CULTURAL DIPLOMACY AS SOFT POWER IN ADVANCING NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF NIGERIA AND THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

BY

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LEGON JULY 2019
DECLARATION

I, Nana Akua Tenkorang, do hereby declare that this work is entirely by my personal effort, supervised by Dr. Boni Yao Gebe. I further declare that all the works that have been consulted or quoted have been duly acknowledged. I also declare that this dissertation has not been presented either in part or in whole for any other degree elsewhere.

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(STUDENT)

DR. BONI YAO GEBE
(SUPERVISOR)

DATE…………………………

DATE…………………………
DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to God Almighty for his unfathomable faithfulness and kindness
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to express my most profound appreciation to my parents Ambassador Kwame Asamoah Tenkorang and Mrs. Gloria Tenkorang for their unwavering support and commitment throughout my master’s program. I will always remain indebted to you for your immense love, guidance and prayers.

My warmest gratitude also goes to my supervisor Dr. Boni Yao Gebe for enriching me with such a world of knowledge. Your selflessness as well as your able supervision and guidance has led to the successful completion of this work, and for that I am infinitely grateful.
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<table>
<thead>
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<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AD</td>
<td>After Death</td>
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<tr>
<td>ALC</td>
<td>American Language Center</td>
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<td>AMA</td>
<td>American Music Abroad</td>
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<td>AMAA</td>
<td>African Movie Academy Awards</td>
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<td>BBC</td>
<td>British Broadcasting Corporation</td>
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<td>BC</td>
<td>Before Christ</td>
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<td>BCE</td>
<td>Before Common Era</td>
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<tr>
<td>BEA</td>
<td>Bureau of Economic Analysis</td>
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<td>BET</td>
<td>Black Entertainment Television</td>
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<tr>
<td>CBAAC</td>
<td>Centre for Black and African Arts and Civilisation</td>
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<tr>
<td>CEO</td>
<td>Chief Executive Officer</td>
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<td>CIA</td>
<td>Central Intelligence Agency</td>
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<td>EU</td>
<td>European Union</td>
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<td>FESTAC</td>
<td>Festival of Arts and Culture</td>
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<td>GDP</td>
<td>Gross Domestic Product</td>
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<td>GEMS</td>
<td>Growth and Employment in States</td>
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<td>IIPA</td>
<td>International Intellectual Property Alliance</td>
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<tr>
<td>Acronym</td>
<td>Description</td>
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<tr>
<td>IRCE</td>
<td>Institute for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries</td>
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<td>MAMA</td>
<td>MTV African Music Awards</td>
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<tr>
<td>MBE</td>
<td>Member of the Order of the British Empire</td>
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<td>MPAA</td>
<td>Motion Picture Association of America</td>
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<tr>
<td>NAFTI</td>
<td>National Film and Television Institute</td>
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<td>NCAC</td>
<td>National Council for Arts and Culture</td>
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<td>NCC</td>
<td>Nigerian Copyright Commission</td>
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<td>NCMM</td>
<td>National Commission for Museums and Monuments</td>
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<td>NEA</td>
<td>National Endowment of the Arts</td>
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<td>NTI</td>
<td>National Television International</td>
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<td>PAFF</td>
<td>Pan African Film and Arts Festival</td>
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<td>PwC</td>
<td>PricewaterhouseCoopers</td>
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<td>RIAA</td>
<td>Recording Industry Association of America</td>
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<td>UCLA</td>
<td>University of California Los Angeles</td>
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<td>UK</td>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNESCO</td>
<td>United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organisation</td>
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<td>USA</td>
<td>United States of America</td>
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<td>USIA</td>
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ABSTRACT

Culture has been harnessed by states as a diplomatic tool for eons. Its role in fostering cross-cultural and international cooperation is highly noticeable. Intercultural exchanges, especially those initiated by the state or even the private sector, is known to create an atmosphere of friendship and trust, as well as eliminate negative notions held of other cultures. Cultural Diplomacy, as one of the major soft power currencies of states, is used by Nigeria and the U.S., perhaps for a myriad of reasons, however, this study emphasized its role in the social, economic and reputational development of these two countries. This study sought to fill a literary gap which existed on comparative cultural diplomacy and national development. Thus by use of both primary and secondary data, it determined through its two case studies that cultural diplomacy definitely advances national development (although the level of impact differs greatly between the two countries in question) In conclusion of the study. Recommendations such as prioritising cultural diplomacy through funding were made.
CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Background to the Study

Diplomacy, has since its inception, seen endless attempts by diplomats, scholars and laypersons alike to attach to it an appropriate definition. For the purposes of this study, however, the most notable of these attempts at defining diplomacy, both as a concept and profession is that of George Kennan who labelled it as a tool for “effecting communications between one’s own government and other governments or individuals abroad, and to do this with maximum accuracy, imagination, tact and good sense” (Fishman, 2015).

“Imagination, tact and good sense” as stated by Kennan, have largely accounted for the success of a branch of diplomacy which still remains woefully unexploited by several states (Fishman, 2015). Cultural diplomacy is the form of diplomacy which has been leveraged by both developed and developing nations to endear themselves to target countries, regions and the world in general. This aspect of diplomacy is rapidly gaining grounds as a worthy and more pacifist approach to world politics.

According to the United States and German-based Institute of Cultural Diplomacy, this form of interaction may best be described as “courses of action, which are based on and utilizes the exchange of ideas, values, traditions and other aspects of culture or identity, whether to strengthen relationships, enhance socio-cultural cooperation, promote national interests and beyond” (ICD, 2019). An integral dimension of cultural diplomacy which is worth mentioning is its role as a soft power tool to promote national development. This means that a state would
apply its most appealing aspects in its conduct of international relations as opposed to threats or embarking on war with other states (Nye, 1990).

In the course of history, states have used cultural diplomacy as a tool to pursue all manner of interests. By means of various aspects of culture such as music, arts, cuisine, literature, language, sports and cinema, cooperation and bonds of friendship have been strengthened between and among states and tensions have also been diffused through this diplomatic strategy (Arndt, 2005).

Nigeria and the United States of America (USA) have, in their unique ways, sought to win foreign hearts through cultural promotion. Music, dance, movies and literature produced in Nigeria have earned global acclaim and significance (Chidozie & Sotubo, 2014). The global-level popularity of American cinema, literature, music and even ideology is also undeniably evident. These Nigerian and American soft power variables have popularized their respective cultures and won for them the attention of the world.

Nigeria has emerged as a force in Africa with great potential to increase its sphere of influence on the world stage. The Nigerian film industry (Nollywood), which produces about 50 movies a week, generates an impressive US$590 million annually, making the Nigerian film industry the second largest in the world and first in Africa. Over a million people are also currently employed in the industry, making it the country’s largest employer after agriculture (Moudio, 2018). The revenue generated from its music industry in 2016 was US$39m (Abumere, 2018). The 2015 Brand Africa Survey showed that Nigeria owned 11% of the 100 most admired world brands in Africa with companies such as Dangote, Globacom and Zenith Bank, ranking it number one in Africa (Tella, 2018). Aside hefty contributions to government revenue and employment, these
variables have enhanced the reputation of Nigeria (Akinola, 2013). According to the U.S. Bureau of Economic Analysis (BEA) and the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA), the arts and culture industry (movies, television, music, broadcasting etc.) contribute more than US$800 billion a year to the U.S. economic output, amounting to more than 4 percent of Gross Domestic Product (GDP), and currently employs 5 million Americans. In 2016, the industry produced US$400 billion in wages and US$25 billion trade surplus from cultural exports (Florida, 2019). These give a sense of the immense contributions made by Nigerian and U.S. cultural industries towards their social, economic and reputational development.

1.1 Statement of the Research Problem

Interstate relations are often fraught with disagreements, conflict and overall tension. In an anarchical international system, states strive to attain their interests by all means necessary, even if that includes issuing threats, sanctions, or even resorting to war. In the absence of a central authority to regulate their behaviour, states treat other states as they deem fit, per their own moral subjectivities. Also, in the current global order, more powerful states wield their power over smaller ones, or simply use them as stepping stones to achieving their objectives (Mearsheimer, 1994).

However, diplomacy in the present international environment can be conducted differently. States continue to combine hard and soft power which have often defeated the purpose of their soft power (Nye, 2009). As they endeavour to leverage their cultural appeal, their harsh tactics towards other states almost negate their attempts at endearing themselves to communities overseas. In view of this, it can be deduced that cultural diplomacy is an unsung hero which has been improperly used by many powerful states as a foreign policy instrument.
The above case, coupled with the earlier described enormity and popularity of Nigerian and American cultural goods, as well as the absence of a comparative analysis of the two countries in terms of cultural diplomacy and national development, have necessitated this study.

1.2 Research Questions

1. What is cultural diplomacy?

2. What is the relationship between cultural diplomacy and public diplomacy?

3. How has it helped as a soft power tool in the social, economic and reputational development of Nigeria and the USA?

1.3 Research Objectives

1. To explain cultural diplomacy;

2. To clarify the relationship between cultural diplomacy and public diplomacy;

3. To review how cultural diplomacy has helped as a soft power tool in the social, economic and reputational development of Nigeria and the USA.

1.4 Scope of the Study

This study compares and contrasts the use of cultural diplomacy by Nigeria and the USA as soft power in their interactions with the rest of the world. The impact of cultural diplomacy on their social, economic and reputational development from the onset of the new millennium is also investigated.
1.5 **Hypothesis**

Cultural diplomacy has enhanced the social, economic and reputational development of Nigeria and the United States.

1.6 **Rationale of the Study**

Cultural diplomacy has been used by both developing and developed states as soft power in pursuing their national objectives. This study is relevant because it explains the nexus between the use of cultural appeal and national development. Although there exists a multiplicity of literature on cultural diplomacy, this research utilises its role in the development of a developing nation (Nigeria) and an industrialised one (USA). Nigeria and the United States were chosen mainly because the study intends to focus on two countries which possess a heavy and undeniable cultural influence in their respective regions and even globally. Also, similarities such as population size, official language, governance structure, as well as military and economic prowess are crucial in carrying out this comparative study.

1.7 **Conceptual Framework**

This research is based on the concept of soft power. The term ‘soft power’ was coined by American writer Joseph Nye in his 1990 book “Bound to Lead: The Changing Nature of American Power.” Here, he conceptualises soft power in international relations as “getting others to want the outcomes you want” through attraction rather than force (Nye, 1990). Nye’s concept stood out as a worthy opposition to the traditional understanding of power in the form of military influences and the ability to wield them undeterred. This is also known as “hard power” which, according to Nye involves a state “ordering” other states to adhere to its wishes.
Nye posits that a state with soft power “may obtain what it wants in world politics because other countries- admiring its values, emulating its example, aspiring to its level of prosperity- want to follow it” (Nye, 1990). Nye downplays the use of military power and conquest as symbols of state power, and rather highlights education, technology and economic growth as important indicators of power in recent times.

With regards to the changing face of power in world politics, he points out the growing popularity of private actors or multinational corporations. His attempt to give power a softer and more humane meaning is made evident when he makes reference to the words of Henry Kissinger who despite his firm belief in the classical balance-of-power system stated in a 1975 speech that “the world has become interdependent in economics, in communications, in human aspirations.” In Nye’s view, the meaning of power which hitherto encompassed mainly military and economic might (hard power) has seen the inclusion of variables such as the ability of a state to enhance human interaction, as well as economic and political interdependence.

Like Nye, Oluwaseun Tella highlights the importance of acceptance and admiration in wielding soft power. Therefore, target governments and citizens would have to perceive a state’s soft power as desirable and as a prerequisite to concluding that it has been exerted successfully. Thus, Tella holds that “a state’s culture, political values, and foreign policy may not be attractive if the recipient states perceive them as arrogant and unilateral” (Tella, 2018).

Scholars such as Joshua Kurlantzick have built upon Nye’s concept of soft power by including international aid and international investment to the list of soft power strategies. According to
Kurlantzick, countries such as China are willing to use foreign aid as a soft power tool to build relationships, not only with leaders but with citizens of other countries as well, such as farmers and students (Kurlantzick, 2006).

Paul R. Viotti and Mark V. Kauppi view soft power as the “non-material capabilities such as reputation, culture and value appeal that can aid the attainment of a state’s objectives” (Viotti & Kauppi, 2013). This definition by Viotti and Kauppi is consistent with this study as it includes culture and value appeal as soft power tactics in achieving a state’s objectives.

Perhaps to adequately understand the significance of soft power, it is important to recognise the weaknesses inherent in hard power. Certain scholars hold the view that hard power is in decline, and thus, advocate for soft power as a suitable alternative. Though there are still the prevalence of military exertions in contemporary international relations, the likes of Nye claim that “the use of military force for economic gain is too costly and dangerous for modern great powers” (Nye 1990).

Aside the expensive nature of hard power, it also appears to be an assured way of inciting hatred for the state that wields it. Finn (2003) indicates that U.S. policymakers often believe that military force is the most appropriate response to radical Islamic terrorism. She, on the other hand, believes that dialogue, in the form of soft power, is essential in winning the affection of the people most susceptible to Islamic radicalisation abroad, because hard power goes a long way to aggravate such dicey issues. She indicates that “when disenfranchised young people in developing countries sought solace in communism,” in the post-Cold War era, it was American
soft power, and not hard power, that successfully curtailed the further spread of an opposing ideology and won the hearts and minds of young people in those countries (Finn, 2003).

In addition, Nye (2004) maintains that too much hard power often takes away the attractiveness of any country. He believes that where hard power is overexploited and misused, countries may lose approval, even from their own allies. He opines that countries like the United States cannot confront the new threat of terrorism and other global challenges without the cooperation and affection of other countries, and that the extent of their support greatly depends on the attractiveness of the United States which cannot necessarily be achieved through its constant use of coercion or force but by its use of soft power (Nye, 2004).

Furthermore, Nye (1990) believes that national security could be ensured not necessarily by increasing military spending, but rather, developing soft power forms, such as “communications, organizations and institutional skills…” in order for a state to maintain influence in international relations. He further assumes that interdependence in international relations reduces the tendency of states to resort to military force in the event of disagreements.

There are various schools of thought which postulate that soft and hard power can reinforce or undermine one another (Tella, 2016). For example, according to Suzanne Nossel, the US’s soft power in the form of “democracy and pop culture” reinforced its hard power attributes of economic and military might during the Cold War (Nossel, 2004). Meanwhile, Tella (2016) asserts that the United States’ sole usage of hard power in Iraq weakened its soft power, “as was evident in global anti-American sentiments triggered by that war” (Tella, 2016).
A good number of scholars have, however, pointed out what they perceive to be flaws and limitations of the concept of soft power. Some critics argue that soft power is a mere reflection of hard power. Powerful states are only able to exercise soft power by virtue of their hard power (military, economic and general influence). Nye himself affirms that whereas hard power is “straightforward” soft power is “more difficult, because many of its crucial resources are outside the control of governments, and their effects depend heavily on acceptance by the receiving audiences” (Nye, 2004).

He also developed the term “smart power” in 2009 to refute the misperception that the use of soft power on its own can lead to a successful foreign policy. He rather opines that it is wise to blend the tools of both hard and soft power in foreign policy. In his view, the line between hard and soft power are often blurred, adding that “both economic and military resources can be used to attract as well as coerce.” To prove this assertion, he refers to the “positive effect of the U.S. military’s relief efforts in Indonesia following the 2004 tsunami on Indonesians’ attitudes towards the United States” (Nye, 2009).

Ernest Wilson maintains that debates in favour of soft power are often vague, “politically naïve and institutionally weak” and that its proponents have not done much to incorporate their positions into a framework to further the national interest. Although he disagrees with Nye’s concept of soft power, he endorses his idea of smart power and insists that advancing smart power has become a national security imperative. Similar to Nye, he describes smart power as “the capacity of an actor to combine elements of hard power and soft power in ways that are mutually reinforcing such that the actor’s purposes are advanced effectively and efficiently” (Wilson, 2008).
Furthermore, certain scholars argue that Nye’s conceptualisation of soft power is skewed towards the U.S. In this regard, Kurlantzick (2007) contends that China is just as influential and possesses the necessary attributes “such as culture, public diplomacy, diplomatic and economic engagement such as aid and investment, and participation in multilateral institutions.”

Ding, like Kurlantzick, argues that “as a developing country and a relatively marginalized player at the outset in the post-Cold War world order, China has a different set of concerns and must tap different sources of soft power. Thus China’s soft power wielding must be understood and reconceptualised on the Chinese, rather than Nye’s terms” (Ding, 2010).

Also, Oluwaseun Tella contends that American political principles of “democracy, human rights, individualism, and the rule of law” influenced Nye’s perception of soft power. In his view, although these values have global appeal, authoritarian states mostly oppose them, “hence the need to locate other attractive values of such states within the soft power debate” (Tella, 2016).

The use of soft power as the main concept in this study explains one of its many devices which is cultural appeal. The study explains how the soft power of cultural attraction is used by Nigeria and the United States in furtherance of national development.

1.8 Literature Review

In his 1990 book “Bound to Lead: The Changing Nature of American Power”, Joseph Nye draws attention to the unquenchable and almost utopian optimism which existed in post-World War II United States, with the widespread notion that the USA had finally unseated Great Britain and positioned itself at the helm of global affairs. To prove this assertion, he quotes Undersecretary of State Eugene Rostow as having claimed in the mid-1960s that “the United States has now occupied the role of chief policeman for the free world for about twenty years. The office has
required diplomatic and military exertions of us in a long series of conflicts – from Iran, Lebanon, Turkey, and Greece to Berlin, Korea, Cuba and Vietnam” (Rostow, 1967).

According to Nye, Samuel P. Huntington made a projection which was consistent with Rostow’s views when he asserted that “by the year 2000, it should be clear retrospectively that the dominant feature of international politics during the thirty years after World War II was the expansion of American power” (Huntington, 1967). In Nye’s view, however, the USA in the 1980s experienced a fall from grace after having encountered defeat in Vietnam, an oil embargo and rising inflation at home coupled with its fall from the position of world’s largest creditor to that of a net debtor, as well as a host of other unfavourable macroeconomic indicators and dwindling public optimism. Nye believes this to be an example of the “imperial overstretch” in world politics where a growing nation builds its military power to protect its economic interests but is eventually weakened by the cost of maintaining military power and is thus replaced by another emerging economic power.

