

A TALE OF TWO CITIES

CITY DIPLOMACY IN UTRECHT AND PORTLAND, OREGON
FROM 2012 TO 2016

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Abstract

City diplomacy emerged from different shifts within diplomacy. First of all, traditional state to state diplomacy, with professional diplomats as the most important actors, shifted to a multi leveled diplomacy in which regions and cities also play a role. Public diplomacy, in which regular citizens are the most important actors, also became increasingly popular, especially in times of war. City diplomacy is defined as the processes by which cities engage in international relations and how they represent themselves and their interests. This research focused on the friendship between the municipality of Utrecht, the Netherlands and the city of Portland Oregon, USA. There are two important dimensions within this friendship. These two dimensions are culture and economy. Cultural diplomacy is the communication between governments and foreign people. It connects people across the borders to exchange ideas and interests. Utrecht and Portland are very similar cities and both have citizens who are alternative, green and like bicycling and drinking beer. This is one of the reasons why these two cities connected. Economy and diplomacy always heavily intertwined. Both Utrecht and Portland have growing economies and benefit from trading with one another. There are many initiatives to exchange knowledge increase trade, especially within microbreweries and the 'made movement'. What is striking about this case about Utrecht and Portland is that it shows how city diplomacy evolved from being mostly about development and supporting cities in conflict areas to connecting culturally and economically benefit from the other city. The Utrecht-Portland connection officially started in 2012 and is still developing, but already shows that city connections are very important for the city as a whole. Not only the municipality benefits from it, but also the citizens profit from the friendship.

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Introduction

Since 2012 the municipality of Utrecht, the Netherlands and the city of Portland, Oregon in the United States of America are friendly cities and connect on different levels. This is also called city twinning, when it refers to the friendship between Utrecht and Portland it is called the Utrecht-Portland connection. This special relationship will be researched in this thesis. How did they connect? What is the history of city diplomacy? What are the benefits for Utrecht and Portland? The Utrecht-Portland connection will be placed within the context of regular diplomacy, especially public diplomacy, and city diplomacy.

First of all, an overview of the two cities will be given. Utrecht is the fourth biggest city of the Netherlands. Its location is very central, which is why it is an important transport and business city. It has multiple higher education facilities and has a medieval city center. In Utrecht in 2015 the population grew with 1.4%, which meant that the growth was the biggest from the other cities of the G4, the four biggest cities of the Netherlands. On January 1, 2016 it had a population of about 339.000. Portland, Oregon is a city one of the largest cities in the United States of America. It is famous for its transportation system and sustainability. Portland is about 160 years old and has access to the Pacific Ocean by the Columbia River. On July 1, 2015 Portland city had a population of 632.309. It grew with 8.3% from the population of 2010.¹ According to PEW Research Center "Portland prides itself as a center of manufacturing for high-tech goods and an entrepreneurial city where independent-minded people find a receptive climate for starting new businesses."² The same research also announced that Portland is one of the best places to live in in the U.S. and that creative businesses are booming as well.

During the past thirty years there was a shift from government-to-government diplomacy to a public diplomacy in which city diplomacy plays a substantial part. Benno Signitzer refers to this as "the way in which both government and private individuals and groups influence directly or indirectly those public attitudes and opinions which bear directly on another government's foreign policy decisions."³ Signitzer argues that the objective of public diplomacy is to influence the attitudes of citizens of a foreign country which ideally changes the behavior of the foreign government likewise. It is important to create mutual understanding on different cultural levels such as arts, the way of life and political systems.⁴ Paul Sharp defines public diplomacy as "the

¹ United States Census Bureau, QuickFacts, Portland city, Oregon, accessed on June 28, 2016, <https://www.census.gov/quickfacts/table/PST045215/4159000>.

² Pew Research Center, 'Cities Online: Urban Development and the Internet, Part 2: Portland,' last modified on November 20, 2001, <http://www.pewinternet.org/2001/11/20/part-2-portland/>.

³ Benno H. Signitzer, and Timothy Coombs, 'Public Relations and Public Diplomacy: Conceptual Convergences' in: *Public Relations Review* 18 no 2 (1992), 137-147, 138.

⁴ Signitzer and Coombs, 'Public Relations and Public Diplomacy,' 140.

process by which direct relations are pursued with a country's people to advance the interests and extend the values of those being represented."⁵

The last twenty years the diplomatic world shifted to a multi layered diplomacy in which states are not the sole actors anymore. For example, NGO's and local governments also started playing a significant role in diplomacy. This thesis discusses a small part of this shift; the diplomacy between cities. City diplomacy is a relatively new concept, which is defined by Rogier van der Pluijm and Jan Melissen as the "institutions and processes by which cities engage in relations with actors on an international political stage with the aim of representing themselves and their interests to one another."⁶ Cities create their own international policies as opposed to relying on national governments.

Van der Pluijm argues that city diplomacy could be seen as a threat to traditional diplomacy between countries. The diplomatic activities of cities may conflict with the role of the central governments which could potentially damage the relationship between cities and state actors.⁷ Contrarily scholars argue that the two layers of diplomacy complement one another. Van der Pluijm nuances it by calling it competitive cooperation.⁸ Due to an increasingly globalized world in which people can connect with other citizens from around the world it is necessary for cities to aim for internationalization. They have to make their own connections and form their own relations to increase the growth of a city, not only economically but also on a cultural level.

United Cities and Local Governments (UCLG) founded the Committee on City Diplomacy in 2005. The aim of the committee is to "define the role of local governments in promoting social cohesion, conflict prevention, conflict resolution and post-conflict reconstruction, in a word 'peace building'."⁹ With the focus on conflict resolution and rebuilding after a conflict. The UCLG argues that city diplomacy shows the decentralization of international relations management.¹⁰ But, argues Alexandra Sizoo, of the Vereniging van Nederlandse Gemeenten (VNG) International and one of the members of the Committee on City Diplomacy, city diplomacy is interdependent to state diplomacy, they have different objective and work at different levels, as a form of multi-level governance.¹¹

⁵ Paul Sharp, 'Revolutionary States, Outlaw Regimes and the Techniques of Public Diplomacy' in: Jan Melissen (ed.), *The New Public Diplomacy. Soft Power in International Relations* (Houndmills: Palgrave MacMillan, 2005, 106-123, 106.

⁶ Rogier van der Pluijm, and Jan Melissen, *City Diplomacy: The Expanding Role of Cities in International Politics* (Netherlands Institute of International Relations Clingendael, 2007), 11.

⁷ Pluijm and Melissen, *City Diplomacy*, 12.

⁸ *Ibidem*, 13.

⁹ Alexandra Sizoo, *Concept Paper on City Diplomacy*, (The Hague: VNG International, 2007), 1.

¹⁰ Sizoo, *Concept Paper on City Diplomacy*, 3.

¹¹ *Ibidem*, 4.

According to Van der Pluijm, there are three motives for city diplomacy. First of all, to serve the interests of their city and its community. Secondly, citizens may force cities to engage in diplomatic activities as a form of citizen activism and finally, diplomacy out of solidarity and idealism. The first motive is pragmatic while the other could be considered as idealistic. The Utrecht-Portland connection fits into the first motive, because it is mostly focused on economy and culture. An example of this cultural dimension of city diplomacy is connection people from different cities and cultures to interact with one another.¹² In addition, Utrecht and Portland exchange in the fields of sustainability, culture, cycling infrastructure, fashion and commerce.¹³ The aforementioned definition of the UCLG suggests an idealistic motive of city diplomacy whereas in reality the connection seems mostly practiced because of pragmatic principles. This is also related to the level of professionalism in which the cities connect diplomatically with one another.¹⁴

However, Van der Pluijm links the pragmatic and idealistic components of city diplomacy by describing six dimensions of city diplomacy, namely security, development, economy, culture, networks, and representation. Therefore, the Utrecht-Portland connection is both economic and cultural. This connection includes the important factors of these dimensions, like economic pull activities and city branding, and cultural exchange as well.¹⁵

Acuto defines five types of agency, which the city leaders can use. The first type of agency is regime building. This is manifested in the fact that city leaders are proactively producing policymaking frameworks. They form alliances with other leaders to influence policy making, especially when it concerns environment, or policies around developing third world countries. The second type of agency is hybridization of governance. This implies that mayors have a transnational role which produces hybrid structures in global governance and in which several policy factors are used. This hybridization also implies that there is a multi-leveled diplomacy. NGOs, state governments and city governments all play a role in global governance. The third type is diplomatic entrepreneurship: The contact with other urban peers and actors and maintaining diplomatic relations. This is the most important type for this thesis, as Acuto argues that this is city diplomacy at its key. "City diplomacy is a significant illustration of their influence on world affairs as cities take part in quintessential international activities such as those of diplomatic relations."¹⁶ The fourth type of agency is normative mediation, the capacity of creating and advancing international normative frameworks. They mediate between global and local interests, and have their own legal

¹² Pluijm and Melissen, *City Diplomacy*, 27.

¹³ Gemeente Utrecht, 'Internationale Economische Agenda,' last modified on May 30, 2016, <http://www.utrecht.nl/internationale-zaken/internationale-economische-agenda/>.

¹⁴ Pluijm, *City Diplomacy*, 34.

¹⁵ *Ibidem*, 25.

¹⁶ Michele Acuto, 'City Leadership in Global Governance' in: *Global Governance* 19 (2013), 481-498, 490.

right. Cities do have a legal right to do this, as the Council of Europe issued the European Charter of Local Self-Government in which the “capacity of local governments to both regulate and manage a substantial portion of public affairs as well as their right to associate and cooperate with peers beyond state boundaries” is sanctioned.¹⁷ The fifth type of agency is the impact on everyday international affairs. The mayors and cities are capable of execute their own diplomacy and creating transnational networks across the globe. At the same time they have great knowledge about local policies, like planning, water and waste management, and transportation. They can use this knowledge to create this transnational networks and international relations.¹⁸

According to Acuto, scholarly research on city diplomacy is very important. Mayors also play a significant role in the evolvement of global governance. Thus, it can be argued that they need to play a similar role in diplomacy as diplomats and statesmen.¹⁹ But in the case of the city of Utrecht, and possibly most other cities as well, diplomacy and international relations are assigned to an office of International Affairs, while the mayor only acts as spokesperson for the city.

Another important factor of diplomacy and city diplomacy is soft power. Joseph Nye defines soft power as “the ability to move people by argument. [...] It is also the ability to entice and attract.”²⁰ He states that soft power needs three resources; culture, political values and foreign policies.²¹ These three resources are important in this thesis because city diplomacy is about foreign policy, culture and the ways to make a city attractive. Guy Golan argues that in soft power the effect on public opinion is difficult to demonstrate.²² PEW Research Center tried to measure the effect and concludes the following: From 2007 to 2012 the attitudes towards American culture and ideas changed positively. The attitude towards U.S. technology increased with 2%, towards music, movies and television with 6%, the American democracy with 10%, towards the American way of business with 11%, towards American ideas with 8%. At the same time the dislikes against the U.S. decreased with about 5%.²³ The Netherlands also had favorable views of the United States. In 2016 63% of the Dutch population showed favorable views of the U.S., 32% was unfavorable about the U.S. On the

¹⁷ Acuto, ‘City Leadership in Global Governance,’ 492.

¹⁸ *Ibidem*, 493.

¹⁹ *Ibidem*, 490-495.

²⁰ Joseph S. Nye, ‘Public Diplomacy and Soft Power’ in: *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 616 (March 2008), 94-109, 95.

²¹ Nye, ‘Public Diplomacy and Soft Power,’ 96.

