Diversification of Contemporary Diplomacy:
the Rise of Dance Diplomacy

Giedre Michailovskyte

Supervisor: Per Jansson, PhD
Linköping, Sweden
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Abstract

This study investigates the diversification of contemporary diplomacy in a deeper manner by choosing the concept of dance, which has never been chosen before. Theoretical and historical analysis of dance diplomacy helps us to answer the main research question of the study how does dance diplomacy contribute to the diversification of contemporary diplomacy. This research paper utilizes a qualitative methodology with the interpretative, historical, descriptive and cultural approaches and uses qualitative methods of literature review, content analysis, comparative analysis and theory triangulation. In this study we see that dancers and choreographers complement today's diplomats, we find that the implications of cultural diversity expand an understanding of contemporary diplomacy, and that new emerging practices of dance diplomacy contribute to “new diplomacy” findings. Furthermore, practices of dance diplomacy could be described as parts of cultural diplomacy, public diplomacy, instruments of soft power or forms of nonverbal communication. This illustrates that contemporary diplomacy is somehow shaped by culture, public, power and communication, and therefore it could be understood from all these perspectives. Besides this, a chosen historical perspective and a background of the dance diplomacy help us to see that dance diplomacy is a natural consequence of the evolution of diplomacy. At last, it is relevant for the academic society to ground it on a scientific theoretical basis, which could expand our understanding of contemporary diplomacy.

Key words: dance diplomacy, cultural diplomacy, public diplomacy, contemporary diplomacy, soft power, non-verbal communication.
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1. Introduction: Background of the Study

Only a few would likely realize that they could get a police warning, if somebody suddenly starts to dance in the pub, which has no dancing license, or even could get killed in Afghanistan or Pakistan for uploading a funny dance video of themselves on YouTube. Those who love to dance or like to watch others dance, probably see dance as the personal expression of themselves. Dancing is healthy, because one trains the body and brains at the same time, and brave, because one needs to show himself to the audience, which not necessarily could accept the artist. Hence, dancing is a risky phenomenon, which sometimes could be considered dangerous to society or religions since “dancing makes disorder”. It is, of course, just an official expressive statement of the reasonable danger of dance. Behind it, governments and decision makers feel threatened by the fear to lose control for the reason that dance consists of a power of attraction. This non-material source of power is related to the inner mindsets of human-beings and it is strong enough to resist censorship of state-actors. On the other hand, history has proved not even once, that keen dancers and choreographers can act very diplomatically in order to participate in the battle of who owns the control of dancing – governments or artists. That and other discussions about the relationship between dance and politics are the complex experiences of the phenomenon of dance diplomacy, which is going to be analyzed in this study.

A discussion about this new type of contemporary diplomacy strongly points to the new roles of diplomats and questions the meaning of contemporary diplomacy. Apparently not all of diplomacy is in the hands of diplomats. Diplomacy has turned into a part of everyone's life, even if it is not necessarily involved in international relations.

In this study I argue that singers, musicians and dancers could be called diplomats when their art concerns global or local political, social, cultural issues. Nowadays it is a phenomenon of music diplomacy or dance diplomacy. In addition, everyone who is a

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strategist or crisis manager can be called a diplomat in regard to skills that one must have in order to be a representative at the department of the Foreign Affair in your country, or a choreographer/musician who creates a routine or manages a life-show. Since contemporary diplomacy has been a quickly developing phenomenon as at no other time, it is tricky to draw a line between diplomats and non-diplomats. It is also hard to portray what is the meaning of diplomacy today, but the truth of the matter is that contemporary diplomacy has become extremely diversified and this feature of diversification is the interest of this study within the individualized phenomenon of dance diplomacy.

Few primary aspects of the diversification of contemporary diplomacy, are the aspects of the public and culture. Even though diplomacy has broadened its own particular field to diverse directions, such as economic diplomacy, environmental diplomacy, gastronomy diplomacy, global health diplomacy, sport diplomacy, guerrilla diplomacy, preventive diplomacy, etc., public diplomacy and cultural diplomacy still remain as two of the most relevant kinds of diplomacy. Today, as well as more than 50 years prior, diplomacy scholars were mindful of the power of public opinion, which has its own concerns about international relations issues in the light of the growing importance of technologies. In other respects, several scholars found new issues of conflicts related to cultural diplomacy that began precisely in the era of the Cold War. In this study I contend that the power of public and the power of art, in particular dance, contribute to the diversification of diplomacy within a new concept of dance diplomacy, which has never been discussed before. Furthermore, most likely no one could ever surmise that diplomacy can be related to dance in the same way as dance could be related to diplomatic practice. Therefore, this study seeks to demonstrate that diversification of contemporary diplomacy is capricious and sudden, and every phenomenon, which is not related to international relations and politics at the first glance, might be still related to contemporary diplomacy. This illustration of the recently discovered phenomenon of

dance diplomacy, which is a piece of cultural and public diplomacy, welcomes us to examine how dance diplomacy contributes to the understanding of contemporary diplomacy from a theoretical and historical points of view.

 Appropriately bringing together all these claims of the study, we can draw the main research question, objective and hypothesis of the study and see how they correspond to each other. Since a discussion about contemporary diplomacy focuses on diverse aspects, such as the roles of new diplomats, the power of public and the meaning of culture, in particular art, this study demonstrates that all these diverse aspects help to characterize and individualize the new type of contemporary diplomacy – dance diplomacy. Besides, it emphasizes the hypothesis of this study that diversification of contemporary diplomacy is related to individualization of dance diplomacy. Furthermore, picking up the phenomenon of dance diplomacy from a dance studies and political perspective, it gives us a chance to clarify an individual characteristic of dance diplomacy. Discovered information on dance diplomacy helps us to answer the main research question of the study how does dance diplomacy contribute to the diversification of contemporary diplomacy. Hence, new discussions about the power of dance and attraction, battles of regulation of dance and freedom of expression, etc. can expand our understanding of contemporary diplomacy. At last, a chosen historical perspective and a background of the dance diplomacy help us to see that dance diplomacy is a natural consequence of the evolution of diplomacy, which is an objective of the study.

 1.1 Literature review

This literature review gives an overview of the phenomenon of dance diplomacy, which can be divided into five assumptions. Firstly, in regard to the discipline of international relations, dance diplomacy as a worldwide phenomenon and a part of contemporary diplomacy has never been examined before through particular international relations theories by international relations scholars. In the content literature, there was found one master study⁵, which had provided an explanatory perspective on cultural diplomacy

⁵ M. Einbinder, Cultural Diplomacy Harmonizing International Relations through Music, Master Thesis,
from a constructivism theory point of view. Despite the fact that the researcher argues that constructivism theory is the best theory for cultural diplomacy\textsuperscript{6}, she rejects realism and liberalism theories as being appropriate for cultural diplomacy. In this study I argue that the phenomenon of dance diplomacy, which is a part of cultural diplomacy and public diplomacy, is contextualized in liberalism theory as well. Along with this, I incorporate the theory of soft power in order to create a theoretical framework of dance diplomacy. In order to make a rich theoretical framework for the concept of dance diplomacy, I allude to the most recent studies of Burchill\textsuperscript{7}, C.V. Rivas\textsuperscript{8}, and Fosnot\textsuperscript{9} concerning constructivism and liberalism theories, and to Nye\textsuperscript{10} in regard to soft power theory. Besides, I use additional articles\textsuperscript{11} and published case studies from the official website of the Institute of Cultural Diplomacy\textsuperscript{12} in order to provide a richer theoretical perspective.

The second assumption of the literature review is that an aspect of communication and communication studies can be a significant medium, which unites dance and diplomacy. In regard to communication studies, there are numerous valuable articles\textsuperscript{13} and studies\textsuperscript{14}, expounded on both a relationship between diplomacy and

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\textsuperscript{6} The difference is that an author in her research is concentrated on harmony: “This research argues for the promotion of musical diplomacy as a tool for harmonizing international relations” (Einbinder, 2013, p. 5)

\textsuperscript{7} Burchill, Scott Burch et.al., \textit{Theories of International Relations}, 3rd ed., Houndmills, Palgrave, 2005.


\textsuperscript{11} E. van de Haar, 'Classical liberalism and International Relations', \textit{POLICY}, vol. 25, no. 1, 2009.


communication and a relationship between dance and communication. Furthermore, the *Creating Site-Specific Dance and Performance*\(^{15}\) online course of the California Institute of the Arts published in Coursera.org is useful as well in order to understand dance as a non-verbal communication. As a consequence, the discussion of dance diplomacy can be investigated from the communication theory point of view, which helps to understand dance diplomacy.

Thirdly, there are lots of valuable works and articles written about public diplomacy and cultural diplomacy, yet there are simply few of them related to the dance diplomacy phenomenon in particular. As a case in point, N. Prevot's study\(^{16}\) gathers information about dance and dance groups functioning as important weapons between two competing countries SSRS and U.S. amid the Cold War. According to N. Prevots's investigation of how dance was used as a tool of diplomacy, dance played a small, but fascinating role in the battle of ideologies.\(^ {17}\) An alternate noteworthy work is composed by Ch. Ezrahi\(^ {18}\), which provides a historical background of the power of classical ballet dance in Russia during the 20\(^{th}\) century. Additionally, it discusses dance exchanges between the U.S. and Soviet Russia during the Cold War. An alternate phenomenal study by C.H. Croft\(^ {19}\) is a colossal addition to the field of historical and contemporary American dance diplomacy. The last extraordinary study edited by Alexandra Kolb\(^ {20}\) is a great attempt to connect dance and politics from different perspectives, including dance as an export, aspect of human rights, power of art, etc. These four studies are a marvellous contribution to the history of dance diplomacy, despite the fact that they do not characterize it as dance diplomacy. However, they do discuss dance as an export for diplomatic purposes.

Notwithstanding these studies, there are numerous articles\(^ {21}\) identified with

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\(^{17}\) Foner in Prevot 1999, p. 1.


mostly an American cultural diplomacy practice. All these researches provide an idea that the origin of the phenomenon of dance diplomacy goes back to the 20th century. However, my fourth assumption of this literature review argues that the concept of dance diplomacy could be discussed from an earlier time perspective, the Renaissance. Several very informative articles about dance and diplomats in the Renaissance are phenomenal sources, which help to interpret our understanding of dance diplomacy during the Renaissance. Furthermore, studies such as Real-time diplomacy and Brotherhoods of kings: how international relations shaped the ancient Near East are also useful in order to understand dance diplomacy from a historical perspective. Finally, my last assumption is that dance diplomacy is an ongoing practice and many countries and publics are practising it today, however there is no academical information on it. That is the reason why websites of dance companies, political dance events published in YouTube, media, and NGOs, such as FreeMuse or Human Watch, are going to be reviewed as well in light of the fact that they provide a contemporary point of view of dance diplomacy.

1.2 Motivation of the Study

The aim of this study is to investigate the diversification of contemporary diplomacy in a deeper manner by choosing the concept of dance, which has never been chosen before. I contend that a horizontal research (the choice of a new concept such as dance) and a vertical research (an attempt to explore a new concept of dance diplomacy from a deep historical and contemporary perspective) on contemporary diplomacy can make a clearer picture what is the significance of diplomacy and diplomats today. Aside from this, there


are composed various books and studies about dance, cultural diplomacy, public diplomacy and soft power, however not that much literature about the concept of dance diplomacy itself. It demonstrates that there is an extraordinary interest to explore this concept at both practical and theoretical levels. In addition, it is relevant for the academic society to ground it on a scientific theoretical basis, which could expand our understanding of contemporary diplomacy. Additionally, a deeper understanding of contemporary diplomacy is a way to figure out where diplomacy remains in the discipline of international relations today and how essential and applicable this topic will be in the future. Hence, this topic is new, fresh, unique and relevant for diplomacy, international relations and dance history scholars.

My motivation to choose the concept of dance outlines that diversification of contemporary diplomacy has no limits. “Peace begins with smile”, said Mother Teresa once. Dance can bring that smile for the reason that dance like an item of choreography can reach the emotions of each individual in an audience. Additionally, dance could be utilized as an instrument of soft power to promote and prevent political ideas by sorting out various types of events, dance projects, spontaneous flash mobs related to political, global, cultural and social issues. It is a vibrant and brilliant mode to communicate particular statements in the international arena. At long last, dance is a universal tool, which has numerous advantages. It is sensitive, stylish, acoustic and tells a story with no words. The universality of dance automatically exceeds contemporary diplomacy borders. Finally, my personal enthusiasm and interest in dance made me to begin to brand dance diplomacy within this study.

1.3 Research questions

The central research question of this study is **how does dance diplomacy contribute to the diversification of contemporary diplomacy?** This question seeks to find a relationship between dance and diplomacy in the light of diversification of contemporary diplomacy. It also tries to ensure that a new diplomatic practice of dance diplomacy distinguishes itself as a practice of contemporary diplomacy in the discipline of international relations from a historical and contemporary perspective.
This main research question includes these following and more direct sub-questions, which have particular relevance for understanding the diversity of contemporary diplomacy:

- **What is the meaning of dance diplomacy?** Finding the meaning of dance diplomacy helps us to find out what is contemporary diplomacy and how broad and exceeded it is nowadays.

- **Did the phenomenon of dance diplomacy change over the time, and in the case, how?** Dance diplomacy has changed over the time in the same way as the definition of diplomacy has changed. Because of the fact that diplomacy is a never ending process, it might be important to define these changes. We may better understand the present when we know the history. In this study historical investigations of dance diplomacy cover the period from the Renaissance to the modern days.

- **What is the future of dance diplomacy?** This question is closely related to general perspectives on contemporary diplomacy. The future and predictions of the continuing evolution of dance diplomacy can draw a bigger and clearer picture how contemporary diplomacy is going to look in the near future.

### 1.4 The Objectives of the Study

In regard to the central research question, the primary objective of the study is to clarify that dance diplomacy is a natural consequence of the evolution of diplomacy. The meaning of the natural consequence implies that dance diplomacy emerged by reason of the diversification of contemporary diplomacy. This diversification is affected by the evolution of diplomacy considering its use of diverse cultural practices in the practice of diplomacy. It has affected the cultural development of diplomacy with the emergence of new types of contemporary diplomacy. To put it in other words, the rise of new diplomatic practices such as dance diplomacy has consequentially emerged due to the evolution of diplomacy, which is related to the process of diversification and cultural diversity.
This main objective includes these following sub-objectives, which are related to the central research question and the organization of work:

- find meanings and understanding of dance diplomacy. It is related to the second theoretically guided chapter.
- analyse the concept of dance diplomacy from a contemporary and historical perspective in terms of political dance activities and evolution of diplomacy. It is related to the third historical chapter.
- find challenges of dance diplomacy in order to describe the future perspectives of contemporary diplomacy. Challenges are mentioned in the second and third chapters. The future of dance diplomacy and contemporary diplomacy are described in the last chapter of this study.

1.5 Hypothesis

In this study I argue that an individualization of different types of diplomacy, for instance, dance diplomacy, makes contemporary diplomacy more diverse. I contend that contemporary diplomacy is diverse in its own particular structure and character, which is related to diverse cultures and cultural expressions used in the diplomatic practices. Besides, I believe that there is a relationship between the diversification of contemporary diplomacy and the individualization of different types of diplomacy. As a result, the hypothesis of this study argues that diversification of contemporary diplomacy is deeply and emphatically related to the individualization of different types of diplomacy. In the case of individualization of different sorts of diplomacy, I utilize a conception of dance diplomacy.

