and independent role of the Consulate is minimal.

By means of the theoretical framework I have examined the different roles of representation and formation of national identity, from a reactive, not directed approach, to an average directed, to a fully, proactively directed approach. The fluctuating roles of representation, and its accompanying presentation of identity, have

become evident through the different purposes of the objectives in the policy plans and daily practices of and activities in which CGNY is involved.

4. Conclusion

This chapter constitutes reflection on the overall study on how representation is apparent in the proceedings of CGNY. During my internship I noticed the dualistic position of CGNY. That position dealt with on the one hand the ICP, to be proactively applied, as set by the Dutch government and on the other hand with American partners in the field, which requires a reactive position from the CGNY. In this study I explored the different motives for the selection of activities that CGNY is involved in and the different ways representation is present. This research sheds new light on the tension that the diplomatic post experiences by examining how representation becomes apparent.

The research question posed at the start of the study is the following:

- How does representation become apparent in the daily practices of the diplomatic post?

The supplementary question posed is:

- What are the rationales of the policy measures and grants and support activities undertaken by CGNY?

Several findings are important to emphasize as related to these questions. To begin, the motives of CGNY to grant and promote certain projects can be based on different considerations: the policy documents, personal preferences of consulate staff, requests of the art world in the US and American partners, collaboration with Dutch funding agencies, and the quality of art under consideration. Because of the changing rationales, the role of representation in the daily practices of CGNY can differ. Based on the theoretical framework, representation as discussed by Hall, representative thinking by Arendt, and the marketing strategy nation branding, I introduced three different roles for representation. This theoretical formation of representation is used to present how representation is apparent at CGNY. The theoretical framework provides a nuanced perspective to formulate the tension between practice and policy within CGNY.

In the first part of the analysis the aims for the current ICP framework (OCW/BuZa 2017-2020) and accompanying strategic plan of CGNY are examined, where nation branding becomes evident. The policy texts attempt to fixate meaning in the discourse of culture and identity. Consequently, representation of national identity takes on the role of nation branding by means of applying art and culture as promotional instruments. For this reason the presentation of the nation is strategically managed and the role of representation can be considered directed and steered by the Dutch government. The image of the Netherlands and how this should be presented abroad by means of art and culture is formulated explicitly in the ICP plan. The motive for the ICP is to create strong diplomatic relations and economic benefits through art and cultural manifestations. The role of representation emerges in the policy plans as proactively

displaying a desired image of the nation. Through such an emphasis, nation branding is evident.

The same applies regarding the use of social media for which the Dutch embassy in Washington is responsible. Further, the embassy is responsible for ensuring that policy implementations by CGNY are correctly performed. A fixed and desired image of the Netherlands is to be represented, which translates into nation branding.

In the second part of the analysis, the motives of CGNY to grant and support certain activities are analyzed and the particular role of representation becomes evident. The ICP and daily practices, like the motives of policy officers to support certain projects, reveal the dualistic position within which CGNY operates. CGNY works mainly reactively and on an ad hoc basis, reflective of US preferences. Therefore, considered from the theory of Hall, CGNY has limited control over what is represented as 'Dutch'. Hall believes that there is no control over identity formation and, for this reason, the motive to work reactively manifests that there is no control over how Dutch identity is represented. Even the selection that is made by CGNY for supporting activities can be considered an unconscious process, according to Hall. Decision-making is culturally determined and therefore not directed. Also, sometimes the employees can be guided by their personal preferences. In this manner, everyone carries representation with them through their unconsciously determined cultural maps; the way (national) identity is presented is not controlled and proactively applied, according to Hall.

Furthermore, representation as considered from Arendt's theory becomes clear in the choice of CGNY to not only present the granted and self-organized events, but also to display a totality of activities regarding Dutch art in the US. Also, CGNY grants small amounts of financial help to support diverse projects. In this manner, what is considered Dutch art and culture gains a broader meaning in the context of representation.

Additionally, CGNY represents the Dutch nation in the US and so has to take many different perspectives into account: the Dutch nation and its citizens, Dutch funding agencies, and American partners. Awareness of the perspectives of others when motivating to support certain projects can be considered as representative thinking. In relation to this, Arendt states that identity is formed through collective plurality, in this case meaning the Dutch people and their collective identities. Arendt argues that human action – in the case of CGNY this can be related to its decision-making – is based on being part of a social context and community. Altogether, representative thinking reflects the possibility to inhabit other perspectives and to be aware of others, which can be considered as the second of the three approaches of the theoretical framework; it is, in other words, a semi-directed approach. This approach is not fully reactive, nor fully proactive, but is situated between the other two approaches.

