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*Master thesis:*

**Gastronomy as a Tool in  
Cultural Diplomacy and Nation branding in Serbia**

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*I would like to dedicate this to my family, without whom I would  
have never achieved this.*

*I love you.*

## Table of Contents

<b>Abstract</b> .....	<b>1</b>
<b>Chapter 1: Introduction</b> .....	<b>3</b>
<b>Background</b> .....	<b>4</b>
<b>Aims</b> .....	<b>5</b>
a) Explorative/ Descriptive Aims .....	5
b) Operational Aims .....	6
<b>Hypothesis</b> .....	<b>7</b>
<b>Research &amp; Methodology</b> .....	<b>7</b>
a) Research Questions .....	7
b) Methodology of Research .....	9
<b>Chapter 2: Theory &amp; Practice – Anthropology, Cultural Diplomacy &amp; Nation Branding</b> .....	<b>10</b>
<b>I. The Contribution of Anthropology in Rethinking The Role of Gastronomy in History</b> .....	<b>10</b>
<b>II. Cultural Diplomacy &amp; Its Many Faces</b> .....	<b>14</b>
Culinary Diplomacy .....	15
<b>III. Nation branding: A Bite of Culture</b> .....	<b>22</b>
Food Tourism .....	23
<b>Chapter 3: Serbia – Dormant Gastronomic Strength</b> .....	<b>26</b>
<b>I. Gastronomy</b> .....	<b>26</b>
<b>II. National Brand</b> .....	<b>31</b>
<b>III. Food Tourism</b> .....	<b>35</b>
<b>IV. Gastronomy in the Private Sector</b> .....	<b>40</b>
Restaurants .....	40
Media Representation of Food.....	42
Festivals, Museums & Markets .....	45
<b>V. The Use of Food as a Symbol in Civil Society &amp; Artistic Actions</b> .....	<b>48</b>
Narratives Around Food .....	49
Preparing Food As a Social Act.....	50
<b>VI. Cultural Diplomacy</b> .....	<b>52</b>
<b>VII. Serbia’s Current Position</b> .....	<b>56</b>
<b>Chapter 4: Awaken the Culinary Giant</b> .....	<b>60</b>
<b>I. Potential Role of Gastronomy in Serbia</b> .....	<b>60</b>
<b>II. Policy Recommendations</b> .....	<b>63</b>
<b>III. Conclusion</b> .....	<b>66</b>
<b>References</b> .....	<b>68</b>
<b>Bibliography</b> .....	<b>69</b>
<b>Appendices</b> .....	<b>76</b>
<b>Short Biography</b> .....	<b>127</b>

## **ABSTRACT**

Food has presented itself in a variety of arenas, ranging from a nutritional value to one of symbolic meaning. Its value has translated into unlikely fields as well, specifically foreign affairs and nation branding. With examples such as France, Japan, and Mexico, countries have been attempting to reorganise and define their gastronomy in order to be able to utilize it within the initiatives that centre on promoting the country. This promotion has served different areas of a nation's affairs, such as tourism, diplomacy, cultural exchange, etc. and has included gastronomy in all of those.

With this in mind we turn to Serbia, whose reputation has been considered by foreigners and locals alike as a negative one. Due to the attachments of stakeholders to past events that took place during the 90's, as well as the gradual segmenting of the former Yugoslavia into Serbia and its neighbouring countries. Though there have been attempts at rebranding Serbia, the lack of systematic cooperation between different areas and agencies has resulted in half-successful and typically unsustainable efforts. With this as the current state of affairs, perhaps the inclusion of a common theme between all relevant parties would have positive results.

In this thesis the aim is to determine the usefulness of gastronomy in the context of cultural diplomacy and nation branding and attempt to envision a systematic approach that Serbia could take in order to apply this knowledge into its own rebranding. With this in mind, the main hypothesis is the inclusion of new policies and initiatives made by nations that are centred around food demonstrate the effectiveness of such efforts and that, with the same process, Serbia could establish a public policy that would coherently connect the educational, cultural, tourism, and economic platforms within its public policy. This would then in turn prove that Serbia's reputation would benefit from the inclusion of gastronomy in their efforts to rebrand the nation. Furthermore, if this hypothesis proves to be true then I would like to propose a policy recommendation that would assist in the systematising of gastronomy in Serbian affairs.

While researching the relevant fields it became increasingly clear that not only was gastronomy a useful tool to have when attempting to rebrand, but it also played its part in the understanding of different cultures, establishing a medium for exchange and acting as an instigator for further collaboration and partnering between culturally diverse parties. Additionally, the usefulness of food within the context of tourism efforts is also evident; many nations have established routes, festivals, and retreats in response to the popularity of their cuisine.

In the particular case of Serbia, several aspects of its tourism initiatives have been dedicated to Serbian cuisine, both intentionally as well as not. From the government there have been campaigns such as the “Soulfood” initiative, which was dedicated to raising international awareness as to the variety of foods and dishes that are considered delicacies in the regions from which they reside. Other examples also include festivals entirely dedicated to a particular food or dish, such as slaninijada (bacon), projada (cornbread), and dani gljiva (day of fungus). With such events already taking place it is surprising that a more systematic approach to gastronomy’s participation in cultural and diplomatic affairs has not been developed.

During the research done for this thesis several interviews and surveys were conducted in order to gain insight as to the current activities within the fields of cultural diplomacy, tourism, and cultural exchange. The interviewees were Ivan Mrkić, the former Minister of Foreign Affairs, Gordana Plamenac, the Managing Director at the National Tourism Organisation of Serbia, and Bojan Bugarčić, the Special Advisor to the Minister of Foreign Affairs as well as the former Director of the Student Cultural Centre. There were two surveys conducted in order to have a general understanding as to the opinion of target audiences: one addressing Serbian nationals, and the other foreigners who have visited or lived in Serbia.

Having the results of both the interviews and surveys, combined with the research done on official and academic reports/literature, it became clear that not only was gastronomy a valid component of cultural exchange, but Serbia would greatly benefit from its inclusion into its strategic affairs. This resulted in a policy recommendation and strategy proposal that would properly integrate food into current efforts made by the public, private, and civil sector. This strategy requires three major steps: the definition, protection, and systematising of Serbia’s national cuisine. All relevant stakeholders should collaborate in order to establish a clear image and definition of Serbian gastronomy, since many, if not all, of the dishes can be traced to other nations. After this, the dishes and foods selected during the defining process should be placed under Serbia’s protection through patents in order to maintain any claim to the aforementioned as part of the country’s cultural heritage. The final step in this process should be the development of a system whereby producers and holders of these dishes and foods could label themselves as such and slowly build a database that could later be transformed into food tours, routes, etc. With assistance from the educational system and civil sector in redefining the image of Serbian gastronomy amongst younger generations, these efforts could assist in the reintroduction of positive values once held by Serbs, and affect Serbia’s image both within the country and internationally.

## **CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION**

Since the dawn of man food has played an integral part in our survival as a species, nation, society, family and individual. As contemporary life came into existence food's role developed into one that not only completes you on a nutritional level, but also on a societal one. It has acquired the role of a religious, cultural, and status symbol as its value transitioned from one based on sustenance to one including identity. Today, food has been used as a tool in cultural diplomacy and nation branding in order for countries to connect to other cultures, exchange ideas and values, and remodel their already existing relationships. Strategies that use gastronomy have ranged from that of campaigns for food tours, to branding as a part of its national identity, to food fairs dedicated to representing national cuisine from around the globe. Other strategies include production of national cookbooks as a form of cultural heritage, while other nations use it to promote gastro tourism, such as Spain, Italy and France. While these efforts have produced mixed results, it is clear that more and more nations have begun utilizing their cuisine and gastronomy in general to develop their reputation and tourism offer.

This leads us to wonder to what extent its influence can change present circumstances and benefit the reputation of a country? If one determined how to optimally use gastronomy and incorporate it into their cultural policy, how strong of an effect could it have on international and national opinion regarding a nation? With these questions in mind we look towards a country that has only used its gastronomy at a minimal level: Serbia. Its food has been remarked on by many<sup>1</sup> as one of the most pleasurable components of its tourism, and yet the government has only recently begun utilizing it in a strategic way. Knowing that potential exists in Serbia for these sorts of initiatives, what could be done to heighten Serbia's reputation abroad as well as amongst its own citizens?

This thesis aims to determine whether or not gastronomy could assist in the remodeling of Serbia's image both amongst Serbs as well as in the international sphere. It addresses not only the potential aspect of this field, but also the ways in which it can be

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<sup>1</sup> As seen in the surveys conducted for this thesis.

realized. Through discussions with the general public, as well as in-depth interviews with members of governmental agencies related to this work, this thesis aims to understand why and how certain aspects of gastronomy in culture have been shown to be successful contributors to larger projects aiming to alter the way in which a country and its people are perceived. If the research proves that it would have great potential, then I aim to develop a recommendation for the cultural policy of Serbia, as well as concrete efforts to further enforce the message behind the utility of gastronomy.

### ***Background***

The international reputation of Serbia has persistently borne an unfavourable overtone echoing since the conflicts of the 1990s. Generations have already grown up feeling disconnected, lacking a sense of national pride as well as a strong and clear vision of the future. It is difficult for these new generations to have a drive to move the country forward or to represent it constructively as it is primarily viewed, internally as well as externally, as a nation with little to offer to its younger generations presently (hence the growing diaspora of people who left Serbia looking for employment). It is becoming increasingly clear that this is an issue of utmost importance, and to attempt to alter this atmosphere and image through political diplomacy alone is difficult to imagine. Serbia's government has to turn to and rely upon defining elements in its national and cultural foundation as a solution. Determining these elements of what it means to be Serbian, and utilizing them to that end, would inspire, motivate, and give drive to the young generations to work towards building a better country with a positive image.

Culture is one of the major defining components of a nation's identity. Represented and utilized adequately, it becomes easily and clearly identifiable and recognized around the world, especially in a globalised digital age. In the case of Serbia, culture's role is a historical one, its presence vanishing from the government's list of priorities and left to survive in history, heritage, and the set values of the Serbian population. This has left the national identity to be defined by lifestyle traits acquired through net worth and lifestyle choices made in order to affiliate with other identities and their values. With this as the new way in which Serbian identity is developed the long-term approach of the government to its cultural policy should be based on an understanding that they themselves are the creators of the perceptions and image of Serbia. Perpetuating the positive values of a cultural melting pot of nationalities,

languages, influences and heritage paints a picture of a diverse, tolerant and cultured people. With this change in thesis nationals will be given more traits belonging to their nation to identify with, and in turn return life to the cultural face of Serbia.

With this in mind, gastronomy is the most complimentary aspect of culture that could be utilized in the resolution of the dilemma of Serbian identity and reputation. As James Beard once said "Food is our common ground, a universal experience." With the world's common appreciation for food in general, it is a wonder that it was only utilized in this way so late in history. Many foreigners have recounted the food of Serbia as one of the most enjoyable and memorable traits of the country, and that this reason alone would be enough for them to come back. If the government could learn to use this tool properly and effectively one can assume that the results would be positive in the diplomatic sphere tourism sector and local sense of identity.

## *Aims*

### *a) Explorative/ Descriptive Aims*

My primary aim is to research international examples of gastronomy applied in cultural diplomacy and nation branding and determine whether this type of incorporation of food could be used in Serbia and would benefit Serbia and its reputation both internally and externally.

Examples of cultural diplomatic efforts made using food (also referred to as culinary diplomacy, or gastrodiploamacy) primarily took place in the last decade and a half, originating from Asian nations such as Taiwan, Thailand and South Korea, and spread across the globe since then. I will delve into the various ways in which governments have applied gastrodiploamacy and attempt to determine which methods would be most applicable and successful for Serbia.

We can find food tourism as the nation branding tool that utilizes gastronomy. With food tourism we find the leaders are those nations whose cuisine we, as foreigners, tend to appreciate as part of the experience of being a tourist in those aforementioned nations. What makes their cuisine something to be admired as much as it is? How did the tourism

organisations of countries such as Italy and France package their gastronomy and deliver it to eager tourists? What strategies did they use? This I intend on finding out and attempt to apply to Serbian cuisine.

In addition to international case studies I intend on researching what methods have already been utilized (if any) in Serbia in both fields and analyse their success/failure in order to optimise future strategies. The government isn't particularly known for its advanced and well developed cultural diplomacy strategies, but the Tourism Organisation has achieved positive results from their PR projects. I plan on analysing those efforts and determine where the next step should lie for the government.

#### b) *Operational Aims*

Furthermore I aim to determine the imperativeness of the incorporation of gastronomy as a concrete part of the Serbian government's foreign policy. Through an analysis of current and past uses of gastronomy in cultural diplomacy, I intend on developing a new cultural policy that will aim to assist in the altering of Serbia's international reputation by enhancing and encouraging benevolent interest.

From a nation branding perspective, the new policy will also aim to offer Serbian citizens a sense of pride and belonging through the promotion of its gastronomy and foodways, turning something that is available to most on a daily basis into a cultural element worth acknowledging as a national cultural strength. On the external plane applying this into more sustainable nation branding operations would presumably improve the economy of tourism, as it would offer foreigners additional reasons to visit Serbia.

With the analysis of previous attempts at culinary diplomacy and food tourism, combined with a review of Serbia's relationship with its own gastronomy, I aim to determine whether or not the application of gastronomy as a commodity in both the nation branding and cultural diplomacy of Serbia would be effective, and if so, how could this commodification be proposed in the form of a policy.

## ***Hypothesis***

The hypothesis of this thesis is that various nations' inclusion of new policies and initiatives that are centred on food, as seen in case studies that will be described later, demonstrate the possibility that the inclusion of such policies in Serbia's public policy would establish a coherent intersectorial connection between the educational, cultural, tourism, and economic spheres. It would therefore demonstrate that the inclusion of gastronomy in governmental efforts to alter Serbia's reputation would have a positive influence on the overall image of the country and will bring economic benefits.

Before one can determine whether or not this statement is in fact true, one must also be able to support statements that would logically be correct if the former were proven true. The three major supporting hypotheses are that food plays an integral role in the contemporary cultural identity of Serbia, that food assists in the developing of an image of Serbia in the minds of tourists, and that food is an aspect of Serbian national identity that citizens are proud of. If this thesis manages to prove these three supporting hypotheses it should only reaffirm the validity of the main postulation.

## ***Research & Methodology***

### *a) Research Questions*

With the understanding that gastronomy has the capability of being a tool in cultural diplomacy and nation branding, I aim to analyse the role it plays both within Serbia as well as internationally, with the intent of finding its relevance and significance on either side, and its potential contribution to the future of Serbia's identity and international image.

Having these goals in mind, we reach the primary questions in need of research and further understanding:

The extent of gastronomy's essentialness in its role in culture is the most significant question in need of resolving because without attempting to better comprehend how food has been utilized beyond its nutritional value we cannot deepen our understanding of how it could assist in this particular case study. Its role in culture has to be at least somewhat outlined in

order to see exactly what aspects of gastronomy are useful to our efforts, as well as set boundaries for its usage, and not utilizing it in ways that will be rendered useless due to their lack of connection with culture as a whole.

The degree of importance placed on gastronomy by different generations of Serbians in the context of their national identity is a question that requires an answer in this particular case study, not only because it will help us better identify gastronomy's current position in society, but might also shed light on the generations' prioritization of elements of culture as a whole. If researched properly it can also give light to what the population believes is the biggest problem within the world of culture and creativity in Serbia, and may even offer solutions as to how to resolve this problem.

The following question would have to tackle how to efficiently and effectively use gastronomy in the cultural policy of a nation. This research is necessary in order to find the proper application of cuisine in cultural initiatives and optimize the results of the aforementioned. With this question we will also have to look outside of Serbia for examples, as the popularity of gastronomy's employment in cultural affairs took the world by storm over a decade ago, and since then the methods have been refined. With similarities and differences cultural norms and national circumstances we will be able to apply tactics most suited for Serbia.

The final result should be a clearer vision as to how gastronomy can assist in the redefining of Serbia through culinary diplomacy and nation branding. This brings together all of the findings of the research questions and offers potential solutions to the issue of Serbia's reputation both internally and externally. Through the analysis of the Serbian public, combined with the analysis of previous efforts with gastronomy made in Serbia and internationally, we will begin to envision logical possible solutions to the issue of reputation, as well as assist in the minimization of damage in other spheres (ex. economy, civil society, etc.).

The aim of these four selected research questions as a whole is to gradually illustrate an image of what the current situation is in Serbia, as well as an idea as to what potentially exists as a future. With these questions we aim to bring light to not only the possibilities of gastronomy and culture in Serbia, but also the absolute necessity for action to be taken on any

level towards resolving this longstanding issue of Serbia's reputation. In order to accomplish even a part of this task, one has to use all possible forms of research methods, beginning with theoretical background but then developing into both qualitative and quantitative.

#### b) *Methodology of Research*

Based on the research questions my research will require not only investigation into theoretical background of the subject matter, but also qualitative and quantitative data.

Two surveys were conducted as quantitative research: one targeting foreigners who have visited Serbia, inquiring as to people's stance on gastronomy in their national identity and culture, as well as their opinion on Serbia. The other targets Serbian nationals order to gain insight as to what the public's stance is regarding the subject matter as well.

My qualitative research comes in the form of interviews with representatives of relevant government agencies: the Tourism Organization of Serbia and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The interviews deal with the professional aspect of the efforts made, which were successful or unsuccessful, and what is, in their opinion, the next step for governmental strategies in the reclaiming of Serbian identity. With this information a better understanding of the current situation is revealed, as well as possibilities for further action. Additionally, these interviews also act as representative of the stance of governmental agencies, and offer a counterpart to the information collected through the survey done with nationals. The comparing of results offers us a better understanding of the communication between the two groups, allowing us to determine if that is factor in the current circumstances.

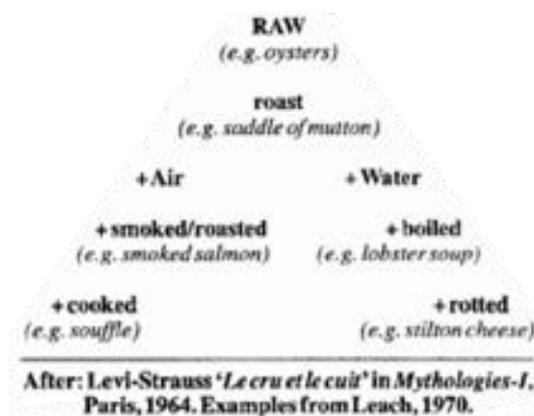
## **CHAPTER 2: THEORY & PRACTICE – ANTHROPOLOGY, CULTURAL DIPLOMACY & NATION BRANDING**

Gastronomy's role in culture, as well as its function in culinary diplomacy and food tourism, stems from a long history between man and food; from the time where its purpose was solely for sustenance to the moment where it became "[a] link between amicable actors and their informative pasts, common holds of patrimonial or eremite identity, and narratives of organizational identity"(DeSoucey). In order to fully comprehend the present state of gastronomy's function in Serbian identity, one must first begin to understand the background of the primary relevant fields, namely gastronomy within culture, cultural diplomacy, and nation branding. These aspects offer insights concerning efforts that have been made in the past of each field, and what was considered successful and unsuccessful. With all of these aspects holding elements related to gastronomy, it permits us to analyse not only food's relevance correspondingly, but the methods with which one can successfully transmit values and ideas through food.

### **I. The Contribution Of Anthropology In Rethinking The Role Of Gastronomy In History**

Gastronomy's role in culture has long stood as a form of uniting dualities into a singularity in culture. As Jelena Djurovic said, "[food] is not only the main agent guarantee of biological survival but also a 'total social phenomenon' due to the fact that in itself it summarizes the different levels of social interaction through communication between the real and imaginary to whose domains it equally belongs to" (Djordjevic, Eng. Translation by T.S.). It can be perceived through two primary lenses: anthropology and history. The two angles offer insight both within society as well as outside of it. The anthropological perspective allows us to gain insight as to what role it plays in everyday lives of people, what it means on a practical, emotional and psychological level for the average member of society. The historical aspect will offer an explanation for the simplest characteristics of food in a societal context, such as the accessibility of food and how this translated into societal norms.

Claude Levi-Strauss was one of the first anthropologists to bring the cultural component of food into a simple form, and did so with his culinary triangle. As depicted below, the culinary triangle is a diagram that encompasses all forms of cooking and places them under three categories: boiling, roasting and smoking. He condenses all forms of cooking to water and air, two basic elements that are available to nearly everyone on the planet, and with this he does a comparative analysis to discover why certain societies use one element over the other. His works intertwine with gastronomy through an anthropological viewpoint and offer explanations for the foodways of many rural cultures. This brought forth a new aspect of foodways that was rarely addressed, and that is the environmental element behind the development of food customs and beliefs. It showed that the environment, above everything else, was the determining factor in what was to flourish in society and what was impossible to achieve or cultivate.



Once understanding that most, if not all, cultures base their gastronomy on the principles behind Levi-Strauss' triangle, only then can one better understand the root of many cultural characteristics that that grew from those principles.

Another author that takes on the historical perspective is Michael Pollan, who addresses food through the four elements in his book *Cooked: A Natural History of Transformation*. He argues that the importance of understanding the four elements directly effects the way one can understand a culture: "each of the different methods I learned for turning the stuff of nature into tasty creations of culture implies a different way of engaging with the world [...]" (Pollan). Pollan takes his case a step further by introducing the importance of the act of sharing a meal, which in his words "elevates eating from a mechanical process of fuelling the body to a ritual of family and community, from the mere

animal biology to an act of culture” (Pollan). Acknowledging this viewpoint of food and foodways Pollan manages to not only humanise an act that is primarily biological, but also to present another way in which individuals find common ground amongst themselves, whether this is a group of friends, a town or a religious group.

Pollan’s works not only revived his readers’ love for food, but also reminded us that the masses are losing an aspect of their own identity, both social and biological, through shortening the preparation time of meals and removal of the uniting element of the shared meal. Having this historical aspect brings to light the atrociousness of contemporary foodways and the lack of importance placed upon them, as well as the conscious efforts being made today to maintain or revive the formerly mentioned. But before reviving the cultural aspect, one must first understand it. This comes through the sociological perspective.

Once surpassing the historical aspect, one has to begin with tradition, origins and common ground found between various foodways and foods used around the world. Mary Douglas, an anthropologist like Levi-Strauss, published a work entitled *Food In The Social Order*. The book is defined as “a cross-cultural study of the moral and social meaning of food” and was first published in 1984. It not only holds her work, but also the work of her colleagues, taking on topics such as *Standard Social Uses of Food* and *Sociocultural Dynamics and Food Habits in a Southern Community*. In her section of this book she discusses the issue in the contradiction in the view of food theorists versus general public behaviour:

*“On the one hand, the official theory of is exclusively concerned with the physical nourishment, it being assumed that consecrates food taking is either a thing of the part or one of minority religions. On the other hand, the ordinary consuming public in modern industrial society works hard to invest its food with moral, social, and aesthetic meanings. The actual current meaningfulness of food is being overlooked by professional food theorists because their thought is doubly restricted, partly by antique metaphysical assumptions about the separation of spirit and flesh and partly by an intellectual tradition which has desocialized the individual.”*

(Douglas, 5)

This separation between the reality of the value of food on a societal level and the opinion of food theorists leaves us with an issue in the scholarly works addressing the topic; if there is blatant ignorance being depicted from the side of theorists then how can one take most of what is said more seriously than beyond a pinch of salt? They exclude the primary evidence that proves food's sociological importance and that is the public's interaction with their cuisine.

Another issue perceived by Douglas is that although "there is an impressive development of interest in nutritional anthropology which applies social and cultural frameworks to problems of nutrition...is nevertheless limited by lack of general theoretical structure" (Douglas, 7). This further limits the prism from which one observes gastronomy in culture, leaving us with not only partially researched resources, but also ones that have minimal theoretical backing. This has resulted in a variety of small-scale research papers done on specific cultures and subcultures, as opposed to umbrella-like studies oriented towards finding large points of common ground between a variety of groups.

A term that did come out of this field of study is gastronationalism. Michaela DeSoucey defines it as the "use of food production, distribution, and expenditure to emanate and means a emotive energy of inhabitant attachment" (DeSoucey). The creation of sentiment through the associating food with one's national's identity may have come about organically, but the conscious use of it in an economic sense has turned it into a pure marketing ploy. DeSoucey goes on to explain that "Gastronationalism, in particular, signals the use of food production, distribution, and consumption to demarcate and sustain the emotive power of national attachment, as well as the use of nationalist sentiments to produce and market food" (DeSoucey, 443) This method gave way to many other ways in which food is utilized today in the context of our perception of ourselves as well as others, such as its giving birth to gastrodiplomacy as a 'cure' for Gastronationalism.

With this set as a framework of understanding, and coming to terms with the many limitations of this whole field of study, we can now observe our own group's relationship with gastronomy in the context of culture. As for gastronomy's role in the development in identity, today its importance is understood among many theorists and scholarly writers: "culinary traditions and foodways, usually like anthems or flags, are among a elemental

building blocks of inhabitant identity. Nations conclude themselves by things that give organization members common practice and beget solidarity” (Osipova, 1).

## **II. Cultural Diplomacy & Its Many Faces**

Cultural diplomacy has been utilized for centuries, offering cultures from around the world the opportunity to experience an alternative to their own norms. It is described by the Institute for Cultural Diplomacy as “a course of actions, which are based on and utilize the exchange of ideas, values, traditions and other aspects of culture or identity, whether to strengthen relationships, enhance socio-cultural cooperation or promote national interests; Cultural diplomacy can be practiced by either the public sector, private sector or civil society” (“What is Cultural Diplomacy?”). Cultural diplomacy is considered a form of soft power diplomacy, as it attempts to achieve communication through and non-forceful methods. The use of cultural diplomacy has offered nations and governments the opportunity to not only familiarize with one another’s cultural norms, but to also establish a channel through which they can develop other alliances, primarily political and economic.

Due to culture’s ambiguous characterization, cultural diplomacy encompasses a variety of societal features and translates them to the outside world. Paulo Coelho has described culture as “mak[ing] people understand each other better. And if they understand each other better in their soul, it is easier to overcome the economic and political barriers. But first they have to understand that their neighbor is, in the end, just like them, with the same problems, the same questions.” This in turn means that any local characteristic transmitted to a foreign person, group, or society automatically belongs under the umbrella of cultural diplomacy. Besides the classical examples of cultural diplomacy, this has also been seen with some less known elements of culture such as sports, architecture, and food.

## 2.1 Culinary Diplomacy

Due to the wide encompassment of the elements belonging to culture, cultural diplomacy can be presented in a variety of forms. In the last decade a term was coined in order to describe a cultural diplomacy tool known as culinary diplomacy, or gastrodiploamacy, and has been utilized by a variety of countries as a soft-power instrument for boosting their public image. Paul Rockower first introduced the term, “[where] he describes [it] as a method of reaching hearts and minds through people’s stomachs” (Wallin). Later Sam Chapple-Sokol gave a more precise definition: “The use of food and cuisine as an instrument to create a cross-cultural understanding in the hopes of improving interactions and cooperation” (Chapple-Sokol). Its effectiveness isn’t restricted to larger audiences, promoting the development of interdependent relationships. Blogger Hend Alhinnawi explains this perfectly in his blog:

*“Food is a catalyst, not only for families to come together, but sharing a meal often creates an environment for business partners, co-workers, community leaders, and educators to exchange ideas for a purpose far greater than basic nutrition. It is an important tool in building cultural understanding, and in turn, breaking down traditional barriers by providing insight into a culture that might otherwise be unknown to a person”*

(APDS Bloggers).

With this in mind, the importance of food beyond its nutritional value appears to deserve more acknowledgement in cultural diplomacy. The application of food has been seen repeatedly throughout the last two decades.

Culinary diplomacy has proven itself successful through the diverse efforts of Asian nations, where its use first became popularized amongst government organizations.

Thailand’s government was one of the first to adopt an official program dedicated to culinary diplomacy, titled ‘Global Thai’. This initiative intended on opening restaurants all across the globe in an effort to raise cultural awareness. According to governmental reports the number of restaurants internationally went from 5,500 in 2002 to 10,000 in 2013. Many agreed that this method was an effective point of action for building a public image; diplomats in Washington point have “point[ed] out that restaurants are often the only contact that most Americans have with foreign cultures” (“Economist”). Others have taken their own initiatives to promote Thai culture in addition to other important global affairs, such as Thai

senator in 2002 Mechai Viravaidya, who owns several restaurants worldwide titled “Cabbages and Condoms”, which promotes birth control and assist in the fight against the spreading of AIDS.

Another nation that is in the process of promoting their public image through food is Taiwan. According to an article in The Guardian “President Ma Ying-jeou has ordered his envoys to start talking the language of food by launching a £20m ‘gastrodiplomacy’ campaign in the UK and elsewhere” (Booth). Revealed in 2010, “Dim Sum Diplomacy” planned to promote Taiwanese food as an alternative to Asian cuisine as seen abroad, specifically a healthier, lighter version of heavy and greasy Chinese food. The government intended to open 3,500 restaurants within Taiwan as well as internationally, play host to a variety of popular culinary events, as well establish a “Taiwanese food foundation – a culinary think tank that will assist coffee shops and restaurant chains that promote Taiwanese foods abroad” (Rockower). Other goals included 10,000 jobs created by the end of 2013 and an additional 50 international brands.