Explaining the term of diversification, it could be understood as an improvement of foreign policy strategies in order to strengthen actors' positions25, roles26 or external

relationships in the international arena. Contemporary diplomacy within a diversification process automatically develops its facilities and protects itself from extinction in the field of international relations as an unused practice. Contemporary diplomacy adds different sorts of features to its form and characteristic in terms of who are diplomatic practitioners. For example, a dance routine about peace-building and a dancer with its body movements complement contemporary diplomacy with new features of dance item and non-verbal movements of dance. As a consequence, the diversification of contemporary diplomacy leads to an improvement concerning that diversification of sources leads to modernization.

In other respects, the term of “diversification” is usually used in the context of diverse cultures. This cultural diversity influences the multiplicity of diplomacy, therefore, I argue that the rise of different types of diplomacy impacts diversification of contemporary diplomacy. Dance is a part of cultural identity and the rise of dance diplomacy complements the understanding of diversification of contemporary diplomacy. Moreover, cultural diversity is a challenge of comprehension of modern international relations, which is broadened to numerous culturally diverse non-state actors. So in regard to the possible cultural diversity of contemporary diplomacy, this study suggests to include features of dance to the character of contemporary diplomacy. Moreover, dancers and choreographers could be considered as diplomats in the field of contemporary diplomacy.

Talking about the term of individualization, in the modern diplomacy literature it is related to the increasing individualization of life. It also makes the state-actors

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weaker.\footnote{T. Nowotny, ‘Diplomacy and Global Governance – the Diplomatic service in the Age of Worldwide interdependence’, Transaction Publishers, 2012, p. 227.} In the context of contemporary diplomacy, the emergence of new non-state actors becomes relevant in terms of newly emerging diplomatic practices. In regard to dance diplomacy, the process of individualization could be described as the rise of dance diplomacy. Within this rise, I give an individual character to dance diplomacy by analyzing it from the theoretical, empirical and historical point of view. I specify dance diplomacy as historical, cultural and political phenomenon in the connection to contemporary diplomacy. The meaning of individualization in this study seeks to find out the understanding of dance diplomacy and its unique features separately from the other types of contemporary diplomacy.

Even though dance diplomacy consists of aspects of public and culture and it automatically belongs to public diplomacy and cultural diplomacy from a hierarchical point of view, it still can be individualized as long as we can find something unique, fresh and new about dance diplomacy. To show individualization of dance diplomacy is important since these newly outlined features of dance diplomacy help to understand contemporary diplomacy and its process of diversification. Moreover, this study identifies particular challenges of dance diplomacy, which help to discuss the future of contemporary diplomacy. Therefore, the hypothesis discriminates the phenomenon of dance diplomacy from the entire contemporary diplomacy in order to illustrate that dance diplomacy can actually be individualized concept.

1.6 Organization of the Study

This study is divided into 4 chapters.

This study begins with an introduction, which consists of a short background of the study from the dance diplomacy and contemporary diplomacy perspectives. Furthermore, the motivation of study, literature review, research questions, main objectives, hypothesis, methodology and methods of the study could be found in this chapter of introduction.

The second chapter provides an interpretative understanding of dance diplomacy
from the theoretical perspective in the context of contemporary diplomacy. This chapter is a theoretically guided analysis of dance diplomacy, which highlights the relevance of diplomatic aspects and communication aspects in the practice of dance diplomacy. Communication theory is used in order to identify these communication aspects and understand dance diplomacy as a phenomenon of non-verbal communication. International relations theories of constructivism and liberalism make us realize that many diplomatic aspects of dance diplomacy rest on the highlights of these theories. The analysis of soft power illustrates that dance diplomacy is an instrument of soft power.

The third chapter gives a global historical perspective of the phenomenon of dance diplomacy, which has never been discussed before in the literature. This chapter is divided into 3 stages of the historical analysis of dance diplomacy. The first stage provides a brief background and an introduction to the relationship between dance and politics in the Renaissance. In addition, this stage suggests that the origin of dance diplomacy goes back to the Renaissance. The second stage illustrates the evolution of dance diplomacy in the 20th century. The third stage describes the individualization of dance diplomacy after the end of the Cold War, which is closely related to the diversification of contemporary diplomacy. In addition, it gathers the boom of cultural diplomacy, including dance diplomacy practicing after 9/11 till today.

The last and fourth chapter draws conclusions and final findings on how does dance diplomacy contribute to the diversification of contemporary diplomacy. It also discusses possibilities of developing theoretical and practical researches related to dance diplomacy and contemporary diplomacy in general. Finally, this chapter investigates and highlights the future of the phenomenon of dance diplomacy in the light of the main challenges of dance diplomacy. These challenges help us to understand the possible future of contemporary diplomacy.

1.7 Methodology and Methods of the Study

As indicated by Albert Einstein, “Not everything that can be counted counts, and not everything that counts can be counted.” In respect to this matter, this study rejects
quantitative research methods and it embraces a **qualitative approach**, which is expected to help comprehend the perspectives on contemporary diplomacy, investigate the implications of dance diplomacy and observe the process of evolution of dance diplomacy in the context of contemporary diplomacy. The phenomenon of dance diplomacy is profoundly identified by values of choreographers, dancers and the audience as well as opinions and emotions of the public and artists. Therefore, the qualitative research methods are chosen, which are related to specific cultural information on values, opinions, behaviours, emotions, social contexts of individuals and, as a rule, they provide information on the *human* side of an issue.\(^{34}\) This research paper utilizes a qualitative methodology with the interpretative, historical, descriptive, and cultural approaches and uses qualitative methods of literature review, content analysis, comparative analysis and theory triangulation concerning that they suit best for the central research question, objective and hypothesis of this study.

Before I begin to specifically explain the methodology and used methods, it is important to notify that the interpretative approach, which occupies the most of the research, could be criticized. In order to prevent this criticism, I ensure my objectivity in regard to investigations of the phenomenon of dance diplomacy and interpretations of it. All political dance activities are selected for the study on the grounds that they are the focus of interest and they could be perfectly integrated into dynamic theoretical and historical perspectives of the phenomenon. In addition, limitations on the amount of words of this study require to limit time perspectives, approaches, theories and examples of dance diplomacy. Indeed, criticism and new ideas, meanings, beliefs and perspectives on dance diplomacy are considered as a positive outcome. It illustrates that this topic needs further investigations and interpretations by other academics and practitioners.

To begin with an explanation of the methodology of this study, it is relevant to mention that almost all my assumption of a literature review require an **interpretative approach**, especially the one, which argues that the concept of dance diplomacy can be discussed since the Renaissance. Even though most of the literature about cultural diplomacy and the concept of dance discusses the 20\(^{th}\) century, I want to contribute to the

understanding of contemporary diplomacy within the historical reasoning of dance diplomacy from the Renaissance. A wider time period is helpful in solving the research problem. Moreover, my understandings of the diversification of contemporary diplomacy and the individualization of dance diplomacy, which are the main aspects of hypothesis of this study, are also interpretative. I describe the processes of diversification and individualization from the perspective of dance diplomacy that has never been done before. I use the interpretative approach and its methods as a part of the request to find out if, and in the case, how all in the study mentioned dance events and dance projects are related to the concept of dance diplomacy. Just a few of them are particularly related to the concept of dance diplomacy within the titles such as “dancing diplomacy”, etc. However, most of them do not have concreteness about the concept of dance diplomacy. They are related to social, cultural or political themes and concepts, which are the highlights of constructivism, liberalism, soft power and communication. Last but not least, the main idea on the phenomenon of dance diplomacy is interpretative in regard to the qualitative interpretative researches. These researches do not start with already determined concepts, but they seek to show that the concepts of interests have always been in the field and these concepts could be determined from the perspective of a researcher. I believe that interpretative approach is most appropriate in order to answer the research question, hypothesis and reach the main objective of the study since there is no particular academical literature published about this phenomenon.

The first two interpretative qualitative methods of literature review and content analysis are utilized as a part of request to discover main assumptions around an absence of comprehension of dance diplomacy in the connection to contemporary diplomacy. In order to make a rich literature review, the phenomenon of dance diplomacy has been analyzed from a theoretical point of view as well as from the historical perspective. Historical debates of dance diplomacy are associated with both the history of diplomacy and the history of dance studies since the Renaissance. These two assumptions of the literature review that dance diplomacy has been never examined before through particular IR theories by IR scholars, and that there are simply just a few works related to the phenomenon of dance diplomacy in particular, suggest to use historical and descriptive approaches for this study. This study seeks to reduce the gap between
theoretical and views of dance diplomacy and an actual dance diplomacy practise. This is the reason why this study presents two chapters of theoretical and historical perspectives of dance diplomacy within historical and descriptive approaches. Likewise, historical and descriptive approaches are the best possible approaches in order to clarify that dance diplomacy is a natural consequence of the evolution of diplomacy, which is the main objective of this study. Besides, I use comparative analysis in order to identify different features of dance diplomacy since the Renaissance and compare them with the nowadays practice of contemporary diplomacy. I am interested in the differences of dance diplomacy concerning that they can help to picture the evolutionary process of dance diplomacy. Dance diplomacy in the Renaissance, the 20th century and today could be described differently, yet some characteristics of dance diplomacy did not change over time.

Another assumption of the literature review method claims that an aspect of communication and communication studies can be a significant medium, which unites dance and diplomacy. Communication theory consists of different instrumental communication strategies. Among them are public relations, marketing as well as soft power. Besides, many communication aspects of diplomacy could be found in cultural practices of dance diplomacy. Therefore, I use a cultural approach for this research since this study is related to cultural diplomacy and cultural communication through dance debates. I highlight the concept of culture in the dance diplomacy theoretical framework while in terms of constructivism, liberalism, soft power and communication theories. These theories are appropriate in order to discuss and evaluate the phenomenon of dance diplomacy in the context of contemporary diplomacy. Not counting this, a cultural approach and the chosen theories are suitable to answer the main research question in which ways dance diplomacy contributes to the diversification of contemporary diplomacy. Therefore, within this cultural approach I use the interpretative qualitative method of theory triangulation.

Theory triangulation is expected to create an interpretative theoretically guided analysis of dance diplomacy. The multiple theories of international relations and

communication are used on the grounds that no dance historians or diplomacy scholars provided a theoretical analysis about dance diplomacy yet. Moreover, triangulation method is chosen in order to ensure that theoretical analysis is rich, decently created, well-developed, most credible and reliable as possible keeping in mind an interpretative methodology, which is used in this study. The three theories of constructivism, liberalism and soft power are chosen as the most applicable to investigate the phenomenon of dance diplomacy by cause of their components of human-being, culture and socialization as key elements, which are suitable for dance as well. Constructivism contributes to the phenomenon of dance diplomacy in terms of its focus on attraction and non-material sources of power, such as the power of emotions. Moreover, the universality of dance and movements are recognized by expression of values and ideas through a freedom of dance, rhythm and music. Referring to liberalism, it includes individual rights, expression of freedom, democratic ideas, awareness of states and religious militancy, and inner potential of human. These political values like democracy and human rights can be powerful sources of attraction and emotions. In this way constructivism and liberalism contribute to each other and provide a part of the theoretical comprehension of dance diplomacy. Liberalism theory explains the search of individual freedom through international order, which could be spontaneous in terms of a balance of powers. Therefore, this study includes investigations of soft power, which in the case of dance diplomacy reflects and communicates cultural and social values of the country to other nations. These values are built on many constructivism and liberalism ideas, and soft power becomes a strategy to communicate them. Soft power is analyzed throughout the phenomenon of dance diplomacy in order to illustrate that dance diplomacy is a tool to promote constructivism and liberalism ideas within cultural diplomacy and public diplomacy.

In order to solve the last assumption of the literature review, which argues that frequently we cannot find academical information on dance diplomacy even though many countries and global public are practising it today, the interpretative method of

**content analysis** is used in this study. Talking about this qualitative method, I read specific documents published by state-actors and non-state actors as a means to identify and analyze the phenomenon of dance diplomacy. I do not limit my sources only to the documents published by the official actors of international community. Since contemporary diplomacy is also a matter of individuals and there are very little information published about dance diplomacy in particular, I include various different sources. These documents range from official strategies of cultural diplomacy and public diplomacy to reviews and articles published by NGOs and the media or individuals' blog posts in regard to the attacks against artists, artistic expression and means of dance as communication. In order to identify possible meanings and understandings of dance diplomacy, I have set up signs that indicate a possible presence of the concept itself, which are: dance exchanges, cultural exchanges, tools of soft power, non-material source of power such as power of art, tolerance, mutual understanding between diverse cultures, values, beliefs, human rights, freedom of artistic expression, etc. Furthermore, other signs are established that might indicate a challenge for dance diplomacy: banned dance, arrested dancers, killed dancers, imprisonment. All these meanings are picked up from the secondary sources as the meanings related to practice of dance diplomacy. After I have identified these signs in the text, I see particular meanings which could be identified with dance diplomacy or related to it. In the process of analysis I organize collected data to a few specific phrases such as diplomatic aspects of diplomacy and communication aspects of diplomacy. These specific phrases are analytically developed phrases for this unusual kind of topic. This method of qualitative analysis of dance diplomacy highlights the importance of culture and an interdependence of contemporary diplomacy, which helps us to identify that dance diplomacy could be described as a relevant practice by state-actor and non-state actors. Besides this, the findings of this method take a note of the challenges of dance diplomacy, which also bring us to the discussion of the freedom of artistic expression versus regulation of arts under state-actors. These findings contribute to the entire study as well as to final conclusions.
2. Understanding Dance Diplomacy

This study is the first attempt to illustrate a practical and theoretical existence of the new diplomatic phenomenon of dance diplomacy, which could be understood from the three following perspectives. Firstly, it is a part of cultural diplomacy and public diplomacy. Secondly, it is an instrument of soft power. Thirdly, it is a form of non-verbal communication. This chapter seeks to point out to numerous empirical examples of dance diplomacy and integrate them to the context of contemporary diplomacy. In order to make more sense to the reader, it is important to mention that this study supports “new diplomacy” scholars throughout their claim of newly emerging diplomatic practices such as sport diplomacy, gastronomic diplomacy, ping-pong diplomacy, media diplomacy, music diplomacy, preventive diplomacy, etc. In addition, this study confronts “traditional diplomacy” scholars who claim state-actors, secret negotiation, communication, representation, official occupation of formal ambassadors, and messages only with the political context as being most important diplomatic aspects of diplomacy. “New diplomacy” is much wider. Below mentioned examples of dance diplomacy and investigations on the practice of dance diplomacy, including diplomatic aspects and communication aspects of diplomacy, illustrate how contemporary diplomacy has been extended today. Apart from this, the second chapter provides a reflection of the features of dance diplomacy in the theoretical framework of dance diplomacy through theories of constructivism, liberalism and the strategy of soft power. Accordingly, an interpretative method of theory triangulation was used on account of this theoretical framework of dance diplomacy.

2.1 Examples of Dance Diplomacy

Every day we can notice numerous examples of dance diplomacy published on the websites of state actors and non-state actors such as media, NGOs and individuals. A case in point, the U.S. Department of State’s Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, which promotes friendly relations between the U.S. and other countries, supports Dance Motion

USA program\textsuperscript{40} through which the U.S. Department of State organizes tours of American contemporary dance companies in order to increase a cross-cultural understanding between the United States and other nations. Secondly, in 2013 the U.S. Embassy in Baghdad and YES Academy sponsored dance tours of the First Step Iraq, which is a collaboration between state and non-state actors. The Iraqi dancers could collaborate with the local hip-hop dance groups in the U.S. Thirdly, Amnesty International volunteers did a flash-mob dance in 2014 on the 90s classic song Stop Right Now by The Spice Girls in order to raise awareness about police torture in the Philippines.\textsuperscript{41} Another non-governmental organization Save the Children used a dance routine in order to get donations for children\textsuperscript{42}, meanwhile Green Peace can be specified with its campaign Dance for Ice in 2012\textsuperscript{43} with a specific end goal to get attention on issues of the North Pole. Moreover, CPDRC dancing inmates in Cebu Provincial Detention and Rehabilitation Center support rights of prisoners within their performances. Notwithstanding, a professional modern dance company The Dancing Wheels Company\&School opposes society’s deficit to understand disability through their performances, and emphasizes the need to adjust to bodies and diverse individuals by integrating sit-down (wheelchair) dancers into their performances.\textsuperscript{44} Dance activities, such as the Rwanda Remembers 100 Days of Terror on Genocide’s 20th Anniversary\textsuperscript{45} and the Stomp out Genocide project\textsuperscript{46}, contribute to solidarity of genocide victims.