Still, sometimes the choices for activities are proactively and intentionally made by CGNY, which suggests that the consulate directly wants to project a certain image of the Netherlands. Often these choices are steered by the cultural attaché and not specifically related to the quality of an artwork, but are more about projects already established and known. In these cases CGNY knows there is a significant outcome for the Netherlands, an economic motive is involved, and cultural diplomacy is deployed as a

tool. Within this selection the role of representation is purely to proactively advertise the nation and identity is constructed. Here the marketing strategy nation branding is being practiced.

This selection process reveals that CGNY functions as actor for ICP, even if it would like to work independently, based on its own preferences. The reactive way of operating by the Consulate stands in contrast to the positive imaging as formulated in the policy documents. CGNY has a formal function to work for the cultural relation and exchange with the US. Because of this, the role for CGNY in terms of representation can primarily be defined as diplomatic and in service of proactively branding the nation.

Furthermore, the involvement of CGNY has limitations because it works reactively in the field and is constrained to what the Dutch government wants to represent. In addition CGNY needs to collaborate with Dutch funding agencies. CGNY is dependent on these other actors. For this reason, the position of the Consulate is not very active in presenting the image of the nation and its identity. In reality, CGNY is traversing a tenuous path because it does not have a sending position in terms of the presentation of Dutch art and culture. The example of NY400 reflects the ambiguous position CGNY is in: being directed by the Dutch government, but also wanting to work independently with American partners in the field. The image around Dutch culture and identity in the US is mainly built on what the American partners would like to see represented or what is the desired image by the Dutch government and Dutch embassy in Washington. Thus, if CGNY works proactively, the practices of CGNY are most of the time based on the motives and wishes of other involved actors. For that reason, the actual agency of CGNY is limited. The position of CGNY is that of a diplomatic body and is structured by ICP.

Concluding, CGNY may well work reactively based on the preferences from the US; it also has to proactively employ the desired perception and cultural diplomacy that the Dutch government wants to bring forward. The contrasting method of working is where the most tension becomes evident. In both cases, the amount of agency of the diplomatic post remains minimal and the vision of the external actors is employed. The motives behind the proactive engaged activities are mainly based on the perspective of other involved parties. Because of the different intentions for working and representing the nation at the post, there is a tension visible in the role of representation. When CGNY proactively serves national diplomacy and the ICP then art and culture are utilized as instrument for other purposes and the Consulate must make concessions regarding the authenticity and experience of art. The crux lays in the fact that CGNY, in its role as mediator, unavoidably has to work on promoting and supporting Dutch art forms in the US. Therefore the desired perception of the nation plays an important role, CGNY works corresponding to the unilateral policy, and so, the role for the arts in ICP decreases. The experience and intrinsic value of art and culture are substituted for the impact and desired representation of the Netherlands. The role of representation is reserved for a directed construction of the nations' identity.

4.1 Discussion

I would now like to make a number of general comments about the project. To begin, this research distinguishes itself from previous studies through the approach used for analyzing the practices at CGNY. The approach involves focusing on the role of representation at this specific diplomatic post, and such an investigation has not been previously conducted. By means of this perspective new insights on the implementation of the policy and selection of projects are revealed. Nevertheless it is difficult to monitor the entire process of motives related to the supported projects. For this reason, it is important to note several limitations to the study.

First, I concentrated on the current timeframe for the ICP and the related strategic plan of CGNY; use of policy documents was limited. The decision to focus on the present timeframe means that the study does not provide a historical overview of the policy and practices at CGNY. The policy changes every few years, while the practices at the Consulate are continually in flux. Second, I examined only a selection of the activities in which the PCZ department of CGNY is involved and, consequently, this study provides a relatively narrow portrayal of the department. I mainly focused on the activities that took place during my internship. For that reason, aspects of representation presented may seem more about the positive imagery of the country than would be evident when monitored over a longer period. Third, considered broadly, I focused only on the activities in which CGNY participates. There are many more Dutch cultural projects taking place in the US in which CGNY is not related. Therefore the role of CGNY is relative.

This study was exploratory in character and merits extension. I have several suggestions for further research. First, it would be relevant to examine how representation is apparent in relation to other cultural diplomatic posts where the Netherlands is situated. Every country has its own representation of culture and referential framework to which each diplomatic post needs to adjust. Also, as previously mentioned, other Dutch Consulate Generals work mainly proactively in contrast to the proceedings of CGNY. It would be interesting to examine in what way representation is present in the daily practices and operationalization of ICP at Dutch cultural diplomatic posts in other countries. In this manner, it may be possible to comparatively analyze the practices of cultural departments at diverse diplomatic posts. Further, this approach may allow investigation into ICP and its relation to national representation and cultural expression. In relation to this topic, it would be valuable to consider changes in policy with regard to the role of representation from the presented theoretical framework.