²² Guy Golan, ‘An Integrated Approach to Public Diplomacy,’ in: Golan, Guy J., Sung-Un Yang and Dennis F. Kinsey (ed.), *International Public Relations and Public Diplomacy. Communication and Engagement* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 2015), 417-440, 426.

²³ Pew Research Center, ‘Global Opinion of Obama Slips, International Policies Faulted, Chapter 2: Attitudes toward American Culture and Ideas,’ last modified on June 12, 2012, <http://www.pewglobal.org/2012/06/13/chapter-2-attitudes-toward-american-culture-and-ideas/>.

other hand the Dutch population thinks the United States plays a less important (38%) or as important (41%) or more important (19%) role as a world leader today compared to 10 years ago.²⁴

This thesis will look at two-sided city diplomacy, in which two actors are involved, the cities Utrecht and Portland.²⁵ Utrecht and Portland are connected because they are much alike. The relationship started when Portland traffic specialist Greg Raisman came to Utrecht in 2007. ““I just thought, ‘Gosh, this place feels like home.’”²⁶ Just as Utrecht, Portland is a city where many people bicycle, as one of the few cities in the United States.

The question this thesis will answer is: What does the case of the Utrecht-Portland connection tell us about the emergence of city diplomacy? The research will exist of two parts. First of all, the context of city diplomacy will be analyzed using the description of Van der Pluijm and Melissen. How does city diplomacy fit into traditional and public diplomacy? Secondly, two of the six dimensions of Van der Pluijm (culture and economy) will be used to analyze the Utrecht-Portland connection. In order do so to two smaller cases will be discussed. These cases are beer and bicycles, which are two of the most important connections between the two cities. There are many micro-breweries in Portland and in Utrecht it is an upcoming part of the economy. Both Utrecht and Portland are cycling cities in which the bicycle infrastructure is important, as shown by the visit of the traffic specialist of Portland coming to Utrecht on an official visit, which started the Utrecht-Portland connection.

This research will be using three types of sources. Primary sources of the municipality of Utrecht and the city of Portland, interviews conducted with people attached to the Portland-Utrecht network, and secondary literature to place city diplomacy in the diplomatic history. There are not many academic sources available about diplomacy of Utrecht and Portland, although there are some articles available. The use of interviews and primary sources will offer insight into the governmental layer of city diplomacy.

City diplomacy is a relatively new concept and it is still developing. It is linked to (public) diplomacy and fits into the shift from government-to-government diplomacy to a broader institution in which not only governments have diplomatic agents, but also NGOs, businesses and other governmental institutions like cities, increasingly perform diplomatic acts. The connection between Utrecht and Portland is relevant because it fits into the aforementioned dimensions of

²⁴ Pew Research Center, ‘As Obama Years Draw to Close, President and U.S. seen Favorably in Europe and Asia, 1. America’s International Image,’ last modified on June 28, 2016, <http://www.pewglobal.org/2016/06/28/americas-international-image/>.

²⁵ Pluijm and Melissen, ‘City Diplomacy,’ 12.

²⁶ Marco España, ‘Utrecht: Portland’s Next Sister City?’ in: *Portland Monthly* (November 21, 2013), <http://www.pdxmonthly.com/articles/2013/11/21/dutch-sister-city-utrecht-2013>.

city diplomacy. Furthermore, this kind of city connection is also new, because it is not seen as city twinning, but as a new form of city-to-city diplomacy, which they call friendship cities.

The first chapter will discuss the history of (city) diplomacy and will provide the academic framework for the next two chapters. The second and third chapter will focus on the 'friendship' between Utrecht and Portland. Two of the six dimensions of Van der Pluijm will be used for these two chapters. The second chapter will focus on the cultural dimension, cultural diplomacy and the way the two cities connect with each other. This chapter, as well, studies the case of cycle cities. The third chapter will focus on the economic dimension, economic diplomacy and will feature trade, beer and 'made products' to show how the connection between Utrecht and Portland can evolve in the next years.

Chapter 1: The history of city diplomacy

In the past thirty years diplomacy shifted from government-to-government diplomacy to public diplomacy. This eventually led to city diplomacy as well. This chapter will be about this development from traditional diplomacy to city diplomacy. It will provide a framework for the next two chapters, which discuss the connected cities Utrecht and Portland. This chapter will focus on the difference between traditional diplomacy and a public diplomacy in which cities also play a role. This chapter will be looking at why and how city diplomacy emerged. It will also take a look at what the goals and the use of city diplomacy are, which actors play a role in this type of diplomacy and what the relationship is between city diplomacy and traditional diplomacy. This will be done by looking at the connection between different parts of diplomacy, when it emerges, what the aim is, who the agents are and which instruments are used.

What is diplomacy?

Traditional diplomacy is the base for other levels of diplomacy like public diplomacy and later on city diplomacy itself. But what is traditional diplomacy? And how did it transform into a multileveled diplomacy in which city diplomacy fits? Traditional diplomacy is diplomacy between two states, in which most of the actors are professional diplomats. This diplomacy also includes other international actors like networks or international organizations.²⁷ There are different kinds of models within traditional diplomacy. In the following paragraphs those models are explained.

Brian Hocking argues that there is a hierarchical model in diplomacy. In this model intergovernmental relations are the central part. The national diplomatic system consists of the foreign ministry, who monitor every interaction between domestic and international policy, and the actors who provide these relations, like professional diplomats.²⁸ British diplomat Robert Cooper uses another definition of diplomacy. According to him, diplomacy is an open and transnational way of cooperation by using a multi-level cooperation and diplomacy with different kind of actors. Multi-levelness suggests that there is a role for state diplomacy, but also for city diplomacy and even citizen diplomacy and they have to use public diplomacy to reach their goal.²⁹

The hierarchical model of Hocking gradually shifts to the multi-leveled model of Cooper in which there is a place for every level of diplomacy, which can work alongside each other. This kind of diplomacy is also called sub-state diplomacy. This shift is an important development for the emergence of city diplomacy. Noé Cornago defines sub-state diplomacy, or paradiplomacy as

²⁷ Jan Melissen, 'The New Public Diplomacy: Between Theory and Practice' in: Jan Melissen (ed.), *The New Public Diplomacy. Soft Power in International Relations* (Houndmills: Palgrave MacMillan, 2005), 3-27, 5.

²⁸ Brian Hocking, 'Rethinking the 'New' Public Diplomacy' in: Jan Melissen (ed.), *The New Public Diplomacy. Soft Power in International Relations* (Houndmills: Palgrave MacMillan, 2005), 28-46, 35-36.

²⁹ Melissen, 'The New Public Diplomacy,' 5.

following: “Sub-state governments’ involvement in international relations, through the establishment of formal and informal contacts, either permanent or ad hoc, with foreign public or private entities, with the aim to promote socio-economic, cultural or political issues, as well as any other foreign dimension of their own constitutional competences.”³⁰ The field of diplomacy is immensely greater than just traditional government-to-government diplomacy, and every actor has another way of keeping foreign relations. They can be sub-national, international or transnational, but also have different forms of government and different ways to involve in international relations.³¹

Social geographer S.H. Zarghani has another definition for sub-state diplomacy. He calls it paradiplomacy, or parallel diplomacy, which are the “studies concerned with the possibility of coexistence of parallel external relations tracks running across countries.”³² Although this field generally focuses more on state and regional politics. Social geographer S.H. Zarghani argues that due to urbanization there are increasingly more metropolises and they eventually evolve into global cities. He also claims that this development emerges because of technology, respect to the public and a global common interest.³³ These developments will lead to a shift in power from state government to sub-governmental institutions like cities, NGO’s and civil society.³⁴ Zarghani concludes that traditional diplomatic structures have to be changed in order to include local actors and organizations.³⁵

Simon Anholt argues that due to globalization the competition between places is a worldwide phenomenon. It affects cities, regions, states, provinces, nations, and towns who all need to compete with each other to reach the same people and bring in businesses and capital. They also have to compete for services, consumers and media.³⁶ Anholts words can be used as a conclusion for the discussion about diplomacy. Because of globalization diplomacy has to shift from a traditional form to a more hybrid form in which there is a role for other actors as well. Traditional diplomacy evolved into a multileveled diplomacy where not only states maintained relations with other countries, but also regions, cities and organizations established international relations. All these actors make transnational links between two countries and their citizens.

³⁰ Noé Cornago, ‘On the Normalization of Sub-State Diplomacy’ in: David Crikemans (ed.), *Regional Sub-State Diplomacy Today* (Leiden: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 2010), 11-36, 13.

³¹ Cornago, ‘On the Normalization of Sub-State Diplomacy,’ 13.

³² Acuto, Michele, ‘City Leadership in Global Governance’ in: *Global Governance 19* (2013), 481-498, 483.

³³ S.H. Zarghani, M.J. Ranjkesh, and M. Eskandaran, ‘City Diplomacy, analysis of the Role of Cities as the New Actor in International Relations,’ in: *Urban – Regional Studies and Research Journal 5*, no 20 (Spring 2014), 33-36, 33.

³⁴ Zarghani, ‘City Diplomacy,’ 34.

³⁵ *Ibidem*, 35.

³⁶ Simon Anholt, ‘Definitions of Place Branding – Working Towards a Resolution’ in: *Place Branding and Public Diplomacy 6* (2010), 1-10, 3.

Public and citizens diplomacy

City diplomacy has different origins, for example public diplomacy is an important predecessor for city diplomacy. But what is public diplomacy? And how does it connect to citizens diplomacy? According to Paul Sharp “public diplomacy [is] the process by which direct relations are pursued with a country’s people to advance the interests and extend the values of those being represented.”³⁷ Jan Melissen, argues that public “diplomacy is operative in a network environment rather than the hierarchical state-centric model of international relations.”³⁸ So many actors are active in the field of public diplomacy, cities being one of these actors. Public diplomacy goes further than traditional diplomacy and involves citizens in foreign countries, but also other groups of people. It is the ordinary citizen that has the central role in public diplomacy and consular relations.³⁹

What is interesting about public diplomacy is that it is seen as a new form of diplomacy, only active in the last decades. However, it is much older and emerged around the same time as diplomacy itself. According to Melissen “identity creation and image projection – nation-branding in today’s parlance – reached a peak under Louis XIV.”⁴⁰ So even though the scholarly subject around public diplomacy is relatively new, many of the factors are around for hundreds of years. The modern start of international relations of cities started with the city-to-city connections across borders. Particularly European cities started with those twinning bonds, partly because it was pushed by the EU. But also in Northern America it emerged as a new part of foreign relations of cities. Just like in Europe there were many international alliances of cities which pushed for international partnership.⁴¹

Hans Buis has another view of the development of city diplomacy. He argues that city diplomacy started as a form of citizen’s diplomacy. The initiators of cooperation between two cities were mostly citizens “who triggered and convinced local governments to enter city diplomacy in all kind of forms.”⁴² Citizens are the heart of city to city cooperation Buis and they were always part of the friendship and of the initiative as well.⁴³ Nancy Snow argues that citizens diplomacy is an important part of public diplomacy, because it are the people who need to spread the ideas of a

³⁷ Paul Sharp, ‘Revolutionary States, Outlaw Regimes and the Techniques of Public Diplomacy’ in: Jan Melissen (ed.), *The New Public Diplomacy. Soft Power in International Relations* (Houndmills: Palgrave MacMillan, 2005), 106-123, 106.

³⁸ Melissen, ‘The New Public Diplomacy,’ 12.

³⁹ *Ibidem*, 23.

⁴⁰ *Ibidem*, 3.

⁴¹ Acuto, ‘City Leadership in Global Governance,’ 486.