In contrast to what some scholars suggest, Nye (1990) posits that America could change the nature of its power not necessarily by curbing its foreign policy excesses and reducing international commitments (as this would drastically undermine American influence) but rather by co-opting a new form of “soft power” in its relations with the rest of the world. Nye believes that although America possesses considerable amounts of hard (or traditional) power, its “soft” ideological and institutional power, if rightly leveraged in transnational interdependence, will ensure the maintenance of its dominant position in world politics. This view has proven not to be farfetched. Although America has continuously and incessantly exerted its “hard” authority in different parts of the world, people around the world appear to have (or at least believe they
have) an understanding of American values. There are, of course, those who strive to live the American dream which has been ingeniously pitched to them through avenues such as Hollywood. This appears to be a win-win situation for the United States.

Nye, again in his 2004 book “Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics” reiterates the importance, or rather the indispensability, of soft power in foreign policy. According to him, winning hearts and minds in the current information age is of utmost importance. In his operationalisation of power, Nye (2004) opines that although power could mean “the ability to influence the behaviour of others to get the outcomes one wants”, it is indeed multidimensional and has many modes of application. He asserts that power which has long been narrowly defined as “command and coercion” or military and economic capabilities (hard power) deserves to be rethought; thus he refers to “the second face of power” or soft power. This means that “a country may obtain the outcomes it wants in world politics because other countries- admiring its values, emulating its example, aspiring to its level of prosperity and openness want to follow it” (Nye, 2004). He draws a contrast between command and co-optive power which are synonymous to hard and soft power respectively. Command power constitutes the power to command and induce behaviour whilst co-optive power consists of the use of cultural attractiveness and appeal to influence the decisions of others.

Nye himself points out a major limitation of soft power by reiterating the views of some skeptics. According to him, there are those who believe that attraction or the use of cultural appeal are outside the purview or full control of governments. He explains this by stating that “much of American soft power has been produced by Hollywood, Harvard, Microsoft and Michael Jordan” and not by government. In his opinion, this still does not invalidate the many achievements of
soft power. Nye’s response to these criticisms is accurate because, after all, the success of these private sector goods, are claimed by America and are in essence, American goods.

Nigerian writer, Iyorwuese Hagher, in his 2016 book “Diverse but Not Broken: National Wake Up Calls for Nigeria” defines soft power as “the art of winning hearts and minds of others by attracting them through cultural exchanges (e.g., arts, beliefs, ways of life and customs). It is cultural diplomacy that provides the meeting point between culture and policy.” In his view, cultural diplomacy is preferred over conventional diplomacy whose features include “military might, political leverage and economic power.” (Hagher, 2016)

He further underscores the indispensability of cultural diplomacy in Nigeria’s foreign policy. According to him, liberation from “political, economic and cultural enslavement” is a major foreign policy objective. Among Nigeria’s relentless peacebuilding efforts in Africa, he highlights some of the country’s historical and current soft power successes such as its instrumentality in ending Apartheid in South Africa, its unflinching role as a continental aid giver, the provision of electricity to neighbouring Benin and Niger despite its own power challenges, its promotion of South-South cooperation, as well as its maintenance and propagation of “Africa’s cultural heritage in modes of dress, arts and crafts, food, languages and diversity” (Hagher, 2016).

He believes, however, that Nigeria’s cultural diplomacy could become more “pragmatic and more robust,” stating that the Nigerian Ministry of Foreign Affairs could emulate Germany; a country whose foreign policy is slanted towards cultural diplomacy, with more than half the budget of its foreign ministry being dedicated towards cultural diplomacy. He further suggests
active diaspora engagement as well as the appointment of leading artists as ambassadors and diplomats, citing a few examples from Latin America and India.

In his view, domestic institutions responsible for Nigeria’s cultural policy such as the Ministries of Culture and Tourism; Foreign Affairs; Information and Communication, and the National Council for Arts and Culture should be overhauled to ensure successful cultural diplomacy efforts. He lists the success of Nigerian banks and oil companies, the global-level popularity of many Nigerian musicians, the enormity of the Nigerian film industry (Nollywood) and sports as major strides made in the area of cultural diplomacy.

Cynthia Schneider infers that cultural diplomacy, especially in the area of educational and cultural exchanges, plays an essential role in fostering peaceful relations between and among nations. She reveals that these programmes are influential and longstanding as far as U.S. cultural diplomacy is concerned. She suggests that “the United States must support the creation of enlightened educational systems in countries under threat from extremism through teacher training, curriculum development, and book translation.” (Schneider, 2006). She proposes the extension of U.S. cultural exchange programmes such as the Fulbright programme, a U.S. government funded program which provides the opportunity for foreign educators and academics to obtain higher degrees in the U.S., to reach more countries. In her view, “the State Department’s International Visitor and Voluntary Visitor programs should be expanded to permit more young political leaders, academics, journalists, intellectuals, and cultural figures to travel to the United States to observe U.S institutions and meet with counterparts” (Schneider, 2006).

She surmises that youth cultural exchange initiatives such as the American Field Service programme should be made to reach out to the Muslim world on a much larger scale in a bid to
erase widespread anti-American sentiment. Although Schneider does not deny that some 9/11 terrorists had spent a considerable amount of time in the U.S., she maintains that “cultural exchange programs have been extremely useful in creating favourable impressions of the United States abroad…” (Schneider, 2006).

Felix Chidozie and Ebun Sotubo postulate that there is “an inextricable link between cultural diplomacy and national development, especially in the contemporary international system” (Chidozie & Sotubo, 2014). To substantiate this assertion, they conduct an analysis of the Nigerian entertainment industry, specifically in the area of music and film. They maintain that cultural diplomacy has proven highly beneficial in the areas of tourism, trade and investment promotion. They cite article 4(3) c of the Nigerian National Policy on Film which affirms that “film will be produced to protect and promote our rich cultural heritage and our national aspirations in the process of development” (Chidozie & Sotubo, 2014). Seemingly, in line with the said policy, Chidozie and Sotubo (2014) reason that in addition to repairing a country’s reputation abroad, films can be a lucrative venture, especially when used as cultural export. With regards to the advantages attained from the Nigerian music industry, Chidozie and Sotubo (2014) point out its instrumentality in employment creation.

In his journal article “The Connectivity of Culture: Innovating in Cultural Diplomacy” Evan Ryan asserts that an individual even before he is old enough to appreciate the complexities of world politics or global economics, is first introduced to another country through culture, with some of its most powerful purveyors being film and television; music; art and sports (Ryan, 2016). He demonstrates his ardent confidence in cultural diplomacy when he surmises that even
in instances where formal relations between the United States and another country are non-existent or where they are strained, dialogue is still possible by reason of culture.

With regards to innovation in cultural diplomacy, in a constantly evolving world, Ryan holds the view that U.S. “must try to anticipate the next cultural shift, and respond to new developments.” He also believes that “cultural diplomacy is sometimes the best – and sometimes the only-approach available to respond to changing circumstances, political shifts and growing crises. The ultimate aim of innovation in cultural diplomacy, in his perspective is to “build bridges between communities and foster greater understanding” (Ryan, 2016).

Schneider (2004) lists the Culture Connect Programme, American Corners and the Ambassador’s Fund. The Culture Connect Program, for instance, sends the best of American culture to deprived communities in the world for concerts and master classes. The Ambassador’s Fund for Cultural and Historical Preservation entails U.S. Ambassadors serving in the developing world, together with colleagues in their host states, choosing historical preservation projects for the benefit of the local communities, and financing them with resources from the Ambassadors fund (Schneider, 2004).

Oluwaseun Tella postulates that a state’s soft power devices, if wielded correctly, will cause other states to be drawn by its charm, hold it in high esteem and aspire to its level of greatness (Tella, 2018). Like Hagher, Chidozie and Sotubo, Tella mostly associates Nigeria’s soft power with its entertainment industry. He makes reference to the immense success of the industry, which is evidenced in the admiration for Nigerian music and film, both in Africa and the world at large. He believes that Nollywood, not only accrues economic gains for Nigeria, but is crucial in dissuading negative stereotypes surrounding the country.
He reiterates Nye’s inclusion of multinational corporations as one of the useful currencies of soft power. In his view, companies such as Dangote Group, Globacom Telecommunications, FirstBank and Zenith Bank can be counted among the most valuable and most admired companies in Africa (Tella, 2018). He shares Iyorwuese Hagher’s assumption that Nigeria has successfully applied its soft power in the areas of democracy, aid, peacekeeping and commitment to multilateral institutions.

Ogunnubi and Isike (2017) in their article Nigeria’s Soft Power Sources: Between Potential and Illusion?” share Nye (1990)’s view that cultural diplomacy is a major soft power currency. They believe that Nigeria, in a very unique way, is rightly positioned to enhance its regional influence through the platform that its culture has presented it with. They also identify some of Nigeria’s cultural elements that attract global admiration and respect for the country. In their opinion, some of these are literature, film and music. They opine that Nigeria’s cultural diplomacy has been advanced primarily in the areas of music, art, language, fashion, literature and entertainment, and can be propelled and harmonized in order to improve Nigeria’s often provocative international image (Ogunnubi & Isike, 2017).

1.9 Clarification of Key Concepts

1.9.1 Culture

American anthropologist E.B. Tylor defines culture as “that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society (Taylor, 1975).
In Joseph Nye’s view, culture is a set of values that create meaning for society. This includes both high culture (literature, arts and education which appeals to elites) and popular culture (appeals to the masses) (Nye, 2004).

According to the 2001 Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity of the United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO), “culture should be regarded as the set of distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features of society or a social group, and that it encompasses, in addition to art and literature, lifestyles, ways of living together, value systems, traditions and beliefs.”

The concept of culture is being explained to enhance understanding of its application as a diplomatic tool by Nigeria and the United States to foster national development. Some of its most widely accepted variables are art, literature, beliefs and lifestyles, as can be detected in the above definitions.

1.9.2 Diplomacy

Jan Melissen described diplomacy as “the mechanism of representation, communication and negotiation through which states and other international actors conduct their business” (Melissen, 1999). Melissen’s definition is suitable for this study because it deviates from the traditional definitions of diplomacy which mostly overemphasize relations between states without taking into consideration new diplomacy forms. In this study, “other international actors” as stated by Melissen will include promoters of a state’s culture such as musicians, actors, chefs, dancers, fashion moguls and even Chief Executive Officers (CEOs) of multinational corporations.
1.9.3 Cultural Diplomacy

Milton Cummings defines cultural diplomacy as “the exchange of ideas, information, art and other aspects of culture among nations and their peoples in order to foster mutual understanding which can also be more of a one way street than a two way exchange, as when one nation concentrates its efforts on promoting the national language, explaining its policies and point of view or telling its story to the rest of the world” (Cummings, 2003). ‘Cultural diplomacy’ as utilised in this study considers Melissen’s definition of diplomacy with the primary instruments being ideology, art, language, music, film, fashion and cuisine, among others.

1.9.4 Power

Viotti and Kauppi (2013) define power as “the means by which a state or other actor wields or can assert actual or potential influence or coercion relative to other states and non-state actors because of the political, geographic, economic and financial, technological, military, social, cultural, or other capabilities it possesses.” For the purposes of this study, an important dimension of power, which is soft power, is employed to explain how Nigeria and the United States are able to influence foreign publics with their attractive cultural values instead of resorting to force or coercion. The impact of their application of soft power on their development is discussed in great detail.

1.9.5 Soft Power

According to Paul R. Viotti and Mark V. Kauppi, soft power is the “non-material capabilities such as reputation, culture, and value appeal that can aid the attainment of a state’s objectives” (Viotti & Kauppi, 2013). The study explains how the soft power of cultural attraction is used by Nigeria and the United States in furtherance of national development.
1.9.6 National Development

Nigerian writer, Christopher Okigbo, surmises that “national development should embrace political, economic, educational, technological and cultural changes.” He adds that “national development also connotes the process through which a state or society improves its standard of living, not only materially but also the realm of its value system” (Okigbo, 1983).

Chidozie and Sotubo (2014) affirm that “development involves changes in social, political, economic and physical structures of man which give rise to both qualitative and quantitative changes.” And thus, national development is used to refer to a situation where we can sufficiently utilise our various resources, whether human or natural, with the aim of benefiting from such resources to the fullest (Chidozie & Sotubo, 2014).

Umezinwa (2012) believes that national development is “bigger and deeper than mere environmental face-lift or in some cases defacement. National development should involve all the aspects of human life, cultural, historical, religious, educational, spiritual, legal, and psychological” (Umezinwa, 2012).

In this study, the effect of cultural diplomacy on the social, economic and reputational development of Nigerian and the U.S. is expatiated.

1.9.7 Social Development

According to Bilance (1997) “Social Development is the promotion of a sustainable society that is worthy of human dignity by empowering marginalized groups, women and men, to undertake their own development, to improve their social and economic position and to acquire their rightful place in society” (Bilance, 1997)
Amartya Sen believes that “Social Development is the equality of social opportunities” (Sen, 1995)

In a similar vein, the Copenhagen Social Summit, 1995 defined social development based on three fundamental elements which are “poverty eradication, employment generation and social harmony.” These three pillars are highlighted in the discussion of cultural diplomacy and social development in the third chapter.

1.9.8 Reputational Development

According to Crescenzi and Donahue (2017), “the concept of reputation in the study of world politics typically describes information adhering to a state or its leaders concerning behavioural or intentional characteristics relating to cooperation or conflict. States or their leaders obtain reputations for some key dimension of information, which others use to predict the state’s actions. For example, a state can develop a reputation for being trustworthy or reliable, and this information may affect future contracts and treaties with other states. States can also develop reputations for being aggressive or untrustworthy, which can exacerbate international relations.” (Crescenzi & Donahue, 2017). Thus the term ‘reputational development’ of a state will be operationalized in this study to mean the improvement in the external perceptions of a state.

1.10 Sources of Data

This study depends mainly on primary and secondary sources of data. Given that the research is qualitative in nature, the primary data is gathered through semi-structured interviews with officials of the United States Embassy and the Nigerian High Commission in Accra, as well as other relevant personalities on the subject. Under the semi-structured interview form, respondents answered preset, open-ended questions which are situated in an interview guide.
Furthermore, in reverence of ethical standards, audio recordings are carried out with the permission of interviewees and later transcribed manually. This method of data collection is important in ensuring that useful and reliable information is obtained from qualified respondents. Secondary sources consist of books, book reviews, journal articles, the internet and other scholarly works.

1.11 Research Methodology

This study makes use of qualitative research methods. The semi-structured interview form under this methodology affords the opportunity to obtain crucial information from knowledgeable respondents in a flexible environment. Also the qualitative method is being used because the scope of the research does not require statistical or mathematical calculations. Respondents are selected using the purposive sampling technique which involves the deliberate selection of informants by virtue of specific qualities they possess which are helpful to the research (Tongco, 2007). This technique is employed to ensure that informants possess extensive knowledge and experience on the subject. A comparative case study of cultural diplomacy as practiced by Nigeria and the USA is carried out. According to Mills et al., the comparative case study examines in rich detail the context and features of two or more instances of specific phenomena (Mills, Durepos, & Wiebe, 2010). In this case, the “context and features” of cultural diplomacy as well as its impact on the national development of Nigeria and the USA are examined in great detail.
1.12 Limitations of Study

During the information gathering process, impediments were encountered in the form of the unwillingness of certain key institutions to provide the needed information. This greatly affected the diversity of information provided.

1.13 Arrangement of Chapters

The study is divided into four chapters. The first chapter constitutes the Introduction design. The second chapter contains the history of cultural diplomacy and an analysis of the relationship between cultural diplomacy and public diplomacy. Chapter three contains a comparative analysis of the cultural diplomacy efforts of Nigeria and the US, and the impact on their national development. The fourth and final chapter entails the summary of findings, conclusions and recommendations.
References


CHAPTER TWO

HISTORY OF CULTURAL DIPLOMACY AND AN ANALYSIS OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CULTURAL DIPLOMACY AND PUBLIC DIPLOMACY

2.0 Introduction

This chapter is in two parts. The first entails an investigation of the general history of cultural diplomacy from its earliest known examples (from the Bronze Age down to the 20th Century). The respective histories of Nigerian and U.S cultural diplomacy are also specifically discussed. The second part conducts a detailed overview of cultural diplomacy vis a vis public diplomacy.

2.1 History of Cultural Diplomacy

The exchange of culture as a tool to foster mutual understanding is a practice which is as old as diplomacy itself. Culture, in ancient times, travelled concurrently with the dispatch and reception of envoys between and among countries, states or regions (Stelowska, 2015). Arndt (2005) traces the inception of cultural diplomacy to the Bronze Age in which different groups of civilisations demonstrated varying degrees of cultural diplomacy through the exchange of their cultural practices and artefacts among others:

"Recorded since the Bronze Age, cultural diplomacy has been a norm for humans intent upon civilization. By the third millennium B.C.E., diplomacy had evolved, in parallel with language, to permit cooperation between large groups. Moving beyond rituals and ceremonies, chants and dance, language

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1 This is the period of ancient human culture characterized by the use of bronze that began between 4000 and 3000 B.C. and ended with the advent of the Iron Age.
conveyed ideas and permitted forward planning, self-awareness, and reflection. While brute force could still destroy civilization, diplomacy tried to preserve it by linking cultures to cultures” (Arndt, 2005).

In that era, representatives or diplomats representing one culture or one civilisation in the other, were at the beck and call of the king to convey his messages as well as emulate the best practices of the other civilisation for the consumption of their people. Wise adaptive cultures like the Persians and the Greeks eagerly assimilated foreign information and technologies. Early diplomacy meant relations not between nation-states but between cultures (Arndt, 2005).

Raymond Cohen and Raymond Westbrook highlight the prevalence of culture in intergroup relations of the Bronze Age. They state that ‘‘ceremony was of the essence, enacting man’s reverence for the gods, exalting the king over his subjects, sanctifying the conclusion of treaties’’ (Cohen & Westbrook, 2000). This bears resemblance to modern-day interstate relations (especially the conclusion of treaties), only that, diplomatic proceedings of that epoch were heavily embedded in the cultural rituals and rites of each party. The importance of cultural exchange could be deduced in their constant exchange of gifts, information, cultural goods and people. Children were also sent to live with neighbours to learn about their culture. This system was known among the Celts as fosterage (Arndt, 2005).