Second, it would be valuable to compare this analysis with similar analyses of previous timeframes. The way CGNY positions itself between the external actors might be different. Also the ground on which the motives for supporting activities and projects are based might differ in relation to previous timeframes.

Finally, as CGNY has indicated, the Dutch government and CGNY should focus more on the qualitative value of the arts and less on the quantitative aspect as presently done by means of the database *Buitengaats*, the press list, and the monitoring and evaluation framework now being further developed and implemented. However, the

qualitative methods to measure the impact of art and culture merits further investigation in order to determine the most suitable instruments and mode of implementation. A customized evaluation framework for qualitative results would suit CGNY best, regarding the working procedure of the Consulate. During my internship, I began designing a questionnaire that could be administered by CGNY to all applicants after being granted financial support to determine more qualitative results. This form of evaluation merits extension, an aspect beyond the scope of my internship.

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Images

Financial Report

Trans. Date	Description	Amount	Category
12/1/16	Gwenneth Boelens Airfare Reimbursement	\$646.38	Travel Expenses: Airfare Reimbursement
4/7/17	AIR INCORPORATED	\$276.82	Production: Curtain Fabrication for "Undo"
11/28/16	SIRCHIE FINGER PRINT LAB	\$969.56	Production: Forensic developer (Ninhydrin) for "Undo"
1/20/17	CITY PAINT AND SUPPLY	\$538.82	Exhibition/Installation: wall paint for gallery
2/7/17	ART SHIPPING INTERNATIONAL LTD	\$2,568.42	Exhibition/Installation: Shipping Costs (\$2,568.42/\$8,262.00 paid)
	Total	\$5,000.00	

Please find copies of receipts attached.

Image 1: Financial report of the exhibition 'Gwenneth Boelens: At Odds', The MIT List Visual Arts Center.

Appendix A

Interview Robert Kloos en Vera Kuipers, 30 juni 2017

MJ: Mylene Jankowski

RK: Robert Kloos

VK: Vera Kuipers

1) Om de vier jaar wordt een nieuw Internationaal Cultuurbeleid (ICB) en aansluitend een Strategisch Plan opgesteld voor het Consulaat Generaal New York (CGNY). In hoeverre sluit dit Strategische Plan aan bij de ICB richtlijnen en in hoeverre kan dit door de post zelf ingevuld worden?

-Follow up: Is er een onderscheid in hoe de post wordt aangestuurd en hoe de post zelf invulling geeft aan het Plan? In hoeverre zouden de leidinggevenden en beleidsmedewerkers op de post dit anders willen zien?

RK: Niet elke vier jaar wordt er een nieuw internationaal cultuurbeleidsplan opgesteld. Wat er eigenlijk gebeurt is dat er een gezamenlijke kamerbrief is van OCW en het Ministerie van Buitenlandse Zaken. De laatste is van 2016, en die daarvoor van 2012. Dit zijn best wel algemene kaders. Dat zijn stukjes van een paar pagina's, dus geen grote documenten met een vastgetimmerd beleid. In deze brieven geven ze een toonzetting met de hoofddoelstellingen voor het internationaal cultuurbeleid. Daar zit best wel veel ruimte in voor de feitelijke uitvoering. Daar binnenin zie je accentverschuivingen. In 2012 werd er nadruk gelegd op het feit dat kunst en cultuur ook ingezet moest worden voor andere doeleinden, met name economische doeleinden. Dat is de grootste verschuiving geweest met de brief voor 2016. Daarin wordt gesteld dat de overheid iets te ver doorgesloten was met de nadruk dat kunst en cultuur altijd 'ingezet' moest worden. Althans, zo werd het geïnterpreteerd. De intrinsieke waarde van kunst en cultuur was ondergeschoven en is nu erkend dat dat een uitgangspunt moet zijn. Dat is een belangrijk punt voor Nederland om internationaal uit te dragen en ons te kunnen meten op internationaal niveau. Dat wil niet zeggen dat de doelen die kunst en cultuur na kunnen streven niet meer bestaan, dat is natuurlijk altijd inherent en dat je daarmee problemen kunt ondersteunen, maar het is niet meer het hoofddoel. Voor de uitvoering, over de jaren heen, verandert er niet zo heel veel.