Though indirectly, the Taiwanese movie industry has also assisted in the expression of national identity through food. A variety of films produced in the last two decades have used food as a medium through which traditional and modern values have been expressed and translated to the audience. An example of this is the comedy film “Zone Pro Site: The Moveable Feast,”(Taiwan Comedy Serves Up A Feast) which centres on a young girl who lives on fast food and who enters a cooking competition for catering. This is reflective of Taiwanese culinary traditions, as many poorer families would use catering companies to replace the restaurant experience for special occasions, and serve food outdoors. This is referred to as “ban doh”, and the director of the film used this as a medium to communicate to both younger and older generations, bringing back an unofficial form of cultural heritage while making the audience laugh.

Another example is the film “Eat Drink Man Woman” (Wikipedia) which uses food as a medium for communication between family members, and simultaneously mirrors Taiwanese traditions and values. The plot is centred on a family of a widower Chinese master chef and his three daughters, who gather every Sunday in order to share a meal together, but end up dealing with the daughters’ personal problems. This is a perfect example of the use of gastronomy to transfer values to an audience, specifically Confucianism in the context of

familial life. In the case of this movie it is the acceptance of modern values that reflect natural desires (i.e. sexual desires of the daughters) by the traditional values that are based on Confucian beliefs (the father feeling as though his opinion has become obsolete).

These two films act as representatives of a movement that utilized food in order to express and transfer Taiwanese values and culture to general audiences, as opposed to exclusively for Taiwanese audiences. This can be viewed as an unofficial form of culinary diplomacy, as it opens the door to understanding the culture of a nation and offers the opportunity to better communicate ideals and values.

South Korea is yet another country taking the gastrodiploacy world by storm, whose diplomacy is referred to as Kim chi diplomacy. In 2009 the South Korean first lady Lee Myung-bak prepared a variety of dishes for American veterans of the Korean War, which took place in the 1950's (Moskin). Her goal was to introduce an alternative view of South Korea to people that didn't experience it in the best light: "I wanted to give them a new taste of Korea as something positive and delicious," she said in an interview afterward, her first with a member of the Western news media since her husband took office last year. (She spoke through an interpreter.) "From the war, they do not have many pleasant food memories" (Moskin). The first lady also proceeded to have similar affairs with the Japanese prime minister and his wife, Miyuki Hatoyama, where Mrs Hatoyama proceeded to dig her care hands into a pot of kimchi, stating that she "wanted to experience making kimchi with bare hands" (Asia One News). The utilization of food in order to change a country's image, no matter how small of an audience is being addressed, can result in mass turning of opinion through example. In addition to this initiative the Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries set aside ten million dollars "to spend in 2009, including grants and scholarships for South Koreans to travel and attend culinary school" (Moskin). The South Korean government was confident of its being next in line to open restaurants abroad and bring foods such as tteokbokki, bibimbap and bulgogi. They're initiatives instigated the 'Hallyu' ("the Korean Wave") in the United States, increasing their cuisine's popularity and overall awareness in Americans as to all that South Korea has to offer.

There are three honourable mentions that need to be noted for their unintentional gastrodiploacy: India (referred to as 'samosa diplomacy'), China and Japan. The presence of their cuisine abroad has become an expected part of everyday reality for many Westerners,

particularly in metropolises such as London and New York (which are also melting pots of cultures).

Indian food especially can be found at almost every corner in London, and there is a tendency for capitals of developing and first world nations to have at least one Indian restaurant. Restaurants aren't the only way Indian food has acted as representative of one of the largest countries in the world: In Australia the Uniting Church has played host to a monthly dinner for Indian students, where they can express their stress and fear concerning an epidemic of street violence targeting them. Indian food is served, in order to assist in the comforting of the students (Yudhvir).

China's gastronomic reputation abroad has also led to an increase in global interest in the country. This can be seen not only in films (such as "The Joy Luck Club", "Mickey Blue Eyes", "Lethal Weapon Four", and "Catch Me If You Can"), but also in travel pieces made to serve the specific purpose of discovering Chinese food within China. An example of this is BBC 2's "Exploring China: A Culinary Adventure", featuring two hosts (one from Hong Kong and the other from Taiwan) who travel through China tasting delicacies of regions, as well as internationally known dishes, in order to dwell into the origins of the dishes (Rawnsley). These sorts of gastronomic ambassadors for national food offer yet another dynamic to the wide possibilities as to how gastrodiploamacy is being implemented, even if the source is not the government of the dishes' creators.

Last of the Asian natural gastronomic leaders is Japan, whose sushi is commonly known in the international populous as a luxury meal. Like Indian and Chinese food, Sushi bars can be found in nearly every European country, and has long been viewed as a meal that is had by only those who can afford it (while in Japan it is much more common and a far less lavish reputation). The Japanese government's lack of initiative towards reaping the benefits of its gastronomic popularity leave many writers wondering how much longer will the international love of sushi go on before it dies out. One of Japan's half-attempts at involving itself in the market was through the instalment of a Raman Ambassador program, where "non-Japanese people residing in Japan who love ramen and want to share their love with others" write on blogs about their liking ramen (Ramen Ambassadors).

As one dives deeper into the world of gastrodiploamacy it becomes apparent that the majority of nations practices this instrument reside in Asia, but that does not mean that it is

exclusively a trend there. Other countries practicing gastrodiplomacy include Peru, The United States, and Spain. The forms in which it is applied vary greatly, ranging from chefs behaving as ambassadors, to food festivals, campaigns abroad, and governmental offices established specifically to participate in diplomatic affairs through food.

Peru is another nation that has incorporated culinary diplomacy into their public image initiative. Specifically, its growing popularity in the culinary world has a lot to do with 2013 being labelled as the year of quinoa, a high-protein crop of which Peru is one of the main producers. Though Bolivia dominates the quinoa distribution market, Peru has taken the lead in its incorporation of societal and cultural levels worldwide. The nation has not only been recognized by UN agricultural departments as one of the leaders in the integration of quinoa into the diets of large populous, but the government has also taken its own initiatives through the promotion of quinoa in a variety of competitions abroad designed to demonstrate how well quinoa can integrate into the traditional dishes and be combined with local ingredients. Blouin News describes an example of this integration program: “in March [2013] the Peruvian consulate in Panama organized a culinary competition in which the goal was for amateur chefs to create a fusion of traditional Panamanian food ingredients with quinoa” (Sanchez).

Additionally, the government and the Peruvian Society of Gastronomy (APEGA) took initiatives to the digital realm through launching “Cocina peruana papa el mundo”, an initiative dedicated to informing interested citizens on events and news related to cuisine. It also engaged celebrities in their initiative, having them write testimonies. Some celebrities involved were Mario Vargas Llosa, Al Gore, Eva Mendez, and Anthony Bourdain. It also included famous chefs such as Gaston Acurio, Javier Wong, and Adolfo Perret (Wilson).

Other events that have indirectly influenced the nation’s culinary reputation abroad include the famous Peruvian chef Gaston Acurio opening several restaurants throughout the U.S., and they only make up a small percentage of the total amount of U.S.-based restaurants that offer national dishes. Most of these actions took place within 2013, so results are still to be seen, but considering the increase in availability of quinoa worldwide, perhaps one can already assume that at least some initiatives have proven themselves as effective.

One of the most professionalized national gastrodiplomacy programs belongs to The United States. First launched in 2012, the initiative intended on uniting U.S. chefs and having

them prepare dishes for foreign leaders, as an example of local talent and diverse cultural elements. Hilary Clinton was the strongest supporter of this initiative, as she felt that food played an important role in her affairs: “Showcasing favourite cuisines, ceremonies and values is an often overlooked and powerful tool of diplomacy. The meals that I share with my counterparts at home and abroad cultivate a stronger cultural understanding between countries and offer a unique setting to enhance the formal diplomacy we conduct every day” (Nestle) They also planned to establish the American Chef Corps, which had members willing to serve the State Department in the gastrodipomatic field. The initiative’s mission statement goes as follows:

*“The Diplomatic Culinary Partnerships initiative builds on Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton’s vision of “smart power” diplomacy, which embraces the use of a full range of diplomatic tools, by utilizing food, hospitality and the dining experience as ways to enhance how formal diplomacy is conducted, cultivating cultural understanding and strengthening bilateral relationships through the shared experience of food.”*

(Nestle)

Though the initiative is more affiliated with politics than others, it still brings forward an alternative to the global stereotype of American food (which is viewed as mainly unhealthy and greasy) as well as the U.S. as a whole.

A final notable example is Spain, whose gastrodipomacy comes in the form of world-famous chefs and Madrid’s Fusion Festival. One chef who brings international recognition to Spain is the gastronomy world is Ferran Adria, one of the fathers of molecular gastronomy (“[a] food science that investigates the physical and chemical transformations of ingredients that occur while cooking” (Wikipedia Contributors)) and owner of now closed Michelin star restaurant El Bulli. His international recognition and fame makes him an “honorary ambassador to Spain’s national brand” (Pham), and is also a member of the American Chef Corps, giving Spain additional value in the diplomatic world. Having world-renowned chefs from one’s nation offers the potential for another form of soft power gastrodipomacy, as their affiliation adds another reason for one to want to visit the birth-nation of the chef.

Madrid Fusion acts as a “gastronomic summit” (“Madrid Fusion 2014”) where chefs come together to discuss and reflect on past and current trends, innovations, techniques, influences, and the importance of food in not only the gastronomy world, but in general. Playing host to one of the most famous food festivals in the world puts Spain on the map for many enthusiasts of fine dining and appreciators of exquisite dishes, offering more to its tourism.

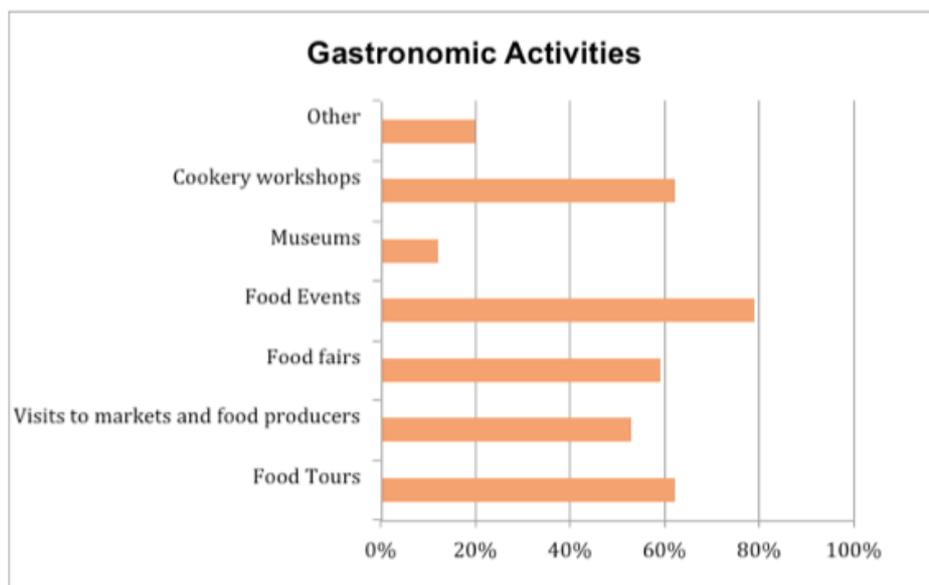
As a new discipline gastrodiplomacy has already proven itself successful as a soft power instrument of public diplomacy. The importance of its identification is highlighted by the general trend of globalisation, where it is becoming more difficult, especially for smaller countries, to showcase their national identity. With the possibility of launching gastrodiplomatic outreach programs, these smaller countries’ need for international recognition in order to stimulate tourism, popularity and national pride has become more feasible. It has the potential to reshape public diplomacy through its promotion of gastronomic exchange between nations, as well as its strengthening of cultures through its encouraging pride in nationals. The number of ways in which a nation can utilize gastrodiplomacy is endless, but ultimately it leaves us to wonder what the chefs of the world have in store for us.

### **III. Nation branding: A Bite of Culture**

The term “nation branding” was originally coined by Simon Anholt, the ‘father’ of nation branding, who described it as “occur[ing] when public speaks to public; when a substantial proportion of the population of the country – not just civil servants and paid figureheads – gets behind the strategy and lives it out in their everyday dealings with the outside world” (Anholt, 123). More precisely, it “uses the tools of branding to alter or change the behaviour, attitudes, identity or image of a nation in a positive way” (Gudjonsson, 285). This method of altering the reputation or image of a country and its people follows the understanding that each country already had a set brand that was interpreted somewhat organically, before the structuralized perception of a nation was being monitored and controlled. According to certain theorists these brands are formed based on what their most popular international ambassadors are; “Hermes scarves and Beaujolais Nouveau evoke the French art de vivre; BMWs and Mercedes-Benzes drive with German efficiency and reliability.’ A nation’s companies can then feed back into the country’s brand image, van Ham notes. ‘Microsoft and McDonald’s are among the most visible U.S. diplomats, just as Nokia is Finland’s envoy to the world” (Teslik). These ambassadors, combined with the structured efforts of governmental agencies and private sector stakeholders, usually bring about a grand image that not only boosts several markets, but also changes the opinion of locals as well as foreigners. This is all provided that there is clear communication between the stakeholders and investors, for if there isn’t Anholt argues that messages may weaken with an overload of unrelated PR coming out of the country: “You have the tourism board saying how wonderful the country looks and how welcoming the people are. You have the investment-promotion agency saying almost the opposite, that it’s super modern and full of cars and roads and railways. And you have the cultural institute telling everybody how wonderful the film industry is. And you have the government occasionally doing public diplomacy, and perhaps occasionally attacking its neighbors. They’re all giving off completely different messages about the country” (Anholt). Today one will find many rating systems established that determine the strength of a country’s national brand, including a variety of factors such as corruption, tourism and economy. With this in mind we take a look at how Serbia’s national brand has developed and how it is perceived internationally.

### 3.1 Food Tourism

Tourism has acted as one of the major contributors to a nation's brand, pushing an international reputation through a variety of media and travel offers. It has been defined by the World Food Travel Association as "The pursuit and enjoyment of unique and memorable food and drink experiences, both far and near" (World Food Travel Association). Specifically, it occurs when there are direct efforts to communicate aspects of a nation's cuisine to foreigners in the hopes of drawing food tourists, or 'foodies' in to visit. This tool has become such a fundamental part of tourism as a whole that the United Nations World Tourism Organisation (*The Global Report on Food Tourism*) releases a report on the global state of affairs within food tourism. The UNWTO has determined that "over a third of tourist spending is devoted to food...[and] the cuisine of the destination is an aspect of the utmost importance in the quality of the holiday experience" (*The Global Report on Food Tourism*, 6-8). Additionally they acknowledge the necessity of food tourism in the definition of a nation's brand and image, especially with tourists and expats who experience the culture of the host country" (*The Global Report on Food Tourism*, 12). In a survey conducted by the UNWTO, their affiliate members (primarily tourism organisations of various countries) expressed their opinion on the importance of food products in their tourism efforts. Below is a graph depicting what percentage of the total amount of respondents found certain food products to be vital in the nation's tourism:



(*The Global Report on Food Tourism*, 14)

This graph reflects the global understanding that food's role in societies goes beyond its nutritional value, and has the capacity to assist in the formation of whole identities and perceptions made by locals and foreigners to a nation.

Countries that have utilized this to intentionally benefit their economy include the Italy, France, Spain, and many others. These countries also have the common ground of using their national cuisine as part of their tourism efforts.

France has been one of the longest standing examples of food tourism done correctly; to such an extent that UNESCO declared its cuisine “world intangible heritage” (Paris). Their ambassador to UNESCO, Catherine Colonna explains “it makes a contribution to cultural diversity...[and is still] a quite active tradition” (Paris). This fact only pays tribute to the success story that is France's branding its cuisine as part of its culture and identity to such an extent that people come to experience the wine and food specifically.

The other most notable example is Italy, with its food being iconized in popular film, literature, music, etc. One can find a variety of components of culture referencing Italian food, alongside tourism reviews applauding the delicacies available wherever you go. Its cheese, wine, and national dishes boast one of, if not the best, reputations both within the country and outside its borders. The Italians have used this and combined it with their scenic countryside to offer wine tastings, food preparing, organic farming and retreats that focus on celebrating the delectable flavours of Italy.

Finally we have Spain, whose efforts go to such an extent, that they have an association dedicated to their gastronomy and its role in tourism: The Spanish Wine And Food Tourism Association. According to their website their aim is “to assess and communicate the opportunities in this market to all of its members – customers, suppliers, public and private institutions, national and foreign media” (“Spanish Food& Wine Tourism Association”). The specific aspects of food tourism promoted through the association include cellar tours, culinary Spain tours, “Rutas de Vino” Vintage Spain, and many others. Based on the popularity of Spain as a tourist destination it is safe to presume that most, if not all, of these events and tours are sustainable and produce experiences that cannot be mimicked in other countries, adding to Spain's unique image.

Another factor that has caused many to travel to certain countries is the placement of a nation's cuisine as a form of intangible cultural heritage. UNESCO has played the largest role in these declarations, deeming Mexican traditional cuisine, Japanese 'Washoku' tradition, and French gastronomy as intangible heritage that has been placed under its protection. With this declaration many nations have looked at this as a boost for their role as a tourism destination, offering yet another reason for foreigners to visit.

Food tourism has become one of the most popular reasons for travelling to specific nations, and that is mainly due to the strategies implemented by the hosts to maintain quality and improve the promotion and communication with interested parties. With these examples we can begin to envision what it would take to apply certain methods to our particular case study, which we will discuss in the next chapter.

## **CHAPTER 3: SERBIA - DORMANT GASTRONOMIC STRENGTH**

In the specific case of Serbia we must look towards the last decade and a half for signs of initiative being taken in the fields of nation branding, food tourism and cultural diplomacy. With these three features of Serbian history, as well as a brief description of Serbian gastronomy in general, we aim to build an image of the foundation that the Serbian government has made until now, and will need this information to know what has been done already, what was successful, and from which points can we build up.

Additionally, we look towards the private sector and civil society for other viewpoints on the subject, observing what has been completed thus far, what elements were successful, and what the priorities are for each group of stakeholders.

### ***I. GASTRONOMY***

Serbian gastronomy has been reflected the diversity in the nation's history, specifically its interaction with other religions, cultures, and nations. These interactions have resulted in traditional dishes varying from classical Turkish pastries, to Greek musaka, to dishes belonging to Serbia and other countries equally, such as sarma, proja, ajvar, etc. In a survey conducted for this thesis that addressed Serbian nationals' classification of what foods are considered Serbian, the most mentioned dish was sarma, which was noted twenty-five times by respondents. The next most used answer was interestingly 'none,' mentioned eleven times, stating that most, if not all, dishes originated from elsewhere, so none could be considered fully Serbian. It should also be noted that there were five responses stating that they did not know what would constitute as Serbian for the same reason as that given by the responses stating 'none.' Following closely in third place are proja, prebranac, and ajvar, tying at nine points each. This question allowed us to not only get a sense of what locals perceived as their own, but to also determine whether the public was aware of the diversity in the origins of the national gastronomy. On the other hand foreigners who responded to another survey conducted for this thesis were asked what dishes or foods they found especially good, the majority answered that meat in general, ranging from grill (roštilj) to Karadjordje's Schnitzel.<sup>2</sup> This response holds twenty-seven points out of seventy-seven, which is a large

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<sup>2</sup> Veal fillet rolled, stuffed with kajmak, and breaded.

amount considering how many answers are possible. The second most common answer was sarma, holding twenty-one points. The third was ćevapi (twenty points), and the fourth and fifth largest were paprika (all forms of bell pepper dishes, ex. Stuffed, grilled, sautéed, etc.), and pljeskavica. Five stated that they didn't find anything particularly enjoyable. It is clear that there is a certain claim to these dishes and foods in Serbia, for their popularity is reflected in foreign awareness of their existence as well as their being considered Serbian, while on the other hand many nationals refuse to acknowledge any of it as Serbian. This leaves a lack of a consensus about the national cuisine, showing that a clear definition is necessary, but before this we must familiarize with the variety of food available and the connotations they bring. The following is a condensed description of a nation's gastronomy, though the genesis of the dishes could be studied as a topic in and of themselves:

If there were one form of food that would be the ambassador to the whole of Serbian cuisine, it would be meat. Meat's role in Serbian cuisine plays centre stage to most traditional meals, whether it is bakes, grilled, roasted, or cured. What is considered the fast-food option in Serbian cuisine is the grilled meat, as you can find stands which offer most of the classic dishes in a large bun. Traditional meals include ćevapčići (finger-shaped grilled mixture of various minced meats), pljeskavice (Serbian 'burger' comprised of a mixture of minced meat; can also be filled with cheese, ham, and/or onions), and bela vešalica (grilled strips of pork) among others (Panacomp Travel Agency). Besides the meat products you will find other foods that are considered by most to be traditional. Of the condiments the two most popular would be kajmak, which is a cream closely resembling clotted milk, and ajvar, a spread made of cooked bell peppers and eggplant. These two can usually be found complementing the aforementioned meat dishes, as well as a large amount of diced onion.

Serbian cuisine expands to other traditional meals that don't necessarily include meat. Examples of this would be sarma, which is a leaf of sauerkraut used to package rice and minced meat, and proja, a type of corn bread that usually has fresh cheese or kajmak within it. There are a variety of pickled foods that are considered delicacies, as well as slatko, which is a jam-like food that is usually eaten by the spoon. To tie all these flavours in is rakija, a brandy made of any fruit one can think of. Serbs have rakijas made of strawberry, apricot, quince, plum, grapevine, walnut, cherry, and many others. Though there are a variety of other dishes that could be mentioned, Serbian cuisine cannot claim to be a national cuisine, as it is a

hybrid of various cuisines, as well as a variety of cuisines that exist within its borders, such as the Vojvodina gastronomy being particular to its geography (Gagic, 2012).

Vojvodina acts as an ideal example of both the external influences of other national cuisines as well as locally developed cuisine. Being influenced by primarily Hungarian, Romanian and Slovak cuisine, it offers a variety of dishes customary to those national cuisines, while simultaneously portraying its own customized version of the aforementioned. Examples include “Sremska homemade sausage, Sremska salama, Apatinsko deer beer, Foucault Toski fresh sauerkraut, Fruškogorski linden honey, Karlovački Riesling, Pearl Island-Muscat krokan, Petrovska sausage and Bermet,” This hybridity has until now offered not only a wider variety of dishes, but has mostly posed as a problem in the patenting of these dishes (Gagic, 2012).

Serbia’s relationship with its culinary culture has long stood as a symbol of its history as a melting pot of cultures, offering Turkish, Austro-Hungarian, Greek and many other national dishes. Besides dishes of particular nations one can also find variations of dishes that have been blended together to form a hybrid Serbian meal. Many find it hard to define what exactly constitutes as “Serbian” cuisine, which leaves the questions how does one determine what is Serbian cuisine and whether this should be defined more accurately. Kajmak is the ideal example, belonging to the cuisine of not only Serbia, but also Turkey, Montenegro, Bulgaria, and Bosnia and Herzegovina. This fact would not only affect the capability of branding Serbian food as solely theirs, but also their right to claim any authorship over the dishes.

Olga Zirojević, a historian whose expertise lies in oriental and Ottoman history, discusses how many of the dishes found in Serbia and Eastern Europe actually originate from the Middle East, and traces their history through their etymology. In an article done for the Serbian journal “Republika” Zirojević discusses gibanica and its origins: “The word gibanica comes from Egypt originally, as in Egyptian Arabic the word for cheese is Gibna, with a plural of giban” (Zirojevic, Eng. Translation by T.S.). This is just one example of the many dishes whose name can be traced to the Ottoman Empire or Middle East, and is also just one way through which Serbian cuisine can be proven to stem from other national cuisines. Furthermore, this historical analysis of Serbian gastronomy leaves us with the question ‘if everything in Serbian cuisine sources from other cuisines, then how can Serbia make any claim to those dishes?’

It is quite a pressing matter that some dishes have been patented by other countries, removing the possibility for Serbia to take hold of its opportunities in the gastronomic world. An example of this is Macedonia's attempt to trademark ajvar in 2008, which resulted in Slovenia taking the opportunity and placing the name under protection, or that Šljivovica<sup>3</sup> is under protection by the Czech Republic, removing the right for Serbia to use the name Šljivovica, rather the same brandy under different names. With hurdles such as these already in front of Serbia, it is not surprising that little effort was made in the gastronomic field until recent years. Serbia's response has been to place the Leskovac pljeskavica under protection, but there are still many other meals that other nations could claim a right to. This action taken by Macedonia and the Czech Republic is considered by many to be a completely reasonable decision, stating that it is for the protection of cultural heritage: "There is positively an mercantile justification to patenting dishes as one's inhabitant dish, as it can assistance encourage sales and yield disdainful entrance to markets" (Teslik, 2). This becomes a more serious issue when more than one country is eligible to claim a certain dish as its own, turning the action into one that is counterproductive to culinary diplomacy; "fights over hummus (as [well] as tabouleh, labneh, or falafel, to name yet a few) between Israel and Lebanon, kimchi between China and South Korea, and "Turkish" pleasure between Cyprus and Turkey" (Ariel) (Pham) are some among the many dishes to which several countries have equal claim.

Another perspective that must be taken into account is the opinion of Serbian nationals regarding their food choices. A study done by Snjezana Gagic *et al.* involved a survey completed by 450 Serbian consumers who rated the importance of certain aspects of food in their decision-making process as to what foods they bought (Gagic, 2014). They found that the three most important aspects of food that determined what was consumed were sensory appeal, health, and availability. This would seem to be obvious results, but they go on to note that below these three the next top scoring factors were natural content, convenience and weight control, after which came price, mood, familiarity, ethical concern and food image. These results were interesting considering that the economic situation would have logically resulted in a greater awareness for pricing, but it was in reality a relatively low scoring factor. Additionally, the importance placed upon the natural content and weight control would imply that the food choices are determined very much by the actual quality of the food, as opposed

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<sup>3</sup>A plum rakija that is considered the Serbian national drink.

to its image. This information plays an important role in the market research for the rebranding Serbia's food for locals, as many consider Serbian food to not be particularly healthy.

As one can see the gastronomy of Serbia cannot be determined in a black and white fashion, as the cuisine is not only diverse within its borders, but also a mixture of various other national cuisines from neighbouring countries. Furthermore, the dilemma of patenting dishes limits the capabilities of the government to defend these delicacies as their own, making the path towards food's role in cultural diplomacy and nation branding even more complicated. This does not mean that the diversity in Serbian cuisine is a disadvantage; Bojan Bugarčić, the Special Advisor to the Minister of Foreign Affairs as well as the former Director of the Student Cultural Centre (SKC), notes the difficulty in defining the cuisine as exclusively Serbian, but by it being eclectic Bugarčić sees an advantage: "Belgrade is partly Balkan, partly middle European, so in that sense we have to promote this kind of electricity in cuisine, and the fact that you can find in the same restaurants some very Turkish dishes, and some central European dishes, and I think that this is a fact which should be promoted, the fact that Belgrade and Serbia are the crossroads of empires, of civilizations." This type of initiative has only just begun in Serbia, but in his eyes England's capability to promote itself as a destination with "250 different national restaurants" proves that diversity in cuisine can be promoted properly. The locals are also looking towards foods that fulfil more practical purposes than sentimental or cultural, making the need for rebranding the food towards locals even more necessary. With this in mind we look towards national branding efforts made by the government thus far, and what has worked up to date.

## ***II. NATIONAL BRAND***

Serbia's national brand isn't considered a strong one in the least. Based on several Indexes that determine the strength of a nation's brand, Serbia's rank is always found in the lower half of the total number of nations analysed. The most popular of the rating systems is the Country Brand Index, done by Future Brand, rated Serbia at 108<sup>th</sup> out of 118 in 2012, dropping from 97<sup>th</sup> in 2011, and 84<sup>th</sup> in 2010. This is not the only case where Serbia's reputation was labelled as poor: Brand Finance's Nation Brand Report gave 75<sup>th</sup> place to Serbia in 2013, and placed it in the "losers" category for that year due to their brand percentage value change being -23% between 2012 and 2013. It didn't have much better results prior to that year either: it received 69<sup>th</sup> place in 2012 and 66<sup>th</sup> in 2010, demonstrating a gradual decline that justifies its 'loser' title. Another grading system that depicted Serbia as a low-ranking country is the Global Competitiveness Index, where in 2013-2014 it received the position of 101<sup>st</sup>, while in the year before it held 95<sup>th</sup>, once again depicting a decline in its status.