The Amarna letters which were the trove of correspondence between Egypt and other states that was found at the site of Akhetaten (the area located on the east bank of the Nile River in the modern Egyptian province of Minya) contained information on diplomatic cultural exchanges in the Bronze Age (Dassow, 2004). Historians refer to the diplomacy practiced in this era as ‘Amarna diplomacy.’ It is in the Amarna period that we observe for the first time the great powers of the entire near East, from the Mediterranean to the Persian Gulf, interacting among themselves, engaged in regular dynastic, commercial and strategic relations. Diplomacy in the
Amarna days consisted of rules, conventions, procedures and institutions governing the communication and negotiation between great kings (Cohen & Westbrook, 2000). The Amarna letters reveal a widespread and organised diplomacy between Egypt and other provinces like Mittani, Hatti, Elam, Ugarit and Cannan. Their conduct of cultural diplomacy was through the exchange of gifts, children, experts, marriage partners, goods and services. (Arndt, 2005)

Christopher B. Hays also points to the age of the biblical Old Testament, which many writers have equated with the stone through to iron ages (between 1200 and 165 B.C.) where “imperial” nations such as Assyria, Egypt and Babylon, by virtue of their prestige and international influence were able to propagate their respective cultures. Similar to current times, cultural exchanges in biblical times meant that larger nations or cultures did not entirely possess cultural monopoly. This is because smaller nations such as Israel and Judea were also able to exert some level of cultural influence over larger ones. Accordingly, he cites the example of the “…Egyptian adoption of Levantine gods, including Baal, who was worshiped as Seth in Egypt.” He reveals further that:

“The imperial powers were generally enthusiastic collectors of exotic goods from far-flung areas, including cultural artefacts and even the craftspeople who produced them. A good example is provided by some of the Nimrud Ivories—carved inlays for furniture pieces found in Assyria. They show styles and motifs borrowed from other regions, primarily Phoenicia and Syria… For another example, north Syrian styles of architecture influenced Assyrian styles…” (Hays, 2019)

Alexander III of Macedon/Alexander the Great (356 B.C.-323 B.C) prioritised cultural collaboration. In the spirit of cooperation, he established peaceful satrapies (provinces) among his allies as a way of disseminating Greek culture. For that reason, cross-cultural marriages were also prevalent. An evidence of his inclination towards cultural exchange, was his assimilation of foreigners into his army, civil administration, education and the arts (Arndt, 2005).
Arndt (2005) reveals that “Alexander balanced might with mind”, and this brings to mind Nye’s concept of smart power, whereby foreign policy successes are said to be as a result of striking the right balance between a state’s military might (hard power) and its mind (soft power).

Around 300 B.C.E., Alexander’s successor in Alexandria, Ptolemy I Soter, built the world’s greatest public-access library, which served as an important tool for cultural dissemination. Culture was equated with power. Thus, the library and its adjoining Museum, gradually became a hub for academics from far and near. Alexandria then became the major centre of learning in the Mediterranean world (Arndt, 2005).

Cultural relations during this era were characterised by the exchange of learning and teaching, export and import, weakness and strength, humility and self-confidence. The Greeks practiced a diplomacy which espoused respect for others, humility and modesty. They viewed their interactions with other cultures as learning opportunities. The Greeks benefited greatly from these learning encounters. Thus, their minds were continually refreshed, and this was evidenced in their unmatched prowess in literature, art, science, and philosophy (Arndt, 2005).

Rome, under Augustus, saw philanthropy as a tool to win the hearts of external publics. With the help of his friend, Maecenas, Augustus embarked on a massive-scale aid-giving venture. Since intellect was of immense importance in the ancient Roman Empire, Augustus prioritised poetry, arts and literature by supporting writers and poets both at home and abroad (Bremmer, 1994).

Rome, after taking over from Greece as a superior culture, or as a state with superior cultural diplomacy capabilities, leveraged its remarkable architecture in the form of theatres, arches and temples its external cultural dealings. Rome was dotted with overseas cultural symbols so that
foreigners from those places and beyond would feel at home there. Architectural elements from foreign cultures, such as the gigantic Egyptian obelisks were pervasive in Rome. Augustus’ pragmatic cultural politics transformed the Roman Empire into the cultural capital of the world (Zanker, 2006).

In the ninth century, politics and culture had become ever more intertwined. Frederick II actively pursued his dream of converting Europe into a single Christian Roman empire. His political and cultural ambitions were enormous (Weiss, 1973). Since the fall of Rome, no one had so aggressively wielded cultural power. His dominion extended beyond his capital in Foggia to the trans-Mediterranean south. In his great vision to transform the Roman Empire into a melting pot of Greek, Hebrew, Arab and Latin culture, he co-opted the world’s greatest scholars, to work together and to achieve this. In his bid to launch a cultural renaissance, and widen his sphere of cultural influence and attraction, he promoted Roman architecture and education. His newly built university in Naples drew a host of international students (Arndt, 2005).

Three centuries after the death of Frederick in 1250, Jesuit Matteo Ricci looked towards China. As part of his China policy, he deployed cultural tools to enhance understanding of Western culture among the Chinese. In 1583 Ricci relocated to China. Perhaps as a means of courting the affection of the Chinese people, he dressed in the grey robes of the Buddhist clerics. As the cultural diplomat he was, he also initiated discussions about the Virgin Mary with his hosts who were hitherto unaware of her existence. Blessed with his knowledge of the Chinese language, he translated several Chinese books into Latin and Western texts, and also gave out gifts (which are still trusted cultural diplomacy tools) in the form of a clock and clavichord. Soon after, he published a famous world map which correctly indicated China’s true position for the first time
ever. With time, he became a true friend of the Chinese. Thus their trust and affection towards him were extended to the West, thereby opening up China significantly to the West until his death in 1610. This was one of the major victories of medieval cultural diplomacy (Arndt, 2005).

In pre-colonial Africa, trade served as a major diplomacy tool between and among empires and cultures. Trade activities afforded pre-colonial African civilisations the opportunity to experience each other’s culture through their cultural goods. Empires such Mali, Songhai, Oyo, Benin, Ashanti and Dahomey possessed a myriad of cultural goods such as gold, ivory, incense, textiles, iron and myrrh which they presented as gifts to their allies, and which also served as important objects of trade (Andrews, 2011).

Several wealthy empires developed around major rivers and coasts that served as significant trade routes. Some of these were the Empires of Mali and Songhai which developed along the banks of the Niger River between 1200 and 1590 A.D. and traded with Berber merchants in goods such as textiles, dates, weapons, horses and copper (Pouwels, 2005). Trade with the Berber people bolstered the economy of the Ghana Empire. There was a high demand for its indigenous goods gold, salt, slaves and kola nuts (Pouwels, 2005). Thus, an Empire familiarised itself with another by virtue of the other Empire’s peculiar goods.

By the 15th Century A.D., the Malian Empire’s most important cities were Timbuktu and Djenné, whose reputation as prestigious epicentres for education drew throngs of people from different parts of the continent. Hundreds of scholars (both local and foreign) studied in Timbuktu’s 200 Quranic schools (Boissoneault, 2015). The Sankore University in Timbuktu included a library with an estimated 700,000 manuscripts (Andrews, 2011). Visitors were made to feel at home, in
the hopes that they would share their knowledge and books with Timbuktu’s scholars. Stories about Timbuktu’s massive mineral wealth and educational resources reached as far as Europe (Boissoneault, 2015).

Lorraine Boissoneault draws attention to a phenomenon whereby the cultural success of a state earns it (in the minds of foreign publics) the status of a utopia which they aspire to visit or be a part of. She narrates:

“The Arabic explorer Ibn Battuta visited the famed city… and his descriptions of the bustling metropolis stoked the flames of European imagination. While Europeans struggled with a minor ice age and the bubonic plague, they dreamt of streets lined with gold in Timbuktu. The city was a sort of African El Dorado, hidden somewhere south of the Sahara” (Boissoneault, 2015).

In relation to cultural diplomacy as practiced by the Oyo people, Olaniyan (1993) reveals that:

“…the Oyo Kingdom… extended to parts of present day Benin Republic, which explains why both provinces have enjoyed diplomatic relations, especially in form of marriage. Just like the Hausa states, the Oyo Kingdom traded with North Africa. They traded goods like Kola nuts, textiles, and steelworks from Oyo weavers and black smiths and in return, cultural items like glassware, leather goods and sacks were imported from the north into Oyo. Some Hausa ambulant traders went as far as Dakar and Bangui where they spoke the native languages of their clients and took wives whom they in turn taught their Nigerian tongue” (Olaniyan, 1993).

Although the above scholarly examples situate cultural diplomacy in ancient history, many other writers have only traced its inception to the 17th century Europe. For them, that is where cultural diplomacy really began. France, Italy and Germany are said to be protagonists in the institutionalisation of cultural diplomacy (Paschalidis, 2009). France has been largely considered the home of modern cultural diplomacy. The creation of l’Academie Française (the French Academy) in 1635 by Cardinal Richelieu, and later l’Alliance Française in 1881, sought to popularise and disseminate the French language. This birthed the concept of institutionalising the cultural activities of the state (Stelowska, 2015). Unlike France, Italy and Germany achieved
national unification rather late and consequently, a substantial number of ethnic communities were left outside their national space (Paschalidis, 2009).

Also, by reason of emigration, the two countries had sizeable extra-territorial communities. These diasporan communities were targeted by metropolitan Germany and Italy with the hopes of preserving their respective languages and ethnic identity. Therefore, the Allgemeiner Deutscher Schulverein zur Erhaltung des Deutschtums im Auslande (The German Association for the Preservation of Germanhood Abroad) was created in 1881, with most of its activities designated towards the German-speaking groups in Eastern and South-Eastern Europe. In Italy, the Società Dante Alighieri (1889) was established with the aim of reaching important trading ports situated within the Eastern Mediterranean such as Salonica, Smyrna, Istanbul, Cairo and Alexandria. The cultural activities of these institutions largely entailed the provision of support to schools, libraries and students (Paschalidis, 2009).

Education and language appeared to be a trusted tool in cultural promulgation in Europe between the 15th and 18th centuries. Francis I (1496–1547), like Cardinal Richelieu, believed that institutionalising the French language and culture would serve as an influential tool in its diplomatic engagements. (Faucher & Lane, 2013) For him, education was vital in his aspirations to make France a modern and universalist Christian empire as well as a single nation-state. Despite the unrelenting grip of the church on France’s universities, and its opposition of educational expansion, Francis was determined to circumvent religious authority. The result was his establishment of the Collège Royal in 1530 (which became Collège de France in 1870), in concert with Guillaume Budé (Arndt, 2005).
The College was an alternate institution for cutting-edge teaching, research and intellect (College de France, 2019). This ushered in the classical revival. With the founding of institutions such as this came the influx of foreign students into France. The *College des Quatre Nations* (College of the Four Nations) was established by Cardinal Mazarin in 1688 in Paris (Ayers, 2004). Its foreign student population consisted of two hundred Russians. This diplomatic strategy, by use of educational institutions, was also practiced by the likes of Henry IV and Cardinal Richelieu (Arndt, 2005). As mentioned earlier, Cardinal Richelieu, the Chief Minister of Louis XIII, founded *l’Academie Française* in 1635, whose primary mission, per Article 24 of its Statute, was to establish rules regarding the French language, thereby rendering it pure (or devoid of as many jargons as possible), eloquent and a worthy medium of instruction in the domain of arts and sciences. This was to ensure that the French language would be sanitised and made ready for export (Academie Francaise, 2019). By the second half of the seventeenth century, France had reached the pinnacle of its cultural power. Louis XIV, was determined to project French intellect all over the world. French books, gazettes, newsletters, and other printed material on French language and culture moved around Europe. France’s role in the Treaty of Westphalia (1648) which introduced a new universal legal system, increased its popularity and cultural influence abroad (Arndt, 2005).

In July 1883, a group of eminent French nationals, including Louis Pasteur, Ferdinand de Lesseps, Jules Verne and Ernest Renan came together to form *Alliance Française pour la Propagation de la Langue Française dans les Colonies et à l’Étranger* (French Alliance for the Propagation of the French Language in the Colonies and Overseas) in Paris (Bruézière, 1983). The creation of this institution (whose name would be shortened to Alliance Française in 1945) was said to be a strategic initiative by French republican elites who were eager to remedy the
embarrassment caused by France’s defeat in the Franco-Prussian War of 1870 (Horne, 2017). Efforts by France to propagate its language through such institutions was also largely described as a *mission civilisatrice* or civilizing mission (Arndt, 2005), in which it was looking to portray itself as the shining example of cultural superiority (Horne, 2017).

France’s civilising mission, which encompassed ‘civilising’ its colonies through spreading its language and overall culture, was criticised as being a mere justification for many of the brutal practices carried out against the inhabitants of its African colonies (Priestley, 2018). Janet Horne maintains that the founders of Alliance Française “might have elected the French language as the new standard-bearer for a program of national renaissance through imperial expansion” (Horne, 2017). Other institutions, such as the *Oeuvre des Ecoles de l’Orient* (1855) and *Mission Laique Français* (1902) aimed to circulate French language and culture in the colonies and abroad, although they did not attain the same global-level significance and popularity as Alliance Française (Paschalidis, 2009). In fact, Joseph Nye referred to Alliance Française as an early purveyor of soft power (Nye, 2004). These activities were consistent with the French verb *rayonner*, which means to radiate or spread out in rays. This has featured as an important concept in French cultural diplomacy, from its inception to modern times (Paschalidis, 2009).

By the late 19\textsuperscript{th} to the early 20\textsuperscript{th} centuries, the practice of institutionalising cultural diplomacy had become pervasive. The government of Germany created a unit for arts and science in its Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1896, and a Schools Section later on in 1906. Italy, under Mussolini, established the Institute for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries (IRCE). Addressing Italian writers in 1926, Mussolini called upon them to spearhead a ‘spiritual imperialism’, by spreading abroad ‘information about the new Italy, as shaped by war and the fascist revolution’ (Paschalidis, 2009). The Goethe Institute was founded in 1929 with the
objective of promoting the German language in foreign countries, just as it had done under the German Association for the Preservation of Germanhood Abroad which was created in 1881. While the Association had only sought to spread German language and culture among Germans in the diaspora, the Goethe Institute had a more far reaching goal- to propagate its culture and language throughout the world. Through this institute, the Nazis were said to have employed cultural diplomacy as a tool for spreading its ideological propaganda (Paschalidis, 2009).

The combination of cultural and political propaganda by Germany, as alleged by Britain, prompted the British government to establish a committee for educational and cultural purposes in 1920. Later in 1934, a British Committee for Relations with Other Countries was established, which would be known a year later as the British Council (Paschalidis, 2009). The founding Royal Charter defined the mandate of the British Council as ‘promoting abroad a wider appreciation of British culture and civilisation by encouraging cultural, educational and other interchanges between the United Kingdom and elsewhere.’ In 1938, the British Council opened its first offices in Egypt, Romania, Portugal and Poland (British Council, 2019). The United States would follow suit with the establishment of the U.S. State Department’s Division of Cultural Affairs in 1938 to manage information and cultural exports (Kim, 2017).

During the First World War (1914-1918), the main aim of France was to bring the U.S. out of the cautious neutrality it had pursued for so long. This task was undertaken by the French Institute of New York (established in 1911) and the Federation of Alliances Françaises, backed by a formidable network of Franco-American groupings (Paschalidis, 2009). However, in a decade or so leading to the outbreak of the First World War, America had begun to assert its cultural relevance, mostly through education. American missionaries were also largely educators. They
actively carried American education and culture to different parts of the world. Following the French example of attaining cultural influence through education, the U.S. established hundreds of missionary schools overseas. American missionary schools in cities like Cairo, Istanbul Beirut and Aleppo were indicative of a country eager to attain some level of cultural significance (Arndt, 2005).

The 19th century version of the Peace Corps, the Student Volunteer Movement, travelled both by horseback and by train to work. American educators were easily distinguishable from European ones, as their style of teaching was more practical and specifically geared towards development. Teaching in local languages, generating written forms of those languages when needed, and prioritising women’s education in the cities they found themselves, were other factors that set the American teachers apart from their European counterparts (Arndt, 2005).

Entrance into the First World War, however reluctant and late, tossed America onto the world stage. During the grim years of World War I, American cultural promulgation took the form of education and music. The American Expeditionary Force had a formidable soldier-education section and also brought black regimental marching bands like the 369th Infantry’s famous Harlem Hellcats into Europe. Their polyrhythms ignited a love for jazz among the French. Beneficiaries of the soldier-education programs launched the American Library in Paris, a private overseas US library without precedent. France agreed to establish an art school for US band musicians, which would soon evolve into the famous Fontainebleau School for American Artists, Musicians, and Architects (Arndt, 2005).

U.S. cultural diplomacy made significant progress in the World War I era. Nevertheless, it was not until the 1930s, largely due to Nazi Germany’s cultural undertakings in Latin America, that a
A division of cultural relations was created in the Department of State. (U.S. Department of State, 2005). This was mainly to counter what Americans perceived to be a Hitler-style propaganda towards Latin America, leading to the Convention for the Promotion of Inter-American Cultural Relations in 1936 (Stelowska, 2015). The Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace, which culminated in the signing of the aforementioned Convention was held in Buenos Aires from 1st to 23rd December 1936 as a cooperative effort by twenty American Republics and the U.S. to counter the “threat to the Hemisphere by the Axis powers” (Manning, 2004).

Aside from the signing of the Convention on the Promotion of Intercultural Relations, the signatory countries agreed to conduct educational exchanges of both students and professors on an annual and biennial basis respectively. The U.S. also approved three additional Conventions which bordered on organising art exhibitions, the exchange of publications and educational films about signatory countries. Some other resolutions entailed radio broadcasts for peace, private sector engagements and intellectual property protection among many others (Manning, 2004).