In het verleden was het heel strikt en organiseerden we zelf niet echt dingen. Maar tegenwoordig treden we wel iets meer zelf op de voorgrond en om onszelf soms een beetje in te kopen, denk aan Northside en South by Southwest: een podium waar we graag zichtbaar zijn. Dit zijn plekken waar we een stukje beeldvorming kunnen doen. Maar als je de projectlijsten van de afgelopen 15 jaar naast elkaar legt verschillen die niet zo heel veel. Waar het op neer komt is dat het vraag en aanbod bij elkaar brengt, in zekere zin aanbod en vraag. In het verleden waren we heel strikt dat het alleen vraag moest zijn, maar nu zijn we wel een beetje...

VK: De vraag aan het bevorderen.

RK: Opwekkend beleid noemen we dat.

VK: Ja, het is net de juiste persoon tegen komen en toch een kans zien. We zijn maar een klein landje, dus niet iedereen staat er automatisch bij stil.

RK: Als je het meerjarig strategisch plan leest is dit heel strikt en duidelijk. Er zijn hoofddoelstellingen geschreven in Nederland waarvan er maar één geldt voor ons, dus dat is vrij breed. Daarnaast zijn er subdoelstellingen, die wij als het ware verfijnen naar de omgeving waarin wij functioneren. En daar staat elk focusland een beetje vrij in. In Parijs heb je het Atelier Neerlandais, waar eigenlijk al hun middelen heen gaan. Zij zijn dus bijna niet aanbod gericht en er zijn maar een x-aantal partners waar zij mee samen werken. Dat hebben wij niet. Wij hebben een aantal partners waar wij vaker mee samenwerken, gewoon omdat we vinden dat de succes-rate goed is, maar verder zijn we heel vrij in wat we doen en vooral afhankelijk van wat we noteren in het veld. Er zijn bepaalde prioriteiten en die moeten voldoen aan de doelstellingen en daarin brengen we doelstellingen aan: we hebben prioriteit disciplines, regio's, talentontwikkeling, en de laatste jaren hebben we de nadruk gelegd op multidisciplinaire of *crossover* projecten.

MJ: Maar dat is wel dan vanuit het ICB gekomen toch?

RK: Nou, wij zijn daar wel een beetje een voorbeeld in. Wij zijn een vooruitgeschoven post. Wij worden gevraagd om trends en ontwikkelingen te identificeren en daar dan ook op in te springen en vervolgens terug te rapporteren naar Nederland. Wat je ziet op het gebied van multidisciplinair is dat de Nederlandse fondsen en nationale instellingen daar nog niet goed op zijn uitgerust. Een goed voorbeeld is performance art: bij het Fonds Podiumkunsten zeggen ze wel dat ze het doen, maar op papier wordt er eigenlijk altijd nee verkocht. Dat komt omdat ze niet kunnen voldoen aan de richtlijnen. Als je naar het buitenland gaat moet je voldoen aan regels die internationaal niet gebruikelijk zijn.

VK: Ja als je kijkt naar bepaalde trends, merk ik dat ook in de muziek. Sommige mensen vallen buiten de boot door bepaalde richtlijnen die zij dan stellen, terwijl de vraag wel groot is. Dat zijn rare situaties.

RK: Om terug te komen op de eerste vraag: de strategische beleidsplannen moeten overeenkomen met wat er in de Kamerbrieven wordt geschreven. Daar worden onze plannen ook op beoordeeld. Maar nogmaals, die hoofddoelstellingen zijn best wel breed, dus het geeft ruimte om zelf specifieker in te vullen, maar het moet wel terugkeren. Er is nu ook heel veel gedoe over geweest met de strategische beleidsplannen, omdat het soms lastig is voor mensen om goed in de gaten te houden wat de doelstellingen en resultaten zijn...en wat is wat. Wij hebben dat geprobeerd, maar er is veel ruimte. Wat een groot verschil is, is dat wij worden gedwongen samen te werken met de fondsen en de koepelinstellingen en dat is voor het eerst. Er is regelmatig afstemming met de fondsen, maar de fondsen kunnen zich niet altijd afstemmen aan de strategische plannen. Het is voor hen maar een klein gedeelte van het werk en ze hebben hun eigen vierjarige plannen. De aansluiting is er nog niet, maar er wordt wel nadrukkelijker gekeken naar de monitoring en evalueren van resultaten. Daar is nu voor het eerst een dwang naar de fondsen en instellingen gegaan dat zij 70% van de internationale middelen moeten focussen op de prioriteit landen. Zo komt de noodzaak om op elkaar af te stemmen.