With the set decline being seen in all of these systems one has to wonder why there is a decline. According to the Democracy Index<sup>4</sup> Serbia rated 57<sup>th</sup> in 2013, 66<sup>th</sup> in 2012, 64<sup>th</sup> in 2011, and 65<sup>th</sup> in 2010. With this rise in position on the chart we have to assume that Serbia is being perceived as an increasingly democratic state. But before we can draw any conclusions we must look at how it is perceived based on another rating system: the Corruption Perceptions Index<sup>5</sup>. In 2013 it ranked 72<sup>nd</sup> out of 177 countries, 80<sup>th</sup> out of 174 in 2012, and 86<sup>th</sup> out of 183 in 2011. The scores suggest that the criminal activity and corruption within Serbia are on a gradual decline, moving it ahead of countries such as Colombia and Jamaica (which were in front of it in 2011). This is also reflected in one of the survey questions targeting foreigners: the respondents were asked about their least favourite aspects of Serbia, if they had any, in order to see what needs to change in order for Serbia to appeal to foreigners even more. The most-disliked element was the mentality of the people (where twenty-three out of seventy noted), ranging from people noting racism towards minorities, to

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<sup>4</sup>An index done by the Economist intelligence Unit that rates the state of democracy in 167 countries

<sup>5</sup>Index, done by Transparency International, which determines the perceived levels of corruption within a country.

a general state of despair and intensity that was felt when around Serbs. The second largest groups are the political corruption and general dirtiness of the cities and towns (each category holding twelve responses each). Others noted administrative issues and systematic stagnations that made no sense to foreigners (six of the seventy noted this).

There are several realities that Serbia still faces before it can begin to develop their national brand: Branislava Mijatovic discusses in the anthology 'Branding Post-Communist Nations' how the investment into nation branding operations are expected to bear fruit in 10-20 years, due to the country "still dealing with the aftermath of the political situation of the 1990's, with political corruption, economic inequalities and rebuilding of infrastructure destroyed during the preceding decades" (Mijatovic) She adds that by the time any results from the rebranding are visible it might be too late for several generations of Serbians.

Comparatively we have Serbia's regional neighbours who have proven that national branding can result in an overall improved economic and society. According to Lee Hudson Teslik "Commonly cited success stories include [post Yugoslav] countries like Slovenia and Croatia, which launched aggressive marketing campaigns following their respective successions, emphasizing scenic venues and a definitive cultural break from Belgrade, the Yugoslav capital. These campaigns proved wildly successful and both countries emerged relatively quickly as tourist destinations" (Teslik, 4). He also states that the key to many nations' success lies in the quality of the product being projected as a tourist attraction.

Another issue with nation branding in the region is that the borders do not act segregating lines for all aspects of the nations. Many countries in the Balkan region have overlapping segments of their culture that make it hard to formulate those aspects as elements of only their national brand: "Eastern Europe as well as federal states and their federate entities provide many examples where the borders of a country do not follow the ethnic and linguistic borders of a nation and country branding is a more appropriate and less sensitive term than nation branding" (Szondi, 6). With this in mind, even the elements that are being promoted as part of Serbia's national brand are disputable.

There have been a variety of solutions offered in order to initiate systematic nation branding efforts: Bojan Bugarčić believes that the first step is to determine what the government wants to strive for in any efforts made in the field: "we are still mostly reacting, and not anticipating what should be done in the future." He offers the example of World War

I, where Serbia's involvement was understood as the instigator of the whole war. This black and white perspective rules out many factors before the assassination of Franz Ferdinand that played into the commencement of the war. Bugarčić argues that if Serbia had taken initiative in portraying itself more positively instead of reacting to what others were saying they did then perhaps the image of Serbia would have been different. The lack of a systematic approach to Serbia's reputation, both locally and internationally, has resulted in an image of a poor barbaric country. Once there is a consensus as to what exactly Serbia wants its brand image to hold then efforts can be developed that will effectively transfer these values to the target markets, namely Serbs and foreigners.

There are efforts being made within Serbia towards clearly outlining and establishing a national identity. For example, there is an annual conference titled 'Rebranding Serbia' whose mission is "to point out the importance of systemic development of Serbia's positive image via various lectures by eminent experts on national/state branding, as well as examples in the fields of science, art, sports and entrepreneurship of our most successful individuals and institutions" (Rebrand Serbia). Established in 2013, this collaboration between various groups such as EXIT festival, the U.S. embassy, Continental Wind Serbia, and many others, the topics covered include a variety of methods and subjects such as "Tesla as a Serbian Brand," Branding Serbia as a Festival Country," and "From inner changes toward the change of the image of entire nation." Though it was created in order to develop ideas as opposed to implement them it does offer insight for whomever wishes to initiate projects with nation branding goals.

The efforts aren't solely ones made by locals, as Jose Filipe Torres<sup>6</sup> demonstrated. According to an interview he did with the Serbian magazine 'Ekonomista,' he believes that the biggest negative in Serbia's image is that Serbs believe they have a negative brand image internationally. He states that many countries have gone through war and have had dictators in power, but those dictators don't necessarily define a whole nation's people nor the country as a whole (ex. Italy and Chile). He goes on to describe how his consulting agency, Bloom Consulting, proceeds in commencing national branding efforts:

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<sup>6</sup>He is considered the most renowned specialist today in country branding.

*“First step: Research. Start to understand in depth your economy and your psychology, by interviewing several audiences (Public Sector- Political party in power and its opposition, Several Institutions, Business associations, Chambers of commerce, Universities. Private Sector – renown Serbian business men, Opinion leaders, Journalists) and ultimately we would do an international poll to evaluate your current perception), from that moment on we would invite public opinion channeled by a University and interesting things would start to show up. Then we would move towards developing the strategy. Whenever we (Bloom) create a brand strategy we always base it on statistics and accurate information and never on our personal opinion”*

(Nation Branding, 2009)

He states that only after completing these steps would one have a better idea as to which ways Serbia could be branded. He finishes this interview by stating that after research and implementation is completed a country would only begin to feel the effects after 3-4 years, but the actual paying off of the efforts would come at different times, depending on a variety of variables.

Though Serbia’s history and current political, economic and social status do have the capacity to hinder the progress that would be made through nation branding efforts, there seems to be a consensus amongst experts that Serbia would still do well to attempt rebranding their image both abroad and inside. With this in mind we look towards the food tourism efforts that have been made in Serbia, and how successful they were.

### ***III. FOOD TOURISM***

Serbia's tourism has largely been based on Belgrade's reputation as one of the global capitals for nightlife and music festivals. Besides this it has maintained a mediocre role as a tourist attraction up until the last several years. According to the Travel and Tourism Competitiveness Index, Serbia scored 88<sup>th</sup> out of 133 in 2009, 82<sup>nd</sup> out of 139 in 2011, and 89<sup>th</sup> out of 140 in 2013. This is also seen in the survey conducted with foreigners, where the percentages for the reasons for coming reflects the previous information, with it being relatively equally divided between work (39%), leisure (24.5%), and private reasons (36.5%). When asked specifically why they came, the majority answered that they had received jobs here, or have been stationed in the office of their companies. The second largest group interestingly said that their reason was because of a romantic partner or spouse, stating that they either had the partner living in Serbia, or they were from there and came to become acquainted with the partner's family and culture. The third largest groups, holding eleven points each, were people who came because of family or heritage, and those who came because of general interest or recommendation made by someone who had been before. This shows us that the tourism aspect of Serbia is not as popular as one might think, excluding festivals such as EXIT and Guča, where people come specifically for the event and not the country. The remaining reasons varied from having friends in Serbia, to educational reasons, to volunteer work. Being below average has worried government offices and has resulted in initiatives dedicated to promoting Serbia as a tourist destination.

The relationship between tourism and culture has to a certain extent commoditised elements of culture in order to promote it as a tourist attraction. This has been argued to present a pseudo-image of the culture and leaves the tourist with an experience of a culture that is extremely controlled and pre-arranged, thus lacking authenticity and real value. In an article published in the journal "Kultura" Daniel Boorstein discusses this matter in the case of agency-organised tourism on the one hand, while on the other "you have the offer of tourist attractions of many countries, which strive to become a 'tourist mecca.' These 'attractions' offer skilfully designed indirect experiences, artificial products for visitors in places where the real thing is easily within reach"(Boorstein, 46, Eng. Translation by T.S.).

On the other hand the interrelation between culture and tourism has received positive reviews, such as the opinion of Vesna Djukic Dojcinovic in her book "Cultural Tourism." The development of "a tourist and cultural offer includes not only an offer for tourists, but locals as well, who, perhaps even before the others, should become familiar with their cultural

resources to help them better understand and respect those resources. So, on the one hand, we obtain a new framework for a dynamic cultural life of the local population and on the other, an attractive tourist and cultural offer of the city and the village, which can attract tourists to better understand their distinctive cultural resources” (Dojcinovic, 11, Eng. Translation by T.S.).As the elements of culture are inclined to be presented in variations regarding its authenticity, one can only draw conclusions for specific cases, meaning that certain cultural elements belonging to specific nations could be utilized in tourism properly or commoditised into a quasi-version of their true nature.

Looking at food tourism specifically, with the growing number of gastronomic initiatives made by nations, Serbia’s relationship with its gastronomy has developed beyond a lifestyle trait, with government agencies promoting its culinary diversity as a distinctive attribute of the nation. In the survey conducted with Serbian nationals, 65 respondents answered the question “do you think food should be used in cultural diplomacy and tourism efforts made by the government?” where 81.5% answered yes, while the remaining 20% split evenly between having no opinion and disagreeing with its integration into governmental efforts. This answer is connected to yet another question that inquired as to whether the participants felt that Serbian food played a role in how Serbia is perceived by tourists, and whether this perception was a positive or negative one. Out of the total 59 responses, fifty-four stated that it does have an influence on the way Serbia is viewed, out of which fifty believe that the reaction is a positive one. The remaining five felt that it did not have an influence.

On the other side of the spectrum we have the second survey conducted, which targeted foreigners who have visited Serbia. When asked to delve in deeper as to what they found stood out the most in Serbian culture, thirty-nine people out of seventy-five found that the Serbian population was the most striking aspect, noting the politeness and welcoming behaviour they were greeted with. The second aspect was the food with twenty-two points, where many specifically mentioned *slavas*<sup>7</sup> and the food they tasted there. The third element was culture in general, holding fourteen points, where many enjoyed the dances, music, and arts. This is important to take note of, as the marketing of Serbia abroad has yet to use its people as part of the brand image, making these results quite interesting. To reaffirm this, when asked what they enjoyed most in Serbia, forty-four out of seventy-six stated that the people were the best part of the country. The second-largest answer was food (again) with

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<sup>7</sup>A day of the year where a specific saint is celebrated. Each saint has his or her own day.

thirty-seven points, and the third was social elements/events with eighteen points. The fourth group was the atmosphere in the country, and the fifth was the nature. The generally positive opinion on the country was mirrored when it came to the food of Serbia. Out of the total seventy-nine that answered the question, thirty-seven said that they loved the food (47%), thirty-one said they liked it (39%), and nine were neutral (11.5%). Only two stated that they disliked it, and none hated it. The majority also felt that food is an asset in Serbian culture, with sixty-two out of eighty answering positively, while only six answered with a negative response. The majority also felt that it should play a larger role in the promotion of Serbia; fifty-three out of seventy-nine answering positively, and eighteen answering negatively.

One must first understand what motivates locals to attend gastronomic events before involving foreigners. Gagić *et al.* did a study to determine what motivated Serbian nationals to attend the previously mentioned events. They targeted four major regions of Serbia (Vojvodina, Southwest Serbia, Southeast Serbia and Belgrade) with a survey that resulted in a sample group of 153 participants (Gagic, 2013, 1056). The results of the study showed that the largest problem was the lack of information and advertising of these events, as almost half of the respondents have not received any information. Another factor that the respondents felt needed to be altered is who organises the events. According to the study most gastronomic events are organised by “local governments, local communities, business and commercial associations and associations of citizens” (Gagic, 2013, 1057), while respondents believe that these events should be taken over by expert associations dealing with food and drink. 65% also agreed that foreign exhibitors would benefit the events, while only 15% of them said either completely or partially agreed that foreigners should not be involved in the event. The authors conclude that “the result of the factor analysis showed that visitors are motivated by products, entertainment as well as the wish to escape from the daily life...thus focus should be placed on the promotion of products, a bigger number of quality exhibitors, educational workshops aiming to expand the knowledge of visitors related to the products [...]” (Gagic, 2013, 1058). This offers us insight as to what should potentially be changed first in order to begin better marketing strategies when dealing with the target audience of gastronomic events.

Another source that has taken interest in the discussion on food tourism is the media channel B92. In their article titled “What types of food can Serbia offer tourists?” they report on the Winterfest that takes place in Kopaonik every year, in which a panel discussion took place, addressing the “National cuisine as a tourism product” (Tanjung, Eng. Translation by T.S.). The major issues were found to be that Serbia doesn’t have a clearly defined

gastronomy, and that none of the dishes that do exist are protected. According to one panel member, Aleksandar Samardžija-Splićo, the only food that is protected is the leskovac pljeskavica, whose protection doesn't protect it from anything since Serbia doesn't have a governmental agency that would act as a protector of these patents (Tanjug, Eng. Translation by T.S.). The panel members agreed that Serbia's cuisine needs to become clearly defined, simplified, and protected before any action can be taken towards marketing it as a tourist attraction.

The Tourism Organisation of Serbia created a campaign titled "Soulfood Serbia," where a 12-minute promotional video of Serbia's gastronomy was created, depicting the specialty of each region of Serbia and how it is created. Additionally they created a pamphlet that describes various recipes and lists gastronomic events taking place within each region. These actions have achieved a fair amount of PR success for Serbia, with the promotional video receiving eleven awards in various festivals. This initiative almost seems to have acted in direct response to the study mentioned previously, as it accomplishes the marketing aspect of the whole operation to promote gastronomic events. This effort did not go without its own issues: In an interview with Gordana Plamenac, the Managing Director of the National Tourism Organisation of Serbia (NTOS), she discusses the issue of influence of other national cuisines, such as the Turkish, Austro-Hungarian, and Mediterranean. The other major issue that inspired the campaign was the need to patent and protect the geographical origins of many foods and dishes:

*"[...] Some of our authentic products have been protected by other countries, like Sljivovica which has been protected by the Czechs, so we no longer have the right to use the name Sljivovica, so the rakija in Serbia is now called Sokolova or something else, since we don't have the right to use its actual name. Ajvar is protected by the Slovenes who don't have peppers readily available."*

She goes on to explain how the campaign acted as a wake-up call for many producers of authentic Serbian produce and dishes by displaying all that Serbia has to offer in the 12-minute film. Among others, cabbage from Futog, yellow cheese from Pirot, wines from Negotin, sudzuk and cheese from Sjenica, ajvar from Leskovac, kajmak and prosciutto from Zlatibor, cheese from Zlatar, and raspberries from Arilje." This commercial for different parts of Serbia and their expertise of specific food brought positive results within Serbia, such as

producers of ajvar in Leskovac joining together to place the name “Leskovacki ajvar” under their protection. Not only did this help the national identity save one more dishes from being patented by another country, but also allowed for these producers to unite under one brand name.

The film gained international recognition as well, receiving numerous awards in various film festivals. This international success has presented other problems as well, as Plamenac points out: “We have tourists coming to Serbia after having seen this film, and asking, “where can we eat this Soulfood”? This doesn’t fall into the realm of our activities because we actually deal with promotion.” Moreover, she notes that another issue is the lack of guidance as to what restaurants hold dishes that are ‘Soulfood’ and what those dishes are. She argues that if there were a sticker or marker next to relevant dishes that one could point the tourists in the direction of these meals. Without this all that the tourists would find is packaged produce at the supermarkets that could be considered ‘authentic.’ The biggest problem of all is the fact that the solution to these issues does not fall within NTOS’ jurisdiction, meaning that it cannot fulfill the actualization aspect of the campaign. Plamenac hopes that with the inclusion of the ministry to the umbrella of sales and tourism that this issue can soon be resolved.

From this perspective it would seem that the food tourism of Serbia has a lot to offer and is not living up to its full potential because of this confusion as to what is suitable for marketing and what is not. Furthermore it would appear that Serbia’s government is still working on defining Serbian gastronomy, and cannot move forward until it has accomplished this. This does not mean that all interaction between foreigners and Serbian cuisine has been negative: When discussing diplomatic efforts and gastronomy’s role in them, Plamenac notes that the tourism organisation has always received positive feedback: “the food and drink is always something that really gives a special picture of us and I can see that people are usually very pleasantly surprised and they walk out with at superficially changed attitudes towards us and our country. We should take that and work on it.” We will delve further into the issues faced with Serbia’s food tourism later on in this analysis, but until then this would seem to appear to be the largest problem that the government faces.

#### ***IV. GASTRONOMY IN THE PRIVATE SECTOR***

The efforts made within Serbian food tourism are not exclusively done by governmental sector; the private/business sector has played its role in tourism presently. This can be seen with evident examples, such as restaurants, cookbooks, and cooking shows, as well as with less obvious examples like newspapers, magazines, and themed fairs. The private sector's contribution to the image of Serbia through gastronomy is vital to the developing of a systematic approach to Serbia's rebranding, as the privatized world targets interested audiences and can educate them on what Serbia has to offer gastronomically, as well as channel the values, morals, history and traditions through cuisine.

##### **Restaurants**

Though not officially, many restaurants act as food tourist destinations offering traditional Serbian dishes to foreigners. One street in particular plays a key role in this aspect of tourism, and that is Skadarlija. Skadarlija is a cobblestone street in the centre of Belgrade that was considered the bohemian district. It is filled with traditional 'kafane'<sup>8</sup>, restaurants, and cafes, and is visited by many tour groups in order to experience typically social foodways of Serbs. Some of the best-known venues there include Tri Šešira, Dva Bela Goluba, and Dva Jelena, all of which offer traditional Serbian dishes.

In the case of Tri Šešira, the menu includes starters such as gibanica, breaded bell peppers, and traditional hors d'oeuvres like Montenegrin prosciutto, pork cracklings, and cheese pie. The main courses include a whole section dedicated to roasted and grilled meats, while the rest includes a section for traditional cheese and another on bread. This is clearly a restaurant that aims to promote traditional meals as their area of expertise, and can be seen to such an extent that they have a digital version of their menu in both English and Serbian available online.

The Dva Jelena restaurant offers similar foods, but centres its menu solely on meats and fish dishes, but also offers vegetarian menus. The presence of this other menu reflects the intention of the restaurant to appeal to a larger audience, quite possibly non-Serb. Vegetarian dishes are not particularly popular amongst Serbs, and there are therefore few on menus, but

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<sup>8</sup> A restaurant/club typically holds a band playing folk music and serves drinks and Serbian food.

with the establishment of a whole separate section on vegetarian dishes opens the door for foreign visitors who perhaps were not prepared for such limited options nutritionally. One can therefore presume that Dva Jelena deliberately made this menu as a business strategy to bring more tourists in.

Finally, the Dva Bela Goluba holds set menus available for their guests, whose prices are presented in euros. These menus also include non-Serbian dishes, such as beef Carpaccio, caprese salad, risottos, and a vegetarian menu. On the other hand, there are separate menus entirely based on Serbian meals, such as mixed meats, “Serbian appetizers,” and veal soup. This restaurant’s offer is one that also targets tourists, as its offer is limited to grilled meats and the odd vegetarian and fish dish here and there. This is disappointing, as many tourists will enter this restaurant and only experience the grilled meat, such as cevapi and pljeskavica, from Serbian cuisine. This will also present traditional Serbian gastronomy as very limited, offering a misconstrued representation.

Another notable mention in the private sector is the restaurant Vuk, also found in the centre of Belgrade. They are considered one of the most well-known bearers of traditional meals, holding all sorts of meat dishes that vary from roasted, grilled, baked, etc. Their menu does not end there: they also offer many appetizers that are considered difficult to come by, such as nettle soup, grilled goose liver, etc. The restaurant is frequented by many businessmen, diplomats, families who hold meals there for special occasions, as well as foreigners who are brought there by locals. Their offer reflects the true diversity of Serbian cuisine, as it offers something from every food group as representative of Serbian gastronomy.



(A typical selection of appetizers found in Vuk)

The final restaurant worth mentioning is Fabrika Malih Ukusa (“Factory of Small Tastes”). Though their food offer is traditional, the presentation of this food turns the experience into a modern one, presenting kobasice<sup>9</sup> in a spiral spiked on a skewer (as depicted below), hot pans with freshly baked potatoes, meats presented in a minimalist-style, and many others. This method of presentation can be considered a form of rebranding in and of itself, as the traditional meals have been remodelled into a contemporary artform, utilizing visual appeal as well as flavour. This also makes it more appealing for more modern audiences, as it offers the same as all the previously mentioned restaurants but repackages it and delivers this new look to those audiences.



### Media Representation of Food

The media can act as a motivator and creator of opinion, values, and beliefs, and does so through the portrayal of positive and informative aspects of a subject. In the case of food this is typically done through cooking shows, publishing recipes in newspapers, magazines, blogs, and cookbooks. Most of this is either made in order to represent a national cuisine, promote new variations of traditional recipes, or to promote a chef. All of these examples of the relationship between food and media demonstrate the modern transmission of tradition through contemporary means. Additionally they tend to target nationals, as they are typically in Serbian. With this in mind we must analyse what is available to the Serbian public and attempt to understand the influence it has on civil society.

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<sup>9</sup>Spicy sausages

Cooking on television is quite popular in Serbia, especially since the cooking channel “24Kitchen” was brought to local audiences in 2011. Though most of the chefs whose shows are aired are not Serbs, the existence of such a channel has brought the spotlight back to gastronomy in general, offering easy recipes for anyone to follow. This has reopened the door for many young audience members to learn how to prepare a meal at home, which is especially important in a world where fast food is the dominating form of nourishment.

“24Kitchen” is important to the Serbian public because, even though there are no Serbian recipes specifically, it brought back importance to gastronomy and reflects another aspect of Serbia that few register consciously: organic food. The majority of produce harvested in Serbia is considered organic by Western standards, therefore making the market even more appealing to foreign investors and interested parties. Serbian nationals were reintroduced to this fact through the shows, as many ingredients that are picked are homegrown by the chefs, or organic. One can see this rise in the placing of importance on organic food in governmental initiatives as well. For example, the Tourism Organization followed its “Soulfood” campaign with “Organicfood,” which aimed to promote the abundance of organic farms and produce in Serbia by presenting various regions that produce organic products, as well as festivals (which will be discussed later). This interest in organic produce is a contemporary trend and is therefore a relatively new element of Serbia’s brand image that has yet to be properly presented to the internal audience of Serbia, let alone the external one. The existence of “24Kitchen” can be perceived as indirectly beginning the establishment of this element within Serbia’s image, and it therefore vital to our research.

“24Kitchen” isn’t the only example of televised media and its presentation of gastronomy. The television show “Gastronomad” is hosted by the chef Nenad Gladić (also known as Lepi Brka, or pretty moustache), and aims to offer recipes that combine different cultures’ cuisine and create a dish that transports you to its place of origin “without the need for a passport, visa or money” (Brka, Eng. Translation by T.S.). According to its site, the show wishes to demonstrate that anyone can cook, as well as experience the flavours of the world through the recipes taught through the show. This show is a perfect example of cultural exchange through food, but unlike many of the examples we have discussed thus far, it aims at educating the Serbian public on the variety of dishes and foods available around the world. Furthermore, it offers the audience the opportunity to experience these cultures through

presenting national foods of different countries and teaching recipes, all of which are available online.

These two examples act as representative of the type of televised media depicting gastronomy and cooking in general; as is the case with most cooking shows, the recipes aim to broaden audience members' knowledge of cooking and gastronomy originating from all over the globe. In these particular cases the Serbian national are the target audience, and through such shows their awareness for other countries' cultures and cuisines expands, which in turn raises their awareness of their own cuisine and what its value truly is. We now turn to the other forms of media who further this, as the Serbian population is educated on the importance of gastronomy and cuisine in culture.

Newspapers and magazines have also played their role in the reviving of interest in cooking and cuisine in general. Many Serbian printed media offer a regular release of either a daily recipe or a miniature cookbook, holding recipes that are universal recipes, dessert recipes, or traditional Serbian recipes with twists.

*Kurir* offers a recipe of the day article, and includes recipes such as homemade plum jam with vanilla and chocolate, tomato musaka, and urnebes<sup>10</sup> salad among others. This modernizing of traditional recipes rebrands national cuisine and redistributes it to the would-be target audience, allowing for the possibility for national cuisine to regain importance in the cultural sphere, and become part of the national identity once more.

Other newspapers/magazines that participate in this movement are *Blic*, which has a separate magazine for women specifically that includes recipes, and *Alo* magazine with articles titled "Sausages Are The Best Seasoning," "The Return of Offal," and "Top Five Sure Ways To Stop Hating Cooking."

While *Blic Woman's* recipe section offers the opportunity for women to publish their recipes (making the channel for communication between audience and media stronger), it also offers recipes from not only Serbia, but also China, Italy, Japan, India, Hungary, Germany, Spain, and others. This increasing traffic on the webpage, as many people search on their site for recipes to use. This in turn boosts awareness of international cuisines as well as national cuisine, successfully promoting the cultural awareness through food (whether intentional or not).

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<sup>10</sup>Cheese mixed with chili powder

*Alo* takes a more traditional approach and attempts to market them to the audience through creating a sense of novelty around the content. With the choice of wording in the titles of the articles, such as “homemade is the sweetest” and “lean but delicious,” it is clear that they aim to evoke curiosity and desire in the reader and the willingness to return to traditional methods, dishes, foods, etc. because they are ‘the best.’ This might be the most applicable example of print media used to promote national cuisine, primarily due to the subject matter being primarily traditional, but also because of this rebranding of recipes and dishes, as well as this promotion of national cuisine’s appeal.

These examples show how media can educate the public on the possibilities of gastronomic development and maintenance, but aside from this there is an even more direct form of print that educates audiences: cookbooks. There are many examples of cookbooks that have assisted in the maintenance of gastronomic traditions through holding classical forms of recipes and compiling them into one book. Like most countries Serbia has several that are considered the ‘bible’ for traditional Serbian cuisine. The “Veliki Narodni Kuvar” (“Big National Cookbook”) by Spasenija-Pata Marković is considered one of the most well known classical Serbian cookbooks. It was first published in 1935, and has since then been handed down from generation to generation as it carries the traditions of Serbian cuisine with it. This cookbook perfectly reflects what needs to be done in the field of gastronomy: with its being passed on, like most traditions, it immortalizes the recipes held within it and incorporates them into all versions of national culture and identity. Without the act of passing the information on, these traditions would have disappeared or have morphed into something deviating from their original form. The archiving of the classical forms of dishes has not only incorporated it into national tradition and identity, but has also established a form of claim over these dishes, implying that many are in fact Serbian (as well as other nations’), regardless of where else they are consumed.

### Festivals, Museums & Markets

Now one must move away from media and look towards the area of food events as the contemporary form of maintaining gastronomic cultural heritage. Food has also been utilized by the private sector as a reason for events, specifically fairs, festivals and markets. These sorts of occasions offer producers the opportunity to present their product to a target audience, as well as promote the value of the product by means of comparison. In Serbia many of these

events are oriented around a specific food, such as blueberries or honey, and present a variety of forms in which this one food can be presented.

Festivals can be found throughout Serbia and typically represent a food that this region is known for, such as a cheese or cured meat. The campaign “Soulfood” used this form of classification to present Serbian gastronomy, noting a variety of events that take place around the country. The main types of events are bio food, meat/livestock, themed festivals, and museums.

In the case of bio festivals, there are several found around Serbia, two of which are Biofest and the festival of Food and Ethno-Food. The Biofest is located in Subotica and consists of an exhibition of organic produce as well as touring farms of producers. The Festival of Food and Ethno-Food takes place in Sombor and primarily exhibits pepper-based products, cheese, and salašes among others.

The events oriented around livestock and meat or fish are also quite popular and take place all over the country. An event that deals with the exhibition of livestock in general is the Biodiversity fair in Dimitrovgrad, which brings farmers together to showcase their best livestock. Besides this, most events deal with a particular form of meat, such as fish festivals. Some examples include Fishermen’s Evenings (Alaske Veceri) that occurs at Veliko Gradiste, the Riverside Cauldron (Porecki Kotlic) in Donji Milanovac, and the Golubac Cauldron (Golubacki Kotlic) in Golubac. These events typically have competitions for preparing specific dishes, such as riblja corba (fish chowder). Other events of this variety include the Pirot Lamb Festival in Pirot that also has a lamb roast competition and exhibitions of honey and cheese, as well as the Barbeque festival, in Leskovac.

Then there are events entirely dedicated to one food or dish, which can include competitions for preparing dishes, exhibitions of produce and products, as well as tours. Within Serbia you can find an abundance of such events, including Sajam Sljiva (Plum fair) in Osecina, Projada (Proja fair) in Ratina, Pasuljijada (Bean Fair) in Kraljevo, Kupusijada (Cabbage Fair) in Mrcajevci, Prsutijada (Proscuitto Fair) in Mackat, Zlatarska Sirijada (Cheese from Zlatibor Fair) in Nova Varos, Slaninijada (Bacon Fair) in Kacarevo, and Kobasicijada (Sausage Fair) in Turija. These fairs can last several days, while you have other events that are literally a day in the year dedicated to one food: Izložba Meda (Exhibition of Honey) in Nova Varos, Dani Gljiva (Day of Fungus) in Valjevo, Dani Borovnica (Day of Blueberries) in Kopaonik, and Dani Sijenacke Pite (Day of Sijenese Pies) in Sijenica. Such events offer the food type enthusiast and general fans of gastronomy the opportunity to see

how one type of produce can be converted into almost infinite amounts of products and dishes.

Finally we have the museums, which are fewer in number, but just as particular as the festivals. The three main ones that exist in Serbia are: the museum of bread in Pećinci, the museum of tobacco in Telečka, and the museum of apiculture in Sremski Karlovci. These museums offer a more sustainable option to the events that only occur once a year, making regular touring a possibility.