Around this time, there was the proliferation of several U.S. private institutions to manage cultural exchanges. Aside the Carnegie and Rockefeller Foundations, there were the Guggenheim Foundation and the Commonwealth Fund, among others, which financed cultural interchanges. Youth exchange programs, such as the Committee on Friendly Relations among Foreign Students, formed in 1922 were also widespread (Arndt, 2005).

### 2.1.1 U.S Cultural Diplomacy during World War II

In December 1941, when the United States made its first appearance in World War II, great parts of Europe and Asia were under domination by the Axis powers, and the U.S. military was not as impressive as it is today (Sadlier, 2012). Although Latin America did not appear too relevant to
the war, the U.S. focused its attention on the southern edge of its borders. Some of these nations were under quasi fascist dictatorships whose peoples were gradually buying into modern propaganda forms. Hence as the United States began preparing for its entry into the War overseas, it also mounted a major cultural offensive directed at Latin America, overseen by an alliance of government officials and businessmen, some of whom had direct financial interests in Latin America. These efforts were geared towards presenting the U.S. as a more appealing alternative, both culturally and politically, to Germany and Latin American fascism (Sadlier, 2012).

A massive bureaucratic network, with centres spread out across the east and west coasts and in Washington, D.C., was formed, leveraging the work of diplomats, artists, statisticians and social scientists among others (Sadlier, 2012). The major centres of U.S. culture were Hollywood and New York. From these locations, America carried out its cultural mission, as stipulated by the government and distributed throughout the Western Hemisphere. This was an era in which the United States and other European powers obtained the necessary political, economic, and technological conditions to cause the advent of a mass culture, controlled by what theoreticians Max Horkheimer and Theodor Adorno famously called “the culture industry” (Sadlier, 2012).

This rapidly-growing wartime cultural industry involved efforts by the U.S. and Europe to appear attractive to the rest of the world. President Theodore Roosevelt created American Information Centres in various parts of Europe, and launched Voice of America, a radio channel that today transmits news, music and other cultural programs in several of languages to about 94 million listeners around the world to control its own narrative, especially in a war era where enemy states were bound to demonise each other (Beehner, 2009).
In light of the colossal physical, emotional, social, economic and material devastation in Europe in the wake of World War II, Cultural diplomacy proved to be one of the most viable avenues for reconstruction. Frank Mehring says of the U.S. Marshall Plan:

“Cultural diplomacy emerged as an important element to press on with efforts of re-educating and democratizing former enemies as well as secure geo-strategic interests of the US in Europe. The European Reconstruction Program, as the American Marshall Plan was officially called, was designed to stabilize the dire economic situation in Europe, create strong allies overseas, and to promote cross-cultural understanding, European solidarity and cooperation. The Truman Administration launched a comprehensive marketing campaign to document the progress of reconstruction and democracy. The Economic Cooperation Administration’s (ECA) Office of Information set out to promote an understanding among European people regarding the motives of the United States. They included extending recovery aid, explaining the objectives and methods of the program, informing about the help which America is providing, and generating awareness in Europe about the ERP, its progress and operations. The program capitalized on experience gained during the New Deal and WWII. The films function as a highly successful instrument of American cultural diplomacy in the effort to democratize the former fascist enemies and persuade European countries to follow the United States in fostering a new exchange on economic, political, social and cultural levels” (Mehring, 2012).

Until Joseph Stalin refused U.S. aid, even the Soviet Union was listed as one of the European beneficiaries of grants, credits and supplies that the U.S. government started sending abroad in June 1948 under the terms of the European Recovery Program (Grazia, 2005). The United States Information and Education and Exchange Act of 1948, also known as the Smith-Mundt Act, served as the charter for post-World War II information and education exchange activities. According to Section 501, the Act is “to enable the Government of the United States to promote a better understanding of the United States in other countries, and to increase mutual understanding between the people of the United States and the people of other countries” (Nakamura & Weed, 2009).

The section authorizes the Secretary of State to compile and circulate “information about the United States, its people, and its policies, through press, publications, radio, motion pictures, and
other information media, and through information centres and instructors abroad” (Nakamura & Weed, 2009).

When America took up the mantle of global leadership after the Second World War, cultural diplomacy was an integral part of its strategy. The Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) privately supported American cultural events abroad, organized conferences and financed publications such as *Encounter and Preuves*. These activities continued into the 1950s under the auspices of the newly created United States Information Agency (USIA) (Finn, 2003).

Paschalidis (2013) believes that the creation of the United States Information Agency (USIA) in 1953, meant that the U.S. was all set to embark on its global expansion at an unprecedented pace. However, he points to what he perceives to be a great inconsistency as regards some cultural institutes in the U.S. and Europe:

“In retrospect, it seems rather paradoxical that the cultural agencies which were born and bred with ideals of cultural nationalism and elevated to the status of official institutions by the expediencies of inter-war and war-time propaganda, were widely considered as the most prudent option for bringing the war-weary international society back to the conciliatory path of mutual appreciation and understanding” (Paschalidis, 2009).

This points to the fact that many cultural initiatives targeted at foreign publics can be considered as propaganda, especially when it is full on deception wrapped up in cultural diplomacy. Scholars like Nicholas Cull hold the view that propaganda “...aims to persuade someone to make a decision with insufficient evidence.” He thus advocates strongly for two-way exchanges of information and communication, as opposed to propaganda which is a one-way activity (Cull, 2019).
He maintains that propagandists often view their activities (even when based on distortion) as being for greater good and a necessary evil. He holds the view that countries will always pay the price for propaganda. For example, the ingenious methods by which British propagandists made up negative stories about Germans in World War I helped them to win that war, but meant that when the Germans were really committing atrocities on an industrial scale in World War II, those who sought to raise the alarm were not believed (Cull, 2018).

2.1.2 U.S. Cultural Diplomacy in the Cold War Era

The Cold War was in many respects a cultural war. The politicisation of culture that intensified with inter-war propaganda now escalated to turn culture from a vehicle for ideology into a synonym of ideology (Paschalidis, 2009). David Caute underlines, in this regard, that:

“the cultural contest between the Western and the Communist camps was a unique historical phenomenon, an unprecedented imperial contest in which both sides felt compelled to prove their virtue, to demonstrate their spiritual superiority, to claim the high ground of progress, to win public support and admiration by gaining ascendancy in each and every event of what might be styled the Cultural Olympics” (Caute, 2005).

The Cold War saw the installation of numerous US and Soviet cultural centres and libraries around the world with the objective of charming the hearts and minds of people in areas, outside the direct control of the two ideological rivals (Paschalidis, 2009). The U.S. left no stone unturned in ensuring the eradication of communism in Europe and the rest of the world. For this purpose, it embarked on a rigorous campaign to endear itself to the rest of the world and ultimately present capitalism and liberal democracy as the only suitable system of governance (Schneider, 2006). The United States Information Agency (USIA) led U.S. these public diplomacy efforts. Once the Soviet Union dissolved in 1991, the USIA’s functions would be reduced, and its resources decreased in the 1990s (Nakamura & Weed, 2009).
The United States armed itself with jazz, abstract expressionism, and modern literature. In the late 1950s more than 100 acts were sent to 89 countries in four years. Musicians such as Louis Armstrong, Dizzy Gillespie, and Charlie Parker brought abstract concepts of liberty to life by democratizing their concerts (whether calculatedly or unintentionally) and insisting that ordinary people, not just elites, be allowed to listen. They departed on tours of one to two months, playing in Iran, Iraq, Egypt, Nigeria, and many other Muslim countries, as well as in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe (Schneider, 2006).

U.S. cultural diplomacy was successful during the cold war largely because it created a conducive environment for the expression of opposing views. Actors, artists, writers and musicians in any culture act as the conscience of any nation, often reflecting critically on society. The fact that the U.S. permitted these voices as part of government-sponsored performances and envoys astounded audiences in the communist world. During a visit to the Soviet Union, U.S. author Norman Cousins was asked if U.S. writers were ever punished for condemning the government openly, he surprised and impressed his Soviet interlocutor by answering that any government official who complained about writers' criticisms would be more likely to encounter difficulties. This American value of unrestricted freedom of expression, greatly appealed to the Soviets who, for the most part, did not enjoy similar luxuries (Schneider, 2006).

Radio broadcasts funded by Washington reached half the Soviet population and 70 to 80 percent of the population in Eastern Europe every week (Nye, 2004). There was a deliberate demonstration of cultural beauty on both sides. While U.S. Jazz concerts were held in the Eastern bloc, Russians entertained New Yorkers with exquisite ballet performances. In this ideological war, culture was the weapon. After the Cold War ended, motivation for cultural diplomacy fell
drastically as there was no ideological enemy to defeat. For this reason, funding for cultural programmes was eventually reduced both in the U.S. and in Russia. Upon the collapse of the Soviet Union, the USIA ceased to exist in 1999 and it was not until the aftermath of the 9/11 attacks, that United States turned its attention back to culture as a political tool (Stelowska, 2015).

Figure 1: Political map of the United States of America, indicating its states and capitals
Source: https://www.freeworldmaps.net/northamerica/united-states/political.html

2.1.3 History of Nigeria’s Cultural Diplomacy

Nigeria’s efforts to disseminate its culture in other parts of the world began shortly after its independence in 1960. Home-based cultural institutions such as the Ministries of Foreign Affairs, Culture and Tourism, the National Council for Arts and Culture, the Ministries of Information and Communication had oversight responsibility over Nigeria’s cultural policy and
cultural diplomacy. Abroad, its diplomatic missions carried out this task. In addition, media networks such as the Nigerian Television International (NTI) and external broadcast of the Voice of Nigeria transmitted Nigerian programmes both home and abroad (Benjamin, 2015).

The Voice of Nigeria was created in 1961 as the external service of the Nigerian Broadcasting Corporation and commissioned by then Prime Minister Abubakar Tafawa Balewa. At its creation, its objectives included projecting Nigeria’s positive image externally, informing the world on national and African issues and developments, changing the perspectives of the world on Nigeria and the black world, uniting Africa and the black world and engendering positive contribution of Africans in the Diaspora to the growth and development of the continent (Voice of Nigeria, 2019).

Cultural festivals in Nigeria, have for decades, served as reliable tools for cultural diplomacy. Some of these include the Calabar, Osun Oshogbo, Black Heritage, Eyo, Igue and Argungu Fishing festivals. These festivals have long attracted partakers from different parts of the world, and have successfully showcased Nigeria’s rich culture. One of the most notable among these festivals is the Festival of Arts and Culture (FESTAC) which was launched in 1977 and brought together black peoples from different parts of the world including North America, the Middle and Far East, Oceania and Africa to celebrate black heritage. Its pilot was held in Lagos from January to February, 1977 (Asobele, 2002). The primary focus of Nigeria’s cultural diplomacy entailed not Africa alone, but the entire black world. Nigeria was keen on ensuring the protection of the dignity of all black peoples (Benjamin, 2015).
Furthermore, the famed Calabar carnival, which is regarded as the largest street party in Africa, draws over a million participants from all over the world to dance through the mile-long carnival parade that showcases hundreds of decorated floats and tens of thousands of costumed participants. Nigeria’s festivals are reputed across Africa as some of the most entertaining and well-organised. The success of these artistic and cultural festivals are due in part to the contributions and sponsorship of the Nigerian private sector including oil companies, telecommunication companies, and banks among others (Benjamin, 2015). These companies, Oluwaseun Tella describes as very important currencies of Nigeria’s soft power (Tella, 2018).

Soon after Nigeria’s independence in 1960, a film division was established in the Ministry of Information in Lagos. Nevertheless, it was only in 1979, that the National film Corporation of Nigeria was created to produce film for domestic and export purposes (Asobele, 2002). Prior to the establishment of the National Film Corporation of Nigeria in 1979, Nigerian films had been exhibited during FESTAC. By the 1980s, a number of Nigerian film producers including Hubert Ogunde, Baba Sala, Ola Balogun and Eddy Ugbohah made unprecedented use of cinematography as a means of projecting Nigeria’s culture to the world. The premiering of Jaiyesimi and Aye, produced by Hubert Ogunde in October 1989 in the U.S. heralded what would turn out to be an extremely successful system of using Nigerian films for international relations (Chidozie & Sotubo, 2014). Around West Africa (in countries like Ghana, Benin, Ivory Coast and Togo) Ogunde’s films and plays were performed with the double objective to entertain foreign publics and project Nigeria. He was, therefore an esteemed Nigerian cultural ambassador in the ECOWAS sub region (Asobele, 2002). In 1979, the film Ija Ominira produced by Ade Love featured at the Jamboree of Films in Moscow. More significantly, Nigeria’s first film festival to be held outside its shores opened on 3rd December 1984 at the Commonwealth
Institute in London. Films such as Death of a Black President, God Dance Man Dance, Dinner with the Devil, Bissi Daughter of the River, The Mask, *Orun moru*, *Sheu Umar* and *Ireke Onibudowere* were featured (Chidozie & Sotubo, 2014).

Nigeria demonstrated intentionality as regards its cultural promotion in 1988 with the rolling out of the Nigerian Cultural Policy of 1988, was launched to promote creativity, ensure continuity in traditional skills and the consistent updating of those skills to support Nigeria's contribution to world culture and ideas, and effectively preserve its own through research and documentation (UNESCO, 2012). Perhaps Nigeria needed to be purposeful and strategic about promoting the attractive aspects of its culture to Africa and the rest of the world to mitigate its tainted reputation brought on by a constant mistrust between Nigeria and some of its African Neighbours, a high rate of systematic corruption, as well as regular kidnappings (Akinola, 2013).

This policy enabled the establishment of administrative structures and the provision of funds for its implementation. Some of these administrative structures were the National Council for Arts and Culture (NCAC), which per the policy was responsible for festivals, cuisine, fashion, traditional music, crafts and textiles. Other Agencies outlined by the policy as overseers of Nigerian cultural activities included the National Commission for Museums and Monuments (NCMM) which was mandated to takes care of Nigeria's numerous artefacts, antiquities and heritage sites; the Centre for Black and African Arts and Civilisation (CBAAC), which came into existence after FESTAC 77 and the National Theatre which looks after the arts (UNESCO, 2012).
There also existed public institutions such as the National Troupe, the Copyright Commission, the Universities, the Film Institute, National Museum and the Centre for Black and African Arts and Civilization which were mostly supported by arts and crafts guilds, civil society of artists and such organisations as the Society of Nigerian Theatre Artists and Radio and Television Workers’ Union (Benjamin, 2015).

In literary spheres, Chinua Achebe’s many accomplishments and Wole Soyinka’s prominence as a Nobel laureate threw the spotlight on Nigeria as a hub for African writers and set Nigeria on the global literary map (Asobele, 2002). These notable writers, and others such as Cyprian Ekwensi, Chris Abani, Buchi Emecheta and Ola Rotimi consistently undertook the responsibility of correcting stereotypes and distortions about Africa through their works. The writings of Chinua Achebe, for example, revolved around critical phases in Nigerian history such as the imposition of European culture on Nigeria, consequences of colonialism on Nigeria, independence and the end of civil war. In his novel Things Fall Apart (1958), Achebe, in his attempts at a positive portrayal of the African community, shows the strength and liveliness of Umuofia where the novel is set (Ugwanyi, 2011). Wole Soyinka’s “Death and the King’s Horseman” was internationally acclaimed. Although it had been published a year prior, it had its world debut performance in Nigeria in 1976, followed by subsequent performances in the United Kingdom (UK), the United States and other places around the world. The play very quickly became a classic of Anglophone drama, thereby solidifying Nigeria’s literary reputation around the world (Jeyifo, 2018).

Music, has long been utilised as a valuable tool for combatting social injustice, oppression and inequality. An illustration of this is the employment of music by the likes of Fela Kuti, Femi Kuti
Sonny Okosun and Onyeka Onwenu, as an avenue to fight oppression and exploitation in Nigeria and Africa at large. Music is greatly valued in Nigerian culture, where it has formed an integral part of its communities (Chidozie & Sotubo, 2014).

The Juju, Sakara, Apala and Fuji were, and still are, extremely popular among the Yorubas, while Goge and Highlife are attributed to Northern Nigeria and Eastern Nigeria respectively. Funk, Afrobeat and Reggae music are among popular music genres in Nigeria. Yoruba tunes were popularized in the U.S. by artistes such as Wale Abiodun, Moses Olaiya and Ayinde Barrister. Fela, Sunny Ade, and Obey are at the top of the chart of Nigerian musicians whose works have received tremendous airplay on international radio networks such as Voice of America (VOA), the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) and France International. I.K. Dairo was awarded a Member of the Order of the British Empire (MBE) in 1963 by Queen Elisabeth II for his strides in juju music and for introducing native music to the highest court in the British Empire (Asobele, 2002).

One of the notable successes of Nigeria’s music diplomacy was when Zimbabwe incorporated the lyrics of “Papa’s Land” by Sonny Okosun into its national anthem as a tribute to Nigeria’s efforts in the Lancaster House liberation and independence talks of 1978 (Asobele, 2002). Onyeka Onwenu, released her first album in 1981, and has since performed in both local and international concerts, all the while remaining true to her Nigerian culture and language. Generally, her songs evoked African pride, and in the 80s she popularized Nigerian culture in songs like *Iyogogo, Ekwe, Nso Nso*, etc, to the delight of both local and foreign fans (Chidozie & Sotubo, 2014).
2.2 The Relationship between Cultural Diplomacy and Public Diplomacy

The introduction of the term ‘cultural diplomacy’ in scholarly circles is largely attributed to Edmund Guillon, Dean of the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University and an eminent retired U.S. foreign service officer, upon the establishment of the Edward R. Murrow Centre of Public Diplomacy in 1965. One of the early brochures of the Centre summed up Guillon’s idea of public diplomacy as:

“…the influence of public attitudes on the formation and execution of foreign policies. It encompasses dimensions of international relations beyond traditional diplomacy; the cultivation by governments of public opinion in other countries; the interaction of private groups and interests in one country with another; the reporting of foreign affairs and its impact on policy; communication between those whose
job is communication, as diplomats and foreign correspondents; and the process of intercultural communications" (Cull, 2006).