Je follow up vraag: We worden eigenlijk niet heel erg aangestuurd.

MJ: Nee, je voelt je dus ook niet echt ingeperkt door het kader wat in Nederland wordt opgesteld?

RK: Nee, kijk, je hebt te maken met politiek. En die stellen samen een kader op voor het ICB en dat heb je maar gewoon te accepteren. Er zijn in het verleden wel andere focuspunten geweest. De ene minister legt meer nadruk op jong talent en de ander op cultuurparticipatie. Iedereen moet maar proberen daar vorm aan te geven. Maar uiteindelijk scheelt het niet zoveel.

Het aansturen is dus minimaal, maar wordt wel intensiever door het kader wat wordt opgesteld. Maar dat kader is er nog niet. Die moeten we wel echt invoeren anders gaan we daar straks wel echt op afgerekend worden. Dit is een soort *pilot* jaar.

Wij zijn al wel goed bezig met monitoring, maar er is nog wel een grote discussie over wat je nou precies meet. Je hebt kwalitatieve en kwantitatieve monitoring.

Kwantitatieve monitoring is bijvoorbeeld *Buitengaats*, de perslijsten en het aantal bezoekers. Maar wat interessanter en ingewikkelder is, is de kwalitatieve monitoring. In de eerste aanzet voor het kader wordt de functie voor wie dit zou moeten doen bij de ministeries gelegd op basis van enquêtes. De posten hebben aangegeven hier geen tijd voor te hebben. De posten zouden dan de personenlijsten aan moeten leveren en zij stellen dan de vragen op en zullen dit uitvoeren of uitbesteden aan één of ander bureau. Maar uiteindelijk zullen we waarschijnlijk hier wel een deel zelf van moeten doen.

Met het werk wat de posten doen is het idee dat het Nederlandse kunstenveld sterker wordt en kwalitatief groeit: met andere woorden, als je hier projecten doet, komen de Nederlandse kunstenaars verrijkt terug en wordt de Nederlandse kunstsector sterker. Dat is voor ons best wel lastig, omdat wij met nadrukkelijk Amerikaanse partijen werken. Om een voorbeeld te noemen: Viviane Sassen had een solo tentoonstelling in Chicago, die weet misschien wel helemaal niet dat wij er geld in stoppen. Maar wij hebben eigenlijk helemaal geen contact met haar. Dus als zij dan de vraag krijgt, 'In hoeverre was het voor jou belangrijk dat het consulaat je financieel heeft *gesupport?*', dan zegt ze ja daar heb ik niet heel veel van gemerkt. Maar als je het aan het Museum of Contemporary Photography vraagt, zeggen ze dat we onmisbaar zijn.

2) Globalisering en digitalisering zijn snel opkomende ontwikkelingen in een hypermoderne samenleving, waar het kunstbeleid niet omheen kan en staat daarom ook als zodanig vermeld in het ICB 2017-2020. Wat betekenen deze ontwikkelingen voor CGNY en/of zorgt dit voor een wending in het beleid op de post? Oftewel, in hoeverre gaan jullie mee in globalisering en digitalisering in het beleid?

RK: Wij zijn de eerste in New York die dit aangestipt hebben. Dat dingen die in New York plaatsvinden erg belangrijk zijn. Er komen mensen van overal en op die manier hebben we ook contact met die mensen. Het gebeurt hier. Het komt ook vaak voor dat ik mensen in Parijs kan tippen over dingen die er gaan gebeuren, omdat wij zodanig in een internationale *scene* zitten dat wij misschien net iets sneller op de hoogte zijn.

Vroeger was het gefocust op bilaterale relaties. En ik denk dat die internationale grenzen een beetje verdwijnen. Daarbij hebben wij te maken met internationale kunstenaars die in Nederland wonen en werken: bijvoorbeeld door de Rijksakademie of het Berlage Instituut. Bijvoorbeeld de kunstenaar Meschac Gaba.

Zorgt dit voor een wending in het beleid? Nee, niet per se. Het enige waar ik soms mee te maken heb is dat het extra werk oplevert. De wereld staat 24 uur per dag aan en dat is eigenlijk te veel.

3) Hoe handelen de beleidsmedewerkers op basis van het beleid: Op grond van welke criteria maak je keuzes om projecten te ondersteunen die moeten aansluiten bij het ICB en Strategisch Plan? Ik ben benieuwd hoe jullie er voor kiezen om bepaalde projecten te ondersteunen en hoe dat dan aansluit bij het strategische plan wat is opgesteld.