Markets are the most available of this form of gastronomic use in the private sector. Though there are markets, also known as pijace, all over Serbia, the most well known ones belong to Belgrade. Within Belgrade there are thirty-one pijace, of which the most famous ones are the Kalenić, Zeleni Venac, Bajloni/Skadarlija, Djeran and Zemun pijace. The existence of all of these places allows for Serbia and its towns to develop an image of a gastronomically enticing place to visit, particularly for foreigners. Most people are unaware of the existence of such events, but with proper promotion (as was begun by Soulfood) this image could spread to a national level and assist in Serbia's rebranding.

These sectors only make up a fragment of the private institutions that have contributed to the food tourism sphere of Serbia. Food fairs, markets, television shows, restaurants, etc. place importance on the gastronomic element of Serbian culture, and revive a once crucial aspect of daily life and reformulate it in order to appeal to wider and younger audiences. The cooperation between these institutions and governmental bodies could bring forth an even stronger national culinary brand through food tourism, but this would require an official intersectorial collaboration and cooperation, which we have yet to see.

## ***V. THE USE OF FOOD AS A SYMBOL IN CIVIL SOCIETY & ARTISTIC ACTIONS***

Examples of the use of food in civil society are limited, as it has not been utilized by it in obvious ways. This does not mean that there is unawareness amongst members of civil society:

A position paper written by Milena Dragicevic Sestic discusses new models of partnership between the public, private and civil sectors. In this paper she notes the importance of civil society's contribution to cultural policy making: "it is clear that without civil society participation in cultural practices and its influences on public policies, when would cultural policy of any country integrate instruments and measures for the people and groups with special needs?" (Dragicevic Sestic, PDF). This opinion is also seen amongst the public: in the survey conducted with nationals, the respondents' relationship to culture was also addressed, where sixty answered the question "what parts of culture do you feel are integral in your daily activities?" This was asked in order to see how many participants noted food as one of those parts, as well as seeing what aspects were most utilized in general by this group. The results indicated that the most mentioned element of culture was music, noted fifteen times. The second most noted was food, with twelve citations. The third most mentioned is social media (eleven points), and a draw between art and literature in fourth place (both holding ten points). Another element worth mentioning is the holder of fifth place, values, which was noted nine times as important.

When asked specifically about Serbian gastronomy, a little under 39.5% of the total 65 respondents answered that they consumed Serbian dishes once in a while, while 32% said that they eat dishes about half the time. Another 21.5% said they eat traditional meals most of the time, while only 8% said they eat them all the time. None answered 'never.' When asked about the source of the recipes used in the household, 51.5% of the total 64 respondents answered that 76-100% of the recipes came from older family members, while about 19% answered 51-75%. Only 6% of the respondents answered that the question was not applicable, whether because they never prepared traditional meals or other reasons. The remaining respondents divided themselves, with 14% answering that 26-50% of the recipes came from older family members, and 9% answered 0-25%.

These results shed light on another element of gastronomy's role in Serbia, which is its importance in the connecting of family, friends and peers. When asked about the role Serbian food plays in their Serbian identity, 87.5% of the total 64 answered that it played an important role, while only 5% said that it did not. 8% answered that they had no opinion. This demonstrates that the food in Serbia has an intangible element in its purpose: a narrative. The purpose of food in civil society has been seen in a variety of forms. An example of this is the use of herbalist tradition, which is still very common amongst the classes. The placement of importance on herbs and their purpose in medicine and nutrition is perceived as a cultural element to the extent that the Centre for Intangible Cultural Heritage of Serbia has dedicated a blog dedicated solely to information on herbalism. On this blog Davor Maksimovic notes that "the use of wild plants in the daily life of man from prehistoric times to the present is so closely related and intertwined with the customs, to be free to argue that the use of plants in the diet and treatment as old as man himself" (Maksimovic, 2013, Eng. Translation by T.S.).

### Narratives Around Food

On a narrative-oriented plain, many have looked towards food as tool for expressing solidarity and common ground, as well as assisting in the reminiscence of important social events. Members of society noted this in a variety of ways: Mira Trailovic was the theatre director for Atelje 212, one of the most popular theatres in Belgrade. Due to her wanting to make audience members feel more comfortable while at the theatre, "free coffee that was served in the lobby during performance breaks was a part of a strategic process – it made the Atelje 212 audience feel like friends of the house (drinking coffee is a common ritual of friendship in the Balkans)" (Dragicevic Sestic, 2012). Another example is from the novel "Whispering Girls" ("Saputave Devojke") by Zorica Jevremovic, where she recollects when she was in Gorazda during the tour of a theatre group that was performing "Mother Courage" ("Majka Hrabrost"): "fifty women and men danced kolo until the morning, heated from hard liquor, heavy food, and bright feelings... We received space in the basement from Tanja... I brought cookies, wine, all the while serving guests and led the discussion" (Jevremovic, 2014, Eng. Translation by T.S.). Her anecdote reflects the integral part food and drink play in social interactions within the region, as well as Serbia specifically.

Food has also been used on multiple occasions in order to express the values, emotions and atmosphere felt by the participating members, as well as assist in the

storytelling of the author. An example of this is the “Balkan Banquet” in Berlin, a work by Dragoljub Rasa Todosijevic. At this event he would have “baked beans served to guests at the big table in the form of a swastika, had the opportunity to experience and selected audience in Berlin - the Maxim Gorki Theatre...[This was part of] a series of installations, [titled] "God Loves the Serbs" [which] Todosijević started the 90s, shortly after the fall of the Berlin Wall and the beginning of the tragic events in the former Yugoslavia - the wars and the disintegration of the state, as well as general system of values. With the symbol of the swastika, Todosijević started a debate at the time about the variability of interpretation of symbols depending on historical circumstances.” (SeeCult, Eng. Translation by T.S.).

This is not the only example of food’s use in civil society’s narratives; Nebojsa Popov, a well-known sociologist in Serbia, has prepared beans (“pasulj”) in order to promote the realization of potential within certain groups (“opasuljivanje”). An example is the case where he prepared beans for a group of workers in Zrenjanin who had decided to build a pharmaceutical factory on their own, having come to a realization that in order to have jobs they needed to invest themselves. This was done through their buying land, preparing a project, and beginning to build the factory themselves, and all the while Nebojsa Popov prepared meals for them (Pudar). Popov has been making baked beans for target groups to draw attention to specific groups or initiatives that were a result of a realization.

### Preparing Food as a Social Act

The examples aren’t exclusively oriented around beans or story telling; others have brought people together through a mutual love of food. CityCultural Centre (“KC Grad”) has established a weekly tradition known as Delicatessen Monday. These events offer the opportunity for guests to experience foods from different cultures and groups, ranging from national cuisines, restaurants, to organizations that wish to use food to promote ideals or other events. This series of events began in 2011 (KC GRAD) and has been going strong ever since, as each Monday KC Grad is flooded with people interested in trying the latest gastronomic fads, traditional treats, or simply to hang out and share a good meal. Events such as these not only promote social interaction, but also allow for cultural exchange and awareness to be cultivated in younger generations, exposing the public to novel and traditional delights. Furthermore, this event brings about a form of socialisation, as there is a clear exchange between the people preparing the dishes and those consuming them. This

exchange acts as an instigator for other forms of conversation: the hosts of the delicatessen Monday changes weekly, with different groups who not only prepare meals but promote their area of expertise. This opens the door for interested parties to learn about certain topics and express this common interest with the host group, all the while consuming dishes together.

The use of food in civil society has also been depicted in artistic initiatives. Artist Marko Stojanovic has taken gastronomy to a new level by depicting well-known works of artists through dishes prepared by him. Examples include Jackson Pollock, Jeff Koons, and Piet Mondrian (as depicted below).



(Stojanovic)

He establishes a relationship between the original artist, himself and the consumer of his meals, demonstrating the clear interaction between the three: “You are eating a double work of art, first at the recommendation of its creator - a certain creator of the twentieth century, and then by my recommendation. Because you are what you eat” (Stojanovic, 2007, Eng. Translation by T.S.). His use of food not only establishes a connection between all parties, but also offers other elements in the consumption of food, ones of sentimental, cultural, and artistic importance.

All of these elements of civil society included gastronomy in their representation of values & beliefs, for storytelling and uniting different groups, or to simply raise awareness and be more welcoming in general. Whatever the case may be the uses intrigued many and assisted in the strengthening of social ties through demonstrating a sense of belonging through mutual appreciation of dishes. This effect thus proves gastronomy’s validity as a part of a nation’s intangible heritage, especially in the case of Serbia.

## VI. CULTURAL DIPLOMACY

Bojan Bugarčić notes, “It is very difficult to talk about Serbian cultural diplomacy as such because it doesn’t exist in the sense that there is no organized cultural diplomacy.” Ivan Mrkić, the Foreign Policy Advisor to the President of the Republic of Serbia and former Minister of Foreign Affairs, offers the nucleus of the concerns Serbia is facing in its cultural diplomacy. His stance on globalization and its effect on cultural heritage projects that the preservation of the aforementioned should be a top priority:

*“Having in mind that the World is ‘getting flatter’ as we speak and that globalization is making exchange of people, ideas and capital, and cultural as well, increasingly easier, it is essential, especially for smaller states to preserve their cultural legacy by emphasizing the core values of their rich heritage. We have to understand that being small does not imply that we are poor. On the [contrary], many small states, including Serbia, do have a rich cultural heritage – stories, poems, music, cuisine, folklore, etc.”*

He goes on to state that our culture has elements that foreigners have described as “simply irresistible,” returning to Serbia repeatedly to experience cultural elements that are unique to this geographical location. An anecdote he offers to support this comes from his time in Japan, where a performance group that danced Kolo<sup>11</sup> toured the country and has the citizens so mesmerized that over fifty vehicles followed the performers for a month in order to see all of the performances. The effect was so positive that, according to Mrkić, today one can find ensembles “who are performing only Serbian folklore pieces.” Furthermore, he believes that the effectiveness of Serbian music’s cultural role isn’t solely for foreigners, as the proof in his opinion is the amount of music festivals, which act as “powerhouse(s) of good and positive energy” attract both locals and foreigners alike.

The cultural scene of Serbia has gone through a process of attempting to balance European identity with the traditional Serbian one. This is noted by Ljiljana Rogać in her work titled “The Cultural Activity of Serbia in Europe and the World: 2000-2010”, where she mentions that this divide between the traditional and European identity “indicates the presence of a dichotomy of Europeanization and new values on one hand, and traditions expressed in Christianity and Byzantine heritage on the other” (Rogać, 348, Eng. Translation by T.S.). She goes on to say that Serbia’s approach to cultural activities as a part of the

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<sup>11</sup>The traditional dance of Serbia.

foreign element in their cultural policy can be described as “reactive,” implying that the government does not perceive international cultural relations as a priority. This plays a huge setback in Serbia’s foreign reputation, as it leaves the globe with little to see of Serbia except its reactive behaviour. The solution to this problem can be to activate the foreign cultural representation of Serbia as an official part of the cultural foreign policy, but before looking to the solutions one must delve further into what the government has done in its cultural diplomacy to-date.

The government’s efforts in officially facilitating cultural representation abroad are condensed into one cultural centre of Serbia, located in Paris. The centre is funded and by the Ministry of Culture, but is also the responsibility of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. According to their site its goal is to “familiarize the international public with the political, cultural, scientific and other amenities, as well as our heritage and current creative developments [...]” (“Centre Culturel De Serbie”). With this in mind, it is quite concerning that there aren’t more of such centres around the globe. Quite the contrary, there was *one* other centre in New York, but was closed. This would be the official representation that Serbia has abroad as a governmental initiative.

With the role of culture in Serbia’s diplomatic efforts and its reputation abroad, Bojan Bugarčić notes that the existence of governmental institutions dedicated to solely the activity of cultural diplomacy and representation abroad has not existed since the time of Yugoslavia. He goes on to say that “to the best of [his] knowledge, there is only one sector in the Ministry of Culture that’s dealing with the issues of cultural cooperation and exchange; the same applies to the issue of promoting the image of Serbia abroad.” The lack of effort directed at boosting Serbia’s reputation has limited the promotion to primarily economical, and the largest issues that relevant institutions face according to Bugarčić are lack of funds, equipment, and an overall incapability to accomplish anything in their respective fields.

He goes on to state that, because of the lack of governmental initiative, private institutions have taken over in the area of cultural exchange. This can be seen with music festivals or exhibitions organised in order to bring foreign artists, musicians, lecturers, dancers, etc. to Serbia. He makes a particular note of Kusturica as an example of a person successfully promoting cultural exchange:

*“[Kusturica] does more for Serbia with his initiatives, like the ones he has in Kustendorf, the film festival or the concerts and performances with his band, the various cities and villages he has formed where he brings very important creative people from the world; you might even say that he has done more than most of the institutions, which are supposed to be dealing with these issues.”*

Bugarčić continues to state that although these festivals and initiatives are effective, the lack of a systematic approach by the government towards rebranding Serbia and its reputation abroad has left a giant gap in the progression of Serbia as a state.

Besides this, most of the efforts have been through government-to-government agreements. According to Vjera Mujovic’s work, “The Organisation and Trends of International Cultural Cooperation: France, Slovenia, Russia and Serbia,” In the timeframe of 2002 to 2005 alone Serbia has established bilateral agreements with Croatia, Slovenia, Great Britain, Turkey, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Egypt, Bulgaria and Algeria. Since then there have been agreements signed with China, Macedonia, India, Ukraine, and Israel, establishing dialogue on a cultural level. Additionally, there is an agreement signed with Hungary “focused on protecting minorities in both nations” (Mujovic, 383, Eng. Translation by T.S.). Mujovic also notes that the Ministry of Culture has prioritized the country’s role in international cultural programs, such as the Council of Ministers of South-eastern Europe, the Regional Foundation of Cinematography, and the initiatives of Central Europe” (Mujovic, 384, Eng. Translation by T.S.). They also take particular interest in promoting networks and coproduction with foreign institutions, presumably because it doubles the audience number. Though there are official collaborations between nations and Serbia, there seems to be little promotion of Serbia’s culture abroad made possible through the government.

Internally one can find many examples of cultural exchange in Serbia, namely in Belgrade. The amount of festivals from every aspect of culture allows locals to experience cultural norms from all over the world. Examples include EXIT Festival, which offers the most popular music internationally to locals, the yearly Book Fair that gives everyone a chance to buy best-sellers at decent prices or to find antique books, FEST Film festival, showing the best movies of the year, and many others. These events have allowed locals,

especially younger generations, to experience the world all in the capital of Serbia, succeeding in broadening the minds of nationals.

Now that we have a profile of Serbia within the relevant fields, and an idea as to the research done in those fields to-date, we can move to the data collected for this thesis, namely the surveys targeting Serbian locals and foreigners, as well as the interviews done with Bojan Bugačić, Gordana Plamenac, and Ivan Mrkić. With these elements we will be able to formulate an idea as to where there is potential for improvement within Serbia's local and foreign reputation, as well as specific policy recommendation for the cultural policy of Serbia (both the foreign policy and internal).

## **VII. SERBIA'S CURRENT POSITION**

When looking at all that has been revealed in this chapter, one sees potential from all sides. One has to first see where the fault lies in the negative implications of Serbia and its reputation.

The government seems to stand as a very large obstacle for Serbia's development and progress, as many foreigners noted the corruption being one of their main disappointments. This is also seen in the survey with the nationals, where their view of their relationship with the government was either negative or non-existent. This has its effect on the national brand, as many found that this translated poorly into systematic and administrative issues, and took its toll on the mentality of the people.

This isn't the only case of Serbs and foreigners having issues because of the government; many foreigners noted that their biggest problem with Serbia was the mentality of the Serbs, seeming to always live in the past and always addressing the national situation as a hopeless one. This bothered many foreigners, as they felt that Serbs cannot progress while still stuck in the past.

Other elements that would need to change in order to for the national brand of Serbia to gain a more positive light include the issue of racism towards minorities, the dirtiness of the cities and towns, and the general need for transparency in many offices and institutes. If effort were placed into the removal of the corrupt and the progression of the Serbian mentality towards one with a more democratic theme then perhaps the national brand would slowly begin to change into one that reflects all the potential within the country's elements.

The other component that would need to be more thoroughly developed is initiatives in cultural diplomacy. As we have discovered, besides the cultural centre in Paris, there are no official cultural representations abroad for Serbia. In the context of changing the national brand the implementation of such centres would be the most traditional form of spreading awareness as to what Serbia has to offer. This field in Serbian governmental affairs has a lot of potential to assist in our efforts to rebrand Serbia, making it something with delving into more deeply later on.

Another note that must be taken is that many foreigners come to Serbia for non-tourism related matters, making it appear as though Serbia's tourism promotion could perhaps not be as effective as one would suppose. With many foreigners stating that they came to Serbia because of work and significant others, it is clear that there is a need for more a sustained and comprehensive effort with a long-term objective of making Serbia an attractive tourist destination, like Croatia and Montenegro. It must be noted that this initiative cannot be achieved quickly, must be maintained with continuous effort, based on an attractive element of Serbia that can be offered to tourists, and finally, must be maintained through partnerships between private, civil, and governmental sectors. Only with the development of a project such as this can the tourist market begin to develop into a sustainable element of Serbia's economy, social structure, and indirectly influence the need for transparency within the governmental and private sectors.

Furthermore, foreigners have also stated that they commonly come here due to family or heritage in Serbia, wanting to understand their backgrounds and roots. This reason is once more unrelated to tourism initiatives, reaffirming our previous conclusions. On the other hand we have the other most given reason for visiting the country, which is festivals. Many mentioned EXIT and Guča as the most popular of the available events, and all exclaimed that they would return because of this. With this in mind perhaps the promotion of the festival life would serve Serbia in its tourism efforts.

Another element in the field of tourism that was concluded to be beneficial were the natural scenery of the country, with many foreigners stating that that element was one of the enjoyable aspects. With this in mind perhaps initiating a campaign similar to Montenegro's 'Wild Beauty' one would boost global awareness as to Serbia's nature and scenic getaways.

The other element that should be developed further is the thematic routes that go through Serbia. The historical, architectural, religious and artistic themed routes can be found crossing through almost every city in Serbia, so the development of the offer of these routes and complementary promotion would also prove to be effective.

Concerning the relationship between Serbia's gastronomy and image, based on what we have seen already occur with its role in cultural diplomacy and nation branding it would appear that its presence does in fact assist in the positive rebranding of Serbia. Specifically, the 'Soulfood' campaign demonstrated interest from foreigners, positive feedback from

nationals, and, with its awards from various film festivals, effectiveness in our tourism efforts. Having said this, each individual effort made with gastronomy in the relevant fields has its positive aspects and negative:

In the context of culinary diplomacy, in official practice Serbia has no initiatives belonging to the field. Though they have received positive feedback when presenting national dishes abroad there have been no events placing the meals centre stage. With this in mind, the use of food in diplomatic affairs as an official representation of Serbian culture should be further developed.

Food tourism is another area in which Serbia requires work. The ‘Soulfood’ campaign showed great promise in the field, but the lack of a sustainable follow-up program has resulted in the success of the campaign to be limited to a PR effort. The fact remains that when asked by tourists where they could find the ‘Soulfood’ mentioned, the Tourism Organisation could not follow through with a local program for those same interested parties. This has left a huge gap in the effectiveness of the whole initiative. On the other side of the matter, the food festivals that are present throughout Serbia do not do enough promotion, according to the study by Gagic *et al.*, and has resulted in fewer local attendees because of this. Additionally, the lack of organisation done by associations that are considered expert within the field of gastronomy and produce has left the planning of these events to local governments. This has perhaps presented holes in planning and the realisation of the whole event, leaving room for much-needed developing. All in all, the food tourism offer in Serbia faces a gap between the events, their quality and the PR done for them. The need for optimizing this field is evident, but with a long-term plan positive results can be achieved.

The largest problems Serbia faces in its use of gastronomy are the definition, protection, and offer of Serbian cuisine. The first issue is the unclear definition of what Serbian food in fact is. With each dish’s origin that correlates with Serbia’s own history, it is hard for Serbia to truly argue any right to its dishes. Many nationals are aware of this, as seen in the survey, but understand that this is also the case with many countries in the region. With this in mind it is in turn difficult to protect food that one cannot define. With this in mind, it also means that while Serbia determines what they consider their own and what they do not, other nations with even less claim to certain meals (ex. Slovenia with ajvar) patent the name and remove the possibility for Serbia to establish a gastronomic identity even more. Finally, if the previous issues were somehow resolved then the Serbian government’s attention could

move to the last issue, which is the offer. As mentioned previously in the context of food tourism, the offer in Serbia is divided between the government's promotion of the gastronomy as a cultural element, and the actual offer in the form of food festivals, which lacks coordinated and effective PR. Additionally, neither can truly coordinate until there is a marker for official Serbian cuisine. Only once something of the sort is developed can both begin to thrive from foreign and local interest.

With all of this in mind we have seen that gastronomy can in fact be used as an effective tool in cultural diplomacy and nation branding. In the case of Serbia we have seen glimpses of the role it could play in its rebranding both internally and externally. The presence of national cuisine in a variety of events where foreigners interact with the culture has resulted in a positive impression being made on the aforementioned. From 'Soulfood' to simply discussing dishes at diplomatic events, gastronomy has proven itself a relevant element in Serbia's image, and holds the possibility of assisting in its rebranding. With this in mind we now look towards what food can offer in the future and how we can implement it in the cultural policy of Serbia.

## CHAPTER 4: AWAKEN THE CULINARY GIANT

### ***I. POTENTIAL ROLE OF GASTRONOMY IN SERBIA***

With what we know about the role of gastronomy in Serbia today, it is clear that it has the capability of assisting in the rebranding of Serbia both in the eyes of foreigners as well as nationals. There are three main efforts that are interconnected and need to be pushed through one at a time in order to establish any concrete role of food in nation branding and cultural diplomacy. Without these three actions any efforts made by the government or the private sector would be futile, as they would be built on unstable ground.

From our research it is clear that none of the traditional dishes prepared can be considered exclusively Serbian, but on the other hand they cannot be considered exclusively anyone else's either. Like the case with Slovenia patenting ajvar, the lack of the presence of a dish in a national gastronomy does not exclude that country from claiming the right to place it under their jurisdiction. Therefore, if Serbia has any claim to dishes or foods that are considered to be traditionally Serbian then those said dishes should be considered for the definition of the national cuisine. The first action that needs to be taken is the ***defining of what Serbian gastronomy is***. Specifically, relevant governmental bodies need to come to a consensus as to what dishes, food, and beverages they wish to identify as 'Serbian.' Without taking this action it would be useless to take any initiative towards utilizing food in the rebuilding of the reputation of Serbia, as most efforts could be easily dismissed due to a lack of claim. But this effort alone would not be enough, which is why our second step is equally necessary.

The ***patenting of the chosen dishes*** would have to be the next step, ensuring that Serbia holds onto its cultural right to using its gastronomy as part of its cultural and national identity. By placing the selected dishes from the previous step under Serbia's protection the nation would then gain the right to exclusively manufacture it, turning the gastronomy into a unique aspect of Serbia. This would not be enough to protect the dishes though, as the Serbian government does not have a body that monitors and enforces the patents. Therefore this step would also have to result in the establishment of a governmental body dedicated to protecting

the cultural heritage and patents of Serbia's government, for if this does not occur then the patenting would be futile.

The final step that would need to be taken in order to open the possibility of using gastronomy in the rebuilding of Serbia is to *establish a criterion for restaurants and producers of national cuisine*. This criterion would use the clear definition of each dish or food, how it is prepared, and where it is produced, and label it as the official form of the dish. All restaurants that offer those dishes or produce have the opportunity to register themselves as carriers of the food, and will be placed on a list of official gastronomic representatives of Serbian culture. Even more specifically, they would then be allowed to place an official marker by the dishes on their menus that certify it as part of the 'Soulfood' campaign. This would in turn help improve the sustainability of the governmental promotional campaign, and open the floor for government-private collaborative food tours.

Once these three steps have been established only then could food be properly utilized in the nation branding of Serbia. After they have been completed the possibilities do not end there; the Tourism Organization could then go on to establish sustainable efforts dedicated to promoting Serbian gastronomy as an element of cultural heritage. This can be done in a variety of ways; with tourism fairs taking place all over the world bringing the national cuisine to the events could help boost the reputation of Serbia and invoke curiosity in passers-by, potentially resulting in an interest to visit Serbia. Moreover, the food campaigns could then present more clearly defined food tours that collaborate with routes or other heritage sites across the nation, adding an additional dynamic to the tourist experience. Whatever the case, the Tourism Organisation would have the gastronomic door held wide open for infinite possibilities for the promotion of Serbia.

Additionally, it would also open the door to efforts in cultural diplomacy, as with the definition of its cuisine touring campaigns could be established. From a cultural diplomacy perspective the possibilities with gastronomy are endless. From simply offering official dishes in embassies on Serbia's national day, to having special gastronomic events hosted across the globe, the opportunities for the expansion of ambassadorial efforts in raising cultural awareness can be condensed to using ajvar and presenting it in the right way. Based on what is already available to the government, the most logical first step would be to mobilize the Serbian Chefs Association and have them tour through embassies to host gastronomic events

dedicated to raising cultural awareness in the host country. Additionally, organizing exhibitions depicting the cultural heritage behind Serbian cuisine could also present an interesting element into ambassadorial efforts.

On a national level there is the potential for social interaction to be ‘rebranded’ through food. This would primarily be accomplished through the re-creation of narratives around food, as well as the resurrection of social practices that utilize food. The re-creation of narratives around food entails the reinforcement of positive ideals and values held by Serbs through the use of food in social circumstances. Traditional examples such as *slavas* use food as a justification for gathering together groups with common interests in order to promote the narrative that lies behind the occasion. With this as a blueprint we look at how this equation can be used to establish modern narratives through food, which would unite neighbourhoods, minorities, etc. Examples of events that do this in a less structured way are the preparing of winter foods such as roasting peppers, distilling *rakija*, curing meat, and so on. If specific narratives of social practice were to be sustainably promoted through social events positioned around food, then this could assist in the potential restructuring of social interaction and the fundamental value system within Serbia.

With the three points of action still incomplete little can be done with food in the fields of cultural diplomacy and nation branding for Serbia. Having said this, the potential that exists in initiatives done with gastronomy to successfully rebrand Serbia leaves endless opportunities and possibilities. With a clear goal in mind as to what the message behind the campaigns should be and what the efforts should strive for many reputational issues Serbia faces can be changed for the better, it all comes down to the government determining what it wants to achieve. This alone cannot result in sustainable programs for Serbia, but the inclusion of a new cultural policy would ensure that these efforts are maintained.

## **II. POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS**

Based on what we have researched and uncovered it is clear that the need for a more specific cultural policy that addresses the use of gastronomy in the nation branding and cultural diplomacy of Serbia. With this in mind I believe that the inclusion of a policy that enforces this would be of the utmost importance. Furthermore, this policy would have to be enforced by one or multiple institutes that fall under the jurisdiction of the ministry of culture. Of the listed institutes three appeared to be the most logical: the Ethnographic Museum, the Central Institute for Conservation, and the Centre for the Study of Cultural Development.

**The Ethnographic Museum** is a valid candidate due to its already being delegated the duty of promoting intangible cultural heritage. With the both the “Centre for Intangible Cultural Heritage of Serbia” and the “National Committee for Intangible Cultural Heritage” under its supervision, the Ethnographic Museum would certainly have the most resources and capability of presenting gastronomy as a form of cultural heritage. The committee’s specific purpose, according to their site, is to establish “a strategy of preserving intangible cultural heritage of the Republic of Serbia, to participate in the harmonization of national legislation in order to include the intangible cultural heritage and adopt proposals for entry into the National Register of intangible cultural heritage” (Serbia, 2011). This would therefore make it a strong potential advocate for Serbia’s gastronomy.

**The Central Institute for Conservation** is also a strong contender for this role, as it also aims to protect cultural heritage. On their official website they define their goals as such: “CIK aims at implementing an integrative concept of protection of both tangible and intangible cultural and natural heritage with an emphasis on preventive conservation methodology. It comprises a system of measures, which may identify and foresee dangers for the cultural heritage before damage occurs, thus preserving the heritage for future generations” (“Central Institute for Conservation in Belgrade - CIK”). Also acting as the seat for the International Committee of Museums Regional Alliance for Southeast Europe (ICOM SEE), the institute offers resources that could also make their efforts in gastronomy more effective.

Finally we have **the Centre for the Study of Cultural Development**, which shows promise in a future-oriented sense. Already having initiatives done in this field, such as the gastronomic map they published in 2010, they have an advantage in their familiarity with the subject matter (Zagorac, 2010, Eng. Translation by T.S.). Additionally, their aim to “collect information and documentation on culture, arts and media in Serbia and abroad” also leads one to believe that they have ties abroad that would also benefit any efforts made in the direction of gastronomy (“O Nama”, 2009, Eng. Translation by T.S.).

As all three institutes have their strengths one might also suggest a collaborative effort between the three, as their resources combined would most likely result in the strongest positive results. Nevertheless, if one were to be selected the Centre for the Study of Cultural Development would hold the strongest case for being delegated the obligation of promoting and protecting gastronomic cultural heritage.