⁴² Hans Buis, ‘The Role of Local Government Associations in Increasing the Effectiveness of City-To-City Cooperation’ in: *Habitat International* 33 (2009), 190-194, 190.

⁴³ Buis, ‘The Role of Local Government Associations,’ 191.

certain country or region.⁴⁴ So although public diplomacy and citizens diplomacy are two different parts of diplomacy, they are heavily intertwined as they both put normal citizens in a central diplomatic role.

To summarize, public diplomacy is a network diplomacy in which, next to actors like states or cities, also regular citizens are involved. Public diplomacy thus is connected to citizen diplomacy in which citizens are the most important actors. For city diplomacy the part of citizen diplomacy is very important because citizens spread ideas of the city, but also because due to globalization they are involved with the world around them. Public diplomacy is also about the image and identity of a place and using this in diplomatic relations.

The role of the United States

It seems that public diplomacy is mostly used in world crises. It gained influence in the Cold War where it became important to influence people across the borders with their culture, especially the United States. So what is the role of the United States in public diplomacy and the emergence of city diplomacy? In world crises like the Cold War public diplomacy was very important, but post-Cold War public diplomacy was regarded as irrelevant and it was argued that public diplomacy was not the answer to the problems the United States had after the Cold War⁴⁵ However, after another world crisis, the September 11, 2001 attacks, public diplomacy gained influence again. Public diplomacy became part of more foreign affair ministries across the world, and as a result of international relations as well. Melissen identifies the emergence of public diplomacy in times of (cold) war as an argument for the rise of soft power.⁴⁶

Although this interest in public diplomacy sparked after 9/11 in most countries it was not a factor of the emerging public diplomacy, because in many countries the shift to public diplomacy was necessary. "They were reactive and not the product of forward-looking foreign services caring about relationships with foreign audiences as a new challenge in diplomatic practice."⁴⁷ In 2008 the United States Secretary increased the engagement in citizens diplomacy. This was done on the assumption that this type of diplomacy, together with soft power would increase the support for the U.S. in the Middle East and counter Muslim terrorism.⁴⁸

⁴⁴ Nancy Snow, 'Public Diplomacy and Public Relations,' in: Golan, Guy J., Sung-Un Yang and Dennis F. Kinsey (ed.), *International Public Relations and Public Diplomacy. Communication and Engagement* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 2015), 73-92, 87.

⁴⁵ Melissen, 'The New Public Diplomacy,' 6.

⁴⁶ *Ibidem*, 8.

⁴⁷ *Ibidem*, 8.

⁴⁸ Guy Golan, 'An Integrated Approach to Public Diplomacy,' in: Golan, Guy J., Sung-Un Yang and Dennis F. Kinsey (ed.), *International Public Relations and Public Diplomacy. Communication and Engagement* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 2015), 417-440, 427.

The purpose of public diplomacy for the U.S. is to present the U.S. in the best possible way and to counter anti-Americanism in the world.⁴⁹ This was of course linked to counter terrorism and trying to influence ordinary people around the world to relate to the U.S. instead of relating to terrorism. The U.S. experiences with public diplomacy still showed what practices from businesses and corporations, like marketing, branding and public relations, were used as tools in diplomatic campaigns. The United States also experienced with citizens diplomacy and used civil society organizations in diplomacy.⁵⁰ In other words, the example of the U.S. shows that public diplomacy is one of the factors that show that the public and citizens matter as instruments in foreign policy.⁵¹ This experience can be seen in U.S. cities like Portland, which is shown in the following chapters.

Just as in public diplomacy, North America again is the frontrunner in the development of city marketing and city branding as they are quicker in learning from commercial companies than their counterparts in Europe.⁵² Thus, in every shift in diplomacy, starting with public diplomacy and later on citizens diplomacy and branding the United States was one of the first countries that used it. They were leaders and the rest of the world followed, and adapted the diplomatic ways of the United States to their own standards.

City diplomacy

City diplomacy has its roots in a multi leveled diplomacy in which public diplomacy is also very important, but how did city diplomacy evolve and what are the motives for city diplomacy? Although city diplomacy started thousands of years ago in the city states of ancient Greece, modern day city diplomacy is very different. But there are some similarities between the old city states and the current global cities. They both are the economic, cultural and political center of a region. The official start of city diplomacy in Europe can be situated in 1951 at the establishment of the council of European Municipalities and Regions. It was one of the first organizations that enhance the role and position of municipalities and cities throughout Europe. The aim of this council was to bring European regions and citizens together and was a response to the end of the Second World War and the beginning of the Cold War.

In the 1970s cities mainly focused on development cooperation. In the 1980s a new form of international relations developed, in which cities focused their international relations on South Africa and the anti-apartheid movement. Another recent development in this field are the relations between countries and their former colonies. These movements were not only part of international relations of a city itself, but were also subjects that moved the citizens themselves, who in their

⁴⁹ Snow, 'Public Diplomacy and Public Relations,' 86.

⁵⁰ Melissen, 'The New Public Diplomacy,' 8.

⁵¹ Hocking, 'Rethinking the 'New' Public Diplomacy,' 41.

⁵² Anholt, 'Definitions of Place Branding,' 2.

part started organizations to support these subjects.⁵³ According to Buis “from an historical perspective most of the city-to-city cooperations were initiated by local governments in developed countries. They determined motives, content and objectives of the cooperation.”⁵⁴ Therefore, these objectives were found in relations with developing countries.

The twinning of Utrecht with León in Nicaragua is an interesting case in the history of city diplomacy and twinning. In the 1980s many western municipalities twinned with cities in Nicaragua. This twinning was connected to the political state of Nicaragua. Since 1979 the Sandinista National Liberation Front (Sandinistas) had the power in the country. They overthrew the Somoza family during the Nicaraguan revolution. The Somoza family had the support of the U.S. government.⁵⁵ In the 1980s the United States under President Reagan, supported the Contras, who wanted to take over the Sandinista government.⁵⁶ At the same time many other western countries were pro-Sandinista. In 1978 the Nicaragua Committee was set up in the Netherlands and they lobbied for twinning with cities in Nicaragua. This twinning also meant that cities did not support the U.S. policy.⁵⁷ The political support from the first years of twinning shifted to humanitarian development. This intertwined with the situation in Nicaragua which stabilized in the 1980s.⁵⁸ This case shows that peace and development were two important reasons for city diplomacy and city twinning.

One of the reasons for the shift from international relations of states to cities is the increasing power of cities. In 2050 about two thirds of the world’s population will live in a city.⁵⁹ According to Sheeran the acceleration from a rural to an urban existence was recognized in the last part of the twentieth century and became global cities in the twenty-first century, especially in commerce, technology and politics.⁶⁰ This is also one of the reasons why cities are increasingly the subject of scholarly research. Paul Sheeran argues that “the continuing rise of the network society links multinational citizens to an international power circuit.”⁶¹ He demonstrates that technology is indeed an important factor in establishing international relations.

United Cities and Local Governments (UCLG) uses the following definition of city diplomacy: “City diplomacy is defined as the activity whereby a municipal authority in a conflict area receives

⁵³ Buis, ‘The Role of Local Government Associations,’ 190.

⁵⁴ *Ibidem*, 191.

⁵⁵ Dion van den Berg, ‘City Diplomacy Campaigns in the Netherlands. Lessons From Recent Times.’ In Arne Musch (ed.), *City Diplomacy. The Role of Local Governments in Conflict Prevention, Peace-Building, Post-Conflict Reconstruction* (The Hague: VNG International, 2008), 75-104, 78.

⁵⁶ John A. Booth, Christine J. Wade and Thomas W. Walker, *Understanding Central America. Global Forces, Rebellion, and Change* (Boulder: Westview Press, 2015), 105.

⁵⁷ Van den Berg, ‘City Diplomacy Campaigns in the Netherlands,’ 79.

⁵⁸ *Ibidem*, 80.

⁵⁹ Acuto, ‘City Leadership in Global Governance,’ 483.

⁶⁰ Sheeran, Paul. *Literature and International Relations. Stories in the Art of Diplomacy* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 154.

⁶¹ Sheeran, *Literature and International Relations*, 151.

support from one or more municipal authorities outside of the area.”⁶² On the other hand, Buis distinguishes three motives for cities to partake in city to city cooperation. The idealistic motive, for example helping poor people in third world countries, the political motive, such as supporting the anti-apartheid movement and the economic motive, in which a city looks for business and trade.⁶³ The definition of the UCLG thus fits in to the first two motives of Buis, but Buis also argues that the economic motive cannot be underestimated.

Marika Bontenbal and Paul van Lindert argue that cities (both administrations and civic societies) increasingly partner with other cities around the world. They hope to contribute to poverty alleviation, strengthening of the democracy and peace building, but also knowledge exchange, and sustainability.⁶⁴ Moreover, they claim that cities mostly work together to help developing countries and cities. Alexandra Sizoo, and Arne Musch argue the same. “Local governments seem to feel a responsibility to contribute to dialogue and peace, to create a secure environment for their citizens.”⁶⁵ According to Sizoo and Musch this is one of the reasons that city diplomacy developed in the direction of developing countries. They also argue that not only local governments play a role in this connection, but citizens diplomacy is also a key factor, because citizens feel responsible for their counterparts in third world countries.

According to Acuto “cities have in fact no less than four legal roles in the present global governance scenario: they can assume international duties and responsibilities, either by complying with treaties and covenants adopted by their states or by enforcing frameworks beyond their government’s participation.”⁶⁶ Most of the city diplomacy is focused on global environmental governance.⁶⁷ “The term glocalization points to the link between the globalization of technology, information and economics on the one hand and local realities on the other.”⁶⁸ Sheeran argues that what he calls ‘hyper globalism’ is part of the nature of cities, thus cities will become even larger and more important in the next couple of years.⁶⁹ The legal role of cities and the globalization are two key factors in the increasing of city diplomacy over the last years. On the other hand, urbanism also ensures a growth in city diplomacy.

⁶²Alexandra Sizoo and Arne Musch, ‘City Diplomacy. The role of local governments in conflict prevention, peace-building and post-conflict reconstruction.’ In: Arne Musch (ed.), *City Diplomacy. The Role of Local Governments in Conflict Prevention, Peace-Building, Post-Conflict Reconstruction* (The Hague: VNG International, 2008), 7-26, 10.

⁶³ Buis, ‘The Role of Local Government Associations,’ 191.

⁶⁴ Marika Bontenbal and Paul van Lindert, ‘Transnational City-to-City Cooperation: Issues Arising from Theory and Practice’ in: *Habitat International* 33 (2009), 131-133, 131.

⁶⁵ Sizoo and Musch, ‘City Diplomacy,’ 9.

⁶⁶ Acuto, ‘City Leadership in Global Governance,’ 492.

⁶⁷ *Ibidem*, 485.

⁶⁸ Sizoo and Musch, ‘City Diplomacy,’ 10.

⁶⁹ Sheeran, *Literature and International Relations*, 152.

Acuto claims that “whether in the urbanist or in the international literature, city leadership has been advocated in the past few years as a desirable solution to problems that long have been debated in their transnational or global nature.”⁷⁰ Acuto argues that metropolitan leaders are very important in city diplomacy on an international level. They are of interest by international organizations like the United Nations, the World Bank and the European Union.⁷¹ Utrecht itself is also active within the EU as part of the G4, a collaboration of the four biggest cities of the Netherlands.