RK: Het kwaliteitsbeginsel is leidend. Dat moet je continu in het vizier houden. Wat zijn de meest interessante nieuwe ontwikkelingen? Je hoeft niet steeds met de grootste instellingen samen te werken, maar met de plekken die een belangrijke positie innemen in de *scene* hier. Hoe de invulling van de artistieke kwaliteiten wordt gedaan moeten wij eigenlijk van afblijven. Wij laten ons meestal leiden door de artistieke keuzes van de *venue*. Daarnaast laten we ons ook wel leiden door de keuzes die door de fondsen en instellingen in Nederland worden gemaakt. Af en toe wijken we wel iets af. Soms vinden wij iets beter dan dat in Nederland besloten wordt: een voorbeeld is *Photoville*. Dat wordt al drie jaar achter mekaar afgewezen door het Mondriaan Fonds, maar daar zijn wij het dan niet mee eens. Andersom gebeurt het ook wel dat wij dingen niet zo belangrijk vinden en dan wel wordt ondersteund door de fondsen in Nederland. Het gebeurt niet vaak, maar het gebeurt wel. Dat heeft ook te maken met het feit dat wij geen bindende adviezen kunnen geven aan de fondsen. Wij geven adviezen, maar zij hebben zelf een commissie die besluiten nemen. Interessant is nu het *Beautiful Distress Residency* in het ziekenhuis, wat ik echt een waardeloos project vind. Het Mondriaan Fonds heeft het tot nu toe wel ondersteund, maar ik heb een negatief advies gegeven gewoon omdat het niet voldoet aan de kwaliteitseisen.

VK: En ik kom het met de bands regelmatig tegen, niet dat de bands niet goed zijn, maar dat ze bijvoorbeeld niet investeren in de lange termijn. En zo zie ik allemaal haken en ogen die ik dan met de fondsen bespreek.

4) In het ICB en Strategisch beleidsplan staat vermeld dat cultuurdiplomatie en de daarmee ondersteunde projecten representatief moeten zijn voor Nederland. In hoeverre nemen jullie, in jullie keuzes voor projecten, de representativiteit van Nederland mee in het besluit om het te ondersteunen en waarom? Kiezen de beleidsmedewerkers er (in specifieke gevallen) voor om het 'merk' Nederland te promoten?

RK: Wij hebben een uitspraak waar wij zeggen dat cultuurdiplomatie altijd publieksdiplomatie is, maar niet alle publieksdiplomatie is cultuurdiplomatie. Vanuit cultuur zijn er soms dingen waaraan je twijfelt of je dat moet doen.

VK: Ja hetzelfde met bijvoorbeeld dat we laatst de Nachburgemeester hier hadden; past dat dan wel in het culturele straatje? Maar dat nachtleven zit in het DNA van New York en we hebben hier zoveel Dj's die hierheen komen en optreden, dan vind ik dat deze man die daar een grote rol in speelt ook culturele ondersteuning verdient. Het is publieksdiplomatie, maar past ook in cultuur.

RK: Je moet het in perspectief blijven zien: publieksdiplomatie is altijd een mooie bijvangst, maar niet altijd leidend. Het project 'Strandbeesten' van Theo Jansen voelde ik dat we alle kanten op konden: publieksdiplomatie en pers. Dit was een goudmijn voor publieksdiplomatie. Met Meschac Gaba, zal niemand weten dat hij in Nederland woont, maar vinden het een goede galerie en kunstenaar. Hier is de kwaliteit heel goed. Aankomend is Joris Laarmans, solo tentoonstelling in de Cooper Hewitt Museum. Daar

gaan we vet in zitten, omdat we van tevoren weten dat de positionering van Nederland als vooruitstrevend en experimenteel hoog kunnen scoren.

Publieksdiplomatie is nadrukkelijk opgenomen in ons beleidsplan, maar het moet niet leidend worden. Als het leidend zou worden zou de afdeling 'Publieksdiplomatie' moeten heten.

VK: Dat zie je wel bij andere plekken in het buitenland. Bij onze collega's in Washington bijvoorbeeld of de Amerikaanse ambassade in Nederland. Het cultuurgedeelte komt dan soms langs, maar bijvoorbeeld ook de Bevrijding, terwijl dat scheiden wij hier echt.

RK: Het grote verschil tussen cultuurdiplomatie en publieksdiplomatie is dat publieksdiplomatie veel meer over brede woordvoering gaat. Terwijl culturele diplomatie meer gaat over het beïnvloeden van *influentials*. Publieksdiplomatie gaat meer over een grote groep Amerikanen bewust maken van waar Nederland voor staat. Publieksdiplomatie houdt zich ook bezig met de waan van de dag, moet de ambassade volgen en inspelen op crises momenten bijvoorbeeld.