Talking about individuals, a choreographer and a dancer Judith Engelgau

\textsuperscript{40} 'DanceMotion USA' [podcast], <http://eca.state.gov/video/dancemotion-usa-2013-tour>, (accessed 31 January 2015).
choreographed dance routine in response to the September 11 terrorist attack, which was noted for its peace, strength and stability.\textsuperscript{47} To make a gap in history, the Queen of England, Elizabeth, used dance and her dancing strategies in order to reach a political and diplomatic gain during the Renaissance.\textsuperscript{48} In the beginning of the 20\textsuperscript{th} century, a famous choreographer Dunham combined choreography with anthropology in order to deal with the issues of African-Americans. At the same time, another choreographer Shawn promoted all male dance companies that maintained an ideal of homosexuality. Tamiris focused on working class battles for better wages and their recognition.\textsuperscript{49} Besides this, energetic dance artist Franziska Boas committed the use of dance as a form of social activism within the Civil Rights Movement and politicized implications of white anti-racism activism.\textsuperscript{50} Furthermore, an appreciative dancer and a choreographer Martha Graham\textsuperscript{51} is a most appropriate example of dance ambassador of the U.S., who traded her dances to Soviet Russia and Asia amid the Cold War.

All these activities are examples of dance diplomacy and many of people related to them could be called dance diplomats. Not only state-actors and their collaboration with other actors, but also non-state actors such as NGOs, separate communities, civil societies, publics, private companies and separate individuals are included in diplomatic dance practices. In addition, these new diplomatic practices of dance projects, dance exchanges or items of choreography not only with a political context, but also with social, cultural or even personal messages from solidarity to rising awareness, are diplomatic features of dance diplomacy. Non-verbal communication versus verbal communication, value of ideas, informal ambassadors, and everyday diplomatic practices on the micro level are relevant characteristics of dance diplomacy. Before deepening an understanding of dance diplomacy, it is important to realize that dance diplomacy is a part of cultural diplomacy and public diplomacy, which are the different forms of contemporary


\textsuperscript{51} One of M. Graham's performances in regard to body language and persuasion, [online video], \texttt{<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ieMO1Z0UhGQ>}, (accessed 31 January 2015).
diplomacy. Cultural diplomacy is described 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 practised by either the public sector, private sector or civil society." In the case of dance diplomacy, the definition and meaning of this phenomenon is very similar, except that all these actions are related to dance and movement, which are very strong tools for creating the mutual understanding and faiths in peace in the contemporary diplomacy.

According to Nye, the qualities of public diplomacy, which is an instrument of soft power, are day by day communication, strategic communication, and long term relationships through exchanges. Dance diplomacy is also utilized for these all previously mentioned peculiarities of public diplomacy. The spontaneous dance flash-mobs are the illustration of daily communication due to the fact that they send indirect messages to worldwide society and policy makers. At the current time of the flash-mob a local public spreads the message through their smartphones straightforwardly to the networks of social media, YouTube and so on, which do the rest of the job. Green Peace campaign with a pole dance is an example of strategic communication on the grounds that it was chosen as an entertaining and original concept of the pole dance, which could pull in consideration of numerous individuals around the world. At last, Dance Motion USA program through which the U.S. Department of State backings American dance tours, serves for a long term relationship. In like manner, public diplomacy is affected when the minds of a target has changed, thus dance frequently has an ability to deeply reach its audience.

It is important to make note that not all dancers and dance activities are practices of dance diplomacy. This study claims that there are five most important features of dance diplomacy, which distinguish dance or a dancer as a part of dance diplomacy. These features are senders, diplomatic aspects, encoded messages, communication aspects of diplomacy and targets (see Table 1).

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Table 1. Comprehension of dance diplomacy practice

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sender</th>
<th>Diplomatic aspect</th>
<th>Encoded message</th>
<th>Communication aspect of diplomacy</th>
<th>Target</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dance diplomats and actors of Dance diplomacy (state-actor and non-state actors); dance itself; dance activities</td>
<td>Respect, tolerance, importance of cultural identity, fostering mutual understanding, justice, equality, human rights, global peace, collaboration, value of ideas and traditions</td>
<td>Political, cultural, social, personal</td>
<td>Information gathering, network developing, diplomatic signaling, ritualization, technological improvement, medium, exchange, non-verbal communication</td>
<td>State-actor and non-state actors, individuals, public</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

An understanding of senders includes state actors, non-state actors, dance activities and dance itself considering that it is a form of non-verbal communication. As we can see, all these senders could be supported by ideas of constructivism, liberalism and soft power. Diplomatic aspects, such as respect, tolerance, acceptance of different cultures, the importance of cultural identity, fostering mutual understanding, justice, equality, human rights, global peace, collaboration, value of ideas and traditions, mainly rest on values of constructivism, liberalism and soft power. These diplomatic aspects in the practice of dance diplomacy are communicated in a form of encoded message through communication aspects of dance diplomacy. Communication aspects of dance diplomacy are information gathering, network developing, diplomatic signaling, ritualization, technological improvement, medium, exchange, and non-verbal communication, which consists of kinesics, haptics, proxemics, physical appearance, vocalics, chronemics, artifacts, and emotions. In the practice of dance diplomacy these encoded political, social, cultural or even personal messages seek to inform about local or global issues or communicate about collaboration and cultural identity. Likewise, they rest on diplomatic aspects, which could lead to the statements or purposes to strengthen relationship, mutual understanding, start diplomatic dialogue, spread peace, promote national interests, manage conflict, etc. Finally, each diplomatic communication process as well as a practice of

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55 Giedre Michailovskyte, Table 1. Comprehension of dance diplomacy practice, 2015.
dance diplomacy needs to reach a target. Targets of the practice of dance diplomacy are state-actors, non-states, publics and individuals. If one of these features is missing, dance practices could not be called practices of dance diplomacy. For example, if senders do not communicate messages based on diplomatic aspects, it is not dance diplomacy. If there are no senders or targets, there is no dance diplomacy. If there are no communication aspects of dance activities, then it is not a dance since dance itself is a form of non-verbal communication.

2.2 Dance Diplomacy in the Complexity of Contemporary Diplomacy

This study notices that dance diplomacy has a few similarities with other unique types of contemporary diplomacy. It means that the character of dance diplomacy is cooperative, complex and multilayered. For example, gastronomic diplomacy and sport diplomacy are also considered as a part of cultural diplomacy and public diplomacy. According to “new diplomacy” scholars, sport diplomacy could be considered as a tool for improvement, soft power, diplomatic dialogue, peaceful and tolerant comprehension of different cultures in the interest of the promotion of physical activity and sport practices.\footnote{V., Mabillard, and D. Jadi, 'Sports as Cultural Diplomacy: How Sport Can Make a Difference in International Relations', first published in the ICD Outlook 2011, p.12, \url{http://www.culturaldiplomacy.org/culturaldiplomacynews/index.php?en_cd-outlook-2011_introduction}, (accessed 4 May 2015).} This study claims that dance diplomacy through dance and dance activities could be also described as a tool of soft power with an aim to promote peace-building, tolerance and mutual understanding. Moreover, gastronomic diplomacy scholars build a theoretical framework of this specific kind of contemporary diplomacy on cultural diplomacy and public diplomacy through a consideration that food could be used for diplomatic purposes including formal diplomatic ceremonies.\footnote{P. Rockower, 'The State of Gastronomy', \textit{Public Diplomacy magazine}, issue 11, winter, 2014, p. 14, \url{www.publicdiplomacymagazine.com}, (accessed 5 May 2015).} Food is a popular medium, which communicates food culture of countries to public and in this way improves traditional diplomacy.\footnote{Ibid.} Dance diplomacy could be also understood as an improvement of diplomacy through dance, which is a non-verbal communication of local cultures or single individuals. Non-state actors and individuals turn to contemporary diplomacy for the reason that it is a dynamic, fashionable and...
tolerant practice to maintain a relationship of peoples. Therefore, these new diplomatic practices such as dance diplomacy emerge. In addition, food or sport are instruments of soft power, which help immigrants to travel all around the world and be accepted due to the tolerance towards their national image.\(^{59}\) Dance absolutely contributes to these findings of contemporary diplomacy within understanding of dance diplomacy as a tool of soft power, medium and a non-verbal communication on both international and local levels.

Moreover, communication has impacted contemporary diplomacy with the rise of “techno-diplomacy”\(^{60}\), “media diplomacy”\(^{61}\), or “digital diplomacy”.\(^{62}\) Likewise, foreign ministries have found internet as a powerful medium.\(^{63}\) Diplomats are occupied with “media diplomacy” for their political reasons.\(^{64}\) “Mediatization”\(^{65}\) process is also identified with the phenomenon of dance diplomacy due to the fact that dance diplomats use media to spread a message through their dance activities. At the same time mass media is engaged in searching for innovations and activities, which have the power of attraction to convince public. Dance diplomacy has that power of attraction, so it is extremely involved in the process of mediatization and it also accompanies to other kinds of contemporary diplomacy, such as media diplomacy and digital diplomacy. In addition, numerous diplomatic reports and investigations are based on the work of journalists.\(^{66}\) This study outlines it on the grounds that it analyzes articles and messages released by the mass media about different dance activities, which are related to dance diplomacy. For example, a collaboration between the news portal \textit{Independent} and a non-governmental organization \textit{Save the Children} had spread a message about a dance routine composed by \textit{Save the Children} in order to get donations for children.\(^{67}\) This case is an example of

\(^{59}\) Ibid., p. 27.
\(^{61}\) Ibid.
\(^{62}\) Ibid.
\(^{63}\) Ibid., p. 197.
\(^{65}\) E.g., Marcinkowski 2005; Meyen 2009; Reinemann 2010; Schrott and Spranger 2007.

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media diplomacy, which includes dance diplomacy. In addition, media diplomacy helps to gather information on other types of contemporary diplomacy, therefore contemporary diplomacy becomes even more complex than ever before within the inner interdependence of diverse types of contemporary diplomacy.

Since most of the diplomatic aspects of dance diplomacy rest on the main principles of cultural diplomacy, which communicates respect, tolerance, acceptance of different cultures, fostering mutual understanding, justice, equality, human rights and global peace, diplomacy is a global cross-border matter. Therefore, communication is an important asset of diplomacy. All diplomatic aspects are sent through information gathering, network development, diplomatic signalling, ritualization and technological improvement, which are communication aspects of dance diplomacy. Since diplomacy is both formal and informal activities, professional dancers and people who see dance as a soft power tool contribute to contemporary diplomacy considering that dance diplomacy within messages based on diplomatic aspects has ability to manage conflicts, compromise and build relationships. Numerous dance exchange projects and activities provide help to international cooperation and expression of individuals through dance. Moreover, soft power can affect targets directly, such as the professional artist Martha Graham did, and indirectly by using dance as an attraction tool to bring issues to light of diverse global politics. However, not counting all these mentioned features of dance diplomacy, the communication aspects could be absolutely taken into a deeper account since one of suggestive perspective on dance diplomacy is a form of non-verbal communication.

### 2.3 Communication aspects of Dance Diplomacy

This study claims that the feature of communication aspects is probably most visible in this unique type of contemporary diplomacy. Communication unites dance and diplomacy in the sense that both dance and diplomacy could be described as forms of

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communication. It is relevant to mention that theories of communication are outstandingly complex and multicultural due to the fact that numerous theorists from interdisciplinary studies have put an impact on a comprehension of communication by concentrating on the social practices of people. They consider diplomacy as being older than a recorded social history. Dance emerged also not only the day before yesterday. In addition, non-American constructivists, who are to a great degree captivated by diplomatic culture, agree with an idea of communicative competence to diplomatic dialogue. In any case, communication is related to both dance and diplomacy. It is also one of the essential elements of cultural diplomacy and a relevant aspect of dance diplomacy. Moreover, diplomacy as communication can be traced back further than the fifteenth-century in Italy, where around the exactly same time the ballet dance has emerged. Hence, communication, diplomacy and dance go step by step through ages and communication suits to be adopted on this new phenomenon of dance diplomacy.

Numerous authors contend that communication is a condition to maintain international relations. Besides, the system of communication is the system of international society. The phenomenon of dance diplomacy also includes the aspect of communication since dance diplomacy is a long-term activity of communication between international society and global leaders, dancers and their audience, the ideas behind choreographed routines and political social issues. Dance diplomacy has widened and increased requirements of diplomatic communication within a concept of dance and symbolic ideas and messages, which are communicated through dance routines. In order to deepen this idea, the experts in communication science claim that functions of non-verbal communication are defined as to communicate group or individual personalities, feelings and maintain relationships. From the perspective of dance scholars, dance is

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74 Ibid., p. 7.

utilized to express the idea.\textsuperscript{76} It is a human cultural behavior, which communicates values, mentality, and convictions of peoples.\textsuperscript{77} Due to the fact that dance diplomacy is a mean of non-verbal communication, which communicates reflections of culture, individuals and traditions of states. For example, the \textit{owigiri dance}, which originated in 1985 in Nigeria, is regularly used to communicate different ideas by dance steps. The \textit{osundu} dance step, which is slow moving, communicates a condition of misery while the \textit{penge} or \textit{agene} dance steps, which are fast and energetic, communicate joy.\textsuperscript{78}

In addition to this, many researchers argue that dance and language are related. The idea that language has its roots in gestural communication goes back at least to the 18th century.\textsuperscript{79} According to the anthropologist and psychologist Michael Tomasello, human communication has begun as whistling or yelling, and just after that the system of codes was established.\textsuperscript{80} Additionally, the French cleric and Renaissance's dance theorist Jehan Tabourot in the 16\textsuperscript{th} century thought that dancing is a talking with movements.\textsuperscript{81} Alluding the study \textit{Explaining communication: contemporary theories and exemplars}, non-verbal communication consists of kinesics, haptics, proxemics, physical appearance, vocalics, chronemics, artifacts, and emotions.\textsuperscript{82} Kinesics includes body movements, positions and emblems, for example, OK sign, and expresses emotions. Haptics is about touches while proxemics investigates the way we utilize space. Artifacts are physical objects that communicate directly. It is obvious that dance is a part of non-verbal communication due to the fact that dancers with their body movements, positions, emblems and touches send messages to the audience or dance partner.