This policy recommendation could have a positive influence on Serbia in both a cultural, economical, and political sense as it would assist in the introducing foreigners to a more systematic viewing of Serbian culture that greatly differs from the reputation is currently has, which is heavily based on media interpretations of the conflicts of the 1990’s.

Specifically, this policy would promote food by distributing it abroad as a form of cultural exchange. As we have researched, this has already been done through private efforts or embassies, but the lack of a clearly systematic inventiveness towards utilizing these resources to their full potential in the fields of cultural diplomacy and nation branding has left a gap in the sustainability aspect of the initiatives, allowing for the results to drift off without an impact on the current state of Serbia’s reputation. This is why it would be beneficial to **develop a regular gastronomic representation abroad through the embassies**. An example of this would be hosting an event where Serbian food is served on the National Day. With this effort the appearance of Serbia could be assisted; as Gordana Plamenac said, “the food and drink is always something that really gives a special picture of us and I can see that people are usually very pleasantly surprised and they walk out with at superficially changed attitudes towards us and our country. We should take that and work on it.”

Internally, **the designated institute(s) should encourage others that fall under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Culture to participate in the conservation and protection of Serbian gastronomy**. This can be done in a multitude of ways; a specific example is the open-air museum “Old Village” Sirogojno (“Staro Selo” Sirogojno), which has a tavern on its

property that promotes traditional dishes and foods. Their daily offer includes a variety of “cheese, kajmak, prosciutto, cheese pie, muffins, and other Zlatibor specialities” (“Krčma U Muzeju Na Otvorenom "Staro Selo" Sirogojno”, 2014, Eng. Translation by T.S.). Its presence offers not only an oral representation of regional culture, but also preserves the traditional food of Zlatibor and, in turn, Serbia. Following this example other institutes should establish their own forms of conserving Serbian gastronomy and together the culinary aspect of the national identity would be preserved.

By including this policy recommendation into the cultural policy of Serbia, the efforts made in the field of culture can expand to diplomatic efforts and expand the reputation of Serbia from a political sphere into one of novelty and diversity in the cultural sense, altering foreigners’ view of Serbia through introducing other aspects of Serbian identity. The success of the Kolo group that performed in Japan is just one example of the success of cultural exchange, and with the inclusion of food into these efforts as part of this new image of Serbia can greatly influence our cultural interaction with other nations, as well as open doors for further collaboration.

### **III. CONCLUSION**

A culture is comprised of narratives that perpetuate certain values and morals, and then channel them through media such as visual art, music, and theatre. This transmission can also be conducted through food and foodways, carrying these values through the process of sharing experiences and customs revolving around a meal. From nostalgia to lessons on life, the preparation and sharing of food has been essential in the education of young generations regarding a certain way of life. Today, this ‘word-of-bite’ has only survived in cultures that have solidified and protected their values throughout the development of their national gastronomy, whether through UNESCO labelling as cultural heritage or through becoming a widely recognized part of the tourist offer.

In the case of Serbia, this narrative acted as a cohesive social force, uniting neighbourhoods, villages, regions, and the nation, offering a sense of belonging and a sense of pride. The narrative found in Serbian gastronomy has been somewhat difficult to maintain because of its roots in various cuisines endemic to foreign nations. In historical settings in which Serbia was depicted in a negative context, many of the morals and values previously meticulously passed on through generations had faded into the background, as fear, anger, and a sense of a loss of identity came to the forefront. This resulted in negligible efforts to preserve the positive aspects of Serbian culture, and with little financing, those efforts bore little fruit. Today, tourism is on the rise in Serbia because of its newly acquired reputation as a nightlife and festival country. Finally, investors have begun to realize the potential of Serbia and what it has to offer on the international market. All this has somewhat opened the door for the revival of the narrative that has been reduced to a historical memory.

Serbia’s private, public and civil sectors have the capability to resurrect the positive narrative through a systematic approach to national gastronomy. Intersectorial initiatives should be established in order to strengthen Serbian gastronomy and its value, not only in an economic sense, but also in the context of national identity.

The primary goal of all relevant participants in this process should aim to prove the importance of Serbian gastronomy through the definition and protection of its national dishes. The Ethnographic Museum’s role as the leading institution for intangible heritage makes it the most suited for supporting the value of gastronomy as a form of heritage and as a channel for cultural narratives; the Central Institute for Conservation has expressed its determination to

protect elements of cultural heritage, implying its familiarity with patenting and its capability to protect national dishes through such means; the Centre for the Study of Cultural Development has already published a gastronomic map of Serbia, and with their expertise in the documentation of cultural elements, they are capable of retrieving and organizing data on Serbian cuisine; and finally, as has been presented in this thesis, NTOS' *Soulfood* campaign makes their participation vital through the marketing aspect of Serbian food. Together, these four parties, along with relevant private and civil sector representatives, could collaborate to establish a clear definition, certification, and finally utilization of Serbian gastronomy as a vehicle for promoting Serbian cultural values.

The members of the private sector dealing with the business aspect of gastronomy, as well as various relevant NGOs and government agencies could act jointly to produce a meaningful and substantial tourist offer based on the newly-defined Serbian gastronomy. This would range from establishing a form of branding (ex. locations offering *Soulfood* would carry a label certifying their validity), to food tours that would take visitors across the country. Food would be a gateway for introducing visitors to Serbian culture, as it calls for social events where the foodways reflect the positive values.

Such a structured approach is essential in, on the one hand, rebranding Serbian gastronomy and reviving its cultural narrative, and on the other, utilizing it in promoting Serbia's tourist attractions that revolve around food. Based on these positive experiences and values, Serbia's international reputation would be improved, and in turn, the sense of pride in Serbian culture and heritage reinforced in the country.

The following words of Jean Anthelme Brillat-Savarin reflect the relationship between cuisine and culture depicted in this thesis: "tell me what you eat and I will tell you what you are" (Brillat-Savarin). Food is one of the elements that both national and foreigners view as a positive aspect of Serbian culture, and with this in mind, the flavour of Serbia could become the gateway to understanding and familiarizing foreigners and younger generations in Serbia alike with the Serbian narrative that tells the tale of a nation beaming with a sense of pride in its cultural heritage. In this sense, Grandmother's recipes may well offer the best way forward.

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Food has been remarked by many as one of the most pleasurable components of Serbia's tourism, as seen in the surveys conducted for this thesis.

<sup>2</sup> Karadjordje's Schnitzel: Veal fillet rolled, stuffed with kajmak, and breaded

<sup>3</sup> Sljivovica: A plum rakija that is considered the Serbian national drink.

<sup>4</sup> Democracy Index: An index done by the Economist intelligence Unit that rates the state of democracy in 167 countries

<sup>5</sup> Corruption Perceptions Index: Done by Transparency International, which determines the perceived levels of corruption within a country.

<sup>6</sup> Jose Filipe Torres: He is considered the most renowned specialist today in country branding.

<sup>7</sup> Slava: A day of the year where a specific saint is celebrated. Each saint has his or her own day.

<sup>8</sup> Kafana: A restaurant/club typically holds a band playing folk music and serves drinks and Serbian food.

<sup>9</sup> Kobasice: Spicy sausages.

<sup>10</sup> Urnebes: Cheese mixed with chili powder.

<sup>11</sup> Kolo: The traditional dance of Serbia.

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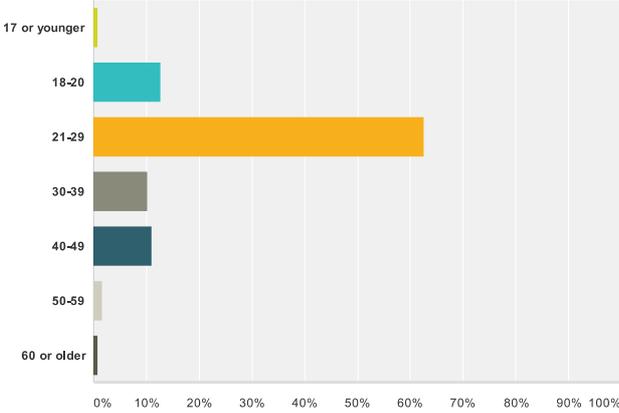
**APPENDICES**

**APPENDIX A: NATIONALS SURVEY**

**Serbia Locals Survey**

**Q1 Which category below includes your age?**

Answered: 118 Skipped: 2



Answer Choices	Responses	
17 or younger	0.85%	1
18-20	12.71%	15
21-29	62.71%	74
30-39	10.17%	12
40-49	11.02%	13
50-59	1.69%	2
60 or older	0.85%	1
<b>Total</b>		<b>118</b>

## Serbia Locals Survey

### Q2 What is your opinion on Serbia, the Serbian government, and its connection to you?

Answered: 64 Skipped: 56

#	Responses	Date
1	You dont wanna know :)	8/11/2014 3:31 PM
2	cool	8/11/2014 10:32 AM
3	Wonderful country with a lot of potential, but incompetent and corrupt politicians.	8/10/2014 3:59 AM
4	In what way?	8/9/2014 10:54 AM
5	I think Serbia is a wonderful country with a rich and complex history and national heritage and an enormous economic, military, touristic, industrial and agricultural potential. I think the Serbian government is a sham operating solely because Serbian everyday lives and their mentality is keeping them from tearing it down, despite their awareness of its ridiculous state. Paperwork is the only thing that currently connects me to the government, a very strong internal bond and love connects me to the country.	8/9/2014 1:42 AM
6	shit	8/8/2014 9:03 PM
7	I am frightened for Serbia, afraid of Serbian goverment and I am not sure anymore that I want to live here	8/8/2014 8:04 PM
8	I have no opinion, because if I had one it wouldn't change anything, it would just drive me crazy in the end, so I just live my own life and stay out of it.	8/8/2014 5:20 PM
9	small country with great potential that is unfortunately not used	8/8/2014 2:30 PM
10	Serbian government doesn't support culture in any way, the budgeting system is faulty, and I have not one good opinion about the government. All the politicians should work for free, just like in ancient Rome.	8/8/2014 1:43 PM
11	our government is quite pointless	8/8/2014 12:02 PM
12	Nemam emociju. Svjetlo ugašena odavno.	8/8/2014 10:59 AM
13	Public officials keep eroding citizens' trust in administration.	8/8/2014 9:59 AM
14	Inefficient, lazy, corrupt	8/8/2014 9:56 AM
15	Some country i was born in, no connection	8/8/2014 7:53 AM
16	I know very little about it, but it seems to be a huge chaos	8/8/2014 2:15 AM
17	Corrupted, does not care about me.	8/8/2014 1:59 AM
18	Disappointing	8/8/2014 1:14 AM
19	Sucks	8/8/2014 1:14 AM
20	Tasty	8/8/2014 1:13 AM
21	I have nothing nice to say about Serbian government	8/8/2014 1:09 AM
22	beatufull country, shittiest goverment, connection - roots	8/8/2014 12:57 AM
23	Serbian government is giving as illusion that they are really doing something to make ours lifes better, to fight with corruption, to open a new working positions, but in reality they are just talking and doing nothing. As a journalist who is covering politics I see there is a lot of censorship and autocensorship and I dont see way to stop that. I am not even a brave enough to fight againts that because I need a job, money to live. Also, I dont see my life is going in better way, i am still legally unemployed, working for small amount of money and I dont see perspective to deal with art and fulfil my working dream	8/8/2014 12:37 AM
24	what government?	8/7/2014 11:58 PM
25	In my opinion, the Serbian government has not done any significant change to its economy during the past few years, thus resulting in increase of unemployed citizens and lower wages, I do not like living in Serbia, and looking forward to moving to another country.	8/7/2014 11:36 PM
26	serbian goverment, common dude! serbia-one small republic in europe size of Indiana, characteristics as purgatory of old and non ambitious people that are psychologically stuck in limbo between fun and reckless youth and painful adulthood	8/7/2014 11:25 PM
27	Serbia is a good country, but goverment is bad.	8/7/2014 11:23 PM
28	je zi vi su, ne želim sa njima nikakvu konekciju	8/7/2014 11:19 PM
29	no connection, feeling helpless	8/7/2014 11:08 PM
30	I support and believe in the changes they're making. I also feel our citizens have more freedom than with the past governments.	8/7/2014 10:56 PM
31	Is it okay not to have one?	8/7/2014 10:54 PM
32	bad, no connection	8/7/2014 10:53 PM
33	I feel that there is no connection between me and the government of Serbia.	8/7/2014 10:49 PM
34	it's a bit conservative, but I like Serbia.	8/7/2014 10:49 PM
35	Can't wait to leave the country	8/7/2014 10:44 PM
36	The fields that are mostly connected to me are in a really bad condition in Serbian government.	8/7/2014 10:43 PM
37	Serbian and I love eachother, Serbian goverment and I hate eachother	8/7/2014 10:42 PM
38	Serbia has become morally unstable, the goverment is neglecant and selfish, I have lost most connection with	8/7/2014 10:41 PM
39	Serbia - overall positive with room for improvement; Serbian goverment - not a big fan of populist politicians (which are well represented in all political parties in Serbia)	8/7/2014 10:41 PM
40	Shit	8/7/2014 10:36 PM
41	I dont really care about formal representatives or institutions, i believe in "market rules" and "private sector", which is every year improving, and which really gives an opportunity for young and educated people, especially foreign companies. And that can be reflected on everything is Serbia, hoping and relying on foreign investors and their policy	8/7/2014 10:32 PM

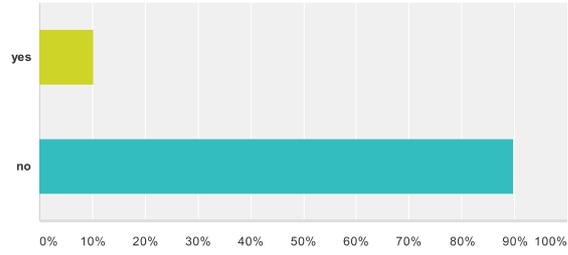
## Serbia Locals Survey

42	None	8/7/2014 10:32 PM
43	lack of responsibility	8/7/2014 10:31 PM
44	Unfortunately, there is no connection to me at all, or at least I don't see it.	8/7/2014 10:30 PM
45	no connection to me, populist government	8/7/2014 10:27 PM
46	I don't belong here anymore... But it's something mine forever!	8/7/2014 10:26 PM
47	We don't have any connection	8/7/2014 10:26 PM
48	dobri smo	8/7/2014 10:20 PM
49	no connection	8/7/2014 10:19 PM
50	ja glasam oni krađu	8/7/2014 10:19 PM
51	sranje	8/7/2014 10:19 PM
52	Sad	8/7/2014 10:19 PM
53	I feel that the system is working against me in almost all spheres of life	8/7/2014 10:18 PM
54	sucks	8/7/2014 10:16 PM
55	godawful	8/7/2014 10:15 PM
56	Poor, poor and poor.	8/7/2014 10:13 PM
57	Serbia is underdeveloped and corrupted country, Serbian Government lacks educated professionals, Life in Serbia enables me to feel free and do the work I love.	8/7/2014 10:12 PM
58	Jedino hrana valja	8/7/2014 10:12 PM
59	Cool	8/7/2014 10:12 PM
60	I love it, Government is as bad as all previous ones, do not feel any connection	8/7/2014 10:09 PM
61	i am disconnected from gov. it is not a service to citizens.	8/7/2014 10:08 PM
62	lots of food	8/7/2014 10:07 PM
63	I love it	8/7/2014 10:07 PM
64	The best country in the world! Burek!!	8/7/2014 10:07 PM

## Serbia Locals Survey

### Q3 Do you feel that culture is properly represented and maintained in governmental efforts?

Answered: 68 Skipped: 52



Answer Choices	Responses	
yes	10.29%	7
no	89.71%	61
<b>Total</b>		<b>68</b>

## Serbia Locals Survey

### Q4 What parts of culture do you feel are integral in your daily activities?

Answered: 60 Skipped: 60

#	Responses	Date
1	heritage, literature, new technologies	8/11/2014 3:31 PM
2	language	8/11/2014 10:32 AM
3	None, as I do not live in the country.	8/10/2014 3:59 AM
4	I find this question to be too vague for me to find a proper answer	8/9/2014 10:54 AM
5	Due to my line of work, every aspect of culture is integral.	8/9/2014 1:42 AM
6	All	8/9/2014 1:28 AM
7	art	8/8/2014 9:03 PM
8	Reading and music	8/8/2014 8:04 PM
9	Theatre, film, music	8/8/2014 5:20 PM
10	basic social interaction, music, film, all kinds of media	8/8/2014 2:30 PM
11	music, film	8/8/2014 1:43 PM
12	politeness, compassion, pragmatism	8/8/2014 12:02 PM
13	RTS2, napokon dobri prilozci iz kulture!	8/8/2014 10:59 AM
14	The bits that find its way in daily news.	8/8/2014 9:59 AM
15	Food, music, art, coffee	8/8/2014 9:56 AM
16	eat, sleep, take shit	8/8/2014 7:53 AM
17	social relations, hospitality	8/8/2014 2:15 AM
18	Foreign media culture	8/8/2014 1:59 AM
19	art & music, internet	8/8/2014 1:14 AM
20	Watching CNN, heroin intake	8/8/2014 1:13 AM
21	question not defined properly	8/8/2014 12:57 AM
22	medias, theatre	8/8/2014 12:37 AM
23	food and cinema	8/7/2014 11:58 PM
24	Music	8/7/2014 11:50 PM
25	I am currently living abroad and I feel like it is more than easy to recognize a fellow Serbian among other people. We have a distinct way of behaving.	8/7/2014 11:36 PM
26	slight laziness	8/7/2014 11:25 PM
27	Literature, music, visual arts,	8/7/2014 11:23 PM
28	film, pozorište, muzika, književnost, digitalna umetnost, fotografija	8/7/2014 11:19 PM
29	various	8/7/2014 11:08 PM
30	The culture of information, most of all.	8/7/2014 10:56 PM
31	I really don't understand	8/7/2014 10:54 PM
32	music mostly	8/7/2014 10:53 PM
33	Almost all of my daily activities are connected to culture.	8/7/2014 10:49 PM
34	Films and music	8/7/2014 10:49 PM
35	Music, mass media, architecture, film	8/7/2014 10:44 PM
36	Literature, Night of the Museum, all types of cultural events	8/7/2014 10:43 PM
37	Depends weather this question is posed in an anthropological, educational, artistic or colloquial manner but libraries, I am a fan of libraries.	8/7/2014 10:42 PM
38	Freedom of persecution based on false information	8/7/2014 10:41 PM
39	Art, theater, food	8/7/2014 10:41 PM
40	The food	8/7/2014 10:36 PM
41	Music, art	8/7/2014 10:32 PM
42	Music	8/7/2014 10:32 PM
43	film and tv, and opsta kultura	8/7/2014 10:31 PM
44	reading, if we could name it as a part of culture. Here I mean on cultural blogs, newspapers, critics etc.	8/7/2014 10:30 PM
45	literature, design	8/7/2014 10:27 PM
46	Music, theatre, photography, sport, listening, different foreign languages, literature, text books, clothing, food;-)	8/7/2014 10:26 PM
47	design	8/7/2014 10:26 PM
48	jebem izuvam	8/7/2014 10:20 PM
49	jedem pisam serem spavam	8/7/2014 10:19 PM

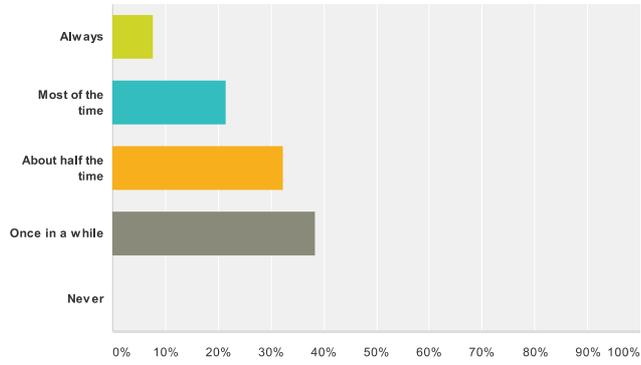
## Serbia Locals Survey

50	All parts, since I am professionally dealing with it. On daily bases mostly popular culture is present	8/7/2014 10:18 PM
51	language, history	8/7/2014 10:15 PM
52	Mu, Arts,general polite behaviour (socially, professionally, in trafic) and body culture - food, fitness, hygiene.	8/7/2014 10:13 PM
53	literature	8/7/2014 10:12 PM
54	Gibanica za dorucak pihitju veceram	8/7/2014 10:12 PM
55	Volim cvarke	8/7/2014 10:12 PM
56	hospitality	8/7/2014 10:09 PM
57	design and visual arts	8/7/2014 10:08 PM
58	burek	8/7/2014 10:07 PM
59	Burek	8/7/2014 10:07 PM
60	BUREK AJVAR!	8/7/2014 10:07 PM

## Serbia Locals Survey

### Q5 How often do you eat traditional Serbian dishes?

Answered: 65 Skipped: 55



Answer Choices	Responses
Always	7.69% 5
Most of the time	21.54% 14
About half the time	32.31% 21
Once in a while	38.46% 25
Never	0.00% 0
<b>Total</b>	<b>65</b>

## Serbia Locals Survey

### Q6 What dishes or foods would you say are Serbian?

Answered: 62 Skipped: 58

#	Responses	Date
1	This is tricky, as most of what we consider "traditionally Serbian" is in fact Turkish or Austro-Hungarian or Greek. Maybe ajvar, but I'm not sure	8/11/2014 3:33 PM
2	Gibanica, proja, podvarak, sama, ajvar, kajmak, cvarci, mlinci (Vojvodina), strudla sa makom, knedle sa sljivama...	8/10/2014 4:02 AM
3	Sama, punjene paprike, prebranac	8/9/2014 10:58 AM
4	It is difficult to say what is originally Serbian because of the Ottoman rule over Serbia and its influence. However, if Rakia is Romanian than sama is Serbian, and so on. Tracing the roots of foods in the Balkans is near impossible, and even then every country has its own slightly adapted version.	8/9/2014 1:46 AM
5	sama, pljeskavica	8/8/2014 9:04 PM
6	Beans, sama, ustipci, djuvec, spinat	8/8/2014 8:08 PM
7	sama, cevapi, pljeskavice, pečenje, punjene paprike, paprikaš, pihtije, ajvar, turšija	8/8/2014 5:23 PM
8	prebranac	8/8/2014 2:31 PM
9	none - they are either turkish or have influences from other cuisines	8/8/2014 1:45 PM
10	most of serbian dishes are adopted fro different cultures, due to turbulent history of Serbia, Yet my pesonal favorites are Sama, Buranija, Djuvech, Jagnjetina	8/8/2014 12:07 PM
11	Lepinja špretopom	8/8/2014 12:02 PM
12	Ajvar	8/8/2014 11:01 AM
13	Don't really know.	8/8/2014 10:02 AM
14	Sama, gibanica, prebranac, sve ispod sace, kajmak, rakija, itd	8/8/2014 9:59 AM
15	burek, proja, prsuta, kajmak	8/8/2014 2:17 AM
16	Sama, ajvar	8/8/2014 2:01 AM
17	Kajmak, pasulj	8/8/2014 1:17 AM
18	None	8/8/2014 1:15 AM
19	Sama, Gibanica, Cevapi, Burek	8/8/2014 1:15 AM
20	Sama, gibanica	8/8/2014 1:11 AM
21	Not many, I'd say almost all of the dishes were taken over, through the course of history, from other cultures	8/8/2014 1:00 AM
22	sama, pita, roštilj, cevapi	8/8/2014 12:41 AM
23	Ajvar, kajmak, cvarci	8/8/2014 12:04 AM
24	Sama	8/7/2014 11:39 PM
25	not sure, but sama is cool one, but is considered as balkan dish, not quiet sure what is unique serbian food, most of them are leftovers from turks	8/7/2014 11:27 PM
26	same, cevapi, pite, proja, kačamak, kajmak, pasulj, cevapi, pljeskavice itd, punjene paprike/tikvice, gulaš, đuveč, musaka, prebranac, paprikaš, podvarak, pihtije, kupus (kuvani), čvarci, ajvar	8/7/2014 11:24 PM
27	I believe that there is no pure national dish, but more adaptation or local upgrade of regional	8/7/2014 11:10 PM
28	Cevapi, Burek, Same, — and yet i know non of this are really serbian	8/7/2014 11:04 PM
29	Only pork kebab is exclusively Serbian that I know of but many dishes and foods are considered Serbian like sama, kajmak, sweet cabbage, liquid yogurt, ajvar, pilav, rolled steak of sweetbread.	8/7/2014 10:56 PM
30	Gibanica, sama, podvarak, djuvec...	8/7/2014 10:56 PM
31	Anything that my grandparents regularly make	8/7/2014 10:56 PM
32	don,t know actually,in fact it's turkish dishes	8/7/2014 10:55 PM
33	Cevapi and pita	8/7/2014 10:50 PM
34	sama	8/7/2014 10:46 PM
35	Cvarci	8/7/2014 10:43 PM
36	Sama, gibanica, proja	8/7/2014 10:41 PM
37	Sama	8/7/2014 10:37 PM
38	Gulash (i don't really think it's hungarian), sama, prshuta, sir ( domaci kravjji), karadjordjeva snicla..	8/7/2014 10:36 PM
39	Proja, kačamak, kajmak, Karadordeva šnicla, češke, prebranac a la my aunt-)	8/7/2014 10:35 PM
40	Kajmak, ajvar, sama i cevapi (iako znam da su turskog porekla) ali i jagnjetina u saču, pršut	8/7/2014 10:34 PM
41	Pljeskavica	8/7/2014 10:33 PM
42	prebranac, sama, kiseli kupus, ribanac, pihtije	8/7/2014 10:31 PM
43	sama, prebranac, muckalica	8/7/2014 10:29 PM
44	Proja, ajvar	8/7/2014 10:28 PM
45	most of the 'serbian' dishes originate from traditional turkish cuisine so i would have to say that i am not quite sure whats proper serbian food and what is not	8/7/2014 10:23 PM
46	Ajvar, punjena paprika, sama (although I know it is Turkish), rakija, pragnje	8/7/2014 10:23 PM

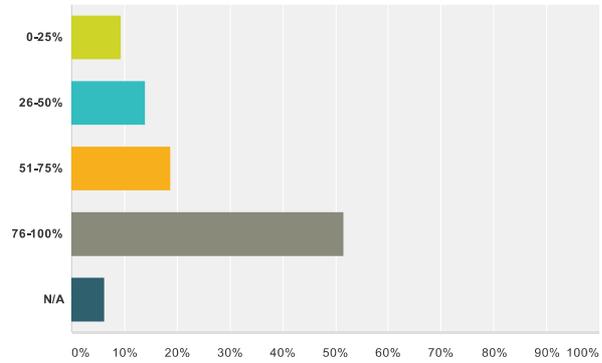
## Serbia Locals Survey

47	Cmarci	8/7/2014 10:23 PM
48	sarma od kupusa, sarma od zelja, rol virsla	8/7/2014 10:22 PM
49	Paprikaš	8/7/2014 10:20 PM
50	Sarma	8/7/2014 10:19 PM
51	sarma	8/7/2014 10:18 PM
52	Sarma, pasulj, proja, Kajmak paprike u pavlaci, pecene paprike, punjene paprike - susene ili ne, Pogace.	8/7/2014 10:17 PM
53	sarma, proja	8/7/2014 10:16 PM
54	sarma, cevapi, depends on how you define that	8/7/2014 10:16 PM
55	Zaprka, pomije, sushi i iki bar	8/7/2014 10:14 PM
56	Zahuska, Pomije, Sushi iz Ikki Bara	8/7/2014 10:14 PM
57	gibanica and pasulj	8/7/2014 10:13 PM
58	karadjordjeva snicla, djuvec, kavurma, muckalica, prebranac, sataras	8/7/2014 10:11 PM
59	Prebranac, podvarak	8/7/2014 10:10 PM
60	burek	8/7/2014 10:08 PM
61	Burek	8/7/2014 10:08 PM
62	BUREK AJVAR JA VOLIM	8/7/2014 10:08 PM

## Serbia Locals Survey

**Q7 If you prepare Serbian meals at home, what percentage of the recipes are from older family members?**

Answered: 64 Skipped: 56

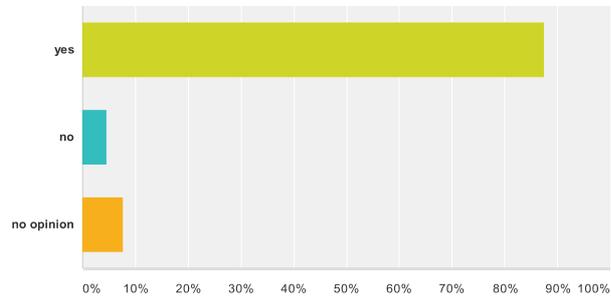


Answer Choices	Responses	Count
0-25%	9.38%	6
26-50%	14.06%	9
51-75%	18.75%	12
76-100%	51.56%	33
N/A	6.25%	4
<b>Total</b>		<b>64</b>

## Serbia Locals Survey

### Q8 Do you think food plays an important role in Serbian identity?

Answered: 64 Skipped: 56



Answer Choices	Responses
yes	87.50% 56
no	4.69% 3
no opinion	7.81% 5
<b>Total</b>	<b>64</b>

## Serbia Locals Survey

### Q9 How do you think Serbian food is perceived by visitors? Do you think it plays a role in how Serbia is viewed by tourists?