Acuto also claims that scientists and researchers focus on the wrong kind of leaders. They should focus on the local leaders, like mayors and cities instead of state leaders and diplomats, because cities also became part of policymaking and advocacy on international level.⁷² They are mostly overlooked when focusing on international relations but they are active in the international sphere for many years and this activity intensified in the last decade. “City leaders, whether in their more common mayoral shoes or with other equivalent institutional hats, are increasingly central promoters of transnational action.”⁷³ Not only scholars have a growing interest in city leaders in the last years, also the corporate sector has an interest in city leaders because they can provide a great urban development for businesses and also can be of use in international affairs.⁷⁴

So city diplomacy has become increasingly popular over the past couple of years, scholars and the corporate sector are very interested in city diplomacy, but of course also cities use it more often to become involved in diplomatic international relations because of various reasons. Most authors agree on the fact that the emergence of city diplomacy was a natural evolution because cities become more globally involved.

City branding

Another important factor of city diplomacy is city branding and marketing. Those are two subjects that are not only important for the development of city diplomacy, but also stand on their own, although there are some similarities between those subjects and city diplomacy itself. City branding and marketing have their roots in marketing and branding itself, but over the years evolved to focus on cities. This subchapter will focus on the question: What is city branding what are the reasons for cities to invest in it?

Anholt mentions two factors of city marketing. First of all it is a global phenomenon and second that it is a necessary evolution for cities. They need to compete, so a city will not be left behind by the evolution of other cities. For city branding two reasons for branding are important:

⁷⁰ Acuto, ‘City Leadership in Global Governance,’ 484.

⁷¹ *Ibidem*, 485.

⁷² *Ibidem*, 481.

⁷³ *Ibidem*, 482.

⁷⁴ *Ibidem*, 484.

tourism and export marketing. These two sectors are dominantly used by private corporations to attract more consumers, but are also used by the state for they also benefit from consumers. Because both private companies as the state are players in this area it brings the two together and they will share their expertise on this subjects. A positive country image will also provide a positive brand image for the brand associated with that country.⁷⁵ This of course also applies to cities and their marketing departments. This also connects cities and citizens. Citizens want their produce marketed, and the city wants an image to be broadcasted around the world.

According to branding consultant Wally Olins there are three areas in which nations compete with each other. Those areas are export, foreign direct investment and tourism. These areas are not only important for governmental institutes, but also for businesses. Olins argues that “National branding programmes need to be managed between the public and private sectors through small, dedicated and highly coordinated groups that take a long-term view.”⁷⁶ This is important because a good branding program takes years before it pays off.

According to Anholt the definition of brand image is as following. “‘Brand image’ is the set of beliefs or associations relating to that name or sign in the mind of the consumer.”⁷⁷ Place branding is passive. It is not something that will give a city or region new customers or gain profit, but it is important to distinguish the place from other places.⁷⁸ According to Olins “national branding is now on the agenda. Its significance as a tool for promoting the nation is now understood.”⁷⁹

City branding and marketing are important because they are a global phenomenon and a necessity for the evolution of cities. They are used to increase tourism and profit, thus not only important for cities themselves, but also for the businesses in the area and for citizens themselves. City branding and marketing connect to city diplomacy because they are both tools to create a better international image for the city and thus have a diplomatic value.

Conclusion

This chapter gave an overview of the history and emergency of city diplomacy. According to the literature used in this chapter the focus is on the U.S. and on third world countries, just as the focus is on peace and environment and development.

Traditional diplomacy is a network between two states and official actors like diplomats. This type of diplomacy reaches the whole international spectrum one country has to deal with.

⁷⁵ Anholt, ‘Definitions of Place Branding,’ 3.

⁷⁶ Wally Olins, ‘Making a National Brand’ in: Jan Melissen (ed.), *The New Public Diplomacy. Soft Power in International Relations* (Houndmills: Palgrave MacMillan, 2005), 169-179, 178.

⁷⁷ Anholt, ‘Definitions of Place Branding,’ 7.

⁷⁸ Anholt, ‘Definitions of Place Branding,’ 9.

⁷⁹ Olins, ‘Making a National Brand,’ 179.

Public diplomacy is more about the citizens themselves and the way a country is represented. But it is also connected to world crises, so also a part of what is wrong in the world and a way to correct those wrongs. In this part it fits into the use of city diplomacy for the development of third world countries and the involvement in Nicaragua.

But citizens are also very important in city diplomacy. The voice of the people have to be represented by the city in their diplomacy. Citizens are an important part of the city and their businesses and corporations steered to a more economic diplomacy in which city branding and marketing are important as well.

Two other important factors of city diplomacy are city branding and marketing. Those two tools are used to increase tourism, but also profit of (local) companies. This is tightly linked to citizen diplomacy, because the citizens are the people who have the local businesses which can use the marketing.

It is made clear that city diplomacy emerged from public diplomacy and a multi layered sub-state diplomacy in which citizens are very substantial. In the next chapters the shift from third world countries and from development and peace to a more economic and cultural diplomacy will be demonstrated.

Chapter 2: Cultural diplomacy

Utrecht just ended their partnership with León, Nicaragua in 2016, but is at this moment partaking in a friendship treaty with Portland, Oregon in the United States. Other areas Utrecht currently has connections with are China, which is also a cultural and economic friendship. The International Relations office describes this connection as following: “With a growing number of Chinese delegations we share knowledge about economic opportunities, design, trade, sustainability and culture.”⁸⁰ There are also close connections with Japan and India, which are also mostly about culture and economy. So within Utrecht this shift from developing to economic and cultural diplomacy is showing. In the following two chapters this shift will be explored within the case of the Utrecht-Portland connection.

In this chapter the cultural connection between Utrecht and Portland will be discussed. First of all, cultural diplomacy and its actors will be explained. Secondly the use of cultural diplomacy in the United States and in the Netherlands is identified. The question of this chapter is why is there a connection between Utrecht and Portland? What connects those cities? And why is culture so important? At the end of the chapter the importance of cultural exchange is explained.

Cultural diplomacy

Cultural diplomacy is another factor of diplomacy. It involves culture and is linked to public diplomacy as they both use citizens as actors in diplomacy. What is cultural diplomacy exactly? What schools and approaches does the study of cultural diplomacy has? What are the actors? And how does it fit into city diplomacy? Jessica Gienow-Hecht and Mark Donfried define cultural diplomacy as government-to-foreign people communication, but argue it can also be broader defined. They add that it “often denotes a national policy designed to support the export of representative samples of that nation’s culture in order to further the objectives of foreign policy.”⁸¹ They also define it as “the exchange of ideas, information, values systems, traditions, and beliefs in all aspects of our societies (...) with the intention of fostering mutual understanding.”⁸² So cultural diplomacy is an exchange of ideas in which a government tries to influence citizens of a foreign country.

Gienow-Hecht identifies three schools of thought within the studies of cultural diplomacy. In the first school of thought scholars are interested in the tension between propaganda and

⁸⁰ Gemeente Utrecht, ‘Internationale Economische Agenda’, last modified: May 30, 2016, <https://www.utrecht.nl/internationale-zaken/internationale-economische-agenda/>.

⁸¹Jessica C.E. Gienow-Hecht and Mark C. Donfried, ‘The Model of Cultural Diplomacy. Power, Distance, and the Promise of Civil Society’ in: Jessica C.E. Gienow Hecht and Mark C. Donfried (ed.), *Searching for a Cultural Diplomacy* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2010), 13-32, 13.

⁸² Hecht and Donfried, ‘The Model of Cultural Diplomacy,’ 21.

diplomacy. The scholars within this school use the Cold War as an example and see cultural diplomacy as an instrument used by states. They do not include civil society.⁸³ The second school is the other way around. Politics is excluded and cultural diplomacy is not propaganda and was used to “establish ties with countries that were politically unpalatable.”⁸⁴ The third school excludes the state in cultural diplomacy. Within this school, cultural diplomacy is used as a promotion of national culture abroad and includes international cultural exchange. In this school NGO’s and other companies are the instigators of cultural diplomacy.⁸⁵ This last school is most important for this thesis. The connection between Utrecht and Portland is an example of a promotion of the culture of both cities and an exchange is a big part of this promotion.

Hecht and Donfried argue there are two approaches to cultural diplomacy. The conceptual approach and the structural approach. The conceptual approach looks at the motivation and programs of the actors involved in cultural diplomacy.⁸⁶ The structural approach looks at the actors themselves. So, who are they and to what kind of agencies are they linked?⁸⁷ In the following chapter both approaches will be used. The actors themselves are important, but the motivation of the exchange as well.

Cultural diplomacy has an important flaw as a tool for international relations. A state, NGO or city cannot be the sole agent of cultural diplomacy. It needs citizens for a cultural exchange, like artists, teachers, or important for this thesis, brewers to do so. These actors have their own agenda, which does not need to be the same as the agenda of the state. Although this can be seen as a flaw, it makes cultural diplomacy even more relevant for city diplomacy, in which citizens are the most important actors of diplomacy and in which the city only facilitates.

The legitimacy of the state actors is also an important theme in cultural diplomacy. Within government the legitimacy changed with the individuals, who were part of the cultural diplomacy program. On the other hand, legitimacy was stable in the civil society institutions involved with cultural diplomacy, because they were bottom up institutions and mostly integrated with the people of a state.⁸⁸ This means that the individual actors have a more stable relation with their foreign counterparts, than the state actors do. In such manner, for a cultural diplomacy program to work, it is important to have actors involved who are not linked to a particular political agenda. It is more important to have regular citizens who can maintain contact abroad. On the other hand, a

⁸³ Jessica C.E. Gienow-Hecht, ‘What Are We Searching For? Culture, Diplomacy, Agents, and the State’ in: Jessica C.E. Gienow Hecht and Mark C. Donfried (ed.), *Searching for a Cultural Diplomacy* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2010), 3-12, 9.

⁸⁴ Hecht, ‘What Are We Searching For?’ 10.

⁸⁵ *Ibidem*, 10.

⁸⁶ Hecht and Donfried, ‘The Model of Cultural Diplomacy,’ 16.

⁸⁷ *Ibidem*, 17.

⁸⁸ *Ibidem*, 23.

union between the state, individuals, and organizations is important, because the dialogue has to be roughly the same for diplomacy to work. Cultural diplomacy also needs an interactive structure which, will increase the sustainability of a cultural diplomacy program.⁸⁹ According to Gienow-Hecht “the more distance there is between the agent of a cultural diplomacy program and a political or economic agenda, the more likely the program is to succeed.”⁹⁰ She also argues that the more interactive a structure within cultural diplomacy is, the more likely it is to be fruitful.⁹¹ Therefore, it is important only to facilitate a mission as the government, and use citizens as agents. Further on in this chapter the agents involved in the Utrecht-Portland connection will be examined.

Thus, cultural diplomacy is the exchange of ideas usually from a government to foreign people or the other way around. Regular citizens can be actors within this component of diplomacy. There are three schools of thought within the study of cultural diplomacy; the tension between propaganda and diplomacy, a school in which propaganda is nonexistent, and a school which involves other actors aside from the state: Different organizations can use diplomacy to promote their culture abroad as well. This last school is very important because it includes cities. For cultural diplomacy to work it is important to have competent agents to promote the culture abroad. They make sure that cultural diplomacy works.

Cultural diplomacy and the United States

According to the U.S. Department of State “the mission of American public diplomacy is to support the achievement of U.S. foreign policy goals and objectives, advance national interests, and enhance national security by informing and influencing foreign publics and by expanding and strengthening the relationship between the people and Government of the United States and citizens of the rest of the world.”⁹² In the first chapter the role of the United States in public diplomacy has already been described. Within cultural diplomacy they have the same role, the U.S. is a precursor in both forms of diplomacy. But what is their role exactly and what does Americanization has to do with it?