For instance, a dance flash-mob, which includes OK sign, might send a message about a wish to build a peaceful and harmonic relationship in the international arena. Moreover, a new trend of site-specific dancing is inspired to perform in respects of the

\textsuperscript{77} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{78} Ibid., p. 328.
\textsuperscript{80} Ibid.
site's structural engineering, outline, history or its current utilization. These are the elements of artifacts and proxemics. The strength and good physical appearance of dancers communicate the idea of well-developed training, which could be used for other purposes such as military course training. For instance, parkour dance style, which advanced from the street dance and break-dancing, is regularly included in military training on the grounds that practitioners move from one place to another, arranging the obstacles in between while jumping off buildings, balancing, etc. Furthermore, touches between dance partners are reflections of emotions and feelings. For example, in Argentine tango dance a close embrace means trust of partner meanwhile the feeling of not-self confidence is expressed within an open embrace. In addition, the research, which examines nonverbal communication of dance among individuals in social conditions, concludes that dancing is a form of nonverbal communication by cause of many different nonverbal messages that are sent while dancing. These messages are reliance, not concerned, rudeness towards someone, having a great time, seduction, concentration, and attraction. Nonverbal communication codes of space, touch, expressions, and eye contact communicate either positive or negative messages. As a consequence, the dance has many aspects of non-verbal communication, which are also used in diplomatic practices within messages based on diplomatic aspects. At the moment dance can be utilized as an instrument for communicating messages about social and political issues, for instance, terrorism and peace. Therefore, dance and dance diplomacy should be noted as a non-verbal form of communication as long as dance is a performance of particular implications, sensibilities, and social relations.

In addition, in communication sciences dance is usually seen as a medium and a social exchange through information, messages and ideas, which are communicated through the dancer’s body. For instance, traditional dances communicate it with

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86 Ibid., p. 2.
movements, gestures, masks, costumes, melodies, etc. Some traditional dances are used to tell the marital status of person, various societal statements, occupations as well as lifestyle of person. For example, in owigiri dance, a woman who raises both hands by pointing upwards her index fingers sends a message that she is still not married. In the case of elites, they usually express themselves by dancing amazingly energetic. The costumes are also used to characterize economic well-being or status. For instance, a woman who wears a single wrapper or trousers is usually seen as single and a woman who has two wrappers on is seen as a married woman. Appropriately, the phenomenon of dance diplomacy is also a platform of social exchanges and a medium on the grounds that it communicates particular messages throughout symbolic movements and used materials.

According to the case study about evolution of cultural diplomacy published in the Institute of Cultural Diplomacy, cultural diplomacy advanced in the Cold War, when the aspect of culture became an asset in international organizations and negotiations became a part of cultural exchanges. According to James Der Derian's definition of diplomacy, it is a mediation between diverse gatherings, that compliments the idea of cultural diplomacy being a medium in the practices of cultural exchange. This study contends that evolution of dance diplomacy is analogically identified with the phenomenon of cultural diplomacy in the relationship of the importance of artistic expression in cultural exchanges amid the Cold War. Furthermore, cultural diplomacy uses music, literature, movies and other forms of non-linguistic communication now and then, which imparts cultural substances of international relations. Cultural exchanges in the field of contemporary diplomacy ask diplomats for deeper knowledge of different cultures in order to reach a mutual comprehension. As a result, this study argues that the aspect of communication in a form

90 Ibid.
91 Ibid.
of cultural exchanges has become essential in the diplomatic practice and diplomacy studies by cause of the increasing use of cultural expressions in contemporary diplomacy. Moreover, everyone, who is interested in culture, can be involved in cultural exchanges. Consequently, cultural exchange has broadened the meaning of contemporary diplomacy within dance exchanges and definition of today's diplomats.

Finally, dance and diplomacy are related to each other through ritualization aspect, which is identified with ritual conceptions of communication. A few anthropologists describes ritual as a specific kind of human communication.\(^6\) These ritual kinds of communication emerge in circumstances where misunderstanding would be considered as catastrophic.\(^7\) The institutionalization of diplomacy, which involves the ritualization of diplomatic communication, and the development of diplomatic protocol are cases in point.\(^8\) Moreover, another practice of ritualization in diplomacy can be seen as the exchange of gifts, which was a form of diplomatic communication in the Ancient Near East.\(^9\) Dance scholars compliment these implications and claim that the aspect of culture in the dance highlights different religious or ceremonial perspectives of dancers.\(^10\) For example, the previously mentioned owigiri dance has also ritual content within its masquerade dance called owu-sei. It uses ritual ceremonial movements of cleansing the land from negative spirits as well as upsetting happenings.\(^11\) So dance diplomacy is related to ritualization, which is the communication aspect of diplomacy.

### 2.4 Dance Diplomacy in the Theories of International Relations

This study is the first attempt to create a preliminary theoretical framework of dance diplomacy within international relations theories of constructivism, liberalism and the strategy of soft power. These theories contribute to the features of dance diplomacy and

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\(^7\) Ibid.

\(^8\) Ibid.


provide a reflection of theories on diplomatic and communication aspects of dance diplomacy. Even though there can be various different perspectives suggested for an interpretative and appropriate theoretical framework of dance diplomacy, this sub-chapter analyzes particularly these theories as being most applicative to answer the research question and explain the hypothesis of this study. Moreover, this theoretical part of the study has a purpose to draw a theoretical character of dance diplomacy, which illustrates that dance diplomacy can actually be analyzed as an individual concept in the context of international relations theories. Along with this, theoretical individualization of dance diplomacy contributes to our understanding of contemporary diplomacy.

To begin with a representation of these chosen theories and their application on the dance diplomacy phenomenon, constructivism highlights that knowledge is not a copy of reality, but an adaptation of subjective realities and a construction of meaning by interpretation.\(^\text{102}\) It is rational to apply constructivists conceptions on the phenomenon of dance diplomacy, because constructivism helps us to understand that dance diplomacy is a naturally emerged process, which was constructed as a social, cultural, and practical domain in the second half of the 20\(^{th}\) century when diplomacy had adopted global changes and became diverse. Liberalism takes note that an individual human reason is a tool for individuals to adapt to changes\(^\text{103}\) and it complements constructivism about idea of adaptation. In the context of dance diplomacy, this adaptation of relevance of human rights and individualistic artistic expression is important for dance diplomacy. Human rights either protect dancers and choreographers from states or religious militancy, or they become an inspiration for the creation of new dance routines about torture, slavery, genocide crimes, victims of wars, human relationships, etc. The strategy of soft power contributes to constructivism and liberalism within its ability to be dynamic and change with a changing context.\(^\text{104}\) Soft power is analyzed in the context of the phenomenon of dance diplomacy in order to illustrate that dance diplomacy is a tool of soft power. It contributes to contemporary diplomacy through public diplomacy and cultural diplomacy for the reason that dance diplomacy consists of the power of attraction and persuasion

\(^{102}\) Fosnot, 2005, pp. 4-6.  
\(^{103}\) Edwin van de Haar, 'Classical liberalism and International Relations', POLICY, vol. 25, no. 1, Autumn, 2009, p. 35.  
\(^{104}\) Nye, 2004, p. 68.
through dance and talented dancers. Also, further sub-chapters of theories illustrate that dance diplomacy is a strategic instrument, which is used by both state-actors and non-state actors, and that constructivism, liberalism and soft power highlight the vitality of roles of non-state actors, intergovernmental organizations, public and international cooperation.

As a matter of fact, all these mentioned theories are not located at the same level of generality by reason of soft power, which is not alternative to liberalism and constructivism. On the other hand, this study argues that there is an internal relationship between constructivism, liberalism and soft power. Constructivism contributes to dance diplomacy in terms of primary ideas of dancers and choreographers, which rely on their values and beliefs. Everything begins with attraction of dance, passion for dance and other non-material sources of power, which have been constructed in regard to the social, cultural and political values of peoples. The ideas of dance routines adapt subjective experiences of choreographers and dancers, and they construct meanings throughout interpretation. Interpretation opens ways to further creativity and emotions. Liberalism highlights the importance of individuals and their rights. It also adapts constructivism values and transforms them to the spontaneous international order, which supports individuals' rights, freedom of artistic expression, awareness of states, religious militancy, and inner potential of human. Democracy and human rights are powerful sources of attraction and emotion, which require to take particular effective actions, such as the use of soft power, in order to create international order. Furthermore, soft power is a dynamic strategy, which uses dance diplomacy in order to promote features of democracies, human rights as well as cultural, social and individual values. The expected outcomes must help to create international order and build international cooperation.

2.4.1 Constructivism

Constructivism is regularly known as an American approach of discipline. As a matter of fact, it makes an abundance of sense to apply constructivists conceptions on the phenomenon of dance diplomacy considering that the origin of dance diplomacy is deeply connected to the political actions made by the U.S. after the end of the World War II in regard to an idea to spread dance as an export. After a few prosperous decades of the
exercising cultural diplomacy, constructivism theory objected other theories of international relations. In contrast to realism, which highlights that international relations are matters of state-actors, and to liberalism, which concentrates on the interdependency of international actors, constructivism takes note of international politics as an interactive place where diverse identities of states and non-states are created.\textsuperscript{105} Constructivism theory highlights that the international system can be improved through the norms and values, and exactly the instrumental non-state actors and intergovernmental organizations construct these norms in the international arena.\textsuperscript{106} Hence, constructivism supports the diplomatic aspects of “new diplomacy” that diplomacy could be successfully practised by non-state actors as well as individuals. In addition, other diplomatic aspects of collaboration and cooperation of state-actors and non-state actors are also appreciated. Therefore, practices of cultural diplomacy were legitimimized and included into policies and cultural strategies now, and then. This case is illustrated by, for instance, \textit{Dance Motion USA} program\textsuperscript{107} through which the U.S. Department of State supports a series of tours by American contemporary dance companies to increase a cross-cultural understanding between the United States and other countries around the world.\textsuperscript{108} Another example of such collaboration is related to yoga diplomacy. The Morarji Desai National Institute of Yoga (MDNIY), which is an autonomous institution funded by the Government of India, Ministry of Health and Family Welfare, is an illustration of cooperation which at the same time creates a cultural individualization of the state.\textsuperscript{109}

Furthermore, constructivism highlights the importance of values and beliefs of peoples in behalf of their support for the diplomatic aspects of tolerance, respect, trust, acceptance of diverse cultures and inner potential of individuals. Many artists express their values through dance, play of rhythm, music, freedom of movement, which build something connecting and interacting culturally. For instance, “Music doesn't lie. If there is something to be changed in this world, then it can only happen through music”\textsuperscript{110},

\textsuperscript{105} Jackson & Sørensen in Einbinder, 2013, pp. 17-18.
\textsuperscript{106} Einbinder, 2013, p. 61.
\textsuperscript{108} See more at: <http://eca.state.gov/video/dance-diplomacy-dancemotion-usa#sthash.QDlxwspk.dpuf>
\textsuperscript{110} Jimi Hendrix. More minds of this American most creative and influential musician of the 20th century can be found at: <http://www.brainyquote.com/quotes/authors/j/jimi_hendrix.html#6HK1CbQ6jjSydPf>
“Dance is universal all over the world. At some point, we're all doing similar things and speaking through our bodies to tell our story.”"111; “Americans are open. We have a heart for people and experiencing other people and other ways.”"112 These are examples of their values, which influence their identities, interests and actions. Besides, there is a great demand on researches about the power of emotions for the sake of the theories of emotions that are related to both different political theories and dance diplomacy. In regard to the latest discussion about the power of emotions in the practice of public diplomacy, emotions, which claim statement, reasoning and persuasion, is a reflection of human values and cultural differences."113 In addition, they build collective identities through multicultural communication."114 Additionally, dance itself creates statement, reasoning and persuasion through a smart choreography, imagination and interpretation of it. It is to a great degree important for the comprehension of dance diplomacy, because dance is a medium, which sends these interpretive messages. Individuals normally understand them relying on their own particular experiences. As a consequence, these constructivism ideas support diplomatic signalling and non-verbal communication aspects of dance diplomacy, which are known as communication aspects of diplomacy.

In regard to the norms of constructivism and dance diplomacy, the theory of cosmopolitan constructivism fits to the framework of the mission of the United Nations, which is demonstrated in the UN Charter. According to the research’s author, an article 1.2 of the United Nations Charter defends cosmopolitan constructivism with a statement “to develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, and to take other appropriate measures to strengthen universal peace”."115 That shows that constructivism fits to the dance diplomacy phenomenon for the reason that constructivism norms are related to the ideology of dance diplomacy and contemporary diplomacy in general. In addition, constructivism highlights culture as one of the social innovative practice in the field of international relations."116 At

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111 Joel Sule Adams. See more at: <http://eca.state.gov/video/dance-diplomacy-dancemotion-usa/transcript#sthash.m5eyjzfU.dpuf>
112 Ibid.
114 Ibid.
115 Einbinder, 2013, p. 57.
116 Ibid., p. 236.
the same time culture serves as great diplomatic practice and as a tool of cultural exchanges of dance diplomacy. Finally, it is rational to apply the perspective of constructivism on the phenomenon of dance diplomacy. Constructivism makes us realize that dance diplomacy is a naturally emerged process, which was constructed as a social, cultural, and practical domain in the second half of the 20th century. In other respects, constructivists focus on a practice first, and as this study has noticed, dance diplomacy is so far just practically ongoing diplomatic practice in the field of contemporary diplomacy. As a result, this study claims that dance diplomacy is an empirical part of contemporary diplomacy, yet in the near future dance diplomacy will also contribute to contemporary diplomacy from a theoretical perspective.

2.4.2 Liberalism

This study argues that dance diplomacy could be investigated through a liberalism approach as a result that dance diplomacy is a tool to promote peace-building and artistic freedom. The liberal-democratic principles of liberalism theory could be successfully applied on the phenomenon of dance diplomacy. These diplomatic aspects of diplomacy and the features of a liberalism approach, such as individuals' rights, freedom, democracy, limited powers of the state-actors, the necessity of human process and cooperation, provide a comprehension of how contemporary diplomacy, including dance diplomacy, works. According to the statement submitted to the United Nations in March 2014 by Deeyah Khan, a music producer, composer and an Emmy award-winning documentary film director, “Artists everywhere, and in all periods, have taken a role in standing up for human rights and human dignity through their explorations of the human condition, particularly in times of unrest, oppression and chaos.”

Therefore, many non-governmental organizations, such as Human Right Watch, FreeMuse, Arterial Network, National Coalition Against Censorship, promote individual rights, freedom of artistic expression, and democratic ideas. Additionally, they monitor states and religious militancy in regard to individual rights. There is no such a thing as illiberal dance diplomacy. If

117 Ibid., 57.
artists and dance routines do not stand for peace and other diplomatic aspects, but they support other extreme practices instead, for example, terrorism, then they cannot be called dance diplomats and practices of dance diplomacy. Unfortunately, there have always been illiberal practices against dance diplomacy, dance and artists now and then, such as banned dance under the law or repression of artists. For instance, many men and, particularly women, who are proficient vocalists and dancers, or they just simply like listen to music and dance, are focused to be killed in some Islamic countries. A case in point, after a video discharged in Pakistan in May 2012 with dancing and applauding to the music of two boys and five girls, they were all killed.\textsuperscript{119} As indicated by the Centre of Peace and Culture Studies in Pakistan, the civil society attempted to bring this issue to the light, but it “was brushed under the carpet”. This study describes these illiberal practices as the main challenge of dance diplomacy amid ages. On the other hand, a power of dance has not once shown that it has the strength to resist against the control of state or other illiberal practices. In this century, non-state actors might be very helpful in order to support dance and artists.

Taking a note of the universal human rights, which are one of the diplomatic aspects of dance diplomacy, it emerged as a cultural and legal practice\textsuperscript{120}. There are many publications about human rights, for instance, \textit{The Universal Declaration of Human Rights} (1948), or another particularly related to music diplomacy, \textit{The Human Right for Musicians} recently published by FreeMuse. Dance diplomacy also supports the universal human rights by cause of the respect to culture and individuality. Human rights are related to dance diplomacy since they protect dancers and choreographers from states or religious militancy, or they simply become an inspiration for new dance routines. Thoughtful choreographers create dance routines about the limits of moral, torture and suffering, autonomy of body, slavery, genocides crimes, victims of wars, human relationships, and in this way they all reflect and support human rights. For example, a choreographer and a famous dancer Judith Engelgau choreographed a dance routine in response to the September 11 terrorist attack, which was noted for its peace, strength and stability.\textsuperscript{121}


\textsuperscript{120} Burchill, 2005, p. 70.