Answered: 59 Skipped: 61

#	Responses	Date
1	It is my experience that visitors enjoy our food	8/11/2014 3:33 PM
2	Yes, it is one of the things people like the most about Serbia, Food is also a very important way in which we express our hospitality, so it plays a major role in how the country and the culture are perceived.	8/10/2014 4:02 AM
3	The feedback i get from my foreign friends is usually positive. Absolutely, I think food plays a major role in creating a tourist's opinion on the country	8/9/2014 10:58 AM
4	It has a very good reputation which is something it will keep because the food is so good and never disappoints, Unfortunately with expanding and growth of the cities comes degradation of the traditional, We'll see.	8/9/2014 1:47 AM
5	Rich, strong, organic, things rarely seen in he West, and gives westemers an impression of a wealthy society.	8/9/2014 1:46 AM
6	Yes, it plays a big role.	8/8/2014 9:04 PM
7	As tasty, strong but poor in some ways, I actually think wong kind of food is represented as Serbian food, Visitor might we of opinion that we live of bbq what is not true - who's mom is making cevapi once a week??	8/8/2014 8:08 PM
8	Yes, and I think that is good because, to be fair, there's no place where you can eat as good as you can in Serbia (and quite cheap, too!)	8/8/2014 5:23 PM
9	somewhat	8/8/2014 2:31 PM
10	too much meat, no, i think drinking is perceived more of a serbian thing...	8/8/2014 1:45 PM
11	Food, just as food, not so much; but the culture of eating and the way food is prepared, distributed around the table, and the quantity of food consumed definitely leaves good memories.	8/8/2014 12:07 PM
12	Obozavaju je svaki stranac!	8/8/2014 11:01 AM
13	Rich in flavor, And quantity.	8/8/2014 10:02 AM
14	Everyone loves Serbian food because it's like soul food and it's slow cooked. It definitely helps tourists or foreigners understand the culture	8/8/2014 9:59 AM
15	definitely! it is the first thing all the foreign visitors mention about the time spent in serbia	8/8/2014 2:17 AM
16	I believe tourists like Serbian bbq, and not much of the traditional meals. I do not think it does.	8/8/2014 2:01 AM
17	Yes, they enjoy food in Serbia	8/8/2014 1:17 AM
18	I'm not entirely equipped to think, but yes, food is good.	8/8/2014 1:15 AM
19	Yes, very much	8/8/2014 1:15 AM
20	delicious but also very heavy, I'm not sure if it effects how tourists see us	8/8/2014 1:11 AM
21	Serbian food is perceived like something of a cultural heritage, thus it plays a certain role on how tourists percieve our culture.	8/8/2014 1:00 AM
22	Most of the foreigners like our food. It is cheap, delicious and and it is part of our multicultural identity	8/8/2014 12:41 AM
23	Two major reasons for foreigners who are choosing Serbia to visit are food and night life	8/8/2014 12:04 AM
24	Very much. Comparing to other countries, our food is more rich. Everyone know about our several most popular dishes.	8/7/2014 11:39 PM
25	as i said, i dont think tourist differentiate Serbian, from bosnian, from macedonian, bulgarian, romanian..	8/7/2014 11:27 PM
26	definitivno, uvek su svi oduševljeni hranom (sem vegetarijanaca :)	8/7/2014 11:24 PM
27	Yes, tasty	8/7/2014 11:10 PM
28	Food always plays a big role. I would have to say that Serbian food, in the way it is made and its ingredients, must leave the tourist feeling like we are a poor nation both materially and culturally. (elaboration: Same: cooked until all the vitamins have evaporated; Salads: krstavac i so is under salads in every Serbian menu) However, if the tourists would get there food from the open markets they might be delighted to see just how organic and fresh Serbian food can be.	8/7/2014 11:04 PM
29	They never say... mouths too full with Serbian food. Serbian cuisine is perceived as strong, spicy and fulfilling. I think that tourists like Serbian food and that the cuisine is a big plus in the Serbian tourist offer.	8/7/2014 10:56 PM
30	Some people find it delicious, some cultures heavy and unhealthy. I think it does play a role on how Serbia is viewed by tourists.	8/7/2014 10:56 PM
31	It does, and it's perceived as mostly meaty food.	8/7/2014 10:56 PM
32	yes, a lot	8/7/2014 10:55 PM
33	it's full of fat	8/7/2014 10:50 PM
34	Everyone is excited to try something new, thus praise the foods that they eat here	8/7/2014 10:46 PM
35	Serbian food is perceived well bu visitors, but it's role isn't very important.	8/7/2014 10:43 PM
36	In a nutshell, large portions, tasty tomatoes and lots of meat.	8/7/2014 10:41 PM
37	Yes, it is delicious	8/7/2014 10:37 PM
38	Absolutely!!!! I think they are amazed and that the food us crucial for foreign perception	8/7/2014 10:36 PM
39	It does indeed! They are mostly amazed...	8/7/2014 10:35 PM
40	da, tako se na neki nacin upoznaju sa nasim mentalitetom, nasom gastonomijom koja iako nije brend u svetu, ima potencijal da to postane	8/7/2014 10:34 PM
41	Open and friendly	8/7/2014 10:33 PM
42	It definitely plays a role! If culture cannot, food does it, for sure.	8/7/2014 10:31 PM

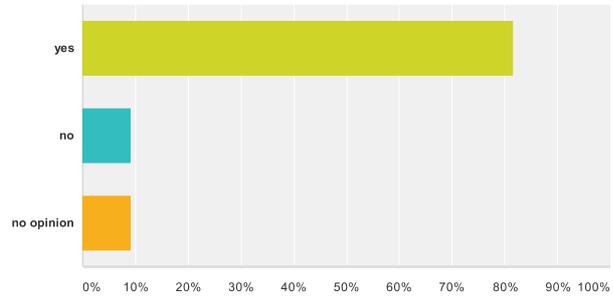
## Serbia Locals Survey

43	They like it and happy to try Serbian meals. Definitely.	8/7/2014 10:29 PM
44	Yes, Food is heavy,lot of meat	8/7/2014 10:28 PM
45	i reckon it plays a vital role since most of my foreign friends who visited serbia first and foremost reflect on its food and clubbing	8/7/2014 10:23 PM
46	They see it as greasy, heavy, full of meat, but they are amazed with the low prices and good quality of fruits and vegetables, But all in all they see it as welcoming. I think it does play an important role in how Serbia is viewed by tourists,	8/7/2014 10:23 PM
47	Yes	8/7/2014 10:23 PM
48	samo u sarajevu bolji burek	8/7/2014 10:22 PM
49	It's different, which is why it is interesting to visitors,	8/7/2014 10:20 PM
50	They usually really like it, It plays a role and it's underrated.	8/7/2014 10:17 PM
51	definitely, they think it is awesome	8/7/2014 10:16 PM
52	Extra	8/7/2014 10:14 PM
53	Gorusca	8/7/2014 10:14 PM
54	rich and heavy	8/7/2014 10:13 PM
55	IT is one of the main reasons people come to Serbia so it is very important, Unless you are a vegetarian you will be very satisfied	8/7/2014 10:11 PM
56	Size of portions is key feature, Focus on meat is a weakness	8/7/2014 10:10 PM
57	tourists love pekara and pljeka, love goes thru stomach	8/7/2014 10:08 PM
58	Tourists like burek	8/7/2014 10:08 PM
59	BUREK tourist love.. Love making to BUREK	8/7/2014 10:08 PM

## Serbia Locals Survey

### Q10 Do you think food should be used in cultural diplomacy and tourism efforts made by the government?

Answered: 65 Skipped: 55



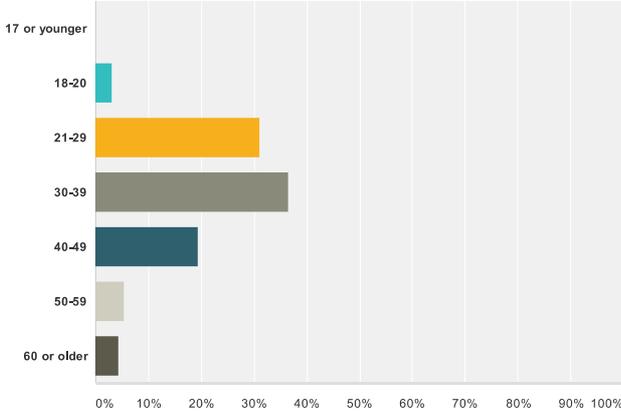
Answer Choices	Responses	
yes	81.54%	53
no	9.23%	6
no opinion	9.23%	6
<b>Total</b>		<b>65</b>

APPENDIX B: FOREIGNERS SURVEY

Foreigners Survey

Q1 Which category below includes your age?

Answered: 93 Skipped: 0



Answer Choices	Responses	
17 or younger	0.00%	0
18-20	3.23%	3
21-29	31.18%	29
30-39	36.56%	34
40-49	19.35%	18
50-59	5.38%	5
60 or older	4.30%	4
<b>Total</b>		<b>93</b>

## Foreigners Survey

### Q2 How long were you in Serbia? (mm/yy - mm/yy)

Answered: 88 Skipped: 5

#	Responses	Date
1	06/01 - 07/10	8/15/2014 2:06 PM
2	04-2013 - Today	8/15/2014 4:47 AM
3	04/2010 - 04.2010	8/14/2014 10:25 PM
4	06/14 -	8/14/2014 8:48 PM
5	2 years.	8/14/2014 8:26 PM
6	05/01-03/10	8/14/2014 8:25 PM
7	11/05-08/14	8/14/2014 7:48 PM
8	11 years	8/14/2014 7:27 PM
9	12/2007-08/2013	8/14/2014 3:40 PM
10	10/11-08/14	8/14/2014 3:28 PM
11	11/10 - 08/14 on and off	8/14/2014 3:16 PM
12	10 months	8/14/2014 2:40 PM
13	07/14 - 08/14	8/14/2014 2:29 PM
14	06/14 - 08/14	8/14/2014 1:43 PM
15	08/01-10/03	8/14/2014 1:10 PM
16	11/2013-4/2014	8/14/2014 12:53 PM
17	12/2002-present	8/14/2014 12:51 PM
18	2004 - 2011	8/14/2014 12:28 PM
19	08/2011-?	8/14/2014 11:55 AM
20	03/2006 - present	8/14/2014 10:49 AM
21	08/08-06/12	8/14/2014 10:25 AM
22	11/2013-08/2014	8/14/2014 10:20 AM
23	multiple visits last two years	8/14/2014 10:17 AM
24	05.2010 til now	8/14/2014 10:03 AM
25	2006-2014	8/14/2014 9:11 AM
26	09/10-05/12 and 09/13-now	8/14/2014 9:10 AM
27	04/07 - 08/14	8/14/2014 9:01 AM
28	3 Years	8/14/2014 8:54 AM
29	04/14-09/14	8/14/2014 8:51 AM
30	06/01/06 - 15/08/14	8/14/2014 8:24 AM
31	9 years	8/14/2014 7:21 AM
32	03/10 - 08/14	8/14/2014 7:05 AM
33	05/13-08/14	8/14/2014 4:03 AM
34	03/13-08/14	8/14/2014 2:39 AM
35	04/14 - 08/14	8/14/2014 2:31 AM
36	7 weeks	8/14/2014 1:49 AM
37	04/13-04/14	8/14/2014 1:22 AM
38	09/06 - 08/14	8/14/2014 1:10 AM
39	07/08-now	8/14/2014 12:24 AM
40	6 years	8/13/2014 11:34 PM
41	09/09-08/14	8/13/2014 11:17 PM
42	01/2005 -	8/13/2014 11:15 PM
43	2 months every year	8/13/2014 11:14 PM
44	07/2011-8/2014	8/13/2014 10:58 PM
45	09/06-08//14	8/13/2014 10:57 PM
46	23/07-30/08	8/13/2014 10:43 PM
47	02/2009 until now	8/13/2014 10:31 PM
48	2008-2014	8/13/2014 10:29 PM
49	01/02 - 08/14	8/13/2014 10:23 PM
50	08/2012 - 08/2-2012	8/13/2014 10:23 PM
51	12/10-present day	8/13/2014 10:22 PM

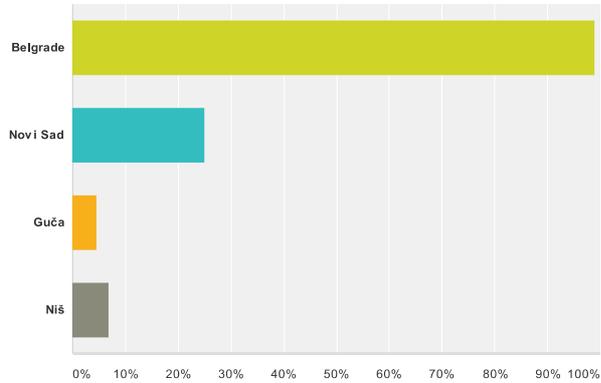
## Foreigners Survey

52	01/07 - 06/10	8/13/2014 10:16 PM
53	09/2011 - 07/2014	8/13/2014 10:12 PM
54	06/12 - 08/14	8/13/2014 10:11 PM
55	08/12-08/14	8/13/2014 10:11 PM
56	11/11- current	8/13/2014 10:11 PM
57	5 years	8/13/2014 10:06 PM
58	Jan 2014 until now	8/13/2014 10:05 PM
59	10 years+	8/13/2014 10:04 PM
60	05/12-present	8/13/2014 10:04 PM
61	07/05 - 08/14	8/13/2014 10:01 PM
62	06/06- 08/04	8/13/2014 9:58 PM
63	1 week	8/13/2014 4:21 PM
64	5 days	8/13/2014 3:40 PM
65	12/12-12/12	8/13/2014 3:20 PM
66	01/12-07/14	8/13/2014 3:00 PM
67	All summers between 2010-2012	8/13/2014 1:44 PM
68	08-11 - 08-11	8/13/2014 1:23 PM
69	Ten days	8/13/2014 1:12 PM
70	07/10-07/10	8/13/2014 1:07 PM
71	09/9/13-10/4/13 and 05/24/14-06/4/14	8/13/2014 1:01 PM
72	9,2011-5,2014	8/13/2014 12:31 PM
73	12/13-12/13	8/13/2014 12:26 PM
74	07/13-07/13	8/13/2014 12:21 PM
75	10 years	8/13/2014 11:52 AM
76	3/2	8/13/2014 11:12 AM
77	09/2013-08/2014	8/13/2014 10:45 AM
78	09/2013 - 04/2014	8/13/2014 10:04 AM
79	02/10-08/14	8/12/2014 9:32 PM
80	05/14-06/14	8/12/2014 8:32 PM
81	09/13-07/14	8/12/2014 7:50 PM
82	08/04-08/08	8/12/2014 7:40 PM
83	oct 2013-june 2014	8/12/2014 7:23 PM
84	08/97 - 10/98 & 08/02 - 07/07	8/12/2014 7:20 PM
85	1999	8/12/2014 7:04 PM
86	05/14-06/14	8/12/2014 6:57 PM
87	08/11 - 12/11	8/12/2014 6:52 PM
88	12/2012 - 08/2014	8/12/2014 6:41 PM

## Foreigners Survey

### Q3 Where were you in Serbia? (choose one or more answers)

Answered: 88 Skipped: 5



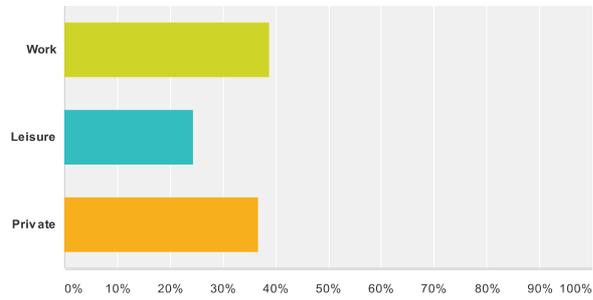
Answer Choices	Responses
Belgrade	98.86% 87
Novi Sad	25.00% 22
Guča	4.55% 4
Niš	6.82% 6
<b>Total Respondents: 88</b>	

#	Other (please specify)	Date
1	Smederevska Palanka	8/14/2014 7:48 PM
2	Sombor, Subotica, Vrsac, Zlatibor, Kopaonik, the list goes on	8/14/2014 10:49 AM
3	I visited almost every major city in Serbia.	8/14/2014 10:25 AM
4	and Kosovo for 7 years.	8/14/2014 9:11 AM
5	Kacarevo	8/14/2014 8:51 AM
6	Various towns throughout Serbia and region	8/14/2014 8:24 AM
7	Bor, Slativor, Backa Palanka, Čačak, Sremska Mitrovica, Celarevo, Mladenovac, Soko Banja	8/14/2014 2:39 AM
8	krusevac	8/13/2014 11:15 PM
9	Kragujevac	8/13/2014 11:14 PM
10	Čačak	8/13/2014 10:58 PM
11	Vranje	8/13/2014 10:31 PM
12	Sombor	8/13/2014 10:11 PM
13	Novi Pazar, Vranje, Presevo, Zlatibor, Subotica, everywhere except Guca.	8/13/2014 10:04 PM
14	Ruma	8/13/2014 10:01 PM
15	India	8/13/2014 1:12 PM
16	Kraljevo, Topola	8/13/2014 10:45 AM
17	Leskovac, Mionica, krusevac, jagodina	8/12/2014 7:50 PM

## Foreigners Survey

### Q4 What were your reasons for coming to Serbia?

Answered: 90 Skipped: 3



Answer Choices	Responses
Work	38.89% 35
Leisure	24.44% 22
Private	36.67% 33
<b>Total</b>	<b>90</b>

## Foreigners Survey

### Q5 What were your specific reasons to choose to come to Serbia? (i.e. recommendation, event location, general interest, etc.)

Answered: 81 Skipped: 12

#	Responses	Date
1	Family heritage	8/15/2014 2:06 PM
2	Meeting friends from Belgrade	8/14/2014 10:25 PM
3	Work	8/14/2014 8:48 PM
4	The poon,	8/14/2014 8:26 PM
5	family	8/14/2014 8:25 PM
6	marriage	8/14/2014 7:48 PM
7	if there was no private reason, I would never come to Serbia, Only a weekend partying could be the reason for me to come to Serbia if not private reason.	8/14/2014 7:27 PM
8	General interest	8/14/2014 3:28 PM
9	my partner now wife	8/14/2014 3:16 PM
10	Last minute call for voluntary service	8/14/2014 2:40 PM
11	my girlfriend lives in Serbia	8/14/2014 2:29 PM
12	Job	8/14/2014 1:43 PM
13	Family	8/14/2014 1:10 PM
14	Roots	8/14/2014 12:53 PM
15	family ties	8/14/2014 12:51 PM
16	Expatriate	8/14/2014 12:28 PM
17	Grounding a IT-Company, Developers & Co, which have deeper Salary that in Swiss, Nice City, nice Womans, nice Go-Out... :)	8/14/2014 11:55 AM
18	Was offered a job in the country by an international firm	8/14/2014 10:49 AM
19	My father came here to work,	8/14/2014 10:25 AM
20	I have friends here	8/14/2014 10:20 AM
21	Girlfriend lives in Belgrade	8/14/2014 10:17 AM
22	work	8/14/2014 10:03 AM
23	Work and general interest.	8/14/2014 9:11 AM
24	work	8/14/2014 9:10 AM
25	Had no say in the matter	8/14/2014 8:54 AM
26	Meetings	8/14/2014 8:51 AM
27	work	8/14/2014 8:24 AM
28	Came here by accident (missed the train to Sarajevo) and fell in love ... and stayed.	8/14/2014 7:05 AM
29	Moving with my husband who is serbian for a sabbatical.	8/14/2014 2:39 AM
30	Interest in the country, looking for work, and because my fiance is from Belgrade	8/14/2014 2:31 AM
31	To be with my partner.	8/14/2014 1:49 AM
32	event location, love, education	8/14/2014 1:22 AM
33	To be an ex-patriot and teach English as a foreign language	8/14/2014 1:10 AM
34	Love	8/14/2014 12:24 AM
35	by recommendation	8/13/2014 11:57 PM
36	I came from work so it was their choice to send me!	8/13/2014 11:34 PM
37	Was studying serbia	8/13/2014 11:17 PM
38	My wife is Serbian	8/13/2014 11:14 PM
39	I chose to come to Serbia to visit my husband's family back in 2011 and because of different situations we decided to stay till we find another country to settle, most likely in Western Europe. In short reason: love.	8/13/2014 10:58 PM
40	Better than Lagos..	8/13/2014 10:57 PM
41	I had been before and I like it, Visit friends who live here	8/13/2014 10:43 PM
42	Relationship	8/13/2014 10:31 PM
43	job	8/13/2014 10:29 PM
44	New market	8/13/2014 10:23 PM
45	relatives	8/13/2014 10:23 PM
46	I came because the prices were low and the pussy was hot. Unfortunately now I have learned that Serbian women have mental problems and sexuality issues(they want to have a penis)	8/13/2014 10:16 PM
47	Lived there for work.	8/13/2014 10:12 PM

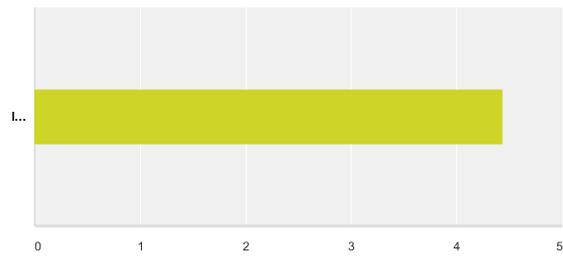
## Foreigners Survey

48	Nikola Tesla Museum, Serbian people, Yugoslavia history.	8/13/2014 10:11 PM
49	Work required it,	8/13/2014 10:11 PM
50	Work	8/13/2014 10:11 PM
51	marriage!	8/13/2014 10:06 PM
52	Marriage	8/13/2014 10:05 PM
53	Work, scholarship, volunteer activity	8/13/2014 10:04 PM
54	job	8/13/2014 10:04 PM
55	Husband is serbian and we met in Malta and decided to make Serbia our home	8/13/2014 10:01 PM
56	Change of lifestyle	8/13/2014 9:58 PM
57	Daughters wedding	8/13/2014 4:21 PM
58	Recommendation, general interest	8/13/2014 3:40 PM
59	One of my best friends lives there plus we went there to recruit students. It is an awesome place.	8/13/2014 3:20 PM
60	Marriage and work	8/13/2014 3:00 PM
61	General interest + visiting family	8/13/2014 1:44 PM
62	Guce music festival, serbian culture	8/13/2014 1:23 PM
63	Recommendation of a friend working in Serbia	8/13/2014 1:12 PM
64	Recommendation	8/13/2014 1:07 PM
65	1st trip tourist, 2nd trip wedding	8/13/2014 1:01 PM
66	general interest	8/13/2014 12:31 PM
67	Recommendation and general interest	8/13/2014 12:26 PM
68	Fucking bad bitches	8/13/2014 12:21 PM
69	family	8/13/2014 11:52 AM
70	general interest	8/13/2014 11:12 AM
71	UNESCO Chair Master in Cultural Policy General Interest for the region	8/13/2014 10:45 AM
72	Strong interest about Balkan history and culture	8/13/2014 10:04 AM
73	i got tricked, just kidding, Family!	8/12/2014 9:32 PM
74	Sister getting married.	8/12/2014 8:32 PM
75	Daughter of an expat worker	8/12/2014 7:40 PM
76	Study	8/12/2014 7:23 PM
77	Father's job took us there in 1997 and back again in 2002. Loved it when we first lived there in the 90's and was very excited about moving back!	8/12/2014 7:20 PM
78	Solidarity with the Serbs	8/12/2014 7:04 PM
79	A sister's wedding brought me to Serbia.	8/12/2014 6:57 PM
80	I went for a weekend to go to two international high schools to promote The American University of Rome, visit a new city, try new foods and walk around. A friend (Tanja) told me about Belgrade a lot so I knew I wanted to see the city!	8/12/2014 6:52 PM
81	I like the crazy people	8/12/2014 6:41 PM

## Foreigners Survey

### Q6 Rate your impression of Serbia

Answered: 78 Skipped: 15



	Hated it	Disliked it	Neutral	Liked it	Loved it	Total	Average Rating
I...	0.00% 0	2.56% 2	8.97% 7	30.77% 24	57.69% 45	78	4.44

## Foreigners Survey

### Q7 What are the most memorable aspects of the culture?

Answered: 75 Skipped: 18

#	Responses	Date
1	We went to the castle on a hill above Belgrade, that was very nice	8/14/2014 10:27 PM
2	Humour social	8/14/2014 8:49 PM
3	The poon,	8/14/2014 8:26 PM
4	Loud & prod	8/14/2014 7:50 PM
5	really nice and welcoming people	8/14/2014 3:42 PM
6	Sociability, pleasure-seeking, black humor	8/14/2014 3:29 PM
7	Not sure	8/14/2014 3:19 PM
8	"Culture" as such is a way too general and broad question to answer."What sense do u mean? norms, values, customs, history, contemporary lifestyle, gastronomy, heritage etc... I got familiarized with a tiny layer of urban educated young people in Belgrade city that was very similar to my own city's cultural scen. Reconsider this question.	8/14/2014 2:47 PM
9	nice old buildings, nice monuments and wonderful churches	8/14/2014 2:31 PM
10	kafana culture, festivals	8/14/2014 1:46 PM
11	The distinct Balkan pride	8/14/2014 1:12 PM
12	Hospitality and food	8/14/2014 12:54 PM
13	I feel the Socialism. The "free" thinking is limited. Much Peoples are not open or have Problems to accept others (Gay Peoples, Poor Peoples, etc.)	8/14/2014 11:59 AM
14	Educated people, solidarity, national identity, friendliness	8/14/2014 10:52 AM
15	The food, the people, the nightlife!	8/14/2014 10:26 AM
16	People are very relaxed	8/14/2014 10:21 AM
17	willingness to have fun	8/14/2014 10:04 AM
18	Many things, Serbia has a rich history, and has had many of its citizens make spectacular contributions to the world, Ivo Andric, Nikola Tesla, Mileva Einstein, Josip Broz Tito. What sticks out to me is the genuine unwavering pride that Serbian's have for their culture and their history. It sounds simple, but that isn't a trait shared in most other countries,	8/14/2014 9:18 AM
19	green markets everywhere Friendly people	8/14/2014 9:15 AM
20	Music, food, drink, humor	8/14/2014 9:13 AM
21	The food, atmosphere and architecture	8/14/2014 8:53 AM
22	contradictions in everything	8/14/2014 8:26 AM
23	Open and friendly people... and FOOD!	8/14/2014 7:07 AM
24	food	8/14/2014 4:04 AM
25	The food actually, and the hospitality of people. I got to experience several djas and the food was amazing and got the conversation going as a foreigner trying new stuff. I also like the architecture and the art in general.	8/14/2014 2:48 AM
26	The mixing of influences from so many directions and traditions,	8/14/2014 2:32 AM
27	The music in the restaurants	8/14/2014 1:50 AM
28	nightlife and coffees	8/14/2014 1:25 AM
29	Love for food, drinking, and partying. Smoking, even around kids, even inside enclosed apartments without ventilation,	8/14/2014 12:28 AM
30	Nikola Tesla museum	8/14/2014 12:00 AM
31	stubborn and curious people	8/13/2014 11:38 PM
32	People, language, food, national psyche	8/13/2014 11:19 PM
33	Slow life - Food - People	8/13/2014 11:18 PM
34	Majority of my husband's family are humble and they love to express their love through food. Most of the traditional events I've participated involves food.	8/13/2014 11:17 PM
35	People	8/13/2014 10:57 PM
36	The openness of people, the positive opinions they have, not taking war and politics as serious issues	8/13/2014 10:45 PM
37	Ceca Usce, Guca, ...	8/13/2014 10:42 PM
38	love to be outdoors	8/13/2014 10:31 PM
39	trubaci music, food and many different type of events.	8/13/2014 10:29 PM
40	The people	8/13/2014 10:24 PM
41	Getting shitfaced on Rakija.	8/13/2014 10:17 PM
42	Very welcoming and friendly people	8/13/2014 10:16 PM
43	Very welcoming people.	8/13/2014 10:13 PM
44	The friendly people.	8/13/2014 10:13 PM
45	friendly, love children	8/13/2014 10:12 PM
46	Pink Television, Minimaks, Ceca, turbofolk, starogradske pesme, kafane, splavovi, Dzej.	8/13/2014 10:08 PM