The role of the U.S. Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs describes their role as follows: “As mandated by the Mutual Educational and Cultural Exchange Act of 1961, the U.S. Department of State’s Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs (ECA) works to build friendly, peaceful relations between the people of the United States and the people of other countries through academic, cultural, sports, and professional exchanges, as well as public -private

⁸⁹ Hecht and Donfried, ‘The Model of Cultural Diplomacy,’ 24-25.

⁹⁰ Hecht, ‘What Are We Searching For?’ 4.

⁹¹ *Ibidem*, 4.

⁹² U.S. Department of State, ‘Under Secretary for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs,’ accessed June 10, 2016, <http://www.state.gov/r/>.

partnerships.”⁹³ The fact that this is a Bureau within the U.S. State Department already shows that cultural diplomacy is an important factor in U.S. diplomacy. In the Cold War cultural diplomatic relations were at its height. In the United States this form of diplomacy was funded by the Division of Cultural Relations of the Department of State as well as by the Central Intelligence Agency. This again, shows how important cultural exchange was according to the U.S. State Department.⁹⁴ Cultural diplomacy was notably used by the Americans in the Cold War. This is why cultural diplomacy is almost always linked to the negative connotation of Americanization, a negative form of globalization.

According to Harvey Feigenbaum “the uniformity of mass cultural offerings around the world has led cultural critics to see globalization as an international orientation toward the worst aspects of mass consumption and American cultural products pitched to the lowest common denominator.”⁹⁵ Americanization is mostly connected to McDonalds and other American cultural landmarks. The celebrated culture in the Utrecht – Portland connection is not the well-known image of the United States, but instead forms an image of an alternative culture, which celebrates sustainability, progressiveness and sometimes even weirdness. The alternative slogan of Portland is “Keep Portland Weird.”⁹⁶ Although the national image of the United States is heavily influenced by Americanization, Portland shows that it can also form another brand or image.

American products and producers profited immensely from Americanization and the popularity of American mass culture. Not only in business, but also in culture this was very important. The United States viewed cultural products just as they did with trade goods, which explains the important role of cultural diplomacy and the increase of Americanization.⁹⁷ On the other hand, Portland promotes itself with the “Keep Portland Weird” slogan, which is also a valuable image to create and which can enhance businesses and trade.

According to Helena Finn, the United States should concentrate on five factors of cultural diplomacy: Foreign educational reforms, extending the foreign exchange programs, improving access of foreigners to American institutions, extending multi-cultural understanding of Americans, and improving the volunteer exchange abroad.⁹⁸ She also claims that it is very important to involve citizens in any way possible to provide for cultural exchange.

⁹³ Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, ‘What We Do,’ accessed on June 10, 2016, <https://eca.state.gov/about-bureau>.

⁹⁴ Helena K. Finn, ‘The Case for Cultural Diplomacy: Engaging Foreign Audiences’ in: *Foreign Affairs* 82, no. 6 (Nov - Dec 2003), 15-20, 15.

⁹⁵ Harvey B. Feigenbaum, ‘Globalization and Cultural Diplomacy’ in *Art, Culture & the National Agenda* (2002), 1-53, 19.

⁹⁶ Travel Portland, ‘Keep Portland Weird,’ accessed on June 28, 2016, <https://www.travelportland.com/collection/keep-portland-weird/>.

⁹⁷ Feigenbaum, ‘Globalization and Cultural Diplomacy,’ 33-34.

⁹⁸ Finn, ‘The Case for Cultural Diplomacy,’ 17.

Thus, just as public diplomacy, cultural diplomacy is important for the United States. It was on its height in the Cold War and is also negatively described as Americanization, the process of the U.S. culture as a dominant culture in the rest of the world. But cultural diplomacy is very important for the U.S., because American products profited immensely from it. This shows that although the culture of Portland is not the typical American culture, but a more alternative one, it is important to focus on cultural diplomacy as well.

Cultural diplomacy and the Netherlands

Not only for the United States, but also for the Netherlands public and cultural diplomacy are very important tools into creating a better image of the country. The website of the Dutch Consulate for the United States reads: “The department of Public Diplomacy, Communications & Creative Industries promotes a greater understanding of the Netherlands through special events, campaigns, partnerships with nonprofit organizations, and participation in conferences. The department encourages and facilitates cooperation and exchange between the Netherlands and the United States in the fields of water management, sustainable urban planning, international law and humans rights, and the creative industries.”⁹⁹

The department indeed encouraged exchange between the Netherlands and the United States because it facilitated the Utrecht-Portland connection. At the beginning of 2012, honorary consul of the Netherlands, Hans van Alebeek visited Portland to explore the connection between Utrecht and Portland. The goals for this visit were exploring indicators for the collaboration between the two cities, for culture, social responsibility, energy efficiency, and sustainable mobility and city development. The department wanted to encourage people in Utrecht and Portland to kick start this coloration. The greater goal was to strengthen the Dutch cultural network outside of Europe, and using city branding to promote the two cities. The Dutch consulate also wanted to check if it was possible to look at (local) businesses and their possibilities in the other city and country.¹⁰⁰ Already in September 2011 Portland, formed a draft of the Friendship City Agreement with Utrecht. The goal was “International cooperation and knowledge sharing will increase the effectiveness of programs, policy, academia, business, and tourism in Utrecht, the Netherlands and Portland, Oregon.”¹⁰¹

⁹⁹ The Netherlands Embassy and Consulates, United States, ‘Staff of the Consulate General,’ accessed on June 10, 2016, <http://www.the-netherlands.org/organization/consulate-general-san-francisco/departments-and-staff.html>.

¹⁰⁰ ‘Memo ter Voorbereiding van het Bezoek van Hans van Alebeek,’ June 15, 2012.

¹⁰¹ City of Portland, ‘Draft – Friendship City Agreement,’ September, 2011.

The cultural connection between Utrecht and Portland

Portland and Utrecht are officially friendship cities since 2012, but why did those two cities connect? What was the reason for the cities to internationally orientate? In 2012 Mayor Sam Adams of Portland pointed out that the similarities between Utrecht and Portland are a great starting point for a friendship bond. “Both cities are green, open, progressive, sustainable, and cycle loving.”¹⁰² In a written interview Raisman argues that Utrecht and Portland are very similar as well and “have similar cultural attitudes and play similar economic roles.” On December 12, 2012, Utrecht and Portland became official Friendship Cities. The friendship resolution was signed by the mayor of Portland, but is supported by Utrecht as written in the letter by Frits Lintmeijer, then Alderman International Affairs of the City of Utrecht.¹⁰³ Both cities wanted to bring citizens initiatives together to build a fundament for a deeper relation, but they also saw great economic and touristic opportunities. In the Resolution citizens play an important role. “The citizens of Portland have recognized shared characteristics and values with the City of Utrecht in the Netherlands and formed the Portland Utrecht Network.”¹⁰⁴ And: “The people of Portland and Utrecht are relaxed and friendly, enjoying coffee, beer, and fine food.”¹⁰⁵

Furthermore, departments from both municipalities were willing to learn from their counterparts across the Atlantic Ocean.¹⁰⁶ Portland is called the ‘cycle city’ of North America and uses Utrecht as an example. But not only traffic policy is important, the two cities also want to look at participation of civilians, health, food, local human rights and regional planning. The two partners can learn from one another.¹⁰⁷ In the resolution, it is also said that the two cities share a passion for sustainability and bicycle infrastructure.¹⁰⁸ Which connects different departments immediately.

Hans Sakkers, Head of the Utrecht Department of International Relations, mentioned that the cities are compatible because of their similarities. The culture is the same although the physical city of Portland is very different from Utrecht. He proposed a multi leveled partnership, city to city, citizens among each other, and on a scholarly level between universities and colleges and of course between businesses.¹⁰⁹ In the appendix of the letter to the Council Commission of Utrecht there also are some good examples of what citizens and the city of Utrecht are trying to establish in

¹⁰² Bestuurlijke, Internationale en Subsidie Zaken Gemeente Utrecht, ‘Samenwerking Portland Oregon - Utrecht’, May 3, 2013.

¹⁰³ Frits Lintmeijer, ‘Friendship Cities Portland-Utrecht,’ December 17, 2012.

¹⁰⁴ Council of the City of Portland, ‘Resolution No. 36989’, December 19, 2012.

¹⁰⁵ Council of the City of Portland, ‘Resolution No. 36989’, December 19, 2012.

¹⁰⁶ Bestuurlijke, Internationale en Subsidie Zaken Gemeente Utrecht, ‘Samenwerking Portland Oregon - Utrecht’, May 3, 2013.

¹⁰⁷ Burgemeester en Wethouders Gemeente Utrecht, ‘Internationale Connecties – Samenwerking Portland,’ July 11, 2013.

¹⁰⁸ Council of the City of Portland, ‘Resolution No. 36989’, December 19, 2012.

¹⁰⁹ Hans Sakkers, ‘Portland – Utrecht: The Start of a Cooperation’, October, 2012.

Portland. The most outstanding examples are the exchange between the municipalities, tourism, economy and a beer festival. The role of the government is more facilitating than playing an active role in the friendship. They bring people from two cities together that is why Utrecht wants to call it 'connecting cities' instead of 'friendship city'.¹¹⁰

In the annual report of 2014 of the Portland Dutch Society, an example of a citizens initiative, it is mentioned that their new goal is "to establish a sister city relationship."¹¹¹ The Portland Dutch Society is an organization bringing people with a Dutch heritage together in Portland. This goal is inspired by a collaboration with the Portland Utrecht Network, who was established solely for this sister city relationship. Thus, these two organizations are important examples of citizens diplomacy.

Another example of citizens diplomacy is the visit of Cobie de Vos to Portland. De Vos, director of Het Huis Utrecht, a cultural organization, went to Portland after she was invited by the Municipality of Utrecht to accompany Utrecht officials at their visit of Portland. Her mission was to look for collaborations, and to see if there was any interest in an exchange of knowledge. She also compared cultural initiatives in both cities. She made an overview of all the important initiatives in Portland, and connected these with similar initiatives in Utrecht. For example the two art schools could connect, just as ADX, Portland with the Metaal Kathedraal in Utrecht, and PICA Portland with Het Huis Utrecht.¹¹² Another example of cultural diplomacy is the exchange of art. Illustrator Dick Bruna is one of the most famous citizens of Utrecht. His Miffy (Nijntje) is well known worldwide. One of the other cultural aims of the Utrecht-Portland Connection is the erection of a Nijntje statue in Portland.¹¹³

City twinning and other city-to-city connections are tools for international relations, which are already used for many years. But the way cities connected has changed over the years. As said in a letter from the Utrecht commission this change becomes clearer: "We see a shift from traditional, bilateral city twinning to dynamic networks of Connected Cities. Where expertise is exchanged and chances are being used."¹¹⁴ The focus also shifts from Europe, because with the membership of Eurocities, Similar Cities Network, and an active role in the European Union with the G4 the connection with Europe is already stable. The focus of Utrecht now lies on the United

¹¹⁰ Bestuurlijke, Internationale en Subsidie Zaken Gemeente Utrecht, 'Samenwerking Portland Oregon - Utrecht', May 3, 2013.

¹¹¹ Portland Dutch Society, 'Annual report 2014,' 2.

¹¹² Cobie de Vos, 'Portland in Culturele Vogelvlucht,' June, 2015.

¹¹³ City of Portland, '2015 Portland Utrecht Friendship City Report'.

¹¹⁴ Burgemeester en Wethouders Gemeente Utrecht, 'Internationale Connecties – Samenwerking Portland,' July 11, 2013.