\textsuperscript{121} 'Art Now: responses to 9/11: performance, music, dance', in the official website of National Coalition
Other non-state actors also use a dance as a tool to express their support for human rights. For example, *Amnesty International* volunteers did a flash-mob dance in 2014 on the 90s classic song *Stop Right Now* by The Spice Girls in order to raise the awareness about police torture in the Philippines.\(^\text{122}\) *CPDRC dancing inmates*, which is a cooperation of the collective prison inmates in Cebu Provincial Detention and Rehabilitation Center, supports rights of prisoners within their performances. Dance activities, such as *the Rwanda Remembers 100 Days of Terror on Genocide’s 20th Anniversary*\(^\text{123}\) and *the Stomp out Genocide* project\(^\text{124}\), contribute to solidarity of genocide victims. These examples of dance diplomacy, which consist of symbolic messages based on diplomatic aspects, are a small, but relevant contribution to contemporary diplomacy.

Talking about the liberal-democratic principles of necessity of human process and collaboration, liberalism highlights how the inner potential of human beings, such as dancers and choreographers, can lead to a collaboration and mutual understanding of different cultures. Furthermore, a potential of dancers and choreographers is preventive for conflictual situations. For instance, *First Step Iraq*, which is a product of collaboration between the U.S. Embassy in Baghdad and *YES Academy*, illustrates this point. The aim of the project is to train teachers and promote youth leadership in the arts in Iraq. In October 2013 the U.S. Embassy in Baghdad and *YES Academy* sponsored the six members of *First Step Iraq* to go on the dance tour to the U.S., where they could collaborate with the local hip hop dance groups\(^\text{125}\). So dance diplomacy creates a collaboration through the human process of dancing and cultural exchanges. Besides, liberalism makes us realize that the free trade connects individuals to community\(^\text{126}\) and that commercial exchange prevents them from the war\(^\text{127}\). Branding dance diplomacy can serve for a good on the grounds that...

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\(^\text{126}\) Burchill, 2005, p. 61.

\(^\text{127}\) Ibid., p. 66.
it provides a possibility for cultural exchange which, in the same way as commercial exchange, prevents us from the war. In addition, cultural exchanges show a modern interdependency, which prefers peace, collaboration, globalization and communication versus conflictual situations such as terrorism. The phenomenon of dance diplomacy supports this idea of no-barrier interdependency between nations as well due to the use of cultural practices and the promotion of peace versus terrorism.

On the other hand, recently appeared Islamic militancy gives a lot of criticism on the liberalisms' ideas. The East Asian and Islamic societies, which dismiss the idea of liberal democracy, have contended that there are no business-based or other answers to solve problems and keep people safe from a real threat and terrorism. It means that contemporary diplomacy, including dance diplomacy, could be also criticized as an ineffective practice. Despite all criticism on liberalism as an inappropriate theory, I argue that it influences the individualization process of different types of contemporary diplomacy within its attention to individuals and freedom of artistic expression. It is an important theory, which explains particular parts of the theoretical framework of dance diplomacy. Furthermore, it contributes to a historical interest of dance diplomacy concerning that the thoughts of liberalism influenced the spread of democracy and liberal-democratic principles during the Cold War and in this way it contributed to the economic globalization and the diversification of contemporary diplomacy. To put it another way, the creation of a legal basis of liberal ideas and a promotion of human rights, especially after the end of the World War II, helped to spread cultural diplomacy within a dance used as an export.

2.4.3 The theory of Soft power

Soft power is independent from liberalism, yet same as constructivism, it highlights that the control of power is focused around the values and beliefs of diverse peoples. Hence, neither state-actors have the full control of power, nor non-state actors. The ideas, which

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128 Burchill, 2005, p. 64.
129 Ibid., p. 57.
130 Nye, 2011, p. 82.
131 Ibid., p. 83.
are based on the values and beliefs of peoples, run the show in a connection with various exchange programs and broadcasting, which are communication aspects of dance diplomacy. On the other hand, state-actors compete for a power with non-state actors, media and social networks on the grounds that each of them can produce those ideas. A comprehension of power of these thoughts made international and national performers incorporate in their policies soft power, which is created through public diplomacy and cultural diplomacy. Dance diplomacy is one of the instruments of soft power considering that dance serves as the best practice for a cultural and social advancement of the nation. For instance, dance of Flamenco associates with Spain, especially with Andalusia, Hula dances is a reflection of the state of Hawaii and the culture of Polynesia, Cuba associates with Salsa meanwhile Argentina is a home to Tango. It is a consequence of the fact that soft power comprises three essential viewpoints of culture, political values and foreign policies. Dance diplomacy as an instrument of soft power mostly consists of an element of culture, yet it includes either political, cultural, social or personal values. Additionally, dance diplomacy is a part of foreign policy as well as a piece of other communication strategies in the case of dance diplomacy used by non-state actors.

Along with this, talented dancer are gifted story tellers in behalf of their non-verbal communication, face and body interpretations, emotions and movements. These persuading dancers are the best tools and instruments for soft power. Martha Graham, an appreciative dancer and a choreographer, is one of most appropriate examples of convincing and talented dance ambassadors of the U.S. She traded her dances to Soviet Russia and Asia amid the Cold War. Soft power can affect targets directly, such as Martha Graham did, and indirectly by using dance as an attractive tool to bring issues to the light of diverse global politics. Dancers and the concept of dance itself are powerful non-material sources of power. To represent this case, Green Peace can be specified with its campaign to spare the Arctic Dance for Ice in 2012. With a specific end goal to get as more than could be allowed attention, the pole dancing was picked so that everybody who wanted could use a pole, tree or road lamp in order to make pictures on it and spread a

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132 One of M. Graham's performances in regard to body language and persuasion, [online video], <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=icMO1Z0UhGQ>, (accessed 31 January 2015).

message far and wide about the North Pole in this remarkable and amusing way. Correspondingly, it could not be wrong to say that dance diplomacy has a power of attraction and persuasion within its originality. Moreover, this study argues that instruments of dance diplomacy are convincing and alluring for the sake of both dance and talented artists, which are the features of dance diplomacy in the form of previously mentioned senders.

However, dance diplomacy as a tool of soft power meets few challenges. Regularly soft power is seen as manipulation and propaganda for the reason that soft power can be utilized for good as likewise for bad purposes. Describing the phenomenon of dance diplomacy, dance was typically called as propaganda amid the Cold War, when dance was used as an export and cultural weapon. Dance diplomacy can be simply criticized as a tool of propaganda and manipulative instrument due to the power of persuasion. This study claims that dance diplomacy is persuasive and convincing not on the account of the purpose to manipulate, but as a result of the persuasive dancing by talented and professional dancers who professionally use their non-verbal communication skills and emotions, keeping in mind the end goal to convince public with their character in the dance routine and the main statement of it. Case in point, the second president of Egypt, Gamal Adbel Nasser Hussein, said once after he viewed the American dancers, “If it is propaganda, let us have more of it”. An alternative view not to mix cultural diplomacy with propaganda is a result of the increasing power of non-state actors. For instance, UNESCO has changed the view of cultural diplomacy considering the relevance of inner and external culture in international exchanges, which creates a dialogue.

Another challenge is that an aspect of culture is asserted to be to a great degree various and dynamic itself, and numerous countries and cultures have different values that challenges the instrument of dance within the ascent of religious militancy in the Islamic world and limitations of artistic expressions. Thus, dance diplomacy needs a voice and the first venture to be heard is to make a well-developed investigation on this kind of contemporary diplomacy. At the same time this challenge of diverse culture makes us

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134 Nye, 2011, p. 81.
135 Prevot, 1999, p. 29.
137 Ibid., p. 84.
understand that cultural diplomacy as an apparatus of soft power contributes to the idea of diversification of contemporary diplomacy due to the diversity of culture and different values. However, in order to deepen our understanding of dance diplomacy as a tool of soft power, more investigations are required in terms of the relationship of power and culture practices.\textsuperscript{138} Other scholars request more analyses on a relationship between power and diplomacy in the light of the fact that right now the main concentration on diplomacy studies are based on diplomacy as a process or an institution.\textsuperscript{139} According to theorists of public diplomacy, there is an absence of knowledge what public diplomacy does when it really works and reaches the emotions of targets, therefore, it needs more investigations on the concepts of power and persuasion.\textsuperscript{140} This study is a small, but important contribution to these researches as much as it argues that dance diplomacy manages the power of attraction through dance and talented dancers.

\textbf{2.5 Concluding notes of the chapter}

This chapter provides a complex understanding of dance diplomacy from three different perspectives. Dance diplomacy could be seen as a part of public diplomacy and cultural diplomacy, an instrument of soft power and a form of non-verbal communication. Dance diplomacy is very complex, multilayered and cooperative which leads to an understanding of why contemporary diplomacy is so diverse. Dance diplomacy is a matter of everyday diplomatic practices on both micro and macro levels, therefore, it is a widely ongoing practice, unfortunately has not been noticed by an academic society yet. The rise of dance diplomacy supports “new diplomacy” theorists who search for new diplomatic practices which are related to the work of non-state actors, informal diplomats, meanings of non-verbal communication and cultural values.

This study makes a note of the interpretative five main features, which distinguish dance practices as practices of dance diplomacy, but not just any other activity. Practice of dance diplomacy includes senders, diplomatic aspects, messages based on diplomatic

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\bibitem{138} Ibid., p. 84.
\end{thebibliography}
aspects, communication aspects of diplomacy through which these messages are sent, and targets. Senders are different actors of international society, including dance activities, such as dance projects, and a dance routine itself. Diplomatic and communication aspects of dance diplomacy are based on a few theoretical elements of constructivism, liberalism and soft power theories. However, soft power is not just a theory, but it is also a communication strategy, which supports many communication aspects of diplomacy.

Talking about the understanding of dance diplomacy from the perspective of theories of international relations, many diplomatic and communication aspects of dance diplomacy are related to the highlights of constructivism, liberalism and soft power. First of all, constructivism as well as liberalism and soft power makes us realize the importance of non-state actors. Secondly, constructivism takes note of the value of ideas, traditions, beliefs, cultural identities, and cooperation. Dance creates statement, reasoning and persuasion through a smart choreography, imagination and interpretation of it. Constructivism highlights that an interpretation could lead to the use of emotions and adaptation of different cultural identities, which reflect diplomatic aspects of tolerance and respect for other cultures. Moreover, it is rational to apply constructivists conceptions on the phenomenon of dance diplomacy as long as constructivism highlights that dance diplomacy is a naturally emerged process, which was constructed as a social, cultural, and practical domain in the second half of the 20th century when dance was used as an export. At the same time, constructivism takes note of the idea that diplomacy has adopted global changes and became diverse itself. As a result, the phenomenon of dance diplomacy has emerged.

The liberal-diplomatic aspects which can be used in the practice of dance diplomacy are individuals' rights, freedom, limited powers of the state-actors, necessity of human process and cooperation. This theory brings to the light an idea that artists through dance stand up for cooperation, peace and human rights, particularly in times of the oppression. Human rights are relevant for dance diplomacy on the grounds that they either protect dancers and choreographers from states and religious militancy, or they become an inspiration for the new dance routines. Furthermore, the inner potential of dancers and choreographers is preventive for conflictual situations. Besides, human rights influenced the spread of democracy and they contributed to the diversification of contemporary
diplomacy within a dance used as an export and the rising discussion about the freedom of artistic expression.

Soft power underlines that a control of power is focused around the values and beliefs of diverse nations, which are not in the full control of states and non-state actors. These values and beliefs rest on the ideas of constructivism and liberalism, and they are strategically communicated through various communication aspects of diplomacy, such as the programs of cultural exchange and the strategies of communication. This study argues that dance diplomacy is an instrument of soft power as long as it is a part of cultural diplomacy and public diplomacy. It is relevant to make note that dance diplomacy, as a tool of soft power, consists of the power of attraction through the concept of dance and talented dancers, which become mediums in the practice of dance diplomacy. Soft power is a strategic communication itself and it gets along with practice of dance diplomacy. The main features of soft power, which are culture, foreign policy and political values, are extended to the global, social and even personal values and a diplomatic work of non-state actors.

Dance diplomacy absolutely contributes to contemporary diplomacy within an understanding of it as a tool of soft power, part of public diplomacy, cultural diplomacy and a form of non-verbal communication on both international and local levels. Each dance diplomacy practice is based on particular implications and social relations, which seek to improve contemporary diplomacy. The rise of dance diplomacy illustrates that dance has improved its functions from the purpose to entertain to diplomatic purposes, such as preventing conflictual situations, building relationships, etc. Therefore, the concept of dance becomes more universal in the same way as diplomacy with dance practices becomes more creative, original, complex and powerful.

This study is the first endeavour to create a theoretical framework of dance diplomacy. This chapter illustrates how theories of constructivism, liberalism and soft power can explain the practical exercises of dance, and how the practice of dance diplomacy can be incorporated to the theoretical framework. Within it, this study contributes to the investigations on the diversification of contemporary diplomacy and explains the meanings of dance diplomacy within investigations on dance diplomacy. This research is a contribution to researches on a power of emotions in the field of international
relations and soft power. Yet, there is an actual need for further investigations and interpretative researches on the interest of dance diplomacy and its power of attraction. Lastly, the phenomenon of dance diplomacy serves for the purpose to prevent conflictual situations and rise awareness of already existing issues through dance. Hence, it is a phenomenon worth attention in international relations and diplomatic studies, which illustrates how broad and unpredictable contemporary diplomacy has recently become.
3. History of Dance diplomacy

The third chapter concentrates on the historical perspective of the phenomenon of dance diplomacy and seeks to answer the second sub-question of this study, if dance diplomacy has changed over the time and, in the case, how. This part of the study is unique considering that it suggests an interpretative historical perspective on dance diplomacy, which has never been discussed before in the literature concentrating particularly on the concept of dance diplomacy. The historical chapter is divided into 3 stages of the suggestive history of dance diplomacy. The first stage provides a brief background and an introduction to the relationship of dance and politics during the Renaissance. It also analyzes the first diplomatic dancing experiences and the birth of dance diplomacy. The second stage illustrates the evolution of dance diplomacy in the 20th century. The third stage describes the individualization of dance diplomacy during the end of the 20th century and it concentrates on the post Cold War era, which is closely related to the diversification of contemporary diplomacy. This last sub-chapter gathers the boom of cultural diplomacy, including dance diplomacy practicing after the 9/11 till today. It also draws the main challenges of dance diplomacy in comparison with the Renaissance and the Cold War. It is important to mention that this study does not include a time period between the Renaissance and the 20th century due to the fact that no relevant researches and studies were found in regard to the relationship of dance and politics from the perspective of dance diplomacy.

3.1 The birth of dance diplomacy in the Renaissance

Exploring the relationship between dance and politics, it is important to mention that royal courts of the 16th – 17th century were subjects of relevant studies, therefore, we start our historical journey about the phenomenon of dance diplomacy in the Renaissance. A coincidence or not, but both the primary principles of diplomacy and the emergence of classical ballet go back to the Renaissance. We get information on the dance in courts within the first traveling foreigner diplomats who left notes about it. In the Renaissance states faced an absence of outside threat and just a shared linguistic and cultural system
made diplomatic communication effective\textsuperscript{141} through travels and royal courts. Furthermore, the position of resident ambassadors showed up during the Renaissance. They needed to have the legal knowledge and rhetorical skills to maintain diplomatic relations through negotiation and information gathering, so counselors, lawyers, clerics, soldiers and others were involved in the work of resident ambassador. These ambassadors must likewise know how to manipulate words and people, thus they were always confident with audiences.