Although Guillón does not explicitly mention the term ‘cultural diplomacy’, and rather highlights it as one of the methodologies of public diplomacy, it has been associated with him perhaps due to the use of “intercultural communications”, and the popularity of his ideas thenceforth. It is therefore asserted by many scholars that Guillón coined the term ‘public diplomacy’ and ‘cultural diplomacy’ at an instant. Ever since, different scholars have described the relationship between the two concepts in various ways. Whist there exists a plurality of scholars who choose to regard them as a quasi-homogenous unit, others like Guillón, perceive cultural diplomacy as one of the tools of public diplomacy.

One scholarly perception bordering on the near simultaneity of public diplomacy and cultural diplomacy is that of Jan Melissen who maintains that public diplomacy and cultural promotion are closely linked and perform similar functions. (Melissen, 2005).

Cultural diplomacy and public diplomacy in some instances have been treated as a homogenous unit, with the two terms being used interchangeably in many instances (Gienow-Hecht & Donfried, 2010).

A plausible indication that cultural diplomacy has been considered by scholars as a subset of public diplomacy is Nicholas J. Cull’s list of five public diplomacy tools: listening, advocacy, cultural diplomacy, exchange, and international broadcasting. (Stelowska, 2015).

Cultural diplomacy is often perceived as the cornerstone of public diplomacy. Thus many public diplomacy initiatives by way of cinema, education, art, language and ideology among many
others are firmly rooted in a society’s culture. This obvious fact gives some level of credence to the popular scholarly assertions that public diplomacy cannot attain any meaningful success without culture. It is therefore evident that public diplomacy programmes produced by a given society help to "amplify and advertise that society and culture to the world at large" (Lord, 2006).

Schneider (2006) also believes that public diplomacy is dependent on cultural diplomacy for its success. She asserts that “public diplomacy consists of all a nation does to explain itself to the world, and cultural diplomacy—the use of creative expression and exchanges of ideas, information, and people to increase mutual understanding—supplies much of its content” (Schneider, 2006).

Guillon’s above-mentioned definition of public diplomacy points to its ability to affect “public attitudes” with the target publics necessarily being those of “other countries” (U.S. Department of State, 2005). Any country, in order to influence public opinions overseas, must be willing and able to reveal the best of itself through its culture. Since “cultural diplomacy reveals the soul of a nation” (U.S. Department of State, 2005), public diplomacy efforts outside the sphere of culture may have a reduced impact. This is because cultural elements such as music, dance, cinema, and food are often relatable, universal and pleasurable; making them fruitful channels of communication between countries and foreign publics. Thus, the intimate linkages between cultural diplomacy and public diplomacy cannot be underestimated.
2.3 Conclusion

This chapter traced the historical trajectory of cultural diplomacy from the earliest known times. The history of the U.S. from the World War I to post-Cold War era is also discussed. In addition, Nigeria’s cultural diplomacy since its independence is analysed in great detail. The chapter concludes by discussing the relationship between Cultural diplomacy and public diplomacy. The next chapter entails a comparative analysis of Nigerian and U.S. cultural diplomacy.
References


CHAPTER THREE

COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE CULTURAL DIPLOMACY EFFORTS OF NIGERIA AND THE U.S., AND THE IMPACT ON THEIR NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

3.0 Introduction

This chapter conducts a detailed analysis of cultural diplomacy as practiced by Nigeria and the United States, and its effects on their economic, social and reputational development in the new millennium. As mentioned earlier, music, film, food, language and literature have been chosen as key cultural variables to be discussed in this chapter. Under each of these variables, the cultural activities of both countries and their linkages to national development are explained.

3.1 Music

Music is said to be food for the soul and irrespective of the language in which it is produced or its place of creation, it is able to unite, excite, empower and entertain people from different parts of the world and various echelons of society. It is a universal language and therefore manages to appeal to the various age, gender or race demographics that exist in our world today. Schulkin and Raglan (2014) believe that music is so powerful that it can singlehandedly sell oneself, call attention to oneself, expand oneself, reach out to others, call on others and even deceive others. Music is a unifying force in our social milieu and is communicative, expressive and oriented toward others. It also has the power to foster human well-being, human understanding and the power to imagine possibilities (Schulkin & Raglan, 2014). In their opinion, music can be equated with breathing because it is “all pervasive.” They assert that music allows for the strengthening of social ties and human connectedness.
On his part, Godt (2005) defines music as a “humanly organised sound, organised with intent into a recognisable aesthetic entity as a musical communication directed from a maker to a known or unforeseen listener, publicly through the medium of a performer or privately by a performer as listener” He states further: “as far as I know, ethnologists have never found a human society that does not make music” (Godt, 2005). These scholarly assertions both highlight the importance of music to personal development, human and societal relations. This, of course, encompasses relations between and among states, as well as interactions between states and overseas publics.

3.1.1 Music and Diplomacy

A nation’s culture, is strongly represented through music. The intrinsic connection between interstate politics and music cannot be underestimated. Music has for ages played an indispensable role in cultural diplomacy and has set the tone for cooperation between countries and cultures. Its contributions towards the promotion of human rights, peace, equality and social justice (Lianu, 2016). Perhaps to adequately understand the use of music diplomacy in enhancing the development of Nigeria and the U.S., it is worthwhile to tease out some of its landmark contributions to achieving a better world and why it seems to be such an important tool in cultural diplomacy. Lianu (2016) makes the compilation as follows:

i) 1950s and 1960s: Performances by U.S. Jazz Ambassadors in the Soviet Union during the Cold War with the aim of revealing the true soul of the U.S.

ii) 1969: The Woodstock Festival was used to spread the message of civil rights, peace and unity during the Vietnam War. It was held in New York and attracted more than 400,000 people.
iii) 1971: American singer Rodriguez’s ‘Cold Fact’ album made a massive impact during the anti-Apartheid Movement in South Africa.

iv) 1976: The ‘Rock Against Racism’ was a musical movement which brought together rock musicians and citizens from all over Europe and the U.S to combat racism.

v) 1985: The ‘We Are the World’ charity single was recorded by the United Support of Artists (USA) which raised about US$ 144 million for famine relief in Africa.


vii) 1989: The Moscow Music Peace Festival sought to promote world peace and foster international support with the sole aim of combatting the drug war in Russia.

viii) 1992: Vedran Smailovic, nicknamed ‘Cellist of Sarajevo’ often played amidst war ruins and funerals during the Balkan War in defiance of threats from snipers and other dangers.

ix) 1999-2013: Peace and Love Festival was held in Sweden annually and championed causes such as freedom of speech, democracy, diversity and peace.

x) 2009: Musicians for Human Rights

xi) 2012: The ‘Chimes of Freedom’ charity album featured multiple artists to mark 50 years of Amnesty International.

xii) 2013: The DMZ World Peace Concert was held to facilitate dialogue between North and South Korea.

These above examples paint the picture of diplomatic cooperation, peace, humanitarian support and overall human well-being fostered through music. Hence, the role of music in gathering momentum for worthy global causes cannot be undervalued. With this background, the
contributions of music diplomacy in the social, economic and reputational development of Nigeria and the U.S. in the new millennium can be rightly investigated.

3.1.2 Nigeria’s Music Diplomacy and National Development in the New Millennium

Music enforces or reinforces a sense of belonging in the community. Its members are shareholders and beneficiaries of the music produced within. This form of communalism is essential in the survival of Nigerian communities. In the Nigerian society, music has served as a timeless instrument for merrymaking and marking occasions such as naming ceremonies, weddings, coronations, puberty rites, religious events, masquerading events and even funerals. The social life of the people revolves around these events and music performs the function of strengthening the communal spirit, as well as bonds of amity and brotherhood (Umezinwa, 2012).

Music is a significant tool of cultural diplomacy in Nigeria. Nigerian music has in the last two decades become a global phenomenon. Music produced in Nigeria is increasingly making waves outside its borders thereby shedding light on the rich cultural diversity of the country. Artistes such as 2face Idibia, Psquare, Dbanj, Kerewa, Lagbaja, Davido and Wizkid have, by virtue of their tours around the world, promoted the idea of “Nigeria” (Benjamin, 2015). These tours and performances overseas in recent times have attracted massive crowds of over 50,000 persons in such countries as the United States, Britain, France, Ghana, South Africa and Japan. Through these successful international undertakings Nigerian musicians have accumulated enormous incomes, through which the nation stands to gain substantially (Chidozie & Sotubo, 2014).
3.1.3 Music and Social Development in Nigeria in the New Millennium

As stated earlier in this study, poverty eradication, employment generation and social harmony are fundamental elements to be looked at as far as social development is concerned. As Nigerian music and musicians continue to popularise the country’s culture and project its image to the rest of the world, the livelihoods of those involved in this process, as well as the overall well-being of their societies are enhanced.

Regarding the improvement in education, Umezinwa (2012) holds the view that the growing popularity of music in Nigeria is most likely to advance the curriculum of studies, the making of instruments and the lively appreciation of such indigenous music. He believes that placing emphasis on African music, and specifically Nigerian music, in academic spheres will arm students with empowered sense of self-reliance and create job opportunities and job satisfaction (Umezinwa, 2012).

Also, the Nigerian government is making efforts to increase investments in music by providing incentives to investors in the industry. World renowned Sony Music and Universal Music, have set up offices in Nigeria. Sony, has signed deals with up to seven top Nigerian musicians (Iweka, 2018). The increased wave of investment, aside the many economic benefits for the government, will greatly increase employment and ultimately the overall standard of living (Kuwonu, 2018).

The Nigerian government has established a US$1 million venture capital fund to provide seed money for young and talented Nigerians looking to set up business in creative industries. Also as a form of incentive, the government is also allowing a three to five-year tax holiday to those involved in the industry including music producers and distributors among many others. Other enticements geared towards expanding investments such as government-backed and privately
backed investment funds, are currently in the pipeline (Kuwonu, 2018). Today, the Nigerian music industry has employed thousands of creative artists, musicians and dancers (Umezinwa, 2012).

On the subject of improvements in individual and societal livelihoods through Nigerian music, Fabamise and Abulude (2018) reveal that:

“Nigerian music has attracted global attention to itself due to the abundant talent and the drive to make a success in their careers. More than sixty-five percent of musicians today came from a poor home and has seen the talent of music as a singer or producer as the gateway to wealth and a goodbye to poverty. The likes of Indigenous rappers Olamide, Reminisce, who came from a poor home as it were have become continental icons and a success story in the Nigerian music scene. These musicians as a case study employ music producers who cook and make music hits for them to ride on. For a musician who has gotten a breakthrough having released hit songs upon hit songs, four or five persons are employed to serve them and make their job easy. A musician will have a manager, music producer, personal assistant and of course tour manager when he decides to go on tour not to talk of a cook and personal accountant cum financial manager who takes accounts of his revenue and other persons via indirect employment....” (Fabamise & Abulude, 2018).

They further disclose that:

“Don Jazzy, one of the richest producers and music production outfit owner of Marvin once noted that the music industry has been able to take people off the streets, employing dancers, logistic officers and back-up singers. With the attraction in modern day hiphop and afro-hiphop, young people are seeking the opportunity to realise their dreams through music” (Fabamise & Abulude, 2018).

Some critics of Nigerian popular music have pointed to what they believe to be immoral rhetoric in the lyrics of most songs. Ogunrinade (2016) says that:

“There is no gainsaying that most of the recent forms of contemporary popular music produced, packaged, made available for public consumption constitute grave danger and serious threat to moral uprightness in Nigerian society” (Ogunrinade, 2016).

He states that his 2016 study conducted around Nigerian music revealed that:

“Live performances of contemporary popular music were observed and audio and video tape materials relating to the said music were also analysed based on their educational and moral values of such songs. It
was discovered that contemporary popular music as we have it today in Nigeria communicates vulgarity and coarseness to the listeners and this poses a lot of negative effects on the attitude of the youths…” (Ogunrinade, 2016).

Similarly, Professor Austin Emielu, visiting professor at the Department of Music at the University of Ghana, believes that there are high degrees of unwholesome content in popular Nigerian music which go a long way to incite the desire for quick money and opulence among the Nigerian youth. He gives an example of the popular song ‘Yahooze’ by Olu Maintain which he believes does not necessarily convey a positive message for the youth. He surmises that:

The whole idea of Yahooze is ambiguous. In a way it looks as if it was exposing the activities of yahoo boys [fraudsters] but in a way it was reinforcing it because you hear certain words like *Awon kan w'aye wa sise, awon kan w'aye wa jaye* (some people came to this world to labour, some people came to enjoy)…these media contents shape and reinforce the bad…too many songs are talking about money. They don’t look like they are addressing the issues rather they are mirroring them (A. Emielu, personal communication, June 25, 2019)

### 3.1.4 Music and Economic Development in Nigeria in the New Millennium

The Entertainment and Media Outlook: 2018-2022 conducted by PricewaterhouseCoopers, reveals that Nigeria’s music industry is one of the biggest in Africa. According to the report, revenue generated from music in 2013 stood at US$28m. Revenue accrued in 2015 was US$30m
and US$35m in 2016 and 2017 respectively. It made a further projection of US$65m in 2022.

Nigeria’s Minister for Information and Culture, Alhaji Lai Mohammed, in July 2017, drew attention to the role music plays as a trusted Nigerian export by referring to it as “the new oil” (Kuwonu, 2018). With the implementation of sound policies and stricter anti-bootlegging laws, Nigeria’s entertainment industry, specifically the music industry, has the potential to curb the country’s heavy reliance on oil revenues. As of December 2018, Nigeria’s Gross Domestic Product (GDP) stood at US$ 376 billion (Forbes, 2018)

The Nigerian music market revenue was US$51.3 million in 2012 (Washenko, 2015). PwC in its 2016 to 2020 Entertainment and Media Outlook report for South Africa, Nigeria and Kenya reports that Nigeria is emerging as one of the leading markets in the global entertainment and media industry. According to the report, the Nigerian music industry was worth US$40 million in 2011 (IHN, 2016).
Stakeholder companies operating in Nigeria have enjoyed their fair share of success thanks to the immense growth of the Nigerian music industry. In 2015, MTN was the largest distributor of music in Nigeria and in 2016 it publicized its revenue of $70m from selling music across Africa. PwC predicts an annual growth rate of 11% across the eleven categories. It also suggests that Nigeria will grow at a pace that “globally, only Indonesia (13.2%) can exceed.” Being among the ten most populous countries in the world, Nigeria and Indonesia possess gigantic markets for entertainment products (IHN, 2016).

Despite these obvious successes chalked by Nigerian music in recent times, there exists a school of thought which opines that the Nigerian music ‘industry’ in essence, falls short of an actual music industry which is needed for greater economic triumph. Adedeji (2016) quotes Nigerian musician ID Cabasa as having said:

“I don’t think we have an industry, for you to have an industry, the industry must be defined, and you must have a structure… a [rallying] point where stakeholders will come together, and there’s nothing like that, there is no functional process for an artist… whatever we have [now] is a music scene that is gradually developing to become probably an industry” (Adedeji, 2016).

Further, Adedeji (2016) bemoans the mediocrity and corporate exploitation which he believes to exist in the industry:

“While the industry looks as if it is booming due to the number of artists coming out daily with their videos on MTV and other media outlets, the implication for this straight-jacketed ‘hustle-based’ type of music business practice is the proliferation of mediocrity in music where every artist wants to do the style of music that is „reigning” irrespective of their talent and ability, since there is no exposure to professional advice, while the marketers or distributors who are merely traders now determine the type of music that artists put out and on a larger scale. Retrospectively, the corporate sector that depends on music and artists to drive their campaigns now exploit the artists who, being naive, believe they are getting a fair deal. The more corrupt and dis-organised the music industry is the more it is to the advantage of the corporate sector”
The International Intellectual Property Alliance’s (IIPA) 2007 ‘Special 301 Report: Nigeria’ disclosed that Piracy in Nigeria had reached its peak in 2006. As a result, the music industry and its related industries suffered a loss of US$119.0 million, placing the country on the IIPA’s watch list (International Intellectual Property Alliance, 2007).

Aside the issue of piracy, there is the increasing desire to access music for free in Nigeria, and therefore accruing the maximum financial benefits from music appears to be more difficult than ever. According to Iweka (2018), Dare Odumade of digital distributor Sharebunk says of this phenomenon:

“Today, online music platforms have replaced CD sales, as people largely download free music off the internet to populate their playlists on their smartphones, iPods or mp3 players for music on the go. Stakeholders in the music industry need to figure out how to encourage Nigerians to start forming a habit of paying for music, otherwise artistes won’t benefit fully from their intellectual property” (Iweka, 2018).

These challenges notwithstanding, the obvious economic gains made from the Nigerian music industry cannot be taken lightly

### 3.1.5 Music and Reputational Development in Nigeria in the New Millennium

As Nigerian music continues to permeate, and at times dominate, playlists all over the world, its stars gain for themselves (and by extension their country) a massive fan base. Nigerian artistes have won highly coveted awards at major awards ceremonies and managed to sell out concerts both in Africa and worldwide. For instance, Wizkid and Davido are listed as the only African artistes in history to have sold out the 20,000 capacity o2 Arena in London, placing them at par with international artistes such as Beyoncé, Alicia Keys and Michael Jackson. (Abumere, 2018)
(Olowolagba, 2019). Others such as Tiwa Savage, Yemi Alade, Burna Boy and Patoranking have also previously sold out concerts in major cities including London, Paris and New York (Owolawi, 2018).

Further, Nigerian artistes have been recognized internationally as far as awards are concerned. These include the prestigious Grammy Awards, as well as the Kora Awards, Black Entertainment Television (BET) Awards and the MTV African Music Awards (MAMA). For example, at the 2016 MAMAs, Nigerian artists won most of the awards: Wizkid won both the Best Male and Artist of the Year awards. Patoranking’s hit song ‘My Woman My Everything’ won the Song of the Year Award; Yemi Alade won the Best Female Award and Tekno was awarded the Best Breakthrough Act. The Kora Awards (which were instituted in 1996) have also been won by Femi Kuti, Dbanj, P square, and 2face Idibia among other Nigerian awardees (Adedeji, 2016). Also, Wizkid, Davido, 2face Idibia and Ice Prince have each gone home with the American BET Awards (BBC Pidgin, 2018). With regards to the highly coveted Grammy Awards, Femi Kuti, and Seun Kuti are two Nigerians who have received Grammy nominations for their respective works in the new millennium. Nigerian drummer Sikiru Adepoju made his country proud in 2009 when he, alongside Mickey Hart and other artistes, won the Grammy for Best Contemporary World Music Album for their ‘Global Drum Project’ Album (Obi, 2009). Nigerians in the diaspora who have received the well sought-after Award are Sade, Henry Adeola Samuel (AKA Seal), Kelvin Olusola and Hakeem ‘Chamillionaire’ Seriki.