States, China and India.¹¹⁵ Portland, however, still has a traditional sister city network with a connection of cities in Israel, Zimbabwe, South Korea and Russia. Within these networks citizens, again have an important role. A non-profit organization of Portland citizens has to pledge to keep the relationship active.¹¹⁶ Thus, there is a different view about connecting cities. Portland is more traditional, while Utrecht breaks with the twinning cities and only want to connect internationally.

This fits into the view of scholars who predict that the information economy will become a creative economy, in which innovation is the crucial part and the cultural industry becomes leading.¹¹⁷ This does fit into the Utrecht-Portland connection because culture is a key part of the connection. According to Feigenbaum “the tension between trade and culture should lead us to examine more broadly the role of culture in the international relations of the United States.”¹¹⁸ So, although a cultural connection is important, the economic benefits will be increasingly important.

The Portland-Utrecht connection became official in 2012 and is built on similarities between the two cities. They both share a love for cycling and in the two cities citizens are actively participating in diplomatic relations between the cities. In culture this is seen by Cobie de Vos, who tries to connect American institutions and tried to connect them with their Dutch counterparts. Over the years city diplomacy shifted from twinning to connecting and from Europe to the rest of the world. At the same time a shift to a more economic relation between cities is visible.

Cycling: The start of the Utrecht-Portland connection

Although the official start of the Portland-Utrecht connection was in 2012, the first relations between the two cities started years before. Ronald Tamse, of the Transport Department of Utrecht has a personal connection with Portland, as one of his close friends lives there. This is why he visited the city a couple of times. For him the connection started there, because he saw the similarities in transport between the two cities. In 2009 on a transport convention in Brussels he met his colleague Greg Raisman from the Transportation Bureau of the City of Portland. They shared knowledge about transport and especially bicycles and decided to stay in contact. Raisman works on active transportation (bicycling, walking), traffic safety and livable streets.

When the Transportation Bureau was writing a new bicycle plan for Portland they visited Utrecht to learn from their street safety plan. In an interview with Greg Raisman, he explains that “the conversation in Utrecht resulted in an informal knowledge sharing agreement on transportation. This included us getting feedback on new traffic calming efforts and us sharing

¹¹⁵ Burgemeester en Wethouders Gemeente Utrecht, ‘Internationale Connecties – Samenwerking Portland,’ July 11, 2013.

¹¹⁶ City of Portland, ‘Sister Cities of Portland, Oregon,’ accessed on June 28, 2016, <https://www.portlandoregon.gov/sistercities>.

¹¹⁷ Feigenbaum, ‘Globalization and Cultural Diplomacy,’ 23.

¹¹⁸ *Ibidem*, 25.

information about our light rail system and Safe Routes to School program.” However, the connection between the two transportation bureaus is mostly informal. There are not any legal documents available and the connection is low key information exchange and visiting the other cities for inspiration. In an interview, Ronald Tamse explains that he likes the fact that Portland is a relatively new cycle-city. Because of this they have original ideas and solutions for problems where on the other hand in Utrecht and the Netherlands in general people act like they know everything already, which is not strange, with a century old cycling culture. But those new ideas could also help with problem solving in Utrecht. He uses the thinking about people instead of thinking about rules and law as an example in how Portland is doing way better than Utrecht. A good in example is the comparison between the Intersection Repair Projects in Portland and the gay-crossing in Utrecht. The Intersection Repair Projects is an initiative in which neighborhoods together paint intersections in their area to build community, they close many streets for this to make it happen. The gay-crossing in Utrecht is a pedestrian crossing painted in the colors of the LGBT-pride flag. They had to put it somewhere where there was not a black and white pedestrian crossing because the colored crossing would not be legally correct so pedestrians would not have priority crossing. This makes clear that in Utrecht rules are more important to abide than communities to get together, or support a community, both painting streets. The connection between the two transportation departments show that even though they are departments of the cities, the connection is still mostly informal and between citizens, instead of an official relation between the two.

Cultural exchange

Another important factor of cultural diplomacy is cultural exchange on an educational level. Students from one country study abroad, while studying they are seen as cultural diplomats of their own. Richard Arndt claims that “cultural diplomacy means education.”¹¹⁹ By which he means that educational exchange is one of the most important factors of cultural diplomacy. Students and scholars are seen as the best diplomats for cultural exchange.

One of the advantages of globalization is the fact that it is knowledge based and makes a good education even more important. Universities started focusing on internationalizing and globalizing. Especially because they were funded by international businesses. This is advantageous, because when universities connect with the world, the quality of research will improve and their knowledgebase will expand.¹²⁰ According to Kevin Mulcahy “exchanges were to strengthen cultural relations and intellectual cooperation between the United States and other nations, the exchanges should be truly reciprocal and should involve unofficial groups and the exchanges would promote

¹¹⁹ Richard T. Arndt, *The First Resort of Kings. American Cultural Diplomacy in the Twentieth Century* (Washington: Potomac Books, 2005), 552.

¹²⁰ Feigenbaum, ‘Globalization and Cultural Diplomacy,’ 16.

better relations with other nations and the improvement of the American image abroad.”¹²¹ Americanization of the world is not the goal of cultural exchange, the goal is to internationalize education and culture and learn from each other.¹²² Even though exchange is an excellent tool in creating an image of the United States, it does so without an official policy. Everyone can create their own image.¹²³ So it is hard to control this on a state level. This of course is not only true for the United States, but also for other countries in the world.

Mulcahy also argues that “the other side of the exchange mechanism is the value that Americans gain from exposure to the cultures of other nations. It can produce a greater sensitivity to other cultural values and awareness of other national histories.”¹²⁴ Cultural exchange is an interactive exchange. Not only are citizens used as diplomats, the home country can learn from their experiences abroad as well. Because the citizens are used as diplomats, the strategy of the U.S. government has been to only provide a part of the exchange. The biggest part was for organizations and foundations which provided scholarships.¹²⁵ Good examples are the Fulbright and other exchange programs, because they contribute to “a genuine opening up of the participating countries [and] they also have had a beneficial economic impact.”¹²⁶ The state supported Fulbright only providing a part of the exchange. However, the biggest financial support derived from organizations and foundations who provided scholarships.¹²⁷

An example of cultural exchange is the connection between the Portland State University and the Hogeschool Utrecht. Ronald Tamse, traffic specialist at the Municipality of Utrecht gave guest lectures at Portland State University about traffic, and especially bike traffic in Utrecht.¹²⁸

Conclusion

Cultural diplomacy is the communication between governments and foreign people. Representatives of a country or city are important agents in this type of diplomacy. These representatives can be official diplomats, but are mostly regular citizens. Cultural diplomacy is essential because it connects people across borders, shows them they have the same interests, and they will exchange thoughts and ideas. Citizens can learn a great deal from citizens of another place.

The United States used cultural diplomacy throughout the twentieth century. Especially in the Cold War cultural diplomacy was an important tool in their international relations.

¹²¹ Kevin V. Mulcahy, ‘Cultural Diplomacy and the Exchange Programs: 1938-1978’ in: *The Journal of Arts Management, Law and Society* 29 (1999), 7-28, 11.

¹²² Mulcahy, ‘Cultural Diplomacy and the Exchange Programs,’ 26.

¹²³ *Ibidem*, 25.

¹²⁴ *Ibidem*, 26.

¹²⁵ Feigenbaum, ‘Globalization and Cultural Diplomacy,’ 28.

¹²⁶ *Ibidem*, 27.

¹²⁷ *Ibidem*, 28.

¹²⁸ ‘Lessons from Utrecht: Connecting Bicycle and Rail Networks’ accessed on June 16, 2016, <http://trec.pdx.edu/tags/safety?page=3>.

Americanization, or the rise of American consumer products was one of the most important factors of cultural diplomacy. But also the Netherlands have their own department of public diplomacy.

The Utrecht-Portland connection developed because of similarities of the two cities. They both are cycle cities, but they have more cultural similarities. They both are green, sustainable and alternative cities. These similarities are tools in creating a cultural exchange and learn from each other. A big part of cultural diplomacy is exchange. As already said a great part of the Utrecht-Portland connection exists of people sharing knowledge, for example the relations between the two transport and traffic offices of the municipalities. But exchange also means educational exchange, in which students are the diplomats. The students also learn from going abroad and see a different culture. Hogeschool Utrecht and Portland State University just signed an exchange agreement so in the near future this relation will form a base for students to travel to the other city and study abroad. Thus, it is important to see that cultural diplomacy is facilitating the Utrecht-Portland connection and that citizens are the most important agents of this diplomatic tool. The cities themselves are just facilitating the connection.

Chapter 3: Economic diplomacy

The other part of the connection and collaboration between Utrecht and Portland is economic. Trade, exchange, connections and a new market are important for businesses in Utrecht and Portland. This is why this chapter will focus specifically on the topic of economic diplomacy. The focus will be on the economical connection between Utrecht and Portland and different cases from businesses in the two cities will be examined.

The history of economy and diplomacy

Before examining the economic connection between Utrecht and Portland, the history of economic diplomacy will be further discussed. Economy has always been an important part of diplomacy, because international relations are primarily focused on trade. Stimulating business and trade abroad is one of the key activities of diplomats. First a historical overview of the evolution of economic diplomacy in the twentieth century will be given.

Historically, diplomats played an important role in international economies, especially during the eighteenth and nineteenth century, when diplomats mostly came from high classes, as did the business owners.¹²⁹ Major change occurred after the two world wars. The United States was able to construct a world economy, by creating the International Monetary Fund, World Bank and instigating Bretton Woods. After those events the U.S. started dominating the world economically. International arrangements, like the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade and the World Trade Organization, were created, but also regional arrangements like the European Union and the Southern Cone Common Market.¹³⁰

Commerce and diplomacy are two concepts that increasingly intertwined over the past decades. All over the world commercial diplomacy was being emphasized by foreign policy departments. In some countries this was shown by merging the trade office and foreign office into one. Hence, commerce became a key part in foreign policy.¹³¹ States are essential actors in diplomacy, but in the economy international businesses are key actors. International businesses are represented by international organizations, such as the International Chamber of Commerce, the World Economic Forum, and others. However, states also play a substantial role and are represented in the United Nations and the World Trade Organization.¹³² In economic diplomacy multi layered actors, like cities and regions, also play a part in world economy. The key actors in state diplomacy are the Consuls of Embassies, which are mostly involved in economic activity.

¹²⁹ Donna Lee and David Hudson, 'The Old and New Significance of Political Economy in Diplomacy' in: *Review of International Studies* 30 (2004), 343-360, 347.

¹³⁰ Harvey B. Feigenbaum, 'Globalization and Cultural Diplomacy' in *Art, Culture & the National Agenda* (2002), 1-53, 12.

¹³¹ Lee and Hudson, 'The Old and New Significance,' 343.

¹³² *Ibidem*, 346.

According to Donna Lee and David Hudson “modern diplomacy cannot be understood as separate functions but instead needs to be analyzed as multifaceted work in which specialist tasks such as commercial work and information work are interrelated.”¹³³ This means that economy is a big part of diplomacy and heavily intertwines with the other factors of diplomacy.

From the 1970s and onward a significant change occurred within the economy, because the service city became more important. Service cities are cities with a substantial tertiary sector. The primary sector is agriculture, the secondary sector is the manufacturing sector and the tertiary sector is the service industry. This sector includes banking, distribution and retailing, but also health services and all other services that do not belong to the first two sectors. Economic opportunities were key to provide a strong market for businesses and cities became increasingly multicultural. These factors meant that international economics were more important for cities as well, thus stimulated cities to actively search for economic opportunities, in their own country and abroad.¹³⁴ These opportunities were partly provided by NGO’s but also by community-based-organizations, like the Portland Dutch Society, who had contacts abroad.¹³⁵

These contacts abroad stimulated globalization. One of the advantages of globalization is the fact that it is knowledge-based.