The case to the illustrative point, there are few studies, which focus on the Queen of England, Elizabeth and her dancing strategies, which she utilized in order to manipulate dance for a political and diplomatic gain.\textsuperscript{142} She abused her role as the queen using her rhetorical charm and dancing as a political apparatus through language and dance keeping in mind the end goal to demonstrate that she was a great dancer, speaker and ruler.\textsuperscript{143} The ritual of international relations and diplomacy was a secret world as well as a public world.\textsuperscript{144} A dancer builds his or her inner secret world of confidence, control, competence, joy, and shares it to a public through diplomatic performance. The Queen Elizabeth was positively noticed by foreigner diplomats who came to England and participated in royal celebrations. Moreover, in the medieval Europe, the stylized welcoming of visiting diplomats at the city gates was administrated by ceremonial rituals. They were much alike ballets and other traditional royal ceremonies. Of course, these ceremonies were instruments to demonstrate the economic strength and cult of royalty\textsuperscript{145} as well as the world of diplomacy.

As it was mentioned before, the ritual of ballet, which was a complex of dance, musical drama, show, poetry, mime, choral music and political propaganda, had appeared in the royal courts amid Renaissance. Ballet also contributed to diplomatic communication. The royal courts were a meeting spot for everyone who needed to be incorporated into a diplomatic world. Furthermore, dancing in ballets became well known


\textsuperscript{143} Ibid.


due to the chance to be on the prestigious display and be seen by the important people. Incorporation to diplomatic world frequently meant a recognition by general society. Besides this, dancers were chosen for the sake of their family associations, and the most loved dancers were rewarded with diplomatic assignments, enrollment in royal military requests, relational unions, and prestige in behalf of dancing in front of important families.\textsuperscript{146} As we clearly see, there is a relationship not only between dance and politics, but also between dance and diplomacy in particular from a historical perspective. Dancers were included in the world of diplomacy together with other diplomats who needed to dance in order to be involved in the diplomatic world during the Renaissance. Only diplomatic network could ensure participants to dance in prestigious royal courts, hence, the communication aspects of diplomacy were relevant for the early dance diplomacy amid Renaissance as well. Moreover, anyone who was well-dressed, could get to see the performance by reason of no restrictions or fees.\textsuperscript{147} The importance of public was to dancers and diplomats relevant now and then. In addition, court ballets had two aims, to entertain an audience and spread political propaganda of the cult of kingship, especially when kings themselves danced the lead roles in ballets. For instance, in the 1619 the king portrayed the crusader king Godfrey of Bouillon in the ballet Tancrède en la forêt enchantée. It communicated a message of loyalty to the king to death.\textsuperscript{148} The court displayed the monarchy's soft power in order to awe and impress those who could help him to govern successfully. Hence, the court ballets were practices of early dance diplomacy and they were early instruments of cultural diplomacy and soft power.

Furthermore, ballets had political themes related not only to the cult of kingship, but also to peace-building, which is one of many diplomatic aspects of diplomacy. For example, the Ballet de Minerve, which was performed in 1615, was about the triumph of Minerva, the goddess of Wisdom and Peace.\textsuperscript{149} This study claims that a power of dance was used for the purposes of peace-building as same as propaganda of the powerful monarchy in the discussed period. The power of monarchy was influentially strong enough to defeat the very beginning of dance diplomacy at the end of the Renaissance.

\textsuperscript{147} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{148} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{149} Ibid.
because the kingship was related to the popularity of ballet courts. When royal families stopped participating in ballets, they became an outmoded form of entertainment and disappeared.\textsuperscript{150} Dance as the form of art disappeared from the world of diplomacy until it was again included to political practices of hegemonic powers in the 20\textsuperscript{th} century. In a comparison with the power of dance in the 20\textsuperscript{th} century, the Renaissance's dances were very related to the power of monarchy and they had absolutely no autonomy as a form of art.

Nevertheless, dance in the Renaissance was a representation of power structures. An order in which diplomats danced, who danced with whom, and a position of the king and queen to the performance were very important considering that everything represented power in the society, which was reflected in the dances of royal courts.\textsuperscript{151} Nothing like that is familiar with the further development of dance diplomacy and it is a specific feature of Renaissance dance diplomacy. The Renaissance dancing was the world of diplomacy itself and dancers were diplomats in the same way as diplomats were dancers. This study contends that occupations of dancers and diplomats in the Renaissance were pretty much the same concern, because the structure of court conversation was same as the structure of dance, which usually began with a gesture of bow, reverence, or others choreographed guidelines of the dance.\textsuperscript{152} Additionally, both diplomats and dancers were manipulators of audiences through their nonverbal communication and the sense of confidence. In addition, court ballets had two aims, to entertain audiences and spread political propaganda or the themes of peace-building to public. Finally, both occupations of dancers and diplomats were prestigious on the grounds that they had the possibility to be seen in front of important people and royal families.

\textsuperscript{150} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{152} Ibid., p. 80.
3.2 The evolution of dance diplomacy in the 20th century

We must make a giant leap in history from the Renaissance by cause of the lack of relevant resources. However, the 20th century is important for the phenomenon of dance diplomacy considering that during this century researches about the relationship between dance and politics mostly emerged. The 20th century also faced the appearance of different styles of dances. For instance, Cuban dance Salsa was introduced in the 1930s and immediately became popular among famous musicians and dancers. Swing dance was presented with the jazz and swing music of the 1920s-1930s and today it is recognized in Lindy Hop, Jitterbug, Boogie Woogie, West Coast Swing and Rock&Roll. Tap dance was introduced during the 1920s Prohibition era in the United States. Additionally, many other modern dances were invented in the early 1920s, such as Foxtrot, Tango, Charleston, Hip-hop, break-dancing and modern dance, which broke free from the classical ballet. These new dances were as diplomatic tools to raise social awareness of social and political issues. In the beginning of the 20th century white women, gay, and African-American men reshaped their roles in society with a help of art. For example, a famous choreographer Dundam used herself as a promotional face for African-Americans and African dance. Shawn promoted homosexual male dance companies. His choreography emphasized athleticism and virtues of physical labor. Tamiris during the 1920s-1930s focused on the working class and their recognition as well as better salaries. The rise of modern dance helped to establish Jewish intellectual centers in the 1930s in the New York City. Moreover, Franziska Boas used dance as a form of social activism within the Civil Rights Movement and politicized implications of white anti-racism activism. Boas’s activism spread from New York to Rome and Georgia. Hence, art, particularly dance, is often overestimated as a tool of entertainment. It can be also seen as a tool of promoting racial equality.

Meanwhile dance was used as a tool to raise awareness of social issues by public, including choreographers and dancers, state actors understood the power of dance and started to use dance as a cultural weapon to solve political issues, prevent peace, and spread propaganda through it. Cultural diplomacy in the 20th century served for prestige and affirmation, and it was a good platform to reinforce the relations with allies as well as an attempt to pacify the international relations.\(^{157}\) As it was mentioned in the previous sub-chapter, dancing served for exactly the same reasons during the Renaissance. The first time a term “Dance is a Weapon” was mentioned in the New Dance Group bulletin in 1933, which was proposed by the Department of the Communist Party of America and suggested to The Workers Theater magazine.\(^{158}\) Before the World War II and especially during the Cold War, the new peacetime used dance as a soft power tool through cultural exchanges and the propaganda of states on the grounds that other weapons could not be used. Cultural diplomacy was included into countries' foreign policies, which started the negotiations between artistic companies, political public institutions, and economic impresarios actors for the reason that they all attended cultural exchanges.\(^{159}\) In France, the main public actor organizing the cultural exchanges under the auspices of the Foreign Office was the Association Française d'Action Artistique. It was connected to the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Cultural Affairs and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In addition, the French Communist Party supported about 10% of the cultural diplomacy shows in France.\(^{160}\) In England, the British Council has been responsible for cultural exchanges since 1934. The Soviet Relations Committee of the British Council, which has been created in 1955, was always in charge of the artistic exchanges with the Soviet Union and prevented England from too many practices of cultural exchange with the Soviet regime.\(^{161}\)

Talking about hegemons of the Cold War, the U.S. used millions of dollars on cultural relations, including tours of artists within President Dwight D. Eisenhower’s

\(^{160}\) Ibid., p. 4.
\(^{161}\) Ibid., p. 5.
1954 Emergency Fund for International Affairs. But even before then, the U.S. spread propaganda to Latin America through ballet companies in 1941. These dancing initiatives are known as Goodwill tour or American Ballet Caravan.\textsuperscript{162} After the World War II the U.S. sent professional dancers for competition and pride for the sake of winning friends and influencing policy.\textsuperscript{163} America funded two Berlin cultural festivals in 1951 and 1952 as a result of a focus on Germany. In 1954 the State Department focused on Asia when Mao Zedong established the People’s Republic of China under the Chinese Communist Party in 1949 and had a victory in the Korean War. Eisenhower thought if Indochina fell to the Vietminh, then Malaya, Burma, India and Iran would follow. So the professional choreographer and dancer M. Graham sent her tours to Japan, Malaya, Burma, India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Indonesia, the Philippines, Thailand, and Iran in 1955.\textsuperscript{164} Second time Graham’s work was sent to Asia in 1974 in the interest of the American exceptionalism in the art. Graham's choreography promoted political messages such as American cultural movements could be identified with Eastern forms, and that American modern dance is related to American nationalism.\textsuperscript{165}

In the case of Soviet Union, Russia's imperial ballet consisted of two ballet companies, the Mariisky Theater of Opera and Ballet in St. Peterburg and the Bolshoi Theater of Moscow. Before the October revolution these two companies were the only public and state-funded ballet companies in Russia. During the Cold War ballet profited from the regime's promotion of culture and Rudolf Nureyev, Natalia Makarova, Mikhail Baryshnikov and others became the most visible cultural ambassadors to the west.\textsuperscript{166} Furthermore, an asset of talented choreographers and dancers to the cultural diplomacy was huge for the reason that they were doing deep researches while creating dances. For example, Martha Hill mentioned about Graham: “She was like a young scholar. <...> Martha would go to the library on the weekends if she wanted to research. <...> If she was preparing a dance on St. Joan, she was reading the facsimiles of the trial of St. Joan.”\textsuperscript{167}

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163 Ibid., p. 8.
165 Ibid., p. 44.
166 Ezrahi, 2012, p. 4.
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So a dance was not only a tool to maintain international relationships and cultural exchange, but also a form of nonverbal-communication and a storyteller itself.

On the other hand, when dance was involved in the world of diplomacy and courts during the Renaissance, and when dance was used as an export during the Cold War, dance as a form of art was challenged by state actors in terms of its freedom of expression and autonomy. Dance diplomacy was too much controlled. Even a dancer who was on tour with M. Graham, wrote in his unpublished biography of Graham: “Everything is totally calculated.”168 In the case of the U.S., The Department of State did not send dance if it was very disputable and had even a tiny possibility not to be accepted by foreign audiences.169 The dance could not be allowed to speak for itself. In the case of the Soviet Union, the regime wanted to control artistic output already since the 19th century on the grounds that ballet was a reflection of aristocratic culture and social life.170 Furthermore, soviet regime rejected abstraction and innovation due to the fact that narrative content could be more controllable than interpretative vaguer artistic messages. Therefore, the Soviet Union was using a principle “better nothing than something new” and supported the power of traditions.171 However, the failure of ballet companies proved that political regulations of art can also fail.172 Ballet was stronger than ideology in behalf of the artists who had to become more creative in order to overcome the system.173 For example, the modern dramatic coherence of Lavrovsky's Romeo and Juliet developed the modern narrative ballet in the west. Likewise, during the cultural Thaw, Yuri Grigorovich changed the regime's policy of promoting cultural innovations that challenged the main creative principles of the genre of classical ballet.174 Appropriately, the artistic creativity and autonomy of dance became stronger than pressure and control of political powers during the Cold War, which is unique historical feature of the phenomenon of dance diplomacy.

However, the concept of dance diplomacy in the 20th century became very multilayered for the reason that different actors were involved in cultural exchanges. It is very hard to evaluate or judge particular dance companies and choreographers, who

168 Ibid., p. 58.
171 Ibid., p. 235.
172 Ibid., p. 236.
173 Ibid., p. 232.
174 Ibid., p. 233.
wanted to be a part of this cultural war. Sometimes dance companies suggested to pay half price that their art would be accepted for export.\textsuperscript{175} It was not always clear if dancers participated in the cultural war due to the patriotism, competitiveness, or willingness to learn something new. So it seems that dance diplomacy in the 20\textsuperscript{th} century was a battle of different interests, such as the interests of the company or choreographer versus the interests of states. In any case, dance was a tool to picture interests and raise awareness of social and political issues. In addition, dance was a tool to fight against other nations as well as your own country, what was not a case during the Renaissance. Besides, dance diplomacy through cultural exchanges was used to get allies. As in the earliest diplomatic missions gift-giving was a tool to characterize relationships, dance as an export could be also considered as a gift for artists considering dance exchange as a tool to learn from others and improve your own skills. On the other hand, each king tried to make himself look better than other kings by giving the biggest and most expensive gifts.\textsuperscript{176} It was also a case during the 20\textsuperscript{th} century in view of countries sending a dance as an export for a national pride and cultural competition. In any case, individualized dance became a powerful tool in the diplomatic practices of the 20\textsuperscript{th} century.

### 3.3 Individualization of dance diplomacy in the post Cold War era

The last sub-chapter of this interpretative historical perspective on dance diplomacy discusses the last decade of the 20\textsuperscript{th} century and the beginning of the 21\textsuperscript{st} century. The end of the Cold War is important for understanding the evolution of dance diplomacy on the grounds that during the Cold War choreographers were aware of their individualism and their own view of dance versus states. In addition, a modern dance has introduced the new genre of solo dance during the 20\textsuperscript{th} century\textsuperscript{177}, which drove dancers to individualization. Apart from this, it is an interesting fact, that in the 1980s UN shared recommendation concerning the status of the artist, which implies that this new status leads to the improvement of the individualized society.\textsuperscript{178} The end of the Cold War in one way has

\textsuperscript{175} Prevot, 1999, p. 54.
\textsuperscript{177} Roger Copeland, \textit{The Death of the Choreographer} in Kolb, 2010, p. 41.
\textsuperscript{178} Kolb, 2010, p. 200.
completed a cultural war based on the ideologies and it claimed that art is a strong and powerful form of force, which is hard to be controlled by state actors. Therefore, mainstream choreographers, such as Martha Graham, named companies by their names. Dancers from the national dance companies began to market themselves as individual dancers and choreographers, for example, Pina Bausch, Merce Cunningham, Tudor, Ashton, Nijinsky, Balanchine, Tharp, Morris.¹⁷⁹

Furthermore, the post-Cold War era is relevant for understanding of the phenomenon of dance diplomacy, because in the 1990s the archives were opened to public in the Soviet Union. The access to information influences the diversification of contemporary diplomacy in behalf of the rise of dance investigations from the various policy documents. The new information gives a shape to a dance as an individual form of art in the context of diplomacy. In addition, this study claims that diplomacy is diversified with the access of information as well as with the speed of information, which is a result of communication revolution and the increased use of the internet. Internet communication has expanded a complex character of the cross-cultural communication by including new information on political dance activities into the discussion. The internet has turned into the general population space of the 21st century in behalf of the distinctive sorts of communication, such as networks or mass-self communication, which make individuals more politically involved.¹⁸¹ It leads to the diversification of contemporary diplomacy since new diplomats have more possibilities to individualize new types of diplomacy. Aside from this, the diversification of diplomacy and the individualization of new kinds of diplomacy improve an understanding of cultural diplomacy and public diplomacy. Cultural diplomacy concerns about a long-term perspective with a specific end goal to maintain peace meanwhile public diplomacy concerns about a short-term perspective and helps for already existing conflicts.¹⁸² This study claims that in the Renaissance era dance was the stage of diplomacy. During the most of the 20th century it was a part of cultural diplomacy. In the post-Cold War era it has

been included into both cultural diplomacy and public diplomacy strategies considering
the speed of information and a development of communication. The post Cold War era
requires fast conflict solutions and uses dance as an effective tool of public diplomacy
even more often than ever before. At the same time dance is used as an instrument of
cultural diplomacy in order to reach long-term goals.