## Foreigners Survey

47	religion,dances,food	8/13/2014 10:08 PM
48	hospitality and weather	8/13/2014 10:05 PM
49	the welcoming attitude of the people	8/13/2014 10:02 PM
50	Still has values	8/13/2014 9:59 PM
51	People	8/13/2014 4:26 PM
52	How people are so sociable and open (maybe just to foreigners)	8/13/2014 3:49 PM
53	The fact you could still smoke everywhere	8/13/2014 3:21 PM
54	History sense of humour	8/13/2014 3:00 PM
55	Hospitality of the locals, their unfamiliarity and fascination with foreign nationals, particularly those from foreign nations, their vibrant (often rampant football culture), their love of fun, not to mention the outward beauty and physical attractiveness of the natives,	8/13/2014 1:49 PM
56	Hospitality and friendliness	8/13/2014 1:24 PM
57	1/ The people we met 2/ The outdoors 3/ The atmosphere: More approachable than western Europe	8/13/2014 1:13 PM
58	Independent industriousness	8/13/2014 1:11 PM
59	Food, party, scenery, football culture	8/13/2014 1:09 PM
60	The local food	8/13/2014 12:36 PM
61	architecture, traditional events, food,	8/13/2014 12:36 PM
62	Bitches	8/13/2014 12:22 PM
63	cigarettes, medovaca	8/13/2014 11:53 AM
64	history, traditions, hospitality, Orthodoxy, language...	8/13/2014 11:28 AM
65	Food, mixed traditions that seem to be shared over a large territory.	8/13/2014 10:55 AM
66	Yugoslavian heritage	8/13/2014 10:27 AM
67	contrasts, extremes,	8/13/2014 3:14 AM
68	Leisurely vibe, very friendly people.	8/12/2014 8:34 PM
69	Food, women	8/12/2014 7:51 PM
70	The joie de vivre of local people and the atmosphere it creates	8/12/2014 7:42 PM
71	The language, the music	8/12/2014 7:25 PM
72	Without a doubt the people. Open, lively, and far friendlier than most I had encountered anywhere else in Europe. Always had a nice place or dish to recommend. Food is also a very memorable experience in Serbia!	8/12/2014 7:20 PM
73	Pride	8/12/2014 7:06 PM
74	That breakfast. Huge yummy warm breakfasts and the wide variety of foods, I also liked that you should smoke inside most places because it was cold in the winter.	8/12/2014 6:55 PM
75	The filthy buildings, the anxiety in people's faces, the warmth of my mother-in-law, Slavas	8/12/2014 6:43 PM

## Foreigners Survey

### Q8 What did you enjoy in Serbia?

Answered: 76 Skipped: 17

#	Responses	Date
1	Getting to know a country that is stigmatized by the media (since the war), finding out that it is a normal country with normal people...	8/14/2014 10:27 PM
2	Food	8/14/2014 8:49 PM
3	The poon,	8/14/2014 8:26 PM
4	felt safe, like in my country before some 15-20 years (back in Communist times)	8/14/2014 7:50 PM
5	food, nature, sports	8/14/2014 3:42 PM
6	Chaos	8/14/2014 3:29 PM
7	food, cheap booze, cigarettes, weather, people	8/14/2014 3:19 PM
8	Quite a lot to describe here. I loved the city of Belgrade, I met many nice people, I liked certain foods that we don't have at home, I liked the language, and I liked some of the social initiatives I carried out with other people.	8/14/2014 2:47 PM
9	beautiful landscape, relax lifestyle, good food and nice cities	8/14/2014 2:31 PM
10	hospitality, food	8/14/2014 1:46 PM
11	The east meets west culture/metropolitan atmosphere	8/14/2014 1:12 PM
12	Everything	8/14/2014 12:54 PM
13	FOOD! Sun, Go Out, Life/Work Quality, Ada, much Womens :)	8/14/2014 11:59 AM
14	Good social life, openness, friendliness, very good work-life balance	8/14/2014 10:52 AM
15	Everything! See answer Nr. 7!	8/14/2014 10:26 AM
16	The food. The outdoor lifestyle. The fact I could cycle around on bike lanes and not get hit by cars	8/14/2014 10:21 AM
17	weather	8/14/2014 10:04 AM
18	The Nightlife is second to none, the food is great and the people are wonderful. Serbs tend to get a bad rap. It's unfortunate and events like the Gay Pride Parade fiasco a few years ago don't help that. But I am sympathetic, it's unfair to blame Serbia as a whole for their shortcomings, it's not like the West is bereft of any of their own. Serbian people are some of the most kind and generous I've ever encountered, I tried hard to learn the language and learn as much as I could about Serbian history. I've lived many places and Serbia is my favourite. Belgrade is the least glamorous of any city I've ever lived in, and when I tell people it's my favourite place I have ever lived, it's always met with quizzical responses. Serbia will always be a special place to me, and it's hard to pinpoint exactly what I enjoyed about Serbia, because I loved it all.	8/14/2014 9:18 AM
19	Seeing new places	8/14/2014 9:15 AM
20	Travelling around Serbia, going out in the evenings.	8/14/2014 9:13 AM
21	Everything	8/14/2014 8:53 AM
22	quality of (most) personal behaviour, hospitality, discovering superb wines	8/14/2014 8:26 AM
23	The people, Belgrade as a city full of life, the scenery of the countryside	8/14/2014 7:07 AM
24	weather, food, friendly people	8/14/2014 4:04 AM
25	The nature and the hospitality of some people, who left a great impression. I met a lot of very creative and very open people, who just need a chance to make something for themselves and their environment.	8/14/2014 2:48 AM
26	people, food, nature	8/14/2014 2:32 AM
27	Allowed to smoke anywhere.	8/14/2014 1:50 AM
28	people, sight view, food	8/14/2014 1:25 AM
29	Nature, Artists, Grilled hot pepper in olive oil and wine vinegar. New sensations.	8/14/2014 12:28 AM
30	Food, monastery, churches, people	8/14/2014 12:00 AM
31	no class differences	8/13/2014 11:38 PM
32	Restaurants, drinking, people	8/13/2014 11:19 PM
33	The cost of living	8/13/2014 11:18 PM
34	I enjoyed and still enjoy the nature, the landscape that that you can find in every city. That relaxes me a lot.	8/13/2014 11:17 PM
35	People	8/13/2014 10:57 PM
36	Beautiful people, beautiful scenery	8/13/2014 10:45 PM
37	Way of life ...	8/13/2014 10:42 PM
38	green in Belgrade	8/13/2014 10:31 PM
39	people going out a lot, the safety and relax way of living in Belgrade and country. The welcoming people. The food and rakija.	8/13/2014 10:29 PM
40	The people and the history	8/13/2014 10:24 PM
41	Serbian grill, friendly people, high levels of English, intelligent people	8/13/2014 10:17 PM
42	Almost all aspects of living.. Food, nature, location, weather, people, history ...	8/13/2014 10:16 PM
43	Food, being able to hang around with friends without having to go out in a fancy restaurant or bar.	8/13/2014 10:13 PM
44	The people, the food and the cultural events.	8/13/2014 10:13 PM
45	great city, great restaurants, good theater, lots to do, affordable	8/13/2014 10:12 PM
46	people, the history,	8/13/2014 10:08 PM

## Foreigners Survey

47	people are amazing and kindly	8/13/2014 10:08 PM
48	everything	8/13/2014 10:05 PM
49	weather, people	8/13/2014 10:02 PM
50	Friends, culture, food, sports	8/13/2014 9:59 PM
51	Historic sites	8/13/2014 4:26 PM
52	Mostly the food	8/13/2014 3:49 PM
53	The variety of things you can do! the mixture of art and food,	8/13/2014 3:21 PM
54	Food belgrade people	8/13/2014 3:00 PM
55	Nightlife, cuisine, people, life outlook- very fun loving, with emphasis and priority given in equal parts to scholastic, artistic, and athletic pursuits,	8/13/2014 1:49 PM
56	hanging out with locals and Guca festival	8/13/2014 1:24 PM
57	The outdoors, People	8/13/2014 1:13 PM
58	Serbians, sidewalk cafes, niche restaurants, architecture	8/13/2014 1:11 PM
59	Cheap beer prices, and pretty women ;)	8/13/2014 1:09 PM
60	Food, friendly people, everybody loves dogs, the nightlife, and especially how cheap everything is!	8/13/2014 12:36 PM
61	people, night life, film festivals	8/13/2014 12:36 PM
62	Rakija	8/13/2014 12:22 PM
63	cafe culture, cuisine, clubs	8/13/2014 11:53 AM
64	speaking with Serbs about everything, parties, nature, food	8/13/2014 11:28 AM
65	Liveliness	8/13/2014 10:55 AM
66	Cultural life, kindness of most of people met, open markets, Kalemegdan!	8/13/2014 10:27 AM
67	my friends, the danube, laid back attitude,	8/13/2014 3:14 AM
68	People, nature, weather	8/12/2014 8:38 PM
69	Markets, shopping, Tesla museum, local designer district,	8/12/2014 8:34 PM
70	Food, women	8/12/2014 7:51 PM
71	The people, the food	8/12/2014 7:42 PM
72	The people	8/12/2014 7:25 PM
73	The energy in Serbia, despite its rocky past - and present - is still probably my favourite part of it and it pleasantly surprises me every time I go back, Serbians know how to enjoy life and I am certainly not the only person among my family and friends who noticed this!	8/12/2014 7:20 PM
74	Food, music, good company,	8/12/2014 7:06 PM
75	I enjoyed massive breakfasts, an awesome chicken Caesar salad, take out kababs, martizpan and coffee and I enjoyed shopping,	8/12/2014 6:55 PM
76	Cafe culture, the language, Belgrade	8/12/2014 6:43 PM

## Foreigners Survey

### Q9 Was there anything that you did not enjoy? If so, please specify.

Answered: 70 Skipped: 23

#	Responses	Date
1	We went to some club in the evening, the atmosphere was tense, people were very angry and got into fights	8/14/2014 10:27 PM
2	Lack of courtesy between drivers	8/14/2014 8:49 PM
3	Anything non - poon,	8/14/2014 8:26 PM
4	narrow minded people (in the countryside)	8/14/2014 7:50 PM
5	all the talk about politics, and politicians ruining everything in the country	8/14/2014 3:42 PM
6	Chaos	8/14/2014 3:29 PM
7	bureacracy, old public transport, general dirty and tatty infrastructure, grafitti	8/14/2014 3:19 PM
8	Yes, my office "work" in general, (there was not too much work and what I had to was way below my qualification and ambitions..)	8/14/2014 2:47 PM
9	the bad infrastructure, they could invest more in it	8/14/2014 2:31 PM
10	pollution of the environment (rubbish in rivers, streets, attitude of people towards rubbish)	8/14/2014 1:46 PM
11	Cleanliness	8/14/2014 1:12 PM
12	Complaining and not willing to take action	8/14/2014 12:54 PM
13	Paperwork, Political System, Problems with the Gouverment, rude Peoples/Posh Peoples which are "think" there are Rich (which are true, but only for Serbia),	8/14/2014 11:59 AM
14	Bureaucracy, Corruption in the public/private sector	8/14/2014 10:52 AM
15	Traffic, bad air,	8/14/2014 10:26 AM
16	People are very inward facing,	8/14/2014 10:21 AM
17	economic situation, sadness of people, negative attitude towards life, lack of interest	8/14/2014 10:04 AM
18	ISB,	8/14/2014 9:18 AM
19	Staff in supermarkets are incredibly rude No one in the street smiles or says hello	8/14/2014 9:15 AM
20	The atmosphere can be heavy,	8/14/2014 9:13 AM
21	The smoking, its in restaurants and hotels,	8/14/2014 8:53 AM
22	corruption and patronage in business, innat, terrible driving	8/14/2014 8:26 AM
23	Not really	8/14/2014 7:07 AM
24	There seems to be an overall feeling of despair among the people, The political situation has made living here extremely difficult and people are demoralized, There were also plenty of homophobic and racist comments, and hostility on the street because I was speaking English, but there were in few occasions and the good people made up for the not so good, The situations of children, and old people begging on the streets were uncomfortable and made me question many of the government's policy, keeping in mind rampant corruption and mismanagement of funds, I also find people tend to not be following general rules and disregard for others, There seems to be two opposite Serbias trying to overcome each other,	8/14/2014 2:48 AM
25	amount of smoking, bureacracy	8/14/2014 2:32 AM
26	Language barrier (my fault as I don't know Serbian)	8/14/2014 1:50 AM
27	Balcanno type of men	8/14/2014 1:25 AM
28	Smoking, Smoking, Smoking,	8/14/2014 12:28 AM
29	qualification and organization!	8/13/2014 11:38 PM
30	General sense of hopelessness, lack of tolerance for different cultures/lifestyles, extreme poverty	8/13/2014 11:19 PM
31	Pollution in big cities	8/13/2014 11:18 PM
32	I DO not enjoy the not so transparent bureacracy, Also, I have been told that serbians that try to the best at their job and even by incorporating new things, most likely are going to end up destroyed by those who want things to stay as it is, Also!!, customer service even in private companies is bad, They do not understand that they will loose clients, if they treat you like that, I have surrendered, I just smile back and try to stay positive,	8/13/2014 11:17 PM
33	Administration	8/13/2014 10:57 PM
34	The weather, it is really hot in summer	8/13/2014 10:45 PM
35	Non-functional state	8/13/2014 10:42 PM
36	Rude, nervous people, bad & dangerous drivers, poor healthcare system, corruption, aggressive behavior of drunk people, turbo-folk places,	8/13/2014 10:34 PM
37	employees are slow-in shops, not very eager to show a commercial mind	8/13/2014 10:31 PM
38	maybe too much garbage in some parts of Belgrade, Some details of the business mentality,	8/13/2014 10:29 PM
39	Sometimes things felt oppressive - I was sad to see so many refugees on the streets and the remnants of bombed out buildings	8/13/2014 10:24 PM
40	Serbia is number one for smokers in the world, many tourists I have spoken to would never return because of this, Serbian people have a bad attitude towards animals, there are cats and dogs everywhere, and there is more violence towards animals than any other country in Europe, Serbian women are horrible, they have real sexuality issues, they seem to want to be like men with a penis and balls, They talk and shout like men, they do not shower enough, they also don't look after their teeth, Serbian people will also take responsibility for nothing and never apologise, They are also very insecure and make surveys like this one,	8/13/2014 10:17 PM
41	Yes, prefer not to specify.	8/13/2014 10:16 PM
42	Serbians complain a lot,	8/13/2014 10:13 PM

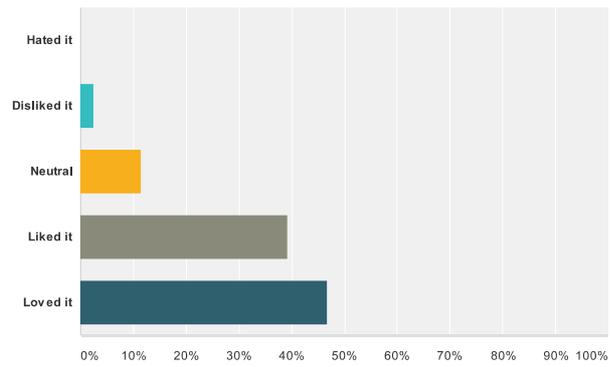
## Foreigners Survey

43	The heat, the public transportation, the politicians.	8/13/2014 10:13 PM
44	overcrowded transportation	8/13/2014 10:12 PM
45	xenophobia, paranoia, nationalism, corruption, bahatost, the question "why did you bomb us", general lack of culture, Belgrade snobbism,	8/13/2014 10:08 PM
46	it is a very dirty place with a lot of garbage in the street	8/13/2014 10:08 PM
47	bureaucracy, infrastructure	8/13/2014 10:05 PM
48	peoples interest in everyone elses lives!	8/13/2014 10:02 PM
49	lack of cultural diversity	8/13/2014 9:59 PM
50	In general the food is not good, There are a few exceptions, The Serbs need to learn how to use seasoning and how to prepare food properly, Most meats were over cooked or under cooked.	8/13/2014 4:26 PM
51	A gipsy woman tried to chop my arm off because I didn't give her money	8/13/2014 3:49 PM
52	No	8/13/2014 3:00 PM
53	I personally can't say that I minded anything in particular about the culture, My experiences (as a highly privileged, decently connected foreign national) were anything but negative, However, it is clear that the country, its economy, and its national psyche is in a state of disrepair, and, being fond of the Serbian people, that was always disheartening to observe.	8/13/2014 1:49 PM
54	public transportation was all in serbian and cyrillic alphabet, making it impossible for tourists to know which direction the bus is, or which stop he/she should get off at	8/13/2014 1:24 PM
55	Nothing	8/13/2014 1:13 PM
56	Graffiti (most) unkempt outside of buildings, dirty foyers	8/13/2014 1:11 PM
57	Racism, socio-economic situation	8/13/2014 1:09 PM
58	No	8/13/2014 12:36 PM
59	administration	8/13/2014 12:36 PM
60	Love bad bitches	8/13/2014 12:22 PM
61	It is even better than I've expected that it will be.	8/13/2014 11:28 AM
62	Serbia did not strike me as a country interested in environmental considerations, Huge inequalities between North and South in terms of development	8/13/2014 10:55 AM
63	No, I would like to come to Belgrade again and to spend much more time, I would like to learn Serbian and to talk to people as much as possible too.	8/13/2014 10:27 AM
64	lack of variety, nationalistic attitudes, rampant corruption, lack of professionalism, general spoiling of children and laziness. (sorry, i come from NYC.)	8/13/2014 3:14 AM
65	Not really. :)	8/12/2014 8:34 PM
66	Roma	8/12/2014 7:51 PM
67	Serbia is still very much a patriarchal society and it does show every now and then, I noticed that gender relations and expectations of women's roles can be quite traditional, but this is by no means always the case and there are plenty of very forward-thinking, liberal people there.	8/12/2014 7:20 PM
68	Racism toward gipsies.	8/12/2014 7:06 PM
69	The plane ride was rough.	8/12/2014 6:55 PM
70	The small-mindedness and the worship of foreigners from powerful countries.	8/12/2014 6:43 PM

## Foreigners Survey

### Q10 Rate the food of Serbia

Answered: 79 Skipped: 14



Answer Choices	Responses	
Hated it	0.00%	0
Disliked it	2.53%	2
Neutral	11.39%	9
Liked it	39.24%	31
Loved it	46.84%	37
<b>Total</b>		<b>79</b>

## Foreigners Survey

### Q11 Which dishes do you specifically remember as especially good? (if any)

Answered: 77 Skipped: 16

#	Responses	Date
1	Do not remember anything special	8/14/2014 10:28 PM
2	Anything pork	8/14/2014 8:49 PM
3	The poon tang pie. And Gibanice.	8/14/2014 8:27 PM
4	pasulj	8/14/2014 7:50 PM
5	sarma, cevapi, muckalica, musaka	8/14/2014 3:43 PM
6	Cevapi, muckalica, svadbarski kupus, punjenja paprika	8/14/2014 3:30 PM
7	nothing in particular but the quantity of meat is always impressive	8/14/2014 3:21 PM
8	Some of the food I liked, other I didn't. I didn't like the oily foods in general, but sometimes I felt like eating a good burek or pleskovicica. Cewap I really liked if it was with lots of veggies. Also there was those grean leaves I loved, some stuffed cabbage, ohh yeah some type of ajvar, but the very best was I think the great variety of yogurts!!	8/14/2014 2:50 PM
9	sarma, cevapcici, pljeskavica, musaka,	8/14/2014 2:33 PM
10	Kajmak pjeskavica	8/14/2014 1:47 PM
11	Civapcici	8/14/2014 1:12 PM
12	Ajvar pecenje meat paradajz	8/14/2014 12:54 PM
13	gibanica, musaka, ajvar	8/14/2014 12:52 PM
14	Meat!	8/14/2014 11:59 AM
15	Sarma, musaka, punjene paprike	8/14/2014 10:53 AM
16	Pljeskavica, Cevapcici, Sama, punjene paprike (no clue how to spell it!), and many many many more!!	8/14/2014 10:27 AM
17	General BBQs - pig especially.	8/14/2014 10:21 AM
18	prosciutto, kaimak, beefsteak!	8/14/2014 10:04 AM
19	Burek, Karadordeva Snicla, Sama, Rostlj, Sopska Salata, I could go on like this forever,	8/14/2014 9:20 AM
20	Biftek	8/14/2014 9:16 AM
21	Salads and peppers,	8/14/2014 9:13 AM
22	Sopska saat Pecena paprika Stuffed bell Peppers Stuffed cabbage leaves Corba Gibanica Burek	8/14/2014 8:55 AM
23	too many... riblja corba, sama, paprikas, pasulj, lamb under sac...	8/14/2014 8:28 AM
24	I love everything	8/14/2014 7:07 AM
25	cevapi, burek	8/14/2014 4:04 AM
26	Sama, Pasulj, cevapi, komplet lepinja, girice, musaka, punjene paprike, samice od zelja, proja, karadjordjeva snicla, pihtije, cvarci, and all cured meats and cheeses,	8/14/2014 2:53 AM
27	Sataras, pljeskavica, cevapi, gibanica, sopska salata, all of the fresh and local produce	8/14/2014 2:34 AM
28	Giros, rolled veal, sama	8/14/2014 1:51 AM
29	crepes, sama, kiseo kupus (sour cabbage)	8/14/2014 1:28 AM
30	Grilled hot peppers, baked beans	8/14/2014 12:29 AM
31	Karadjordjeva snicla, sama, kajmak, cheese	8/14/2014 12:01 AM
32	zlatiborska pita	8/13/2014 11:39 PM
33	faširane šnicle, slatki kupus sa mesom, Gibanica, SARAJEVSKI cevapi (just that one), musaka od patlidzana, čorbast pasulj,	8/13/2014 11:23 PM
34	I like sama, also cevapcici na kajmaku, some forms of pljeka	8/13/2014 11:20 PM
35	Rostlj	8/13/2014 11:19 PM
36	Sama, cevapci, soups	8/13/2014 10:58 PM
37	Cevapi, burek, baklava	8/13/2014 10:46 PM
38	Leskovacka muckalica	8/13/2014 10:43 PM
39	BBQ, punjene paprike, kupus salata	8/13/2014 10:35 PM
40	the 1000 different ways of cooking chicken, Salads and smoked meats,	8/13/2014 10:34 PM
41	ajvar, tagliata	8/13/2014 10:31 PM
42	Moussaka	8/13/2014 10:25 PM
43	I didn't have many chances to try local cuisine, however international cuisines and local cheeses are well prepare	8/13/2014 10:20 PM
44	Pileci File Those beans with smoked bacon, pasuli or something	8/13/2014 10:18 PM
45	Šopska,	8/13/2014 10:14 PM
46	Cevapi, kajmak, lepinja, grilled red peppers in garlic, grilled fish	8/13/2014 10:13 PM
47	Kolenica, muscalica, anything at Iguana	8/13/2014 10:13 PM
48	sama, punjene paprike, svadbarski kupus, divljac, kulen, vepar, new cuisine,	8/13/2014 10:10 PM
49	cevapcici, karadjordjeva snicla	8/13/2014 10:09 PM

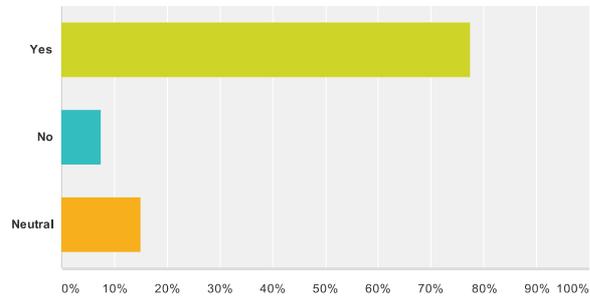
## Foreigners Survey

50	sama, krem pita, pljeskavica, cevapi, love love kajmak, wine	8/13/2014 10:07 PM
51	buranija sama puninja paprika	8/13/2014 10:02 PM
52	Svadbarski kupus	8/13/2014 10:00 PM
53	None	8/13/2014 4:27 PM
54	Pljeskavica, Čevapčići, Karadorđeva šnicla	8/13/2014 3:58 PM
55	MEAT	8/13/2014 3:22 PM
56	Kajmak, meat, fruit,	8/13/2014 3:01 PM
57	Kajmak, ajvar (mmm, breakfast), Serbian barbecue, grill, all meat preparations, all manner of street foods, including Pljeskavica, crepes and various pastries, gyros (primarily Greek) + pizzas of an unrivaled quality when compared to any country or place that I have been!!!	8/13/2014 1:51 PM
58	as a vegetarian, not so many!	8/13/2014 1:25 PM
59	Anything that had roasted red peppers, kymac(?), Rakia (?).	8/13/2014 1:16 PM
60	Do not really remember	8/13/2014 1:14 PM
61	Palenka, serbian cheese and bread	8/13/2014 1:10 PM
62	Kajmak, burek, sama, gulaš, cevapcici, pljeskavica, kiselo mleko	8/13/2014 12:40 PM
63	proja, karadorđeva, beans(pasulj), ajvar, slatko,	8/13/2014 12:39 PM
64	Kajmak on bitches	8/13/2014 12:23 PM
65	gurmanska pje punjene papr	8/13/2014 11:54 AM
66	sama, brokule (something like that with lots of meat, vegetables and sour cabbage), cevapi, cheese... also all kinds of vegetables are fresh, sweet and delicious	8/13/2014 11:33 AM
67	Proja, Pita with fruits/zucchini/mushrooms NB : Vegetarian	8/13/2014 10:56 AM
68	Ajvar / Pjescavica / Pita jabuka	8/13/2014 10:28 AM
69	sama, djuvec, punjene suve paprike, veggie podvarak, gibanica,	8/13/2014 3:16 AM
70	I cannot remember the exact names but there was a roasted red pepper spread that was to die for and a soft white cheese (kind of similar to cream cheese). I had to have both at least once every day	8/12/2014 8:37 PM
71	Karadjordjeva	8/12/2014 7:52 PM
72	Pljeskavica, burek and gibanica!!	8/12/2014 7:43 PM
73	Burek	8/12/2014 7:26 PM
74	Like most would agree, pljeskavica is definitely one of them. Also burek, cevapi, punjena paprika, gibanica and krofne. And pretty much anything with kajmak on it,	8/12/2014 7:24 PM
75	The big breakfast. And the bread.	8/12/2014 7:19 PM
76	Kaymak, Pork meat.	8/12/2014 7:08 PM
77	Ajvar, Slava bread, roast peppers	8/12/2014 6:44 PM

## Foreigners Survey

### Q12 Would you say that the food is an asset in Serbian culture?

Answered: 80 Skipped: 13

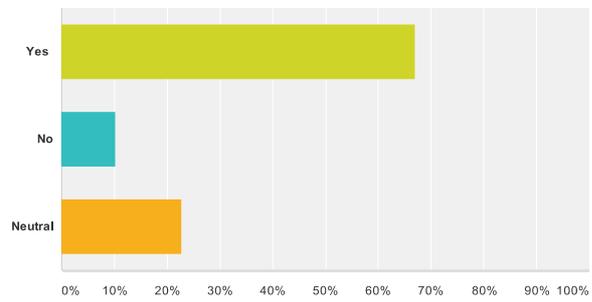


Answer Choices	Responses
Yes	77.50% 62
No	7.50% 6
Neutral	15.00% 12
<b>Total</b>	<b>80</b>

## Foreigners Survey

### Q13 Do you think that it should play a larger role in the promotion of Serbia?

Answered: 79 Skipped: 14



Answer Choices	Responses
Yes	67.09% 53
No	10.13% 8
Neutral	22.78% 18
<b>Total</b>	<b>79</b>

## APPENDIX C: INTERVIEW IVAN MRKIC

Since the birth of modern civilization, at least the one that is known to us, ‘international relations’ have actually been developed by initial contacts between those belonging to different cultures. In fact the members of different groups, communities used to communicate for the variety of reasons, trade being one of the major ones.

For the past few thousand years, since the establishment of the statehood of nations across all the continents there have been basically two ways of projecting cultural values of the given state: by imposition or by attractiveness. Unfortunately, the latter method was not the prevailing one, which has caused many disruptions and calamities in many quarters of inhabited portions of the planet.

Nowadays, the most popular notion that puts in the forefront the attractiveness of a given culture is contained in the expression of “soft power”, meaning that states are able to exercise their influence on other states through language, media, customs music, movies, etc.

Having in mind that the World is ‘getting flatter’ as we speak and that globalization is making exchange of people, ideas and capital, and cultural as well, increasingly easier, it is essential, especially for smaller states to preserve their cultural legacy by emphasizing the core values of their rich heritage. We have to understand that being small does not imply that we are poor. On the contrary, many small states, including Serbia, do have a rich cultural heritage – stories, poems, music, cuisine, folklore, etc. No matter how arrogant this might sound, I have to emphasize that many aspects of Serbian culture have been marked as (quote) “simply irresistible” by many foreigners who had the opportunity to visit Serbia. Most of them keep returning to Serbia in their continuous search for unique cultural experiences that they were able to find only in this part of the Globe.

I would especially like to emphasize the beauty and attractiveness of Serbian folklore. One of the most notable stories that could illustrate this statement is the experience of the folk ensemble “Kolo” which had, during more than 10 performances all across Japan, simply said “put a spell on the local Japanese population” who had, in more than 50 vehicles and for entire month followed the performers only so they could attend all their performances. The major “consequence” of one “Kolo’s” performances has been the increased numbers of Japanese ensembles who are performing only Serbian folklore pieces.

The best proof of how “music is running through the veins” of Serbian people are musical festivals such as “Exit” or “Guča,” that are increasingly attracting visitors from all around in world and have been claimed as a “powerhouse of good and positive energy” as it offers an unique and unforgettable experience for many.

Let’s take, for example, one of the bleakest periods in the recent history of our country – 1996 and the sanctions. Cyprus, Hilton hotel, and more than 60 participants: folklore ensembles, singers, musicians etc., an amalgam of performers on the event that attracted the attention and presence of the very ones who enforced isolation upon our country, making them malleable to the sounds and taste of our culture.