The Nigerian music scene has also witnessed a massive wave of international collaborations in recent times. This trend has popularised Nigeria as a country, thereby recreating an awareness of Nigeria in foreign minds which is far removed from the long-held perceptions of crime, corruption or black magic. Home-grown artistes have had the privilege to share both studio and
stage with prominent and globally acclaimed musicians such as Drake, Akon, Rick Ross, R

It is also worth noting that Nigerian artistes have released and continue to release hit tracks that
have performed the dual task of entertaining listeners around the world and promoting Nigeria.
Examples of these tracks that have received enormous airplay globally are Oliver Twist,
Personally, Ojuelegba, All Over, Dorobucci, Aye, Soco, Shakitibobor, If, Ma Lo, Fall, Fia, Mad
Over You and Pana among numerous others (Tella, 2018). Certain hit Nigerian songs have
intentionally or inadvertently instituted dance moves that have attracted the attention of the
world and livened up parties and other occasions. These dances include Shaku Shaku, Shoki,
Zanku, Skelewu, Bobo and Kukere (Olayinka, 2016). These have secured Nigeria a well-deserved
place on the international music map and an enhanced reputation (Chidozie & Sotubo, 2014).
This will be particularly helpful as the mention of ‘Nigeria’ in foreign lands will not necessarily
evoke notions of armed robbery or fraud but rather melodious music and captivating dance
moves.

On the other hand, Dr. Chika Mba, Research Fellow at the Institute of African Studies,
University of Ghana noted in an interview that negative social conditions in Nigeria can go a
long way to maintain negative perceptions held about the country and negate its soft power or
branding efforts:

“If your country is seen as a bad place, why should people even come to your country for tourism not to
talk of investing money…Having rebranding programmes is not enough to solve the problem of
reputation although it can go a long way. There has to be a connection between what people say of you
and what is found on the ground.” (C. Mba, personal communication, June 18, 2019).
3.2 Film

Nigeria’s film industry, dubbed “Nollywood” has developed over the years to become one of its vital soft power currencies. Nollywood showcases the different facets of the Nigerian society and culture. It provides insight into the thought patterns, points of view, traditions, religious practices and even mannerisms that are peculiar to Nigeria. The country also boasts of actors and actresses that are internationally respected and recognised. Among them are Genevieve Nnaji, Rita Dominic, Richard Mofe-Damijo, Stephanie Linus, Pete Edochie, Omotola Jalade-Ekeinde, Ramsey Nouah and many others (Ogunnubi & Isike, 2017). Onuzulike (2007) opines that the Nigerian movie industry “Nollywood” has had a weighty influence on African culture. He believes that the Nigerian accents, style of dress, and behavioral idiosyncrasies, all of which are distinctly Nigeria, are now being transmitted as images around the globe (Onuzulike, 2007).

3.2.1 Film and Social Development in Nigeria in the New Millennium

Ajiwe et al (2015) introduce another dimension to social development which entails changes in behaviour within a given society. They highlight the linkage between technological advancement and positive behavioural change in society. This means that as Nollywood continues to advance technologically and in such areas as costume, character, type, setting, speeches and actions, its storytelling ability is greatly enhanced. By this, the industry is presently more technologically positioned to incite social change through the portrayal of issues such as actions and consequences, wrong and right, punishment and reward, light over darkness among others. Thus films have the power to teach society and serve as its moral compass and this, according to Ajiwe et al,(2015), has been enhanced through technological growth within the Nigerian film industry. They hold this view:
“Considering the kind of topical issues treated in these films which permeate the thoughts of its audience, propelling them to reason alongside the filmmakers’ views of their environment and behaviour, social change is unarguably catalyzed…most times, audiences respond to film stories due to the sequential visual projection of the story which replicates the happenings identifiable in their environment. Thus, they get emotionally charged with what they see on screen, due to the careful manipulation of images with aid of scenic elements to give convincing representations” (Ajiwe et al., 2015).

Similarly, in 2014 a separate study conducted by the University of California-Los Angeles (UCLA), revealed how film can be instrumental in mobilising society for a good cause. A team of social scientists, including UCLA political science professor Graeme Blair, engaged Nollywood in the project to ascertain if using popular entertainment could help create a consensus among people to take up behaviors that benefit the community. This reaped favourable results (UCLA, 2019).

The team worked with local actors and an activist group called Integrity Nigeria to create a feature Nigerian film about corruption, and subsequently launched a text-messaging campaign designed to report government corruption. According to the journal Science Advances, the project reportedly led a record number of Nigerian citizens to uncover corrupt acts. The researchers, who are based at Princeton University, UCLA and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology revealed that the two-part campaign generated 241 corruption reports from 106 communities in just seven months (UCLA, 2019).

Jason Njoku, the founder and Chief Executive Officer (CEO) of IROKO TV, the world’s leading distributor of Nigerian movies, has 71 employees in Lagos, London and New York. Thus, he often boasts in the ability of his company to create jobs in a country with a 50% unemployment rate. He is Africa’s largest distributor of Nigerian movies, and has raked in over $8 million since 2010, when he founded the company Iroko Partners. This is a testament to the ability of the film
industry to transform the social and financial status of individuals and society as a whole (Moudio, 2018).

Despite complaints of general low incomes of Nollywood actors, some have attained relatively high levels of prosperity. Richard Mofe Damijo (RMD), Desmond Elliot and Jim Iyke with their estimated net worth of US$15 million, US$10 million and US$ 8 million respectively, are reportedly the highest grossing actors in Nollywood. Actress Omotola Jalade Ekeinde, one of Nollywood’s highest-paid performers, recently topped the charts at 5 million naira ($32,000) per film. She also has an estimated net worth of US$ 5 million, whilst Genevieve Nnaji, who is considered to be the richest actress in Nollywood is worth about US$ 7 million (Moudio, 2018) (Adams, 2018) (Ikeru, 2019).

The Nigerian film industry is undeniably an important source of employment in a country whose economy relies largely on oil and agriculture. Presently, over one million people are actively employed in the Nigerian film industry, making it the country’s largest employer after agriculture (Moudio, 2018). However, foreign observers believe that if the industry was more actively regulated, particularly in the case of copyright enforcement, a million more jobs could be created within the sector (Oh, 2014).

The growth of the industry has snatched many people, who hitherto lived on the economic margins of Nigerian society, out of poverty. Among them, an immense number of unemployed university graduates, artisans, and hustlers who were making efforts to survive in an economy in which jobs and other legitimate sources of earning a living had disappeared (Ezeonu, 2013).
In 2011, Nigerian President Goodluck Jonathan pledged a $200 million government loan for the film industry, and in March 2013, announced a $17–$18 million grant called “Project ACT-Nollywood,” to back training and skills acquisition among other initiatives (Oh, 2014).

3.2.2 Film and Economic Development in Nigeria in the New Millennium

In 2010, the World Bank named Nollywood as a leading non-oil sector and included it as part of its Growth and Employment in States (GEMS) project. As part of this project, the film industry was given US$ 20 million in funds to aid sector growth and boost employment. Led by Nollywood, the Nigerian entertainment industry’s contribution to Nigeria’s annual GDP stood at 1.4% in 2013, evidencing the industry’s significance to the Nigerian economy. Although this is less than half of Hollywood’s 3% share of U.S. GDP, it triples India’s 0.5% GDP contribution (Oh, 2014).

As stated earlier, the Nigerian film industry produces about 50 movies per week, second only to India’s Bollywood and ahead of Hollywood (which occupies third place globally). Despite the fact that Nollywood’s revenues fall behind those of Bollywood or Hollywood at the global box office ($1.6 billion and $9.8 billion in 2012, respectively), Nollywood still generates, an average of US$600 million annually for the Nigerian economy, with majority of these proceeds coming from the African diaspora (Oh, 2014). In 2014, the Nigerian government released data indicating that Nollywood was a sector worth US$3.3 billion. Further, the film ‘The Wedding Party’ broke the box office records as the highest grossing Nigerian movie of all time due to its revenue of US$1,286,585 (Adams, 2018).
The demand for Nollywood films, especially within the African diaspora, has also engendered an upsurge in the export of Nigerian movies. As Nigerian film marketers begin to fine-tune their storylines to appeal to an extensive array of audiences by varying their plots, illegal distributors cash in. The World Bank estimates that for every legitimate copy sold, nine others are pirated. The Nigerian Copyright Commission (NCC) estimates that the country is loses about US$ 1 billion to piracy each year (Oh, 2014).

Another challenge plaguing the industry is informality and high piracy rate. This has discouraged international co-productions and taken away potentially profitable investments and distribution opportunities in foreign markets (where proof of ownership of film rights) is a necessity. Additionally, the increasing popularity of low-cost internet access to films has aggravated the industry’s piracy woes, especially by way of unlawful streaming of films. Some potential challenges which the industry is likely to face going forward include, among several others, continued revenue losses due to piracy and weakened investor confidence, ambiguity and non-enforcement of copyright laws and the lack of basic infrastructure such as reliable electricity (Oh, 2014).

3.2.3 Film and Reputational Development in Nigeria in the New Millennium

Well beyond the negative stereotypes of internet fraud, corruption, kidnapping and drug peddling associated with Nigeria, its movie industry is making efforts to dissuade the negative image of the country through films, soap operas and other programmes which project an estimable image of its societal and moral values. This is also being done with the aspiration of endearing Nigeria to the international community (Ogunnubi & Isike, 2017). Regarding the
positive perceptions and cultural influence that Nigerian movies have helped to forge, Tella (2016) writes:

“Some African viewers such as in Zambia have become so intrigued by the movies that they mimic the Nigerian accent and the country’s pidgin English. Reflecting on his experience in Kenya, Nigerian Senator Babafemi Ojudu said that, when the cab driver that drove him from his hotel to a mall in Mombasa realised that he was Nigerian, he said, “my son is are laiki Nigeria movie. He say dadi dadi come see Nigeria movie.” He added that Nigerian music such as Olamide’s Shakiti Bobo was making waves in Kenya. This account confirms the BBC’s observation that Kenyans mimic the Nigerian accent and speak Nigerian pidgin English and the slang they often hear in movies and music. Indeed, Nigerian words like Oga (boss) and Igwe (king) have become popular amongst other African nationals. Adebajo (2013) observes that, “Nollywood has expanded African culture across the continent and created an authentically pan-African cinema.” It has played a meaningful role in debunking negative perceptions of Nigeria by offering positive narratives about its culture, values, and societies that win the hearts and minds of its audience.” (Tella, 2018).

As regards international awards and honours, the official website of the African Movie Academy Awards (AMAAAs) reveals that from 2005 to 2018, Nigerian actors have won the ‘Best Actor in a Lead Role’ award about 80 percent of the time. It also shows that the ‘Best Actress in a Leading Role’ and ‘Best Film’ awards have been largely won by Nigerians (AMAA, 2019).

While Nigeria was hosting the industry’s top brass in March, President Goodluck Jonathan referred to Nollywood as “our shining light,” and that “whenever I travel abroad, many of my colleagues ask me about Nollywood.” The CEO of Iroko TV, Jason Njoku in 2013 was listed by American business magazine Forbes as one of the top ten young African millionaires to watch (Moudio, 2018). Iroko TV which has been dubbed the ‘Netflix of Africa’ streams Nigerian and Ghanaian movies online for free. Meanwhile, users who wish to access fresher content have to pay a monthly subscription fee of US$5. The service’s success is evidenced in its current subscriber base of over 500,000 around the world (Nsehe, 2013).
Veteran Nigerian actress Omotola Jalade Ekeinde, who has been mentioned earlier, continues to carve a niche for herself (and by extension her country) through her work. She has been recognised and honoured at various international events and given important global platforms in the area of film and humanitarian work. In 2018, she was invited to join the Academy of Motion Picture, Arts and Science, which is the organisation in charge of the prestigious Academy Awards (Oscars). Omotola was listed among 928 members to be admitted in that year comprising actors, writers, casting directors, cinematographers, make-up artists, editors and costume designers among others. Her invitation reportedly stemmed from her laudable role in the 2010 romantic drama ‘A Private Storm’ and 2012 thriller ‘Last Flight to Abuja’. In 2013, she had been included in Time magazine’s list of the ‘100 most influential people in the world’ alongside global icons such as then U.S. first lady Michelle Obama and singer Beyoncé (Nleweoha, 2018).

In the new millennium, certain Nigerian movies have told compelling stories which have captured the attention of audiences all over the world. Such movies have received favourable international recognition and honours, and won for their makers and their countries of origin the admiration of the movie stakeholders that matter. One of such films is ‘Dry’, which was written, produced and directed by Stephanie Linus in 2014. It made (and continues to make) a massive impact around the world especially due to its critically acclaimed depiction of child marriage in Nigeria. In 2016, aside winning the award for Best Overall Film at the AMAAs, the film also won the award for Best Narrative Feature at the renowned Pan African Film & Arts Festival (PAFF) in Los Angeles, USA. Again, in February 2019, the movie was selected to screen at the PAFF. In a lead up towards the Festival, Stephanie Linus was honoured at the first ever Blacks in Cinema presentation also held in Los Angeles. The accolades received by Linus and her work in question have been innumerable.
Furthermore, Nigeria’s leading actress Genevieve Nnaji propelled herself and her country into important international movie circles when her 2018 film ‘Lionheart’ (in which she played the dual role of actor and protagonist) became the first African film ever to be purchased and shown by American movie streaming giant Netflix. The movie, before then, had been screened at the 2018 Toronto International Film Festival. In fact it was at this very Festival that the movie captured the attention of Netflix executives (Rogo, 2019). She reportedly sold the movie to Netflix for US$ 3.8 million (a little over 1 billion Naira). All other things being equal, such accomplishments have placed Nigeria in the international spotlight for the right reasons and projected Nigeria as a global powerhouse in the area of cinema.

Regardless of some of these positive aspects of reputational development, there are schools of thought which hold the view that portrayals of ills such as armed robbery, drug trade, kidnappings and black magic go a long way to reinforce the negative stereotypes of Nigeria. One of such is Professor Austin Emielu. In his view, Nigerian movies have not necessarily debunked negative perceptions of Nigeria in countries such as Ghana where these movies are extremely popular. He says:

Right now Nigerians have been involved in criminalities here [Ghana] we’ve seen a few of them. Then the films also show the same thing...” (A. Emielu, personal communication, June 25, 2019)

He opines that this largely solidifies the negative image of Nigeria in the eyes of Ghanaians and other foreign countries.

Scholars such as Oluwaseun Tella assert that certain Nigerian movies have not told a positive story of Nigeria. He maintains that the producers of such movies are more concerned with financial gains than they are with producing high quality movies that ultimately showcase the positive aspects of Nigerian cultural heritage. He bemoans the portrayal and promotion of
sexism, patriarchy, and homophobia, creating the impression that Nigerian society does not take liberal values seriously (Tella, 2018).

In the area of comparison, Tella (2018) indicates that:

“Whilst the Minister of Information and Culture, Alhaji Lai Mohammed has vowed to deploy cultural diplomacy to tame xenophobic attacks on Nigerians in South Africa the attacks continue. The US government’s (Washington’s) role in Hollywood is so significant that the industry is often tagged “Washwood” because it not only showcases US cultural hegemony, but also its economic and military capabilities to the world. In the wake of global anti-American sentiments following the 2003 Iraq war, with the assistance of the State Department, Hollywood endeavoured to present a counter-narrative, especially in the Middle East and South Asia. US films were targeted at university students in various countries including China. However, Nollywood still has a long way to go to make significant inroads into counteracting stereotypes, as it seems that the Nigerian government does not fully understand and appreciate the potential of this industry” (Tella, 2018).

3.3 Food

Here, food will be discussed under the ambit of culinary diplomacy. Chapple-sokol (2013) defines culinary diplomacy as “the use of food in cuisine as an instrument to create cross-cultural understanding in the hopes of improving interactions in cooperation.” This (culinary diplomacy) refers to efforts by governments and other non-state actors to project its appeal. This could be in the form of diplomatic dinners, the exhibition of a country’s cuisine abroad or even the promotion of a popular fast food chain abroad through the mass media among others (Adesina, 2017). Former US First Lady and Secretary of State Hillary Clinton once stated that “food is the oldest form of diplomacy.” Olubukola Adesina defines food or culinary diplomacy as the practice of “…using cuisine to communicate culture in a public diplomacy context” (Adesina, 2017).

It is often said that the fundamental basis of culinary diplomacy is that “the easiest way to win hearts and minds is through the stomach.” (Rockower, 2011). As such, countries such as Taiwan,
South Korea, Thailand, Malaysia and the United States have rolled out specific policies bordering on culinary diplomacy as a way of raising awareness of what they have to offer in terms of cuisine. The concept food is a universal and largely conditioned in culture, history and tradition. It is a vital aspect of human existence and an indispensable tool for our survival, thereby explaining why the act of food consumption can be associated with so much ceremony, pomp and pageantry. It can also be used as a source of comfort, a tool for communication and a unifier (Adesina, 2017).