Cities also became increasingly globalized. According to Indermit Gill and Chor-Ching Goh scale economies are an important factor in explaining city economies. They define internal scale economies as the “cost advantages that a firm reaps by producing in large plants.”¹³⁶ But there is also an external part in economies, the “benefits of scale that arise outside a firm or industry.”¹³⁷ Together, these two parts can explain why cities are so important economically. Internal scale economies are useful, because if a firm makes an increasing return, it will stay at the same location. The reason why a firm chooses a particular location is dependent on external influences. A firm can benefit from other firms nearby, which is why often firms are located in one part of a country or region. Cities are also important because they provide workers, supplies and specialized people. Cities are thus strong players in the economical market. To make sure these local firms are also strong internationally, it is important to put a city firmly on the map.

This is also relevant to Utrecht and Portland, as they are both urbanization economies. Both are economies which have an industrial diversity and in which the exchange of ideas and technology

¹³³ Indermit S. Gill and Chor-Ching Goh, ‘Scale Economies and Cities’ in: *The World Bank Research Observer* 25, no. 2 (August 2010), 235-262, 349.

¹³⁴ Thomas A. Hutton, *Cities and the Economic Culture* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016), 76.

¹³⁵ Hutton, *Cities and the Economic Culture*, 77.

¹³⁶ Gill and Goh, ‘Scale Economies and Cities,’ 236.

¹³⁷ *Ibidem*, 236.

is essential.¹³⁸ Gill and Goh argue that urbanization has a lot of challenges: pollution, social tension, congestion.¹³⁹ These are all subjects Utrecht and Portland can learn from each other as they both face the same problems.

According to Lee and Hudson there are three key features of economic diplomacy. First of all, the combination of economy and politics, not only internationally, but also on a domestic level. Secondly, the governments-business partnership is a key factor of international relations. Lastly, the public interest is seen as a collective interest of private interests.¹⁴⁰ Economic history became increasingly important in the twentieth century. Many trade institutions arose to stimulate the world economy and due to technology, trade between companies became easier. Cultural diversity and the exchange of ideas and people also play a big part in stimulating economic diplomacy.

Why Utrecht and Portland are economically connected

Why is it attractive for Utrecht and Portland to connect and work together economically? The Dutch consulate in San Francisco wants to promote economic opportunities between the Netherlands and the West Coast and therefore instigated a friendship between Utrecht and Portland. This is visible on many different levels. Among other things, they support “the economic health of the Netherlands by consulting with relevant state and local authorities and business communities, providing the Dutch business community with pertinent information, and organizing trade-promotional events and other activities focused on knowledge exchange and business development.”¹⁴¹ The connection between Portland and Utrecht would be a great starting point for this, as they can offer initiatives, projects and promote trade.¹⁴² The Dutch consulate visited Portland and the Utrecht-Portland transport connection was a conversational topic which sparked the consulate to push the two cities into widening their relation and working towards a friendly or sister twinning relation.

On the request of Bart van Bolhuis, Consul General in San Francisco, Hans Sackers visited Portland in October 2012. His main goal was “finding synergies and facilitating cooperation between the cities of Portland and Utrecht.”¹⁴³

The focus areas of this visit were the following:

1. Governance, local versus regional government

¹³⁸ *Ibidem*, 244.

¹³⁹ *Ibidem*, 251.

¹⁴⁰ Lee and Hudson, ‘The Old and New Significance,’ 344.

¹⁴¹ The Netherlands Embassy and Consulates, United States, ‘Staff of the Consulate General,’ accessed on June 10, 2016, <http://www.the-netherlands.org/organization/consulate-general-san-francisco/departments-and-staff.html>.

¹⁴² Bestuurlijke, Internationale en Subsidie Zaken Gemeente Utrecht, ‘Samenwerking Portland Oregon - Utrecht’, May 3, 2013.

¹⁴³ Hans Sackers, ‘Portland – Utrecht: The Start of a Cooperation’, October, 2012.

2. City marketing and international relations
3. Local human rights
4. Culture, creative industry, urban living
5. Biking and transit
6. Food, Health and Day Markets
7. Connection with Utrecht Science Park/Portland Campus & Portland Sustainable Institute/USI¹⁴⁴

Sackers states that the cities are compatible because of their similarities. The culture is the same, although the physical city of Portland is very different from Utrecht. He proposed a multi leveled partnership; which incorporated city-to-city diplomacy, citizens diplomacy, scholarly relations between universities and colleges, and international business partnerships. Nike and Delta Airlines are named as potential sponsors of this partnership. ¹⁴⁵

Utrecht is internationally orientated. There is an International School, an Expat Center, and many international historical trade relations (for example with Japan and Turkey) are celebrated. Gradually, this will shift to more economic relations.¹⁴⁶ The international orientation and relations are connected to the economic growth of the city. Utrecht is part of the biggest economic region of the Netherlands called the Randstad. This region includes the four biggest cities of the country, Amsterdam, Rotterdam, The Hague and Utrecht, the biggest harbor, Port of Rotterdam and the biggest airport Schiphol. There are about 7, 8 million inhabitants and is an economically strong region.¹⁴⁷ Utrecht had a substantial economic growth. It increased around 2.1% of the regional gross product in 2014. The Dutch economy itself increased 1.0% in the same period. The confidence in businesses also gained in this period, with a score of 50 while the national average had a score of 40.¹⁴⁸ In general, the Netherlands mostly traded with countries within Europe (61.4%). Outside of Europe, China (9%) and the United States (8.6%) are the countries with the most trade with the Netherlands.¹⁴⁹ According to the Centraal Planbureau, the trade with Asia and Latin-America decreases and the trade within Europe and with the United States increases.¹⁵⁰ In 2011 the United States was the fifth most important trade partner of the Netherlands.¹⁵¹ The Netherlands is also an important trade partner for Oregon. With a share of 4,2%, the Netherlands is the seventh biggest importer to Oregon and with a share of 1,5% the Netherlands is the fourteenth biggest country to

¹⁴⁴ Sackers, 'Portland – Utrecht.'

¹⁴⁵ Sackers, 'Portland – Utrecht.'

¹⁴⁶ Burgemeester en Wethouders Gemeente Utrecht, 'Internationale Connecties – Samenwerking Portland,' July 11, 2013.

¹⁴⁷ Randstadmonitor 2014, accessed on June 28, 2016, <http://www.randstadregion.eu/uploads/2014/09/randstadmonitor-voorkant.pdf>.

¹⁴⁸ Gemeente Utrecht, 'Utrecht Monitor 2016,' accessed on June 28, 2016, <http://www.utrecht-monitor.nl>.

¹⁴⁹ Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek, 'Internationale handel; in- en uitvoer naar SITC (1 digit) en landen', last modified on May 31, 2016, <http://statline.cbs.nl/Statweb/>.

¹⁵⁰ Centraal Planbureau, *Macro Economische Verkenning 2016*, 11.

¹⁵¹ Centraal Planbureau, *Macro Economische Verkenning 2016*, 32.

which Oregon exports.¹⁵² Portland is one of the metropolitan areas in the United States with the biggest cultural economy.¹⁵³

According to PEW Research Center, about 74% of the Dutch population supports the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP), which would remove almost all tariffs between the European Union and the United States, although this statement needs some further explaining to put things into perspective.¹⁵⁴ This survey took place in November 2014, and since then, TTIP was almost only written about negatively, so it is highly unlikely that this percentage is still this high. Although the support for TTIP is probably declining in the Netherlands, this survey does show that the Dutch population sees a free trade zone with the United States as beneficial.

In economy national borders are not important. What is important are the limitations to the movement of people and products. Is it hard to cross borders? Are there taxes to pay? Advanced countries have low formal barriers, thus it is relatively easy to trade with those countries.¹⁵⁵ The trade flow between one place and another has to be good in order to make trade work. Together with this theory Fujita, Krugman, and Venables argue that regional specialization connects to international trade. So, regions of specialization connect more easily than regions that do not have much in common.¹⁵⁶ This fits into the Utrecht-Portland connection perfectly. The two cities have much in common, for example the focus on sustainability and the presence of microbreweries.

Director of the Office of Government Relation of the City of Portland, Martha Pellegrino officially visited the City of Utrecht in June, 2016. She summarized her time in Utrecht as: “Bikes, business, and beer.”¹⁵⁷ She visited some businesses in Utrecht like the Damn Good Soap Company, which she found very Portland-like. She also met with the people from BLI Partners, who are actually trying to sell products from Utrecht in Portland. After the visit to the soap company, she visited Mini Brew, a company who made an automatic brewing machine for homemade beer. The product is not yet available on the market, but Pellegrino argues that it would also be very popular in Portland and in the United States as a whole. She not only visited particular companies, but collectives as well. Utrecht Made and Pop Up Utrecht, which have similar counterparts in Portland.

¹⁵² The United States Census, ‘Foreign Trade,’ accessed on June 28, 2016, <https://www.census.gov/foreign-trade/statistics/state/data/or.html>.

¹⁵³ Allen J. Scott, ‘Cultural Economy and the Creative Field of the City’ in: *Geografiska Annaler, Series B, Human Geography* 92, no. 2 (June 2010), 115-130, 118.

¹⁵⁴ Pew Research Center, ‘Is Europe on Board for a New Trade Deal with the U.S.?’ last modified on January 29, 2016, <http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2015/01/29/is-europe-on-board-for-a-new-trade-deal-with-the-u-s/>.

¹⁵⁵ Mashisa Fujita, Paul Krugman and Anthony J. Venables, *The Spatial Economy. Cities, Regions, and International Trade* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1999), 240.

¹⁵⁶ Fujita, Krugman and Venables, *The Spatial Economy*, 310.

¹⁵⁷ Martha Pellegrino, ‘Utrecht,’ last modified on June 25, 2016, <https://100daystravelblog.wordpress.com/2016/06/25/utrecht/>.

She ended her visit with a meeting with Mark Strooker of Oproer Brewery.¹⁵⁸ The visit of the Director shows that the connection between Utrecht and Portland is still active. Her orientation visit shows that the connection is still at a starting point as well, because the two cities try to get familiar with each other and still try to find how they can connect and what the role of the government is. The visit of Pellegrino is in fact the economic Utrecht-Portland connection in a nutshell, it involved bicycles, beer, and the made culture. The two latter subjects will be discussed further on.

Beer and microbreweries

In a letter to Mayor Jan van Zanen from Charlie Hales, Mayor of Portland in 2014 it is said that "Portland and Utrecht are supporting economic development."¹⁵⁹ He uses the collaboration between beer brewers as an example, but also hopes this will develop into more exchanges, for example in design and fashion and other businesses. In both cities and regions, microbreweries are very important companies. So it was obvious the two cities connected on the field of beer and brewing.

According to Mark Strooker of Oproer Brewery in Utrecht, working together is important to create brand recognition, connections in the U.S., but especially to exchange knowledge and business tips.¹⁶⁰ But the most important part is the Oregon Brewers Festival, one of the biggest and oldest in the United States. Standing there with local beer from Utrecht means having an enormous market to explore. On the festival they have their own tent with only Dutch beers. They visited the festival for the first time in 2014. In that year the festival was themed "Bridging Cities", which celebrated the Utrecht-Portland connection. Although, there were also brewers from other parts of the Netherlands, the city of Utrecht is the main focus. Strooker told about his presence at the festival: "I think it will lead to a breakthrough in how Americans view Dutch beer. Hopefully it will be a start for more Dutch beer in the U.S. and that beer importers will get interested. It is definitely a boost for Rooie Dop, the beer is already for sale in the U.S. starting this week."¹⁶¹ Two years later, the Dutch brewers annually travel to Portland to take part in the festival. Currently, the Utrecht brewers are working together to organize a Utrecht Brewers Festival and they plan to invite the brewers from Portland. A delegation of the festival traveled to Utrecht in September 2015 to start a local partnership. They aim for a launch of the Utrecht festival in 2017.¹⁶²

¹⁵⁸ Martha Pellegrino, 'Utrecht,' last modified on June 25, 2016, <https://100daystravelblog.wordpress.com/2016/06/25/utrecht/>.