Kiezen wij ervoor om Nederland te promoten? Soms. Een goed voorbeeld is de design beurs met Ventura. Dat project was echt bedoeld om Dutch Design naar de voorgrond te laten treden.

VK: Met film doen we dat ook wel veel bijvoorbeeld, vanwege de documentaires.

RK: Daarnaast is onze sociale media natuurlijk puur '*nation branding*'. Dat hebben we heel bewust gedaan om kanalen te hebben waar we niet alleen intern dingen konden laten zien, maar echt kunnen toeteren van 'hup Holland hup'. Dat is echt een keiharde marketing campagne. We letten er daarom ook wel op wat we wel en niet promoten. We moeten de kwaliteit behouden. De achterliggende gedachte van de sociale media is 'Nederlandse cultuurpromotie in de VS' en daarmee kunnen we ook onze achterban in Nederland bedienen, dat is mooi meegenomen, maar het is geen hoofdprioriteit.

We doen ook wel bijvoorbeeld zo een receptie als voor het Drents Museum vorige week, dat is eigenlijk een beetje Holland promotie. Dat we tegen Amerikaanse journalisten zeggen: Kijk zelfs buiten de Randstad hebben we belangrijke musea zitten. Maar het blijft nooit een hoofddoelstelling en het is altijd een afgeleide.

De hoofddoelstelling is samenwerken met de Amerikanen, waarbij *nation branding* een bijvangst kan zijn. Bij uitzondering staat *nation branding* voorop. Het gebeurt wel en we zijn er niet vies van.

5) Om de vier jaar komt er op de post een nieuwe cultureel attaché. Welke verandering in de invulling van de culturele diplomatie brengt die verschuiving op de post met zich mee? Welke invulling heeft Jan Kennis aan de post cultureel attaché de afgelopen jaren (2013-2017) gegeven? Wat zijn de verwachtingen van de invulling van de culturele diplomatie op deze post door Joost Taverne (2017-2020)?

RK: In principe moet het dus niet uitmaken, want je hebt een strategisch plan. In alle jaren dat ik hier zit is er eigenlijk alleen in '96 een aardverschuiving geweest.

VK: Waarom was dat?

RK: De cultureel attaché was hier in '91 neergezet door WWC, voorloper van OCW, met een eenmanskantoor. Hij moest gaan kijken hoe culturele uitwisseling op een andere manier kon, want de oude Buitenlandse Zaken methode was Holland-promotie met bloembollen, vlaggen en tulpen. New York was dus een proeftuin om iets anders te proberen en hebben ze één man neergezet. Dit was een succes en wilde ze gaan fuseren en toen is Frank Ligtvoet gekomen, die hoofd werd voor heel Noord-Amerika, ook met

Canada. Die heeft de basis gelegd voor wat nu eigenlijk het internationale cultuurbeleid is. Wij hebben dat een beetje vanuit New York zitten bedenken en die basis hebben we nog steeds. Er zitten wel accenten en wijzigingen en de tijden zijn veranderd. In de jaren '90 hadden we geen Dj's.

MJ: En geen sociale media.

VK: Ook een goed voorbeeld met The Netherland Club, wij organiseren daar in principe heel weinig. Wij richten ons namelijk op de Amerikanen.

RK: Er zijn natuurlijk wel persoonlijke invullingen die kunnen wisselen, maar dat geldt ook voor de medewerkers. Als iemand hier is en die heeft toevallig een dansachtergrond, dan zal er misschien meer gedaan worden aan dans. Maar daarbij ben je ook afhankelijk van de markt.

Mensen blijven mensen. Jan vindt erfgoed leuk, dus die zal daar harder voor rennen dan zijn voorganger. Zijn voorganger Ferdinand Dorsman die vond vooral hedendaagse kunst leuk, dus die zal daar weer harder voor rennen. Jan heeft ook wel de insteek gehad om meer aan film te doen en dat lag daarvoor eigenlijk helemaal stil.

VK: Ja dat heeft 'ie aan mij gevraagd en ben ik een soort nulmeting gaan doen en dat gaan opzetten en dan laat hij dat ook echt wel los.

RK: Soms heb je ook keerzijdes en Jan is veel meer 'honkvast'. Hij heeft zich eigenlijk vooral gefocust op New York. Hij had gewoon minder interesse in de rest van het land. Hij is ook een pragmatisch persoon, dus dat we met de middelen die er zijn niet het hele land kunnen dienen.