To speak further on the 21st century, it is interesting to see how often the dynamics
of the Middle East affects the rest of international society. The Middle East is often
described as the motherland of the first diplomats and a beneficial place of the peaceful
coexistence. On the other hand, there are numerous cultural and political issues in
regard to relationship between Muslim and Non-Muslim societies. They are affected by
each other as a result of the clash of human rights and religious militancy as well as the
emergence of Islamic extremism and the rise of cultural diplomacy and public diplomacy.
A case in point, the U.S. reconsidered its emphasis on culture after the 9/11 considering
that the U.S. is losing a battle of culture against Islamic extremists. In 2003 the cultural
program was introduced to the Bush administration in the interest of refreshing cultural
diplomacy in the wake of huge number of reports affirming a negative consideration of
Americans by Muslim groups abroad. In 2009, The Bureau of Educational and Cultural
Affairs’ reported that American dance companies sent dancers on international tours less
in 2009, than in 1965. Therefore, Obama administration reevaluated the arts in policy
within a new partnership with the Brooklyn Academy of Arts to fund DanceMotion USA
program that sends Ronald K. Brown's Evidence dance company to Africa, Urban Bush
Women to South America, and the ODC dance company to Southeast Asia. The bigger
funding for cultural diplomacy contends that “America’s cultural leaders were deployed
around the world during the Cold War as artistic ambassadors and helped win the war of
ideas by demonstrating to the world the promise of America. Artists can be utilized again
to help us win the war of ideas against Islamic extremism.”

184 Amanda, H., Podany, Brotherhood of kings: how international relations shaped the ancient near east,
185 Cultural Diplomacy and The National Interest: In Search of a 21st-Century Perspective', The Curb
Center for Art, Enterprise & Public Policy. Art Industries Policy Forum.
186 Ibid., p. 47.
187 Ibid., p. 239.
188 Ibid., p. 20.
189 Ibid., p. 423.
has replaced the Soviet Communism in the 21st century and dance is back to a battle as a weapon.

However, one might think that Islamic extremism is nothing to compare with the Soviet Communism. On the other hand, dance might not bring back lives of all executed innocent people, but it is still a powerful tool, which consists of similar characteristics as terrorism. For instance, the performative aspects are aspects of both terrorism and dance. Furthermore, actions of terrorists have didactic impulses in the attempt to convert public to their cause. In the same way dance performances can be didactic and they seek to make audience to believe in the message sent. Terrorism is always 'anti-something' and it tries to resist against political approaches, which are claimed to be the widely accepted norms. Dance has also its own 'anti-art' side. For instance, it supported street and experimental theater in order to separate art and political life in the 1960s. Anyhow, this study does not claim that dance is the best tool to fight against Islamic extremism, but to include it into the strategies of public diplomacy and cultural diplomacy may be a smart step. Dance can share different emotions and concepts such as fear or death in the interest of rising awareness and supporting one or another side through art.

In any case, the 21st-century has faced the Islamic extremism, which challenges dance diplomacy by reason of religious militancy and a lack of freedom of artistic expression. This discourse of freedom of artistic expression and regulations of art is extremely familiar to contemporary practice of dance diplomacy. A few NGOs and individuals once in a while mention this discourse in their studies, official political reviews or even in the unofficial blog posts. A discussion about the freedom and regulations of dance and dancers is mostly related to Afghanistan, the Islamic Republic of Iran, Pakistan, Indonesia, Russia, etc. In these countries dance and dancers can experience organized attacks, which cause the imprisonment, fines, rapes or even the death. For example, in Afghanistan boys dancers are often sexually abused meanwhile girls and women are banned from dancing in front of the men at all in regard to the Afghan culture. Besides, in the local society these raped victims become moral criminals. In Indonesia

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190 Kolb, 2010, p. 92.
191 Ibid., p. 92.
192 Ibid., 93.
193 Kolb, 2010, p. 204.
194 ‘Afghanistan: Don't Prosecute Sexually Assaulted Children’, in the official website of Human Right
in 2007 a big group of dancers was arrested while dancing the traditional banned Republic of Maluku dance of cakalele.\textsuperscript{195} And these are just a few examples of many. This is a serious challenge of dance diplomacy for the reason that it lacks an understanding of the relationship between dance and human rights. Talking about dance and human rights, human rights begin with tolerance, collaboration and mutual understanding, which in the dance world begins in dance schools or on the stage.\textsuperscript{196} Furthermore, dance in \textit{Universal Declaration of Human Rights} has several implications such as a regulation or the misuse of dance and dancers by governments and other authorities; dance as a method of healing abused victims; social or political movements in which dance assumes a powerful role.\textsuperscript{197} It means that dance could be understood as a fundamental right\textsuperscript{198} as well as a shared tool by state actors and civil society in order to demonstrate power, help victims, or fight. In any way, the concept of human rights challenge dance not only on the account of Islamic extremism, but also for the sake of regulation through laws, bans or public censure.\textsuperscript{199}

For example, it was illegal to dance socially for more than two people in bars and clubs in New York if they did not have a cabaret license. “No dancing Allowed” signs did not recognize social dancing as a form of expressive communication and claimed the protection of neighborhoods from noise and overcrowding.\textsuperscript{200} Dance has experienced the same situation in Sweden in 2011.\textsuperscript{201} This “choreophobia”, which was the first time named by scholar Anthony Shay in 1999, always limits dance in the different contexts. For instance, in colonialism dancing among aboriginal peoples was banned as a part of a colonial project to assimilate the indigenous culture. In the 19th century Christian Europe native dances were attacked as symbols of laziness and paganism.\textsuperscript{202} On the other hand, dance has been always fighting against these regulations since the Cold War and claiming

\textsuperscript{196} Marion Kant 2008: 18 in Kolb, 2010.
\textsuperscript{197} Kolb, 2010, p. 196.
\textsuperscript{198} Kolb, 2010, p. 203.
\textsuperscript{199} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{200} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{202} Kolb, 2010, p. 204-205.
its authority and an independence as an artistic expression. Hence, dance diplomacy benefits from a dance, which is a powerful expressive tool, in the same way as it is challenged of it. Therefore, artistic expressions sometimes lead to bans under the law and religion. This feature of dance diplomacy did not change through ages. It proofs that dance has the power of attraction, which can be admired and threatened at the same time. In the post Cold War era this is one of the most serious challenges of dance diplomacy.

Another interesting comparison between dance diplomacy before and after the Cold War is that in the post-Cold War era dance diplomacy more often searches for collaboration, which is one of the diplomatic aspects of diplomacy. During the Cold War dance diplomacy was more or less a tool of cultural war considering that dance was an instrument of the ideological competition and pride. In the post Cold War era dance diplomacy is rather a reconsideration of pride. An author of the study *Funding Footprints: US State Department Sponsorship of International Dance Tours, 1962-2009* draws a conclusion that comparisons of the U.S. approaches between the Cold War and the post 9/11 period have differences. In the 2003 program artistic exchanges were used to question American hegemonism rather than increase American attitude. In addition, in the post Cold War era dance diplomacy seeks to collaborate more clearly for the reason that political agendas are more aware of the benefits of a cross-cultural communication. Dance diplomacy becomes a way to deal with a clash of Muslims and non-Muslims civilizations. As it was noted by some non-Muslim choreographers who were working during the Ramadan with the Muslims dancers, they understood better the Middle Eastern culture because collaboration and cultural exchanges made them more aware of Muslim traditions.

A final note of this historical perspective on dance diplomacy is related to the awareness of IT revolution since some scholars claim that it made diplomacy to lose its role as the main facilitator of contacts and communication across the states. This study argues that individualization of different types of contemporary diplomacy creates new networks of specific groups of diplomats, for example, dancers and choreographers. They

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204 Ibid., p. 198.

exercise diplomacy in their own field and communication networks. From a dance diplomats perspective communication technologies could be seen as a tool to create and spread their art. These specific diplomatic networks of dance diplomats could ensure participants to dance in prestigious royal courts during the Renaissance, the Cold War and today. It is a result of the assumption that dance diplomacy consists of the diplomatic aspects and the communication aspects of diplomacy, that have never changed over the time. Besides, dance diplomacy during the Renaissance and the Cold War was very dependent on the policy makers, states and royal families. At the end of the 20th century art became more powerful and autonomic within its ability to separate itself from the state actors. This and other important aspects of the post Cold War era, such as communication technologies, the speed of life, access to information, consideration of human rights, discourse about the freedom of artistic expression and banned dancing, individualization process of dancers and choreographers, official status of artist, the rise of public diplomacy and cultural diplomacy, contribute to our understanding of the historical evolution of dance diplomacy.

3.4 Concluding notes of the chapter

This third chapter concentrates on the historical perspective of the phenomenon of dance diplomacy and seeks to answer the second sub-question of this study, if dance diplomacy has changed over the time and, if so, how. As we can see, a diplomatic theory is inseparable from the diplomatic practice. This historical chapter illustrates that practice of dance diplomacy is a reflection of the theoretically guided interpretative understanding of dance diplomacy, which was analyzed in the previous chapter. Dance diplomacy consists of various diplomatic and communication aspects of diplomacy concerning that we can recognize many of them in the historical evolution of dance diplomacy. Firstly, the ceremonial rituals of ballets, which served as a reflection of the economic strength, cult of kingship and diplomatic relationship, were very much alike. Besides, there are similarities between the structure of court conversation and negotiation in terms of its similarities with the structure of dance. Secondly, dance was used as a form of non-verbal communication and a reflection of the world of diplomats in the way that dancers were
diplomats and diplomats were dancers. They both were prestigious occupations, yet it is not necessary a case today considering the occupation of dancer. Thirdly, the Renaissance's century dances were representing the power structures of court throughout a non-verbal communication. Speaking about dance as the means of communication, both diplomats and dancers are manipulators of their audiences through a non-verbal communication. Additionally, this research contributes to a discourse about the battle between dance and policy makers in behalf of the statement that dance had absolutely no autonomy as a form of art during the Renaissance in a comparison with dance in the 20th century and today. It is a result of the fact that the power of kingship was extremely related to the popularity of ballet courts in the Renaissance.

The 20th century is relevant for our understanding of the evolution of dance diplomacy on the grounds that exactly then different styles of dances appeared. They were used as diplomatic tools to rise a social awareness of the social and political issues, such as white women, gays, and African-American men. Moreover, in the 20th century dance was seen not only as a tool of entertainment or propaganda, but also as an instrument to solve political issues and promote peace. We can notice trends that dance diplomacy in the Renaissance mostly served for prestige, in the 20th century it served equally for both prestige and affirmation, and in the post Cold War era it serves mostly for affirmation. Before the World War II and especially during the Cold War, cultural diplomacy was included into countries' foreign policies, which led to negotiation between different actors who attended cultural exchanges, such as the artistic companies, institutions of state-actors, and economic actors. As a result, this study claims that cultural exchange in the 20th century was the most popular and visible communication aspect of dance diplomacy. Besides, dance as a form of art was always challenged by state actors in terms of its freedom of expression and an autonomy for the reason that it was always a reflection of political, social and cultural life. Differently from the Renaissance, dance was stronger than politics and ideologies, accordingly, it became more creative in order to overcome the system. This shows that creativity is an original aspect of dance diplomacy, which is neither diplomatic nor communication aspect of diplomacy. Yet, it is relevant and powerful feature of contemporary diplomacy, which was not that visible during the Renaissance. Finally, dance diplomacy in the 20th century was a battle of different
interests, such as the interests of company or choreographer versus the interests of state-actors. Thus, dance was a tool to fight against other nations as well as your own nation. This was never a case in the Renaissance.

The end of the Cold War is important for understanding the further evolution of dance diplomacy for the reason that in this time period choreographers became aware of their individualism. Within modern dance they increasingly demonstrated their own views of dance versus states, and choreographers started to promote themselves as individuals. Furthermore, this study claims that diplomacy is diversified within the access of information as well as the speed of information, which is a result of communication revolution. Besides, dance was the stage of diplomacy in the Renaissance meanwhile it was a part of cultural diplomacy during the 20th century and a part of public diplomacy and cultural diplomacy in the post-Cold War era considering that the post Cold War era requires a fast conflict solution. Finally, the history of dance diplomacy shows that dance has always been regulated through laws, bans, and other forms of choreophobia. This study makes us realize that dance diplomacy benefits from the power of dance as well as it is challenged for the sake of it.
4. Dance Diplomacy and Contemporary Diplomacy

This study of the diversification of contemporary diplomacy focuses on the phenomenon of dance diplomacy from a theoretical and historical perspective. It contributes to the so-called “new diplomacy” theorists studies, which usually focus on the changing role of today diplomats, the cosmopolitan implications of contemporary diplomacy and the emergence of new diplomatic practices. In this study we see that dancers and choreographers complement today's diplomats, we find that the implications of cultural diversity expand an understanding of contemporary diplomacy, and that new emerging practices of dance diplomacy contribute to “new diplomacy” findings. This last chapter of the study draws conclusions and gives final thoughts on how dance diplomacy contributes to the diversification of contemporary diplomacy. To put it in other words, this chapter analyzes dance diplomacy as a wider issue of the changing character of contemporary diplomacy. It also discusses the possibilities of developing theoretical and practical future research related to dance diplomacy and contemporary diplomacy in general. Finally, this chapter investigates and highlights the future of the phenomenon of dance diplomacy in the light of the main challenges of dance diplomacy. These challenges help us to understand the future of contemporary diplomacy.

4.1 Dance diplomacy and The Diversification of Contemporary Diplomacy

As it is noted by diplomacy scholars, diplomacy is changing due to the end of the Cold War, globalization, a shift in the balance of power, regionalization, and an expected universality of diplomats in order to satisfy national interests. This study compliments these mentioned changes in the interest of the importance of the Cold War as the evolutionary period of dance diplomacy. Globalization combined with the communication and information revolution underlines the individualization processes of diverse types of contemporary diplomacy. This research also makes us to see that diplomacy becomes diversified by reason of the increasing access and speed of information. Besides, this study illustrates how non-material sources of power resist against state-actors, and shares

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206 Ibid., p. 342.
the implications of universality for diplomats within the analysis of the occupations of diplomats and dancers since the Renaissance. As a result, we can understand dance diplomacy as a natural consequence of the evolution of diplomacy, which has been the objective of this study. The use of diverse cultural expressions in diplomatic practices increased during the evolutionary process of diplomacy. This cultural diversity has affected the diversification of contemporary diplomacy. Consequentially, new types of contemporary diplomacy have emerged. Dance diplomacy is one of these examples, which is related to these diverse cultural expressions used in diplomatic practices.

Diplomacy has become very diverse, complex, modern and unexpected like dance. Each new feature of contemporary diplomacy leads to improvement of policy strategies and diversification of sources. As a result of this diversification, contemporary diplomacy has become an even more powerful instrument for strengthening positions, roles and relationships between different actors. The diversification process of contemporary diplomacy protects it from extinction in the field of international relations as an unnecessary practice. It also illustrates that contemporary diplomacy is a growing and rising process, which will have more diplomatic practices in the future. Therefore, it can be even more difficult to understand diplomacy. Moreover, in the future diplomacy will remain one of the most relevant and optimal aspects of international relations by reason of the process of diversification. Diversification of contemporary diplomacy creates more networks, therefore, not necessarily state-actors will remain as central diplomatic actors in the international arena. We experience the rise of non-state actors, which in particular are diverse NGOs filling all niches and changing the “traditional diplomacy” beliefs in state-actors.