¹⁵⁹ Charlie Hales, 'Letter to Mayor van Zanen,' January 22, 2014.

¹⁶⁰ Mark Strooker, 'Presentation Oproer Brewery', Utrecht-Portland meeting of the department of International Affairs, Utrecht, May 31, 2016.

¹⁶¹ The Dutch Beer Pages, 'Utrecht to Portland: Dutch Craft Beer's Breakthrough?' accessed on June 28, 2016, <https://dutchbeerpages.com/tag/oregon-brewers-festival/>.

¹⁶² City of Portland, '2015 Portland Utrecht Friendship City Report'.

The made movement

The 'made movement' focuses on locally making and selling products and is seen as a counterpart of the massively produced products that are available in most stores. The 'made movement' had risen earlier in Portland than in Utrecht, which is why it is important to exchange knowledge. The city of Portland already knows many pitfalls and they can provide Utrecht with other important information to keep in mind. But the exchange of knowledge is not the only reason to work together. By selling products overseas in the other city, the market of the made products increases. The city abroad can be seen as a starting point for expanding the market in the country. First Utrecht or Portland, later on the rest of the country. Portland is a good starting point for business in the U.S., because it is easier to start a business if you already have a strong network. In Portland this network is starting to take form because of the Utrecht-Portland connection.¹⁶³

Written in the Utrecht-Portland Economic mission the goals of the mission are explained. Those are "business matchmaking, knowledge exchange, and strengthening bi-lateral relations between the US and the Netherlands (specifically through the Utrecht-Portland Sister City relationship)."¹⁶⁴ This economic mission took place in October, 2012 and was visited by civil servants of the two cities, people of the Dutch Consulate in San Francisco, the Utrecht Science Park, University of Portland, different sustainability and energy businesses.

A good example of the 'made movement' is MadeHere PDX, a Portland store which sells only locally made products. The plans are to also sell Utrecht made products.¹⁶⁵ Right now, the Utrecht made Damn Good Soap Company sells their products in Portland. As a part of this relationship, the people of the company will travel to Portland this year to see if they can expand their business.

Connection between economy and culture

Although culture and economy are two dimensions of city diplomacy, according to Van der Pluijm they are interconnected. Cultural businesses are part of the economy and without the cultural connection, trading would be harder to accomplish. Allen Scott argues that a geographic dimension is important in creative industries. He means that a so called urban creative field is important in representing "a spatially organized and tension-filled system of interacting phenomena with significant effects on learning, creativity, and innovation."¹⁶⁶ The city plays a big role in this, as it can increase the cultural economy by changing its policy positively and give subsidies to cultural

¹⁶³ Marco Kooistra, 'Presentation BLI Partners, Utrecht-Portland meeting of the department of International Affairs, Utrecht, May 31, 2016.

¹⁶⁴ 'Utrecht-Portland Economic Mission', August 8, 2012.

¹⁶⁵ MadeHere PDX, 'Sell your Utrecht Made Goods in Portland, Oregon, January, 2015.

¹⁶⁶ Scott, 'Cultural Economy and the Creative Field of the City,' 121.

institutions. Furthermore, Scott argues that transactional networks are also an important factor in cultural economy.¹⁶⁷ With this thesis, it can be argued that these networks can also provide a transnational network, linking and learning from other cities around the world.

Moreover, Scott claims that place is an important factor in creating an image of a city or region. He uses Nashville music and Danish furniture as examples to show how a place can add to promotional value to a brand. The preconceptions of Danish furniture are that it is always of good quality and has a beautiful design.¹⁶⁸ Branding a place and connecting it with a product, can thus be very influential and economically strong. This is why in the Utrecht-Portland connection beer is such a key element. Both regions have many breweries and they both want to become known as beer regions. They hope to achieve that Portland beer and Utrecht beer become synonym with good, crafty beer. This will improve the breweries, and additionally has a positive influence on the image of the region as well. Furthermore, it can provide both with more revenue, from selling beer and attracting tourists. Tourism is an important part of the connection as well. In 2016 Travel Portland will be giving a travel agent training in Utrecht to increase the opportunities for tourism.¹⁶⁹

In addition to the connection between cultural branding and economy, cultural products are also part of economical trade. "The United States has tended to view cultural products and services in the same way as other traded goods and services."¹⁷⁰ Harvey Feigenbaum argued that it is important to look at trade and culture at the same time because they are heavily intertwined.¹⁷¹ Moreover, global cultural diversity has economic and non-economic advantages.¹⁷² This means that culture and economy cannot be seen fully apart. Cultural diversity and cultural similarities can be used as tools for city and product branding. At the same time cultural products are part of economical trade.

Conclusion

Economy and diplomacy always connected with each other, and in traditional diplomacy diplomats are strong players in stimulating the economy of a country abroad, by signing treaties, providing free trade and other using tools. For cities is also very important because in this way diplomatic actors can create a market for local businesses abroad. This can be useful for big companies like Nike, which can provide sponsorship and brand their business. But it is especially important for smaller businesses, as they can expand their market, exchange ideas with similar businesses abroad, and grow from the experiences. The Utrecht-Portland connection was stimulated by the

¹⁶⁷ *Ibidem*, 122.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibidem*, 124.

¹⁶⁹ 2015 Portland Utrecht Friendship City Report.

¹⁷⁰ Feigenbaum, 'Globalization and Cultural Diplomacy,' 33-34.

¹⁷¹ *Ibidem*, 25.

¹⁷² *Ibidem*, 37.

Dutch consulate in San Francisco, because they wanted to stimulate Dutch businesses to find a market on the west coast of the United States. The Utrecht-Portland connection would be a great starting point for this expansion of the market as they are similar cities and already have a friendship treaty.

Conclusion

The municipality of Utrecht and the city of Portland have been friendly for many years and in 2012 officially connected as friendship cities. This connection has exposed how the Utrecht-Portland connection fits into the context of city diplomacy.

In the twentieth century many shifts within diplomacy occurred. The traditional diplomatic relations, from government to government with professional diplomats as agents, gradually changed into a multi leveled diplomacy in which citizens were used as agents as well. The most important change was the development of city diplomacy. Cities developed their own diplomacy to serve the interests of their community. Because citizens became global citizens and because cities wanted to show solidarity with the world. There are six dimensions in city diplomacy: security, development, economy, culture, networks, and representation. These dimensions can be used to provide international relations for a city.

In the first chapter the history of city diplomacy is discussed. Traditional diplomacy was the starting point, which evolved into a multi leveled transnational way of diplomacy. Not only states, but more actors became active in the field of diplomacy. For example businesses and regions, and cities as well. Over the years increasingly more citizens became active in diplomatic relations. This is linked to public diplomacy, in which governments try to influence citizens of other countries. An example of public diplomacy is Americanization. During the Cold War diplomatic relations were very important for the United States. Public diplomacy was an important tool in this 'war' as it showed the U.S. as its best and even so better than the Soviet Union. The other reason was to counter anti-Americanism. Another tool in diplomacy is citizens diplomacy. The state actor does not play a role in this type of diplomacy. It is purely about regular citizens and their diplomatic role in the world. Citizen diplomacy is important in the evolution of city diplomacy. Citizens in Utrecht and Portland have been very active in creating connections in the other city.

An interesting part of the history of city diplomacy is city twinning, which was mostly done by one city in a 'western' country in Europe or North America, with a third world country in South America or Africa. One of these examples is the twinning between European cities like Utrecht with Nicaraguan cities like León. These connections were anti-America, because it politically countered the actions of the United States in Nicaragua in the 1970s. So, at the same time the United States used diplomacy to show how great they were, and city twinning was used to as a way to show the U.S. they were doing things wrong in Nicaragua. Over the years city diplomacy changed from giving developmental aid, and conflict resolution in third world countries to a more economic and cultural relation between cities and countries around the world. For the Utrecht-Portland connection those two new reasons for diplomacy are important as well.

In the second chapter cultural diplomacy has been the main subject. Cultural diplomacy is the exchange of ideas usually from a government to foreign people or the other way around. This is sometimes linked to propaganda, but is usually a way to promote culture abroad. The U.S. again is the main country which used cultural diplomacy and again mostly in the Cold War. It was used to counter anti-Americanism and is connected to the mostly negatively used Americanization, because it showed the American culture as the dominant culture. Although Americanization has a negative connotation, in recent surveys of the PEW Research Center it is shown that countries as the Netherlands have a positive image of the U.S.

The Netherlands has a department of Public Diplomacy, Communications & Creative Industries, which is part of the Dutch Consulate in the United States, which promotes Dutch culture abroad. The connection between Utrecht and Portland was initiated by the Dutch consulate in San Francisco and they were linked because the two cities are much alike. They are both green, sustainable, young, bicycling and beer drinking cities. For Utrecht and Portland this meant that the transportation departments connect and exchange ideas, an agreement between the Hogeschool Utrecht and Portland State University is made, and there are many economic exchanges.

Economy and diplomacy are tied in together. In traditional diplomacy economy already played a big role because creating a market abroad for local businesses is one of the key parts of professional diplomats. International (trade) organizations are also key players in the field of economic diplomacy. Cities also are very involved in economic diplomacy to pave the way for local businesses to gain a market abroad. As already mentioned, the Utrecht – Portland economic connection was instigated by the Dutch consulate to promote trade and connect the Netherlands with the west coast of the United States. Portland is a good starting point, because there already was good contact between Utrecht and Portland. The most important product exported from Utrecht to Portland and the other way around is beer. In both cities there are many microbreweries active that collaborate, exchange ideas, and sell beer at the annual Brewers Festival in Portland. Not only beer, but other products are being sold across the ocean as well. Right now the Damn Good Soap Company from Utrecht sells their products in Portland as well and there are more companies who are willing to expand their market internationally.

The Utrecht-Portland connection fits into the context of city diplomacy in the two dimensions of city diplomacy by Van der Pluijm. The two cities provide a cultural and economic collaboration which will be beneficial for citizens from both Utrecht and Portland. Not only (small) businesses can profit by expanding their market and exchanging ideas, but also the cities themselves collaborate by exchanging information, such as the transportation department and the visits from delegations from both cities.

The Utrecht-Portland connection is official since the 2012 resolution of the city of Portland, which is acknowledged by Utrecht. The connection is still new and all the parties are still trying to get familiar with one another. The future will hopefully bring more exchange of ideas, trade and culture. It would be interesting to do a follow up research in ten years to see how the connection develops and to obtain trade data which will show if the cities and businesses indeed increased their international revenue in the other region. This also demonstrates one of the flaws of this research. Because the Utrecht-Portland connection is still very young there is not any data available to see if there is indeed an economical or cultural benefit in connecting with other cities in this way.

This research of the Utrecht-Portland connection and its relation to city diplomacy shows that city diplomacy became increasingly popular the last few years. It also showed that there is indeed a shift occurring from city twinning with a focus on developmental aid and conflict resolution to a city connection which concentrated on the exchange of culture and the development of the city economy. It is interesting to see that this case adds to the academic discussion of city diplomacy by showing this shift and that in the future scholars should look at the cultural and economic dimensions more.

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