En wat betreft Joost (Taverne), in principe moet het dus niet uitmaken, want je hebt een strategisch plan en dat moeten we gewoon uitvoeren. Maar, mensen zijn mensen, en hij zal daar zeker wel een soort eigen invulling aan gaan geven. Beetje de verwachting is dat, als zijnde VVD'er, dat hij veel meer op het resultaten verhaal zal gaan zitten. En vaker zal vragen 'Waarom doen we dit in godsnaam?'. En dat we er dan minder makkelijk mee weggkomen met 'Nou, ik vind het gewoon goed'. Tja, dat is dan niet goed genoeg. Bij Jan kunnen we er op deze manier wel een beetje mee weg komen. Het kan best zijn dat bij Joost er vanuit zijn achterban gezegd zal worden dat je eigenlijk alleen maar dingen moet doen waarvan je zeker weet dat het het meeste resultaat zal opleveren. Dus we zullen het zien.

MJ: En het monitoring en evaluatie kader (M&E) zal dan wel worden toegepast door hem?

RK: Ja, hij zal daar medeverantwoordelijk voor zijn om dat mede uit te voeren. Alleen dat hele M&E kader daar zijn we nog lang niet over uitgepraat, want soms heb je een heel klein dingetje wat heel *influential* is. Terwijl sommige grote dingen gaan heel klakkeloos voorbij.

VK: Ja bijvoorbeeld het voorbeeld van Jorinde Keesmaat wat ik jou laatst gaf. Daar voelde ik aan dat daar misschien iets in zat.

RK: De focus is op kwaliteitsplekken.

Appendix B

Interview Guide

1) Om de vier jaar wordt een nieuw Internationaal Cultuurbeleid (ICB) en aansluitend een Strategisch Plan opgesteld voor het Consulaat Generaal New York (CGNY). In hoeverre sluit dit Strategische Plan aan bij de ICB richtlijnen en in hoeverre kan dit door de post zelf ingevuld worden?

-Follow up: Is er een onderscheid in hoe de post wordt aangestuurd en hoe de post zelf invulling geeft aan het Plan? In hoeverre zouden de leidinggevenden en beleidsmedewerkers op de post dit anders willen zien?

2) In hoeverre is er een verschuiving zichtbaar in het voor CGNY opgestelde ICB plan voor 2013-2016 ten opzichte van dat voor de jaren 2017-2020? Hoe geeft CGNY/PCZ invulling aan het ICB Plan, in het bijzonder voor die twee periodes?

(Bijvoorbeeld in ICB plannen: sprake van verschuiving van economische belangen voor Nederland naar meer gelijkwaardige positie voor culturele belangen en artistieke kwaliteiten in de kunst en cultuur)

-Follow up: Globalisatie en digitalisatie zijn snel opkomende ontwikkelingen in een hypermoderne samenleving, waar het kunstbeleid niet omheen kan en staat daarom ook als zodanig vermeld in het ICB 2017-2020. Wat betekenen deze ontwikkelingen voor CGNY en/of zorgt dit voor een wending in het beleid op de post?

3) Hoe handelen de beleidsmedewerkers op basis van het beleid: Op grond van welke criteria maak je keuzes om projecten te ondersteunen die moeten aansluiten bij het ICB en Strategisch Plan?

-Follow up: In het ICB en Strategisch beleidsplan staat vermeld dat cultuur diplomatie en de daarmee ondersteunde projecten representatief moeten zijn voor Nederland. Wanneer en waarom zijn bepaalde projecten representatief voor Nederland?

-Kiezen de beleidsmedewerkers er (in specifieke gevallen) voor om het 'merk' Nederland te promoten? Zo ja, waar is deze strategie, dit 'merken' / branding in terug te zien en hoe komt de post tot een dergelijke keuze?

4) Is er een duidelijke hang (vanuit de Nederlandse overheid en/of CGNY) naar het ondersteunen van projecten waarin het 'label' Nederland wordt gerepresenteerd ('nation branding') versus het samenwerken aan projecten waarin zowel Nederland als Amerika een aandeel leveren (diplomatie/exchange)?

5) Om de vier jaar komt er op de post een nieuwe cultureel attaché. Welke verandering in de invulling van de culturele diplomatie brengt die verschuiving op de post met zich mee?

-Welke invulling heeft Jan Kennis aan de post cultureel attaché de afgelopen jaren (2013-2017) gegeven?

-Wat zijn de verwachtingen van de invulling van de culturele diplomatie op deze post door Joost Taverne (2017-2020)?