We are all aware of the attractiveness of Serbian “soul food”, which is increasingly becoming famous - from New York to Munich, from Sydney to Vienna. There is an interesting anecdote from the period when I lived in Japan that goes beyond “pljeskavica” or “cevapi”. In one of the encounters with her Royal Majesty, the empress of Japan, I had the rare opportunity and honor to, in absolute detail and step-by-step, explain the procedure of preparing the popular Serbian dish “sarma” (sour cabbage leaves stuffed with minced meat). She was astonished with whole procedure of making just one simple dish. However, this was not the only time when “sarma” played the “key role” in bilateral relations between Serbia and Japan. I also had the opportunity to host an individual who later came to be the future ambassador of Japan to Serbia who tried my wife’s homemade “sarma” in our house. He was so fascinated by this dish that, months later, in one of his interviews as ambassador in Belgrade he stated that it was “sarma” that brought him to Serbia.

Considering that Serbia has such a unique and interesting cultural heritage, and that there are many things that are not mentioned in this text, I don’t want to end my storytelling without mentioning the true beauty of medieval Serbian monasteries and their frescos. For a long time, they have been inspiration to many famous renaissance painters like Giotto.

## APPENDIX D: INTERVIEW GORDANA PLAMENAC

### *On Serbian gastronomy and 'Soulfood':*

When we came up with the idea to promote the gastronomy of Serbia, it turned into a real challenge because of the fact that our cuisine was influenced by various peoples who settled here as conquerors. The dishes we have in our cuisine are either altered forms of Turkish cuisine or Austro-Hungarian cuisine, or even Mediterranean cuisine owing to the fact that we were a Mediterranean country, as we mentioned before, whose citizens who lived here came from the then-republics, and now neighboring countries, which are on the Mediterranean coast, that is to say, the Adriatic Sea.

So the basis on which we founded our ideas as to how to present our cuisine basically came down to protected geographic identity of the products. This is an initiative started by the Swiss Development Agency a few years ago, since we are aware that some of our authentic products have been protected by other countries, like Sljivovica which has been protected by the Czechs, so we no longer have the right to use the name Sljivovica, so the rakija in Serbia is now called SoKolova or something else, since we don't have the right to use its actual name. Ajvar is protected by the Slovenians who don't have peppers readily available.

The point of our campaign was to point to a necessity of developing an awareness of the fact that we need to protect something which is authentically ours. With this concept we anticipated potential problems and based it on the already protected products to stop the influence of why certain things are not protected.

At the same time, I coincidentally came across a NGO called 'Supernatural' who are also dealing with gastronomy, and are a part of the "slow food" movement. I was listening to the radio in my kitchen on a Saturday, and they were talking about their impressions from a festival called 'Gusti' in Torino. Then I found them, and we got together and started to develop this concept, and 'Soulfood' was born.

'Soulfood' the movie won numerous awards, and it was basically a complex presentation of our gastronomy through presenting particular destinations. We had cabbage from Futog, yellow cheese from Pirot, wines from Negotin, sudzuk and cheese from Sjenica, ajvar from Leskovac, kajmak and prosciutto from Zlatibor, cheese from Zlatar, raspberries

from Arilje, and so forth. The film was a total success. We understood that people were asking for something unusual, tailor-made, original and sustainable.

The result of the film and the publication were not just international awards, which obviously helped in the promotion of Serbia as a tourist destination, but they also brought about an awareness in people who then started the procedures of protecting the geographic identity, which is not an inexpensive procedure, but was useful on multiple levels because of the previous negative experience. Then followed a founding of a professional association of the producers of ajvar from Leskovac, and they protected the name “Leskovacki ajvar” because they could not use only the name “ajvar”. Many others followed their example and started making these associations. We are not a big country and we don’t have a large production, so it was important that they unite and make their product, “Leskovacki ajvar”, under that brand name.

This was one good result (the process of protecting the geographic identity of a product) and the second was this uniting between associations and getting organized because they can have a better end result if they present themselves under this brand.

But now we faced an additional problem. We have tourists coming to Serbia after having seen this film, and asking, “where can we eat this Soulfood”? This doesn’t fall into the realm of our activities because we actually deal with promotion. Due to the circumstances, we also deal with product development. But we cannot deal with the realization of all this. What we weren’t able to achieve is to make salespeople aware, and say, “you have cabbage from Futog which is being sold in tons in vacuum packs, there is Bermet from Fruška Gora, and there is kulen (special kind of sausage) from Srem”. All of them went into protecting these products, but I have nowhere to buy these things. I can go to the supermarket and buy cabbage from Futog, but how does a tourist know where he is supposed to look for this if it doesn’t have a sticker “Soulfood” on it as a trademark? Another problem is that you don’t have a single dish in any restaurant with the mark ‘Soulfood’. A ‘Soulfood’ plate could have on it some ajvar, and kackavalj from Pirot, cheese from Zlatar, kajmak from Zlatibor, prosciutto, and this could be called ‘Soulfood platter’. Then you could have muckalica, which is our authentic dish from Leskovac, also marked as ‘Soulfood’. Only with all of this could we reach the ultimate goal with this campaign. It would really be helpful if restaurant would include ‘Soulfood’ in their menus because it would symbolically be connected to the things that we have already shown to the world. And this I think is the main problem; that the promotion surpasses what is actually on offer. This could be dangerous because if you promote something you are not actually able to offer, it becomes a problem. This is the story

of ‘Soulfood’. In conclusion, many things are still to be completed. The real challenge is to make a balance between actual tourism offer and promotion, since, it could be quite dangerous to have promotion exceeding actual offer. But, everything requires time and I am confident we will be able to overcome this. I hope that now, when this ministry is under the umbrella of trade as well as tourism, we will be able to actually do this.

We have since had another attempt involving organic food. This is also a hint of a new trend in Serbia, which is in agreement with a worldwide trend to produce organic food. There have been some positive examples. A German trading company made an agreement with villagers from Telecka in Vojvodina to have their whole red pepper annual production taken over for further marketing and sales internationally. They make all kinds of pepper products and package it in fancy packaging.

It is not only that all farmers in Telecka are employed but also the packages of red pepper powder are packed and delivered in fashionably designed jars and boxes.

We are missing a few things in Serbia. There was an initiative that a group of chefs from Czech Republic and Hungary, together with Serbian cooks open a cooking studio in Belgrade. The idea was to gather groups of tourists and teach them how to cook the Serbian way starting from buying products at the green market, preparing them in the cooking studio and finally taking them. They were going to gather a group of tourists, and do this in New Belgrade so that they could take them to the Zemun green market, and have the program start with the basics. Unfortunately, that idea never came through, although, there are some variations of cooking studios bringing closer the Serbian cuisine to the world. For instance, famous Serbian chef and TV face, Brka, has a small cooking studio that doesn’t fit more than 2-3 people. Hotel Palace has an educational department of the restaurant school, where chefs teach the students to prepare dishes. One of our colleagues who is responsible for Croatian market took one of these chefs to Zagreb for the promotional gastro workshop with representatives of the media and the tourism industry. In spite of similarities of our two cuisines, it was very well received.

#### *On Cultural Tourism & Serbia’s Image Abroad:*

Culture is inseparable segment of tourism promotion, and by definition it is a part of our diplomacy. Speaking as someone who is promoting Serbia as a tourist destination, we need to have the pillars to support our promotional activities. These pillars are related to

culture and historical heritage in general, they are related to the modern way of life in the cities. This includes the business tourism, and the meetings and conventions industry. We also rely on nature and outdoor opportunities, active holidays with hiking, cycling, tracking, rafting, so nature plays a big role in our promotion, as well as anything that promotes regional programs or pan-European routes. We believe that participating in these regional offers gives us the added value to promotion and awareness of the others for our country and what we have to offer. The Danube is very important as a major waterway in Europe flowing through ten countries. It is a part of these culture routes, such as Roman Emperors, Medieval fortifications on the Danube, also working together with other countries in anything related to holidays for the elderly, for youth and children, and special social categories such as couples with young children, retired people, the disabled and so on. This is a way of featuring important things of our country to people. And in diplomatic channels you do it by presenting what you have, right?

*T: Do you think that cultural tourism could alter the situation in Serbia both internally and externally?*

Of course, especially if you link it again to these pan European or regional itineraries and routes because that really shows the fact that we are on those pan European routes, such as the Limes (the military border of ancient Rome, going all the way from Scotland to the Black Sea. There are several initiatives in attempt to position this as one of the major and important cultural routes, which really exposes the diversity of Europe and that's something where I see our advantage. It is not easy to explain how important this is, because everybody would like to do really only their own destination without bringing in the connection to some other countries, but this topic brings us together.

There is an important example of China, who just accomplished the initiative to have central and southeast European countries, sixteen of them, come together to cooperate and develop an offer for the Chinese market. I think that all of us were caught by surprise that China recognized that it is important for these countries to come together. Behind that there must be a political element, because you have there central European countries, such as Baltic countries, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, Albania, Macedonia, Montenegro, Bosnia, Croatia, Slovenia and Serbia; a very interesting unification. So it is indeed the borderline between East and Western block, once upon a time, but it is still there amongst the people. And so China signed the memorandum of cooperation with all these countries and we all have to work out some proposals for tourism for Chinese market. This is an interesting issue because it is

important that these few countries work together for long-term and an overseas market because if a group of tourists comes to this part of the world they will not come to just one place, but several. That is why it is important that we work together.

*T: How would you characterize and describe the activities of Serbia in the field of cultural tourism?*

We are getting there somehow, it is important that in this view we should have people representing the cultural sector and us from tourism sit and work together because this is the only way we can achieve the determined goals. If you want to enhance the infrastructure then you should participate in international projects and if you participate you don't do work only on the infrastructure but also on the positioning of your country. The same relates in any of these segments of promotion of the country or cultural diplomacy. You really need to cover different parts and build up a strategy to present what you have in certain manner that people really see that something is worth seeing visiting.

*T: Where do you see additional potential to reinforce Serbian culture? Do you see any potential methods or routes that we could use?*

Yes but this is again related to thematic routes and connectivity to neighboring and other countries, such as wine routes, cycling routes, hiking trails, roman emperor's routes Ottoman routes, monasteries, festival and other cultural events. This is the only way; it is important to have the offer of these different trails in order to attract more people.

*T: Do you think that this could influence the relationship between the countries within the routes?*

Yes I do. For instance Subotica is placed on three international pan European routes. One is atrium, the architecture of totalitarian regimes; this is especially of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. This route is certified, the Council of Europe does the certification for these pan European routes. It is also on the art nouveau route, they started an initiative together with the Hungarian city of Szeged and they managed to place themselves on this route. Then there is the third route, which is overlapping with the art nouveau, addressing Jewish heritage. The biggest synagogue in Serbia is there and it is built in art nouveau style, so it combines both trails simultaneously. This is how Subotica managed to be present at these certified pan European routes.

*T: How is gastrodiplomacy integrated in Serbian diplomatic activities?*

I am unsure of to what extent this is utilized. Whenever we do have anything related, such as a standalone promotion or event, which we prepare together with our diplomatic representation offices abroad, we always have our food and drinks that are part of the presentation. After doing the overview of how this presentation worked out for us, the food and drink is always something that really gives a special picture of us and I can see that people are usually very pleasantly surprised and they walk out with at superficially changed attitudes towards us and our country. We should take that and work on it.

## APPENDIX E: INTERVIEW BOJAN BUGARCIC

### *On Nation branding & Cultural Diplomacy:*

*T: What is your view of the role of culture in diplomatic relations and other activities related to Serbia's representation abroad?*

B: Culture is very important in the representation of any country and it should play a major role in presenting a country, its achievements, and its culture, the daily life of its people, its customs and the mindset of its people abroad. There are some very successful examples of such activities that several countries have been engaged in. Unfortunately, in the case of Serbia, already from the time of the former Yugoslavia, we have not adapted to the changed circumstances, the new media, and what is happening in the world, and a conservative approach to cultural diplomacy is still prevailing, or you might even say a complete lack thereof. Even the institutions that used to exist that were dealing with inter-state cultural relations and the promotion of Serbia abroad were treated as leftovers from the former federal state, and were never established as such in Serbia properly, nor have the previously existing ones been integrated into the new state apparatus. So for the time being, there what was called the Institute for Cultural and Scientific Exchange (Federal JUZAMS or Serbian ZAMTES) do not exist anymore. To the best of my knowledge, there is only one sector in the Ministry of Culture that's dealing with the issues of cultural cooperation and exchange; the same applies to the issue of promoting the image of Serbia abroad. Some organizations aimed at promoting Serbia mostly economically abroad were set up with results that are rather meager, while in the area of culture, such institutions don't exist. The existing state institutions that deal with the promotion of Serbia are poorly financed, poorly equipped, they cannot really raise to the challenge, which for Serbia is very important baring in mind the negative PR which was created over the last two decades, and I'm afraid that we, therefore, don't have an organized approach to presenting Serbia abroad or a cultural exchange. This does not mean of course that some promotion activities any various forms of cultural exchange do not exist. There are some private initiatives, there are some cultural institutions that are very much involved and engaged in bringing foreign artists and performers here in Serbia or organizing our presentations abroad. Artists from Serbia are active abroad but this is all on a case to case basis, and there is no organized and systematic approach of the state in that respect. It is left mostly to private ideas and fortunately we still have some people who have the energy and

knowledge how to organize these manifestations, some cultural festivals. Therefore, regardless of the fact that we have quite a few festivals or other similar events that are organized in Serbia, that quite important artists are coming to Serbia every year and our artists are present abroad, we still cannot talk of any systematic approach to this issue – or of any policy really aimed at systematic presentation of our artists or other achievements of Serbia abroad. A very good example is Kusturica who does more for Serbia with his initiatives, like the ones he has done with Kustendorf, the film festival or the concerts and performances with his band, the various cities and villages he has formed where he brings very important creative people from the world; you might even say that he has done more than most of the institutions, which are supposed to be dealing with these issues.

*T: How would you characterize and describe the Serbian field of cultural diplomacy specifically?*

B: It is very difficult to talk about Serbian cultural diplomacy as such because it doesn't exist in the sense that there is no organized cultural diplomacy. There are some flashes of brilliance if you want some institutions, some individuals who are come up with ideas and, much more often than expected in a situation where nobody deals with these issues in a systematic manner, they come up with some astonishingly good results. There is no strategy or cultural diplomacy as such. If you take the example of the Foreign Ministry: some twenty years ago, out of the five sectors in the Ministry, one was specifically charged with culture, information and press. This doesn't exist any more. The number of people engaged on these issues is currently minimal and the setup of the Ministry reflects this lack of focus on these issues. Therefore, in Serbia as a whole, and especially in the state institutions, everything has to be re-started, re-set. You need to create and brand new institutions that would appeal to the brightest and most talented people here in Serbia, and try to involve them. Quite a lot of people do fortunately still exist who still know what is necessary to promote culture and cultural diplomacy, but nobody has tried to appeal to them, to draw them into this process, to offer them some space where they could show their ideas and creativity.

*T: Who do you think would be responsible hypothetically within the government for cultural diplomacy?*

B: It is mostly within the realm of the Ministry of Culture (which is also charged with media policies), but I think some specific institutions should be organized. But it is not just within the government. Many more institutions have to be involved on formal or informal basis. You have to call in the Academy of Sciences and Arts, the University of Art, state universities, private universities, galleries, cultural centers, individuals, and try to organize a whole network of people who are supposed to be dealing with these issues. Of course, some ministry has to coordinate and finance all of that, to be the focal point, and it should probably be the Ministry of Culture. But I believe special institutions should be formed to be like an agency, a government institute that would be dealing with issues of promoting Serbia abroad, especially cultural cooperation.

*T: So a specific office dealing with cultural diplomacy...*

B: As we used to have in former Yugoslavia. It was never a perfect institution and was flawed in many respects, but it worked to some extent. The former Yugoslavia was a complex country; there was a federal one, there were six or seven republic and provincial ones, and it never achieved what it should have. Now, the situation is simple, we need to have such institutions, an office which would be dealing with these issues, maintain correspondence, cooperation with its counterparts worldwide and so on. This does not exist. This is not unique to culture; it's a common trend with everything in this country, which has not yet managed to define its strategic priorities in many areas and is in a constant state of flux and you feel as if everything is temporary.

*T: What about the non-governmental sector?*

B: Neither serious cultural policy, nor policy of promoting Serbia abroad can be achieved without the non-governmental sector whose role is of paramount importance. Unfortunately, as with everything else, our NGO sector was in a specific situation. Due to the violent break-up of the former country, divisions between people in Serbia, the non-governmental sector had found itself in a very difficult situation. From one side it was perceived by a part of the general public and politicians as an implant from abroad working for foreign interests and the word itself became tainted with negative political overtones; contrary to the above perception, some NGOs were deemed untouchable and treated as holy cows because they allegedly have the support from America, Germany, EU, and so on. These NGOs attracted the most of the

attention of the public, while some very important ones that really do represent the embryos of civil society in this country were ignored, regardless of the tremendous work they have been performing. Therefore the whole role of civil society is not yet fully defined nor developed. I firmly believe that, in principle, all the initiatives coming from the civic sector are commendable and anything that can be done, any individual who has the energy, the knowledge, civic responsibility and the talent to do anything should be supported... In the short run, these initiatives will have to continue to fight for their place under the sun, due inter alia to the situation of general poverty and lack of resources – but the state has the responsibility to value and validate all these initiatives and find ways to support them.

*T: What do you think would be the next steps with regards to the state's actions towards rebranding its image?*

B: As with many other things in Serbia, we need to have a strategy, we need to know what we want. We are still mostly reacting, and not anticipating what should be done in the future. One example is the marking of World War I. This is an issue that is of paramount interest for Serbia as a country, since the war started in Serbia proper, the assassination in Sarajevo being just a pretext, since the collision course was set much earlier and caused by much bigger stakes. We should have been organized much better and should have dealt with the Centenary in a much more modern way which would appeal to foreign audiences, and present the case of Serbia in that War – a case that we believe we have and should be made. Serbia was a country that suffered the most in WWI, its people fought bravely, we lost one third of the population. This has to be explained, especially now when we have a trend of re-writing the history of WWI, especially from the point of view of former empires, with a general thesis that the empires were good, while all struggles for independence of small nations were regrettable incidents that disrupted the then existing order. And there are many such examples, not to mention the horrible PR during the nineties, during the breakup of Yugoslavia. Nothing was done systematically. There was and still exists also the issue of the lack of funding because of the fact that we are a poor country. If you look at what other countries have done, how they have used all their potentials that have abroad, all the people of their descent who are working and living abroad, professors, intellectuals, all the people who have connections and have worked in universities and so on, this was never used in a proper way. So we need to sit down and define what is the strategy and how to implement it, with more funding, but not necessarily too much, an exorbitant increase that we couldn't sustain.

*T: Where do you see additional development paths and ways of reinforcing Serbian cultural diplomacy? Could social media platforms be utilized more to that end?*

B: I think in that respect, what is surprising is that social media platforms are being used, but these are also individual initiatives. There are young people in Serbia who are knowledgeable in these things. Our young generations know a lot about social media and how to use them, and I think they are getting much better results than any organized cultural diplomacy. All aspects of cultural diplomacy are necessary. They should be supported in these activities, without attempting to unduly influence them, because such initiatives function the best, when people can recognize them as genuine and not as a part of some state propaganda effort. What also must be noted is that in practically all of the former communist countries, in transition countries, culture has lost the role it has played. During the communist era, it was something that was harshly scrutinized by the government, but also there was a high respect for culture and attempts were always made to win the hearts of artists and other creative individuals (albeit not always successfully). Culture was an important part of society. Writers, poets were sometimes persecuted, but they were also very important persons. The same was with theatre performers, music. Culture was financed; new cultural institutions were set up, etc. Nowadays, with this bad reception of neo liberal capitalism in transition countries, culture is lost in limbo. Its public presence is not felt and it is very difficult to revive that. First, we need a change of attitude towards culture in the country, providing finance... For example, and this is a drastic one, we have now generations, a whole generation has started elementary school and now has a high school degree and has never visited the National Museum which has been closed for twelve years. The Museum of Contemporary Art is closed, and so on... because the politicians do not care and have left to party officials to run these institutions without basic knowledge of the importance thereof or how they should be managed or run. Governments did not deal as they should have with culture here, so how do you expect them to promote it abroad? There are still very talented people, artists, performers and professors who can really help. I think there is a chance if we start seriously re-thinking about culture. For the time being, unfortunately, this is not the case. We are now thinking about bare survival, forgetting that economic survival must always go hand in hand with cultural development, and this is something we should never lose. Otherwise, we leave the space open for para- or pseudo-cultural activities like what Pink is doing, poisoning the minds of young people. This is the situation we are faced with, and we should start working on promoting real values. We now

have a Minister who was quite successful with the Philharmonic Orchestra. This does not mean, of course, that he will be successful as a Minister. I don't mean when I say that the state should promote culture that it should only be official culture. It can also be very alternative things that can sometimes be more useful when you are promoting things that are perceived as official culture. Sometimes, people abroad are surprised when they realize that many forms of artistic expression do exist here and are very present.

*T: So with situations like Pink TV, the issue is the commodification of a version of culture?*

B: This I think is very dangerous for us because we don't have enough self-protections mechanisms, which protect us from this invasion of kitsch and primitivism. In that sense, cultural exchange and diplomacy are very important as well.

*T: How do you think the lack of culture affects national identity today?*

B: it has unfortunately a negative effect. When we are talking about cultural identity, it doesn't mean of course nationalism, promoting the so-called national values which are often misread and are often equated with primitivism. But there are some values which this country has produced which should be promoted and the lack of respect for these values is frightening and very dangerous. When you look for example at Dobrica Cosic, who was one of the most prolific and one of the most important writers of the second half of the twentieth century, he died less than two months ago. He was mentioned for 3 or 4 days, and nothing. The same applies to many cultural values we had, which we don't know how to promote and how to explain to people what they are. This is the overall situation in the country.

*T: Do you think that if there was any progress in the re-taking of cultural values, do you think that there would be a change in a sense of awareness of identity among the people, or do you think that that would remain relatively the same?*

B: I think a combination of a sense of awareness of one's own identity, but also of a European identity, and a global identity is something that is necessary. Now we have lost the balance between these elements, and some segments of the population have this so-called national identity, in some there is a so-called pan-European identity. A real balance should be struck

between these things and I know that adopting European values, European cultural values does not mean losing your national identity, but this is not the case unfortunately now.

*T: And also European values is such an ambiguous concept*

B: Of course, it is treated more or less as an Anglo-Saxon, or Protestant, or Catholic or Western European values. But Europe is more than that. It should mean the promotion of the existing diversity of cultures, which I believe to be to be a very good thing for Serbia. We are one of the rare countries, regardless of what we have been accused of from the former Yugoslavia, which is a multi-ethnic country, which is a good thing. Only about 70% of people in Serbia are Serbs, so we have 30% of people who are of other nationalities, so this identity can be formed as a combination of all of these identities.

*T: Do you have a good example of cultural diplomacy and exchange in Serbia?*

B: I have been following this in the last few years. There are some individual ones, like Exit festival, Kusturica's efforts, the efforts of some theatre performers who have been brought in, dance performances, musicians performing abroad, etc. There have been some individual good examples, but the overall picture is still quite bleak.

*T: You were a diplomat as well as the Director of the Students' Cultural Center in Belgrade. How has your approach to cultural diplomacy changed over the course of your career?*

B: I wouldn't say it has changed. You know, when I was working as a Director of the Students' Cultural Center, we were a very open institution. We had a very wide-ranging international cooperation. It was a very avant-garde institution with very new artistic practices and tendencies promoted. Conceptualist, post-conceptualist art, and minimalist music were very much present, as well as all other forms of modern artistic expression, one of the most important elements of such practices being the well know April Meetings of expanded media. Some of the most important artists of the second part of the twentieth century came to our Center and Belgrade. Joseph Beuys came and other very important artists and intellectuals, they all came to our Center and a lot of people in our country who were the representatives of these new artistic tendencies started in our Center, like Marina Abramovic, Rasa Teodosijevic, and so on. It was a very active international exchange. Also in the theatre field,

music, and so on. And that's how it worked. At that time the cultural centers of foreign embassies were also very active. Of course, they tried to promote what their governments back home thought is important for them, but we always asked for what we wanted from them, and we managed with directors who were successful and who understood that it's not only important to promote what they gave you as a blueprint. Some of them were very good at accommodating our requests that they believed were better suited for the promotion of their culture than just to do it. And it worked well. Unfortunately, over the times, we had these years of sanctions and war, some of the contacts were lost. I still believe that cultural diplomacy is very important and it has to be revived as much as possible. We have closed practically all of our cultural centers. We used to have quite a few abroad. Now we have only one left in Paris, which is very well located. We have artists working and living in Paris who are quite well known, relatively well known. It's trying to do something, but with very limited funds. We have closed the other centers we had abroad because we didn't have the money. It is important to reopen them, to try to define them differently. Reinvent them.

*T: So partially a connection to nation branding abroad...*

B: It is to some extent. You know, former Yugoslavia was a country of about twenty million people, so when authors published books, they used to sell them in a couple of hundred thousand copies. Now, if you sell ten thousand books, it's a lot. These are all tiny microstates, which don't really have a market for culture, nor is it possible to ensure the adequate critical reception of their works. Ivo Andric was a great writer, but what also helped him to win the Nobel Prize is that he came from a country which was recognized and deemed relatively significant at that time. So the government must come and support, for example, the translation of books of our authors. It must help them because if the books are not translated and there are no materials that support the activities of any artist in a foreign language, it's very difficult to promote it. This is also where the government should really help. But there are possibilities, and I don't think this costs too much. At the end of the day, if you look at the figures, these are very limited figures compared to the losses you incur by not doing anything and compared to what you can obtain by devoting some energy and some effort and some funds for that, I believe it cannot be calculated.

*T: What is the role of institutions such as SKC as incubators for future cultural diplomats?*

B: The role of such institutions has changed. They are struggling now to find their own role. You can see now that some alternative culture institutions are trying to find their place SKC has now become an established institution after 40-50 years of activity and it should also reinvent itself. What is important is to try to support those alternative groups of young people who come up with ideas. This is where the state, or whoever is there to finance, should recognize these new initiatives, which can bear some fruit in the long run. I believe that institutions such as SKC should remain a space to connect all these initiatives if possible, to offer them the needed space and support and not to have institutionalized programs which would be repetitive and so on. This is difficult to achieve because they are all fighting to survive. The city of Belgrade which finances the theatres of Belgrade has given them funding just for pays and electricity, and said that they will not finance any new plays. It's very difficult. We have several state level institutions and all of them are fighting for survival. It's not a very encouraging picture.

The visual arts are also in a very difficult situation and at the same time you have this nouveau riche component where they are paying exorbitant sums for works of some of our authors who are allegedly well known abroad, and we have these young talented people who don't have any money and are struggling to have exhibitions or other forms of promotion. Before, the state was also an important buyer of art. If you look at the Foreign Ministry and all these state buildings you have a lot of works of art. There was a selection for such state sponsored buy-out, of course, a process of selection that has again to be re-instituted. I believe that this kind of buy-out of works of art should be re-instated. This is something that helped a lot those artists when they were young and starting.

*T: And finally, what are your views on the future and goals of cultural diplomacy?*

B: Well I think I said it already, and it's difficult not to repeat yourself. There are some well-known things that should be done at least. There are these basic things, and if you do them you can see what else could be done. Let's try to start with the basics. We have to know what we want and how much money we want to devote to that, and how are we going to engage the best and the most talented people in this country to be a part of these efforts.

On Gastrodiplomacy:

*T: So, as we spoke previously, you are also aware of the gastro-diplomacy section of cultural diplomacy. Can you see it be implemented into Serbian diplomatic activities? And if so, how?*

B: There is, I would say, an intuitive integration of this kind of activity, more than organized integration. There is an attempt to promote some of the national dishes, to promote the fact that food here still tastes good, that the chemicals have not yet drastically affected its taste, and so on. There is an attempt to do it, but it's still not sufficient. There were some chefs from Serbia who went to some European countries, Austria and some other countries, where they presented our gastronomy... It's always useful. It can be very helpful. I've seen examples of countries, Italy, Spain, some Arab countries; Turkey has been doing a lot. Our cuisine is finding it difficult to find its individuality. It's more of an eclectic cuisine. Belgrade is partly Balkan, partly middle European, so in that sense we have to promote this kind of electricity in cuisine, and the fact that you can find in the same restaurants some very Turkish dishes, and some central European dishes, and I think that this is a fact which should be promoted, the fact that Belgrade and Serbia are the crossroads of empires, of civilizations. This is something that should be worked upon much more. I think there is an attempt to do it, but these are still very tentative attempts because there is a lack of funding and you have to promote that. America has just started doing it a few years ago. You can see what France has done, what Italy has done through its cuisine. Even England is promoting its cuisine. They are promoting the fact that in London you have 250 different national restaurants, the diversity of cuisines.

## SHORT BIOGRAPHY

Tanja Strugarhas spent most of her life travelling around the world. Having lived in places such as Lebanon, Italy, Serbia and the United States, she has always been interested in cultural similarities and differences. She finished her undergraduate degree in Communications, with a minor in marketing, at the American University of Rome, after which she came back to Serbia in order to complete the Master of Arts UNESCO Chair Program in Cultural Policy and Management at the University of Arts in Belgrade.

Her passions include gastronomy, philosophy, and travelling.