Furthermore, many new kinds of contemporary diplomacy could be described as parts of cultural diplomacy, public diplomacy, instruments of soft power or forms of non-verbal communication. This illustrates that contemporary diplomacy is somehow shaped by culture, public, power and communication, and therefore it could be understood from all these perspectives. We can also notice that the rise of different types of contemporary diplomacy is a consequence of the evolution of diplomacy, which could enhance our understanding of contemporary diplomacy within historical investigations of public

diplomacy, cultural diplomacy, soft power and non-verbal communication at least since the Renaissance. Moreover, this study makes us realize that both diplomatic and communication aspects are relevant in the practice of contemporary diplomacy, especially communication aspects of exchanges and networking, which are the most visible communication features in all ages. This study enhances our understanding of contemporary diplomacy in the way that diplomacy is a never ending process by cause of these communication and diplomatic aspects, which always remain in the evolutionary process of diplomacy. Talking about dance diplomacy in particular, these communication and diplomatic aspects bring new discussions forward about the power of art, the power of attraction, battles of banned dance and freedom of artistic expression, which all expand our understanding of contemporary diplomacy from a dance diplomacy perspective. Other aspects of dance diplomacy, such as creativity and originality, which are neither diplomatic nor communication, enhance the practical and theoretical comprehension of contemporary diplomacy as well.

It also illustrates that contemporary diplomacy, does not necessarily have to consist just of traditional diplomatic aspects for the reason that a cultural domain brings a variety to diplomacy. Besides, a focus on culture, in particular dance, illustrates that the evolution and diversification of diplomacy are related to the diversification and evolution of arts through shared diplomatic and communication aspects in the political, social, cultural and personal context. In addition, a particular focus on cultural expressions contribute to the ways in which we understand international relations because diverse cultures influence diversification of contemporary diplomacy. For example, a cultural approach, which was chosen by the state-actors, influenced the evolution of cultural diplomacy in the 20th century. Cultural diplomacy advanced in the Cold War, when the importance of culture in international organizations showed up and cultural exchanges became one of the most important instruments for maintaining international relations. Even today cultural diplomacy is strong enough to deal with the challenges of globalization and the revolution of communication technologies. All things considered, cultural diplomacy as an apparatus of soft power contributes to the idea of diversification of contemporary diplomacy on the account of the diversification of cultural values and beliefs. Dance diplomacy helps in clashes and it raises the intercultural mutual
understanding between diverse nations. It also creates trust, tolerance and cooperation which all are very important in order to practice contemporary diplomacy. However, cultural diversity is not only an improvement, but also a challenge, which impacts international relations. This study argues that there might be a rise of cultural diplomacy, public diplomacy and the use of soft power in the future for the reason that new kinds of contemporary diplomacy are parts of it. This would paradoxically challenge international relations considering the attention to cultural diversity and various individualized interpretations such as we and they. Cultural diversity brings us either to collaboration or to conflict, making contemporary diplomacy going to experience it more often than not.

As it was mentioned in the previous chapters, this study is based on an interpretative approach as a result of the fact that there was no literature provided on the concept of dance diplomacy in particular. Moreover, an interpretative approach was most appropriate in light of the purpose of creating suggestive historical and theoretical interpretative comprehension of individualization of dance diplomacy, which could contribute to diversification of contemporary diplomacy. As this interpretative study argues dance diplomacy could be seen as a part of public diplomacy and cultural diplomacy, an instrument of soft power and a form of non-verbal communication. Therefore, dance diplomacy is seen as very complex, multilayered and cooperative which also complements the understanding why contemporary diplomacy is so diverse. Dance diplomacy is an attractive, original, creative, fashionable and unusual medium, which is an improvement of contemporary diplomacy. Non-state actors and individuals turn to contemporary diplomacy on the grounds that it is a dynamic, fashionable and tolerant practice for maintaining relationships with peoples. This study claims that it is one of the reasons why these new diplomatic practices emerge.

Furthermore, this study makes a note of the interpretative five main features, which distinguish dance practices as practices of dance diplomacy. Practice of dance diplomacy includes senders, diplomatic aspects, messages based on diplomatic aspects, communication aspects of diplomacy through which these messages are being sent, and targets. Senders are different actors of international society as well as dance activities and dance itself. Diplomatic and communication aspects of dance diplomacy are based on numerous theoretical elements of constructivism, liberalism and soft power.
Constructivism takes note of the value of ideas, traditions, beliefs, cultural identities, and cooperation. Liberalism highlights individuals' rights, freedom, limited powers of the state-actors, the necessity of human process and cooperation. Soft power makes us realize that dance has the power of attraction through the concept of dance and talented dancers, which become mediums and senders in the practice of dance diplomacy. Main features of soft power, which are culture, foreign policy and political values, are extended to global, social, cultural, personal values and communication strategies of non-state actors.

Dance diplomacy is a form of non-verbal communication with the intention to create mutual understanding between different actors of the international community, communicate group or individual identities and emotions, manage relationships, maintain peace, prevent conflicts and misunderstandings in intercultural communication through non-material sources of power such as dance. Contemporary diplomacy is enriched with these insights about dance as the non-material source of power as well as dancers and choreographers, who could be considered as diplomats. Many communication aspects of diplomacy are noticed in the practice of dance diplomacy such as dance used as non-verbal communication, medium, exchanges, ritualization, diplomatic signalling, etc. Finally, the theories of constructivism, liberalism, soft power and communication help to explain dance diplomacy from the theoretical point of view.

This study also illustrates how broad contemporary diplomacy is not only from the contemporary perspective, which shows that dance diplomacy is actually ongoing practice, but also from a historical perspective. Most scholars begin their historical investigations from the 20th century, when cultural diplomacy was politicized and included into the strategies of soft power. This study underlines that contemporary diplomacy could be analyzed from the Renaissance due to the observation, that the main features of diplomacy and emergence of ballet went step by step since the Renaissance. It implies that dance and diplomacy have changed since the Renaissance in a very parallel way, and that dance diplomacy is a natural consequence of the evolution of diplomacy. As a result, we can describe the changing character of diplomacy in the way how dance was reflected in the society already from the Renaissance. For example, both, when dance was involved in the world of diplomacy and royal courts during the Renaissance, and when dance was used as an export during the Cold War, dance as a form of art was challenged
by state actors in terms of its freedom of expression and autonomy. It similarly describes diplomatic practices as being controllable and regulated. In addition, during the 20th century diplomacy could be seen as being either conservative in the Soviet Russia, or innovative and modern in the U.S. after the first artistic attempts to use dance as a tool to raise awareness for social issues in the U.S.

Furthermore, this study explains how historical investigations help to understand contemporary diplomacy. The understanding of, for example, dance diplomacy as a form of non-verbal communication did not change over time. Dance as a mean of non-verbal communication reflected the power of political and social structures already in the Renaissance. Moreover, communication aspects of dance diplomacy, such as information gathering, exchanges, medium, ritualization, etc., did not change over the time either. However, dance was more a tool for propaganda than an instrument of soft power during the Renaissance. On the other hand, some diplomatic aspects are recognized in the Renaissance dance diplomacy, for instance, the themes of peace-building. If we look at the Renaissance's dance diplomacy from a soft power perspective, dances were a representation of the power structures, which could be analogous to the modern representation of diverse cultural identities and images of states. Over the time more actors within the international arena and diplomatic aspects appeared, which were based on liberalism and constructivism values. As a result, it impacted the evolution of dance diplomacy as well as other types of contemporary diplomacy.

Finally, art is not that dangerous, but smart in the way as diplomacy is. The historical evolution of art could help us to understand the evolution of contemporary diplomacy. Besides this, the rise of dance diplomacy illustrates that dance has improved its functions from entertaining purposes to diplomatic purposes, preventing conflictual situations, building relationships, etc. Therefore, the concept of dance becomes more universal in the same way as diplomacy becomes more creative, original, complex and powerful with the use of dance.

4.2 Recommendations for further researches

This last chapter also discusses the possibilities to develop theoretical and practical future
investigations related to dance diplomacy and contemporary diplomacy in general. Since this is a study of the diversification of contemporary diplomacy, which for this purpose focuses on the historical and the theoretical phenomenon of dance diplomacy, it recommends to focus on other diverse types of contemporary diplomacy from the similar theoretical and historical perspectives. Comparison of diverse types of contemporary diplomacy could lead to a better understanding of a hierarchical system of contemporary diplomacy. In regard to the assumption that dance diplomacy is related to cultural diplomacy, public diplomacy, media diplomacy and others, this hierarchical system of contemporary diplomacy could support the idea of “complex diplomacy” suggested by some diplomacy scholars.209

Among many complex features of this new “complex diplomacy” are flexibility to innovations, consideration of ancient rituals, new practitioners, a potential to compliment maintaining peace and cooperation210, which are also mentioned in this study within the individualized phenomenon of dance diplomacy. Thus, to brand diverse types of contemporary diplomacy, such as dance diplomacy, with the purpose of contributing to a “complex diplomacy” could be a path for further development. This study also contributes to investigations how contemporary diplomacy has emerged as very dynamic and universal field of study within the individualization of dance diplomacy. Further research on the diversification of contemporary diplomacy and the individualization of different types of diplomacy could deepen our understanding of the changing character of diplomacy. It would be relevant to investigate other forms of cultural expressions in order to understand the rising importance of culture in contemporary diplomacy.

As indicated by many scholars, more investigation is needed on the outcomes of emotionally reached targets with respect to the relationship between power of attraction, diplomacy and culture practices. Therefore, the previously mentioned comparison of diverse types of contemporary diplomacy could help us to comprehend the system of diverse powers, in particular, non-material sources of powers. This study already tried to contribute to these suggested researches by portraying how dance diplomacy manages the power of attraction through dance and talented dancers. However, this subject still

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210 Ibid.
remains relevant for future investigations not only in the field of dance diplomacy, but also in other types of contemporary diplomacy, for example, sport diplomacy, gastronomic diplomacy, music diplomacy, etc.

Talking about dance diplomacy in particular, this study suggests investigating dance diplomacy from different theoretical perspectives and the use of alternative approaches to those, which were used in this study. Moreover, case studies of diverse dance academies, dance exchange projects and cultural policy documents could be appropriate for analysis from a dance diplomacy perspective in order to deepen this phenomenon. Interviews or focus group discussions about the practical experiences of dance diplomacy could help investigate the power of emotions with an interest in what happens, when contemporary diplomacy really works. Dance diplomacy could be also analyzed as a tool of soft power within case studies of different countries from the historical and contemporary perspectives. Since academy quite often has an advisory role for the use of soft power, the theoretical implications of dance diplomacy could increase the practical use of it. Therefore, to deepen dance diplomacy investigations could be relevant not only for dance scholars, cultural and public diplomacy scientists, but also for practitioners. Finally, considering the interpretative historical framework of dance diplomacy, this study does not include a time period between the Renaissance and the 20\textsuperscript{th} century due to the fact that no relevant researches and studies were found related to the relationship of dance and politics from the dance diplomacy perspective. Thus, there is a need to fill this gap and improve historical investigations of dance diplomacy.

4.3 The Future of Dance Diplomacy and Contemporary Diplomacy

This sub-chapter investigates and highlights the future of the phenomenon of dance diplomacy in the light of the main challenges of dance diplomacy, which automatically points to the future of contemporary diplomacy. As some diplomacy scholars argue, future and present researches on diplomacy can be considered a part of a teaching approach.\textsuperscript{211} This study agrees that dance diplomacy will be mentioned as a phenomenon of contemporary diplomacy in the diplomacy and international politics studies and courses

in the near future. If today the concept of dance diplomacy is mostly questioned with a question what is dance diplomacy, soon this question will be changed to more analytically difficult questions, such as how important is dance in cultural diplomacy and public diplomacy, and the question of weather art has a freedom or if should dance be banned, etc. So dance diplomacy has a future in the academical world of diplomacy studies. Moreover, diverse cultural expressions within a changing character of contemporary diplomacy are going to be mentioned more often in classrooms for the reason that culture is extremely relevant in understanding of contemporary diplomacy.

Secondly, this study outlines religious militancy and Islamic extremism as challenges of dance diplomacy and contemporary diplomacy. This research illustrates that dance diplomacy could take the role of a watcher within functions to monitor and review attacks against dancers, choreographers and freedom of individual artistic expression. It is noticed that several non-governmental organizations, such as Freemuse and Human Right Watch, and some individuals already act accordingly these functions, yet the rights of dancers and choreographers are submerged among other reviews about banned musicians, etc. It suggests individualizing dance diplomacy even more in terms of its capability to enter the international arena as a voice for independent non-governmental organization, which monitors attacks against dance and dancers in particular. Since this study notices that dance diplomacy benefits from the power of dance in the same way as it is challenged by it, the new NGO of Dance diplomacy could help to raise awareness of dance bans under laws and religion, which could result in a reconsideration of these laws and in solutions suggested by cooperation of non-state actors and policy makers. It was mentioned before that cultural diversity is not only an improvement, but also a challenge for the whole of contemporary diplomacy. Dance as a form of cultural expression illustrates just one future perspective, how contemporary diplomacy will be challenged by cause of dance in particular. Hence, contemporary diplomacy will meet more analogical challenges related to other cultural expressions, such as food, sport, music, etc.

Furthermore, this study illustrates that passion for dance and dance itself can overcome the systems and confront the ideologies. It means that contemporary diplomacy in the hands of passionate diplomats, who love their art and cultural traditions, can be strong and powerful. In the case of branding dance diplomacy, contemporary diplomacy
may experience political discussions and movements against banned dance. These movements would be organized by civil society, which supports freedom of artistic expression. Hence, in the future we could see more unexpected flash-mobs and other dance activities, which raise awareness of social, political or cultural issues and at the same time support intercultural communication. Furthermore, contemporary diplomacy is going to experience not only the rise of social movements, but also the rise of NGOs, etc., which will be based on cultural diversity.

Thirdly, as long as culture is asserted to be very various and dynamic, it seems that contemporary diplomacy should be aware of generational conflicts in the future. Many countries practice cultural diplomacy, no matter if it is incorporated into their foreign policies or not, and contemporary diplomacy should strengthen intercultural communication more than ever before in order to prevent different cultures from conflicts as well as different generations from misinterpretation, misunderstanding and lack of cultural knowledge. Since dance is a form of non-verbal intercultural communication, which shares a feeling of tolerance and many other diplomatic aspects, it could be strategically included into soft power and communication strategies by state-actors and non-states. We probably will not face these kinds of generational conflicts as people experienced in the beginning of the 20th century when conservative societies banned lambada. Yet, cultural expressions could lead not only to cooperation, but also to conflictual situations. Therefore, it may be useful to increase the awareness of the diplomatic aspect of tolerance in the practice of contemporary diplomacy. Stronger contemporary diplomatic capability is related to better understanding of cultural exchanges and it is important to strengthen intercultural communication for the sake of the internet, which is and will remain as a meeting place of many diplomats, causes lots of misunderstandings and misinterpretations.

Finally, the very last note of this chapter is a quotation of Voltaire, who once said: “Let us read and let us dance – two amusements that will never do any harm to the world”. Notwithstanding, dancing as such is not dangerous, but it could be dangerously powerful in regard to its power of attraction and ability to reach emotions of targets in the political and diplomatic context. Therefore, dancing could be understood as a potential instrument of contemporary diplomacy.
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