### 3.3.1 Nigerian Food and Social, Economic and Reputational Development in the New Millennium

The most distinguishing factor of Nigerian cuisine is the carbohydrate rich ingredients used to prepare a main dish, served with a sauce, soup or stew containing a combination of fish, meat and an abundance of vegetables (Kaleosho, 2013). Carbohydrates such as Yam and Cassava can be eaten with vegetable soups made from native green leaves. Gari, which is basically powdered cassava grain is usually readily available and economical. Yam can be boiled, pounded or fried. Meat also features prominently in Nigerian cuisine. An example is *suya* (meat sliced and grilled on open fire) which is an extremely popular delicacy in Nigeria. Bush meat, meat from wild game like deer and giraffes, is also popular. Traditional beverages such as palm wine (fermented palm product) is a staple in many Nigerian communities. Other traditional dishes are eba, fufu, amala, ikokore, ebiripo, ojojo, with soups like okra, ogbono, egusi and many others. The country’s gastronomy also includes snacks and sweets like kuli-kuli (groundnuts cakes), ipekere (plantain chips), kokoro (fried dry snack made from corn or garri), dundun (roasted or deep fried slices of yam in palm or vegetables oil), kpokpo-garri (dried fried fermented cassava snack) (Adesina, 2017).
These Nigerian delicacies have in several instances, not remained within the confines of the country but have made their way outside its shores into foreign lands be it through food festivals, exhibitions organised by Nigerian embassies abroad or even the establishment of Nigerian restaurants. Certain key initiatives surrounding Nigerian cuisine abroad have taken several forms. Some examples are Joseph Decuis restaurant’s partnership with Nigerian food connoisseur, Nkonye Mwalilu and the Nigerian Association of Fort Wayne for a charitable event celebrating Nigerian cuisine and culture in 2018 (Meek, 2018). Also in 2018, European Union (EU) Ambassador to Nigeria Ketil Karlsen and Nigerian Senator Binta Masi Garba prepared both European and Nigerian dishes respectively in an environment friendly way in line with EU clean energy policy (EEAS, 2018).

The Nigerian organised ‘Flavours of Africa’ initiative has the objective to popularise Nigerian food in the United Kingdom (UK) using street food, food festivals and outdoor events as channels of engagement. Chuku’s Presidential Suya, Tokunbo’s Kitchen, Lagos Island and Vegan Nigerian are among highly rated Nigerian restaurants that cater to Londoners. Also, Chop I Chop, Brooklyn Suya, The Suya Spot, Ike’s Café and Grill, Ebe Ano Nigerian Soul Food are examples of well-liked Nigerian restaurants in Accra, New York, Toronto, Atlanta and Berlin respectively (Flavours of Africa, 2019) (Vyas, 2019) (ACB, 2016).

Despite the best efforts by private individuals to promote Nigerian cuisine or earn a living through the opening of Nigerian restaurants overseas, government involvement appears to be limited and unstructured in the area of gastronomic diplomacy or gastrodiplomacy unlike previously mentioned Taiwan or the U.S. It is evident that Nigerian films have showcased the best of Nigerian cuisine (at least virtually) because audiences around the world are made to
witness Nigerian cuisine being enjoyed and this at least gives them a sense of what Nigerian food looks like.

In terms of social development Nigerian cuisine is directly tied to the livelihoods of many Nigerians in the diaspora who open restaurants as a form of business. This is also intrinsically linked to the country’s economic development through remittances sent by these restaurateurs back home. The value of remittances to the Nigerian economy cannot be underestimated. According to a PwC report, remittances currently account for 6 per cent of Nigeria’s GDP. The report also indicated an estimated inflow of US$25 billion remitted by Nigerians in diaspora in 2018. Thus chief economist at PwC Nigeria, Prof Andrew Nevin, surmised that Nigeria’s citizens living outside the country are its biggest export (Idowu, 2019). This should adequately explain why such businesses in Nigerian cuisine established overseas are so important to its economy and the livelihood of all those involved.

Moreover, Adesina (2017) believes that food or culinary diplomacy can become a tool for creating a strong image and good reputation for the country. By showcasing and promoting Nigerian food worldwide, it will create awareness of the country’s culinary heritage. According to Koleosho (2013), the prevalence of importation and exportation of local Nigerian food ingredients across continents is telling of the fact that Nigerian food is rapidly gaining popularity around the world. This may be due, in part, to the increasing number of Nigerians living in Diaspora and an equally increasing number of foreign nationals taking up employment in Nigeria in light of the oil boom leading to inter-cultural exchanges. Culinary discovery of tastes and flavours is being made by many from Asia, Europe and the Americas who live and work in Nigeria (Kaleosho, 2013).
3.4 Language

According Wibowo (2001), language is a system of symbols that are meaningful and articulate sound (generated by said tool) which are arbitrary and conventional, which is used as a means of communicating by a group of human beings to give birth to feelings and thoughts (Wibowo, 2001).

Language is considered by many scholars as a fundamental facet of culture. Obiegbu (2016) asserts that culture which is a creation of the human mind and is defined, propagated and sustained through language; and that the relationship between language and culture is undeniably synergetic. Language and culture appear to be so entwined that one cannot survive without the other. He opines that Speaking Nigerian languages is part of the Nigerian culture and thus a citizen of Nigeria who is not able to express himself in his local language is not viewed as a full-blown son of the soil (Obiegbu, 2016). Language is also seen as one of the most powerful tools of culture and tradition, so powerful that it is the only natural way that we can reach into the deepest parts of another person’s mind and fetch from it (Ibiwari-Ikiriko, 2019).

Ibiwari-Ikiriko (2019) maintains that negotiating with a Nigerian trader in her language, for example, will increase the likelihood of getting a more beneficial deal, and in light of this, it can be concluded that the best pathway to the heart of the African man is language (Ibiwari-Ikiriko, 2019). Again, Obiegbu (2016) emphasises that “the indigenization of English in Nigeria is a major process of bringing the relationship between language and culture to the fore. Since the English language is our national language, Nigerian English has been adapted to home use and made applicable to our numerous conveniences, experiences, nuances and sensibilities.” (Obiegbu, 2016).
Nigerians speak over 500 languages including Ibibio, Fulani, Edo, Kaniru, Efik, Fulfulde and several others in hundreds, however, Hausa, Yoruba, and Igbo are the three “major” ethnic groups in Nigeria, and the languages indigenous to these ethnic groups are accepted as the major languages spoken in and by Nigerians aside English which functions as its lingua franca (Ibiwari-Ikiriko, 2019) (Obiegbu, 2016). Igbo is estimated to have more than 30 million speakers in Nigeria, mainly in South-Eastern Nigeria, whilst Yoruba boasts of 40 million estimated speakers mainly in South-Western Nigeria (BBC, 2018). Outside Nigeria, one can also find large communities of Yoruba speakers in Togo and Benin Republic. Smaller communities can be found in Sierra Leone, Liberia and other African countries (Onyeakagbu, 2019).

Pidgin, (also known as ‘broken English’) which is a variant of the English language is widely spoken in Nigeria as well as Ghana, Cameroun and Equatorial Guinea. However, BBC estimates that in Nigeria, some 3 to 5 million people use it as their first language in day-to-day interactions. It is said to be a second language to a much higher number of up to 75 million people in Nigeria alone. Its popularity is believed to be due to its informal nature and its ability to unite people and cut across ethnic, regional and socio-economic barriers (BBC, 2017)

These Nigerian languages have transcended Nigeria’s borders into international spheres through television and radio. For instance, on the South African-owned satellite service DStv (Digital Satellite Television), which has gained enormous popularity and patronage in sub-saharan Africa, seven ‘African Magic’ channels are dedicated airing to Nigerian content (mainly movies and TV series). Among these channels are African Magic Hausa, African Magic Igbo and African Magic Yoruba (Africa Magic, 2019). In general, Nollywood has popularised these languages in the sense that even movies produced in English make use of proverbs in local
languages and local names. It is not strange to see an English Nigerian movie in which an older person offers a word of advice to a younger one in a local language be it Igbo or Yoruba. Likewise, it is common to see both educated and uneducated people express themselves in Pidgin in a Nigerian movie.

Although there have been contestations as to the dominance of these above-mentioned languages in Nigeria, they have managed to provide external audiences and listeners with a sense of what an ethnic Nigerian language, as well as “Nigeria-style English” sound like.

3.4.1 Language and Social Development in Nigeria in the New Millennium

In 2017, as part of a US$370 million expansion in Africa and Asia, BBC launched an online Pidgin service which circulates news reports and stories via text, audio and videos. In just under a year, it has gained 7.5 million readers, with its largest audience bases in Ghana, Nigeria and Cameroon. During the 2018 World Cup, DStv, for the first time offered Pidgin commentary to viewers in Nigeria and Ghana. This initiative proved successful, and was so popular that DStv considered offering Pidgin commentary on popular European club soccer matches (Kazeem, 2018).

Nigerian Pidgin has been praised for its ability to unify society and create an atmosphere of conviviality irrespective of social class, religious belief or ethnicity. In fact it is largely considered as a language that has the potential to cut across board and connect with people and
audiences in an informal and friendly manner. English is thought to be woefully lacking in this regard (Kazeem, 2018).

Nigeria Pidgin, although regarded by some nonstandard or too informal, is understood and spoken by a greater percentage of Nigerian people. Despite the fact that Pidgin has no clear official backing or recognition, it is spoken by the educated and uneducated alike. It is also widely used in inter-ethnic communication, and this has the proclivity to foster peace and societal coherence. It is no overstatement to say that pidgin functions as language of wider communication in Nigeria. Therefore, the expansion of Igbo, Yoruba, Hausa and Pidgin through BBC, aside creating employment, promises to increase society’s acceptance of these languages even more and allow people from all spheres of society to be informed and entertained in the language they are most comfortable with.

What’s more, Motanya (2017) has this to say about Pidgin English and its role in providing employment in Nigerian society:

“Recently, with the growing and popularization of Nigeria’s entertainment industry, many unemployed youths are smiling to the banks because of their music and jokes rendered in NP [Nigerian Pidgin]. These youths before joining the industry were jobless, some of them involved themselves in immoral acts and such ungainful acts set back their different communities. But with their new found job, they not only cater for themselves but train and employ other unemployed to their music or joke industry or other businesses they opened. This progress would not have been possible if not for the viability of NP as the medium of music and joke in Nigeria’s entertainment industry. People like Tuface Idibia, P-Square Don Jazzy, D-Banj, Timaya, Flavour. Waje, Shey Shay, Tiwa Savage, Wizkid, Olamide, Harry’s Song, Terry G, Dr Sid, Orezi, Femi Kuti, Phyno, Chidimma, Kcee, Korede Bello, Dija to mention a few are all celebrities courtesy their use of NP in their music” (Motanya, 2017).
3.4.2 Language and Reputational Development in Nigeria in the New Millennium

BBC Pidgin provides a mix of local, regional and international news, current affairs and analysis, thereby bringing the world to Nigeria and vice-versa (BBC, 2017). As stated earlier, Tella (2018) points out the popularity of Nigerian Pidgin in countries such as Kenya and Zambia through constant indulgence in Nollywood movies and Nigerian entertainment in general.

3.5 Music Diplomacy and Social Development in the U.S. in the New Millennium

The U.S government appears to prioritise the development of the American society through its music. OneBeatSM is one of the many channels used to ensure this. It is an international music exchange program which celebrates musical collaboration and social engagement through innovative people-to-people diplomacy. Musicians from different parts of the world gather in the U.S. for one month to jointly write, produce, and perform original music. During the period, they develop new ways through which music can make a positive impact on American society and the world at large (US Department of State, 2019).

The Recording Industry Association of America’s (RIAA)’s Joshua Friedlander indicates that 1.9 million American jobs are being supported by its music industry. According to him, music-related entities ranging from the artists themselves to agents, record labels, radio stations, publishing, digital music platforms, music teachers, instrument makers to concert promoters and a lot more are all examples of employment opportunities created through music (Friedlander, 2018).

In recent years, music has been used as a tool by American artists to draw attention to undesirable issues plaguing the American society such as racism, police brutality, gender inequality and homophobia. Songs such as Alright by Kendrick Lamar; Be Free by J. Cole; Don’t Shoot by The Game; Formation by Beyoncé; Glory by Common ft John Legend; Mad by Solange Knowles; New National Anthem by T.I; No Justice by Ty Dollar $ign; The Blacker the Berry by Kendrick Lamar; Where is the love by The Black Eyed Peas and Aw Yeah by Tech N9ne have been used to (Cozier, 2017). In a similar light, many Nigerian songs have criticised societal ills such as political corruption, police misconduct and domestic violence. Some of these are This is America by Falz, So Inspired by Waje, Let Him Go by Korede Bello, Enough is Enough by Omawunmi, New Morning by Waje, Real Man by M.I. and Boosit by Cobhams Asuquo ft Falz (Sunday, 2019)

3.5.1 Music Diplomacy and Economic Development in the U.S. in the New Millennium

In 2018, the global music industry raked in about US$51.5 billion, with around US$19.6 billion of this amount coming from the U.S. alone. The U.S. music industry generated revenues of US$ 4.61 billion, US$ 4.52 billion and US$ 4.66 billion in 2009, 2010 and 2011 respectively.
Forecasts predict slow but steady growth in the coming years, with U.S. based revenues expected to increase to around US$ 22.6 billion by the year 2021 (Watson, 2019).


Forbes revealed in 2018 that out of the top ten richest and most popular music streaming sites in the world, five, including Spotify, iHeartRadio and Apple Music, were from the U.S. (McIntyre, 2018). The music streaming service Spotify is estimated to be worth about US$ 25 bn, making it the largest music company in the world (Witt, 2018).

3.5.2 Music Diplomacy and Reputational Development in the U.S. in the New Millennium

In the new millennium, the U.S. government has spearheaded several initiatives as far as music is concerned with the aim of promoting cross-cultural dialogue and projecting a positive image of the U.S. Bearing a striking resemblance to the “Jazz Ambassadors” in the Cold War era, the U.S. Department of State, in 2005, launched the "Rhythm Road" program. The program involves sending American musicians to parts of the world where American culture and values are received half-heartedly or met with blatant hostility. The Program is also meant to encourage the new generation of U.S. musical ambassadors to extend their reach far beyond studios and concert halls to intermingle with foreign musicians and audiences in South America, Asia and Africa.
The program is one in many cultural diplomacy projects sponsored at the state level with the objective of dissuading negative images and stereotypes of the U.S., while stimulating intercultural understanding and cooperation, creativity, friendship and peace (Academy for Cultural Diplomacy, 2019).

Also among the myriad of state-organised and state-led cultural undertakings is the “American Music Abroad” (AMA) program which dispatches, each year, about ten ensembles of American roots musicians of various genres to embark on a month-long, tour of different countries, where they interface with audiences overseas, through concerts, workshops, media interviews, performances with local musicians, among others. Since 2011, AMA ensembles have traveled to more than 100 countries worldwide (U.S Department of State, 2019).

“Center Stage℠” can be counted among contemporary cultural diplomacy efforts by the U.S. government that connect foreign musicians with American communities through music and dance. It brings international performing artists to tour the U.S. for a period of one month. It comprises school performances, lectures, workshops and artist-to-artist exchanges (U.S Department of State, 2019).

The near cultural supremacy of the U.S. is evinced in the enormous fame of its superstars who directly or indirectly play the role of “musical ambassadors.” The monumental following that musicians such as Michael Jackson, Beyoncé, Taylor Swift, Chris Brown, Jay Z, Rihanna, Nicki Minaj and Jennifer Lopez possess(ed) in the new millennium tells the story of a country whose music has assumed the number one position worldwide. This leads to the creation of an image of a country that is the best at what it does, hence many aspire to be associated with it. Hennessy
(2014) believes that America’s current dominance in the global music industry is chiefly due to the profitability and popularity of the hip hop genre.

In his opinion, it is a genre that is largely linked to prosperity, as hip hop artists are paid millions of dollars to endorse brands of clothing, foodstuffs, alcoholic beverages, electronics and many more. This, then allows hip hop artists to live lavish lifestyles to which the ordinary individual aspires. This fact notwithstanding, both American and Nigerian hip hop artists have been criticised for promulgating profanities and inciting the desire for fast riches especially among the youth. Yet, America’s power over the global music industry even transcends language barriers. Americans held 71% and 88 % of Germany and the Netherland’s top hits from 2000 to 2006 (Hennessy, 2014).

Also regarding a positive reputation and cultural influence, American musician and Fulbright scholar at the School of Performing Arts at the University of Ghana, Dr. Colter Harper revealed in an interview that by virtue of American cultural influence, a cross-section of Ghanaians are beginning to embrace genres such as rock n roll, which was hitherto deemed as strange. He named the Ghanaian rock band ‘Dark Suburb’ as an example. The band fuses hip hop/ hip-life beats with rock n roll; and he surmised in addition that they drew inspiration from the famous collaboration between U.S. hip hop artist Jay Z and Rock Band Linkin Park in 2004 (C. Harper, personal communication, July 8, 2019).

A vivid distinction between American music diplomacy and that of Nigeria is the fact that the U.S. government is deeply involved in U.S. music diplomacy around the world whilst Nigeria appears to have a mainly unstructured and less-institutionalised approach to its music diplomacy. Also, American music genres such as rock, pop, soul, jazz, R n B and hip hop are well known
globally whereas the popularity of Nigerian music in the new millennium is deeply connected to the popularity of its hip hop/afrobeats genre.

3.6 Film and Social Development in the U.S. in the New Millennium

According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the U.S. Department of Labour, in 2016 (the latest date for which data is available) 249,607 people were employed in motion picture and video production, up from the 2006 number of 192,762. In 2015, workers in motion picture and video distribution made an average annual wage of US$130,171, up from US$74,850 in 2005 whereas those working in motion picture and video production made an average annual wage of US$94,355 in 2015, up from $76,764 in 2005 (U.S. Department of Labor, 2017).

Meanwhile, data from the Motion Picture Association of America (MPAA) indicates that 2.1 million Americans are currently employed in the film and television industry with the total wages within the industry reaching US$ 139 billion in 2018. This is not too far apart from the Nollywood figure of 1 million employees. Contributions made by the film and television industry towards the advancement of local (film and television related) businesses have been significant. In 2018, the industry made US$ 49 billion in payments to small businesses, some of which have as little as 10 people working for them. Thus without a thriving film and television industry, the livelihoods of some of these business owners would be greatly threatened. Again in 2018, these small businesses reached 93,000, which was an increase of 5,000 from the previous year. Overall, film and television supports about 400,000 local businesses (Galuppo, 2018).
3.6.1 Film and Economic Development in the U.S. in the New Millennium

A 2017 report by the research firm IBISWorld discloses that the U.S. film industry brought in US$43.4 billion in revenue in 2017, increasing in each of the past five years at an annualized rate of 2.2% (Robb, 2018). In 2013, the U.S. federal government disclosed that the creative industry led by Hollywood contributed around US$504 billion (3.2 % of American goods and services). According to figures from the Arts and Cultural Production Satellite Account (ACPSA), the film and video industry contributed US$100 billion to America’s GDP in 2015, despite the popularity of movie and TV streaming services which erode these economic benefits. These Hollywood revenues seem to be a far cry from Nollywood’s. Perhaps if piracy and distribution issues were not such a cancer in the Nigerian film industry, it would be a gigantic cash cow for the country.

Still, both Hollywood and Nollywood are two very distinct industries, telling very different stories of very different societies. Differences are in the form of geography, structure, production costs, culture, values among others. Similarities can be traced in the area of domestic market size, international appeal, production language, international relevance and the very important role they both play as cultural diplomacy tools.

The U.S. has also benefited greatly in terms of its trade in film. A 2015 report by the MPAA titled *The Economic Contribution of the Motion Picture & Television Industry to the United States* shows that in 2013 the U.S. film and television industry exported six times what it imported, contributing US$130 billion to the economy (this was a 5% increase from 2012) (Nichols, 2018) (Pibernik, 2015). Unlike the U.S., Professor Austin Emielu bemoans the fact that economic statistics on the Nigerian film industry are not always readily available within relevant
Nigerian institutions for information and research purposes. Therefore researchers are only to make use of rough or estimated figures.

3.6.2 Film and Reputational Development in the U.S. in the New Millennium

The mention of Hollywood normally evokes not just thoughts of a mere national cinema of the U.S. but rather an omnipresent force in global popular culture which has universal appeal and easily assimilated wherever it goes (Pibernik, 2015).

Perhaps another indication of the U.S. Government’s dedication towards enhancing the country’s image abroad is its institution of the American Film Showcase which is funded by the State Department’s Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs and managed by the University of Southern California (USC) School of Cinematic Arts. The Showcase offers a view of American feature films, documentaries and animations to audiences all over the world, in order to exhibit American society and culture, mostly in a positive light and foster cooperation and understanding with other countries. Through the Showcase, U.S. Embassies in forty countries hold film screenings, and film-related discussions in such areas as writing, production, distribution and animation (U.S. Department of State, 2019).

The U.S. is largely considered to be a country which portrays itself as a desirable and valiant hero through its films although this may not always be consistent with reality. Dr. Samuel Nai, the Rector of the Ghana National Film and Television Institute (NAFTI) and a connoisseur in cultural diplomacy also holds this view. In an interview he noted:

“If you watch the American films, they are here to consciously present society in a certain way…many of the films present America to be very strong, unbeatable and macho. They do it in a more organised way.
Many American films like Missing in Action, New Dawn and so on show an image of a very powerful America and this is done consciously” (S. Nai, Personal Communication, July 9th, 2019).

This contrasts the view many scholars hold of Nigerian movies as a mere avenue to reinforce negative perceptions of the country. However Dr. Nai believes that as part of the ‘new Nollywood’ agenda, contemporary Nigerian movies such as the aforementioned The Wedding Party and Half of a Yellow Sun are changing this phenomenon although there is still a lot of work to be done.


### 3.7 Food and Social Development in the U.S. in the New Millennium

It is a well-known fact that the American food industry (especially its fast food industry) is nothing short of gigantic. U.S. fast food chains have achieved global appeal and popularity. Brands such as McDonald’s, Burger King, KFC, Taco Bell, Pizza Hut, Chick-fil-A and Domino’s Pizza provide, together with other great benefits, employment to many. According to a 2016 McDonald's filing, about 375,000 people are currently employed by the fast-food chain. However, Forbes (2015) indicates that if franchise employees from all over the world are included, the number makes a quantum leap to 1.9 million, making McDonald's the second largest private employer in the U.S. (and the world) after Walmart (Cain, 2018). Overall, the U.S
Food and Beverage industry serves as an important provider of work. For instance, California (which is a food and beverage powerhouse) has nearly 162,000 employees in the industry, whilst Minnesota, Georgia, Iowa and Illinois have 46,130; 60,451; 49,380 and 75,620 respectively (Unnevehr, 2017).

The food and beverage industry, in recent years, has more actively pursued its social responsibility and increased its commitment towards consumer welfare and environmental safety. In 2015, several major companies such as Walmart, General Mills and PepsiCo pledged to decrease food waste. Also, the Kellogg Company reports reducing food waste by more than 60% since 2005. In 2015, 114 key companies, many of which were food companies, made commitments to reduce greenhouse gas emissions. Food security also remains a priority for the sector (Unnevehr, 2017).

3.7.1 Food and Economic Development in the U.S. in the New Millennium

In 2018, McDonald's generated a total revenue of US$ 21.03 billion (Lock, 2019). Also, 2018 data from consumer and market statistics provider Statista makes known the dominance of U.S. fast food brands worldwide. In terms of global value, fast food giant McDonald’s topped the chart with a brand value of around US$126.04 billion. Other U.S. brands such as Starbucks, Subway, KFC and Pizza Hut followed suit with values of US$ 44.5 billion, US$18.8 billion, US$15.1 billion and US$ 7.4 billion (Lock, 2018). Globally, the fast food industry generates revenue of about US$570 billion, which is higher than the economic value of many countries Out of this figure, U.S. revenue was US$200 billion in 2015 as against a meagre US$6 billion in 1970. Nonetheless, this figure is projected to surpass US$223 billion (Ondoy, 2018). It is extremely clear that fast food, although its popularity keeps growing in Nigeria (with its own
brands such as Mr. Biggs and Chicken Republic) does not constitute an integral aspect of its economy.

3.7.2 Food and Reputational Development in the U.S. in the New Millennium

Joseph (2019) opines that the mention of American cuisine normally evokes thoughts of junk, processed, greasy or fast food. Nevertheless, U.S. cuisine, whether indigenously American or popularised by America, tends to be well known and well liked and highly patronised all over the world. Examples of popular American cuisine are macaroni and cheese, buffalo wings, cheeseburgers, Philadelphia cheese steak, Cobb salad, pot roast, corn bread, biscuits ‘n’ gravy, chicken fried steak, wild Alaska salmon, California roll, Maryland crabcakes, chicken and waffles and New England clam chowder among several others (Joseph, 2019). Certain U.S. brands such as Hershey chocolates, Ritz crackers, Kellogg’s cornflakes, Heinz ketchup, Cheerios and Oreo cookies are in high demand and can easily be sighted on supermarket shelves all over the world (McGauley, 2018).

U.S. gastrodiplomacy has been instrumental in calming diplomatic tensions. Regarding escalating tensions between the U.S. and Iran during negotiations towards the Iran Nuclear Deal in July 2015, Auer (2018) surmises that U.S. and Iranian negotiators always ate separately, however, on the 4th of July which is America's Independence Day, the Iranians proffered an invitation for the two parties to dine together - with no negotiation-talk allowed. Johanna Mendelson-Forman believes that this was the very first time the Americans and Iranians looked at each other differently (as people and not as mere negotiators). Within ten days, the parties reached an agreement, with gastrodiplomacy experts such as Mendelson-Forman convinced that
this was as a result of the Persian meal the two countries had shared and the camaraderie it had stimulated (Auer, 2018).

JJ Harder, gourmand and American diplomat, with the support of the American Embassy in Morocco fostered friendship and cooperation through U.S. cuisine during his tenure as Deputy Cultural Attaché. Thus, he helped organise American Food Weeks in Morocco, each year showcasing America’s food culture (Rahim, 2017).

3.8 Language and National Development in the U.S. in the New Millennium

Through language, the U.S. has managed to reach multitudes of non-English speakers both home and abroad who desire to learn the language. The American Language Center (ALC), for instance, has branches in several countries such as Morocco, Pakistan, the United Arab Emirates, Cameroon, Lebanon, Jordan, Italy, Spain, Chad and the U.S. itself. Through language courses and special events, the Center advances English learning and teaching as well as intercultural exchange. Additionally, it supports the personal enrichment of its students, and also, career and skills development. Aside this, it serves as a source of stable and reliable employment for the tutors who work in these Centers (US Embassy & Consulate in Morocco, 2019).

Likewise, ELS can be numbered among American language institutions. With representation in several States in the country, it has, since 1961, helped over 1.2 million students from more than 143 countries learn English (ELS, 2018).

According to the U.S. State Department, the promoting the teaching and learning of American English in all parts of the world is crucial in its agenda to further mutual understanding between the people of the United States and foreign publics. It also states that, building the English
language capacity of people in other countries enhances their interactions with American counterparts and builds sustainable cross-cultural bridges. The State Department indicates that, through the English education it offers, access to its numerous exchange programs (managed by the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs) and other academic and professional exchange opportunities in the United States is greatly increased (US Department of State, 2019).

Furthermore, the Office of English Language Programs functions within Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, and designs and manages English learning programs all over the world. The programs are run by local American Embassies and Consulates, and supervised by Regional English Language Officers. Some of these are the English Language Fellow Program, English Language Specialist Program, E-Teacher Program and English Access Microscholarship Program. The English Access Microscholarship Program, for example, provides a foundation of English language skills to talented 13-20 year-olds from economically deprived regions of the world through intensive classes and after-school sessions (US Department of State, 2019).

These efforts by the U.S. government in the area of language, appear to not only enhance knowledge of the American culture (through language) overseas but also build relationships between the United States and other countries. This is essential in improving external perceptions of the U.S. in other countries. The popularity of the Nigerian language in the world, although it doesn’t possess the structural enormity of the U.S., should not be underestimated. Its popularity on African television and entertainment (diaspora included), as well as global media channels (such as BBC) is something to write home about. It can be deduced that Nigeria’s language promotion efforts are not be as far reaching and institutionalised as the U.S. A reason for this could be that whilst Nigeria speaks hundreds of languages the U.S. has just one language to
promote, which happens to be a universal one. Perhaps with more assiduous and intentional efforts on the part of Nigeria even a language like Pidgin can begin to gain global importance.
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CHAPTER FOUR

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

4.0 Introduction

This study set out to compare the practice of cultural diplomacy as a soft power tool by Nigeria and the U.S. and its effect on the social, economic and reputational development of these countries. Accordingly, this chapter presents the summary of findings based on information gathered and analysed. Conclusions are drawn from the research findings and recommendations made for necessary action in the future.

4.1 Summary of Findings

Cultural diplomacy as soft power dates back to the very inception of human exchanges and communication. Ancient kings, governments and envoys would hardly visit another city, state or province without bearing a cultural gift. The exchange of cultural artefacts, ideas, values and even people was a common phenomenon in ancient times. Although this practice has received several modifications over many generations, it is, to this very day, an essential instrument with which states strive for overseas approval and win hearts and minds outside their shores. In recent years, it appears to be more structured and pursued more purposefully by many countries. The impact of cultural diplomacy on the social, economic and reputational development on countries is yet to be given adequate scholarly attention.
4.1.1 Nigeria

Nigerian culture is very diverse and expansive. Its cultural tools in the form of music, film, food and language as discussed in this study are widely known and enjoyed. Its music and film in the new millennium have established the country as a true cultural and entertainment hub in Africa and the rest of the world. Its cultural diplomacy does not appear to be as intentional, structured, institutionalised and government backed as the United States although it possesses cultural elements that many admire and even emulate. Nigeria has achieved many firsts in Africa as far as the arts are concerned. Yet, its cultural variables such as film and music seem to have a very informal structure. In fact, it doesn’t appear that most of its music, film or even food that permeate overseas borders are largely a product of intentionality on the part of government or even the private sector.

However, the effects of cultural diplomacy on Nigeria’s development are numerous. Nollywood and the music industry for instance have helped to improve the livelihoods of those associated with these industries. The economic gains made from these industries, although not as hefty as U.S. figures, hold much promise for the future, especially if piracy and ownership laws are properly enforced. With a proper structure in place and increased government dedication towards Nigerian cultural diplomacy, its existing cultural dominance on the African continent will be even more pronounced. In terms of language, the interest shown by international media houses such as BBC paints a picture of a country whose language is set to truly take off. With BBC currently running Yoruba, Igbo, Hausa and Pidgin services, social inclusion is fostered and the masses are reached.
Although a myriad of scholars have criticised the reinforcement of negative images of Nigeria in its music and film, (with such depictions as corruption, armed robbery, fraud and black magic), the benefits of these cultural industries to the image of Nigeria as an African ‘big brother’ and internationally-relevant country cannot be downplayed.

4.1.2 The United States of America

U.S cultural power and influence can hardly be disputed. Elements within American culture such as music, film, food and language have received such monumental patronage throughout the world that it appears as if U.S. culture is global culture after all. Many American actors and music artistes are international superstars. While the U.S. film and music industries are important contributors towards the country’s GDP, the proliferation of online movie and music streaming services in recent times corrode economic gains. The role of the U.S. government in pursuing its cultural diplomacy is very well evident. As a matter of fact, the efforts of the U.S. State Department in this regard, seem indispensable. The promotion of U.S. soft power appears to have structure and institutional character. This is seen in the existence of countless American language institutions and programmes as well as cultural events organised both home and abroad by the State Department. The dedication of the U.S. towards documenting these cultural activities through various government websites is telling of the importance of Cultural diplomacy to the country.

The effect of this active pursuit of cultural diplomacy by the U.S. on its social, economic and reputational development is massive. As American cultural products continue to dominate, the developmental benefits to the country are enormous. Its film, music and food industries each rake in billions of US dollars every year. Whilst most of Nigeria’s food promotion takes the form
of opening Nigerian restaurants overseas, the U.S. food industry is highly globalised with its fast food franchises seen all over the world despite health concerns in recent times.

In terms of America’s image, it has been largely asserted that its soft power is often negated or weakened by its hard power, and thus many people still perceive America negatively. Nevertheless, the popularity and acceptance of American cultural goods as well as its on-the-ground interactions with the grassroots in many countries show a soft power that is working. In fact, the most well adored entities such as Brad Pitt, Beyoncé and McDonald’s are an embodiment of the success of U.S. soft power.

4.2 Conclusions

This study was carried out with the objective of determining the effects of cultural diplomacy as soft power on national development. This was done by conducting a comparative analysis of the cultural diplomacy of Nigeria and that of the U.S. The first chapter thoroughly explains the concepts of cultural diplomacy and soft power. The ‘Literature Review’ section in the first chapter brings attention to scholarly opinions and the actual practice of cultural diplomacy in Nigeria and the U.S.

The books and journal articles used in the Literature Review section, including well-known works by Joseph Nye and Cynthia Schneider, bring attention to the myriad of ideas and views held by scholars on the subjects of cultural diplomacy and soft power. Some of these are cultural innovation as well as the distinction between command and co-optive power, where Nye (2004) contrasts attraction with coercion. Also, ‘soft power’ which as the main conceptual underpinning of this study, is expatiated in great detail in that same chapter. The major soft power forms
(mainly cultural diplomacy), the successes of soft power as well as the limitations of hard power, such as its costly nature, are captured.

The study also provides a historical overview of cultural diplomacy in the second chapter. It entails an investigation of the general history of cultural diplomacy from its earliest known examples in the Bronze Age down to the 20th Century. Also, the exchange of cultural practices and artefacts among ancient civilisations as well as the cultural accomplishments of historical figures such as Alexander the Great, Ptolemy I Soter, Frederick II and Jesuit Matteo Ricci are highlighted. Additionally, the chapter discusses a landmark period in the history of cultural diplomacy (between the 15th and 18th Centuries) which saw the proliferation of cultural institutes in Europe. Further, the chapter traces the historical trajectories of U.S. cultural diplomacy from the World War I to post-Cold War era as well as Nigeria’s post-independence cultural diplomacy.

Furthermore, the third chapter carries out a comparative analysis of Nigerian and U.S. cultural diplomacy by examining four variables which are music, film, food and language. By use of primary and secondary sources of data, the exploitation of these four cultural variables by Nigeria and the U.S. to enhance their social, economic and reputational development is better deciphered. From the massive popularity of Nigerian films and music to the multi-billion dollar American food industry, it becomes obvious that culture is intrinsically linked with national progress as far as these two countries are concerned. The differences and similarities in their approaches and results, as well as critiques of their methods make up the third chapter.
At the beginning of the study, it hypothesized that “cultural diplomacy has enhanced the development of Nigeria and the United States.” An exhaustive evaluation of both primary and secondary data gathered in this study proves the hypothesis to be accurate. Cultural diplomacy as soft power has indeed enhanced the social, economic and reputational development of Nigeria and the U.S. through the chosen variables of music, film, food and language. The developmental benefits of cultural diplomacy to each of these countries take very distinct forms and are very different in terms of quantum but are still very relevant to the growth of their communities and economies, as well as the enhancement of their respective images.

### 4.3 Recommendations

An in-depth analysis of the research findings lead this study to submit the following recommendations:

**An Intent and Active Pursuit by Nigeria**

- First of all, it would be prudent for Nigeria to pursue cultural diplomacy more intently as it has proven to be a trusted way to build mutual understanding and cross-cultural acceptance, while advancing national development at the same time. Just like the U.S., its Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Missions abroad can be capacitated to actively and ceaselessly promote Nigeria abroad.

**Funding**

- More funds should be set aside and earmarked by the governments of both Nigeria and the U.S. for purposes of cultural diplomacy. Returns made from cultural diplomacy can be measured in monetary terms. Nonetheless, many of its benefits such as image enhancement and winning hearts and minds can be invaluable.
Documentation of Efforts by Nigeria

- The Nigerian government should be more intentional about documenting its cultural diplomacy efforts, especially through the website of its Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Through this study it became evident that though the country carries out some form of cultural promotion, most of its efforts remain undocumented and therefore appear non-existent.

Balance between U.S. Soft Power and Hard Power

- While this study acknowledges the fact that there are situations in which the U.S. will deem it absolutely necessary to wield its hard power, it could still ensure that its soft power takes precedence over its hard power. In the very least, it may wish to maintain a proper balance between its soft power and hard power.

Recommendations to the International Community

- Every country appears to have soft power or some kind of appealing trait. Countries should therefore identify these traits and leverage them for their benefit, bearing in mind that soft power is not merely a product of a country’s expertise but rather its ability to touch the hearts and lives of foreign publics and governments.

- Cultural diplomacy, as soft power, should never be used as a mere strategy to cover up grim realities or happenings in a country. Governments should not ignore unfavourable circumstances at home, hoping that their soft power will conceal them.
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