THE PROMOTION OF CULTURAL DIPLOMACY THROUGH THE USE OF AFRICAN PRINT FASHION: THE CASE OF GHANA

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LEGON JULY 2019
DECLARATION

I, Sandra Asafo-Adjei, hereby declare that this dissertation is the result of an original research conducted by me under the supervision of Dr. Ken Ahorsu, and that no part of it has been submitted elsewhere for any other purpose.

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DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to God Almighty, to whom I give all the glory for the strength and creativity He gave me in completing this research. Indeed, I am very thankful to Him for his infinite favor, mercy and grace upon me throughout the course of my study at LECIAD.
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God bless you all.
AGOA - African Growth and Opportunity Act

ASEAN - Association of Southeast Asian Nations

AU - African Union

CI - Confucius Institute

ECOWAS - Economic Community of West African States

ECTIB - Economic, Trade and Investment Bureau

EU - European Union

GIPC - Ghana Investment Promotion Centre

INGOs - International Nongovernmental Organizations

IR - International Relations

KFC - Kentucky Fried Chicken

MFARI - Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration

MNCs - Multinational Corporations

MoFA - Ministry of Foreign Affairs

MoTCA - Ministry of Tourism, Culture and Arts

NCC - National Commission on Culture

NFB - National Folklore Board

NGOs - Nongovernmental Organizations
UK - United Kingdom
UN - United Nations
UNESCO - United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
USA - United States of America
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ABSTRACT

This study is on cultural diplomacy as a form of soft power approach to diplomacy which allows countries to advance their national interests by influencing the rest of the world and their people through their embassies, celebrities, and people in the host countries using cultural elements such as fashion, music, cuisine, sports, festivals, artefacts etc. Contemporarily, cultural diplomacy has gained international recognition in promoting the socio-cultural image and economic interests of states such as tourism. The study explored the promotion of national interest through cultural diplomacy specifically, using the African Print Fashion. The research unveiled that over the years, institutions, festivals etc. and the formulation of a Cultural Policy document in 2004 have been instituted to promote Ghana’s national interest through Ghanaian cuisine, culture, music, African Print Fashion, and so on, in the form of cultural diplomacy. As a result, plausibly, Ghana’s exports in African Print Fashion, cultural artefacts, tourism, foreign direct investment, and the affable image of Ghana have been promoted. Though the study has not put figures of cultural diplomacy’s role in promoting Ghana’s national interest; the study’s significance is in highlighting the potential of cultural diplomacy in serving Ghana’s national interest. The study concluded that cultural diplomacy is an essential tool and platform for the promotion of diplomatic relations between Ghana and other states within the international system since Ghana is endowed with a very rich culture. Though endowed with rich diverse cultures, Ghana has not immensely benefitted from it due to some challenges discussed in the subsequent chapters. The recommended steps should be taken to improve dissemination of information, remove obstacles, heighten synergy and collaboration between relevant institutions, harmonize policies and create the enabling environment for the promotion of cultural diplomacy and augmentation of the gains therein.
CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Background to the Study

The world is rapidly becoming more globalized each day. It is through globalization that distances between states within the international system have been shrunk. This has encouraged a feeling of inter-connectedness of essential aspects of human life which includes, fashion, music, film, culture, trade, religion and migration, to mention a few (James & Stegar, 2017). Globalization entails a number of complex processes that builds and strengthens social inter-activities and exchanges while promoting relations between states. Globalization can also be defined as a procedure where governments, its people and institutions interconnect and integrate through trade, investments and information technology (James & Stegar, 2017).

The information technology revolution marked by the invention of the internet and a variety of social media platforms such as Facebook, YouTube, Instagram, Twitter etc. through globalization has generated into the sharing of knowledge and exchange of ideas (James, 2002). This process has had influence on economies, political systems and even on culture in countries across the globe. For instance, it is easy catching up with the latest fashion trends around the world, listening to music or watching films from any part of the world and listening to the radio or watching television to be updated on the latest news stories with the luxury of a variety of languages to choose from. In view of this, the internet provides opportunities for states to share and learn from their respective cultures. Therefore, the ability of states to interact with each other or maintain close relations through the exchange of ideas is channeled through a technique known as diplomacy.
Diplomacy is known to be a significant instrument in influencing the choices and attitudes of foreign governments, as well as its citizens within the international system. It is usually carried out through dialogue and peaceful negotiations in place of violence (Berridge, 2002). Diplomacy can be defined as an official mode of communication between states in the form of dialogue, negotiation and discussion of pertinent issues within the international system in order to arrive at agreements. It is a significant instrument in influencing the choices and attitudes of foreign governments as well as its citizens (Berridge, 2002). Some scholars like Morgenthau (2006) are convinced that diplomacy is a technique employed by states to project and promote their national interests by peaceful means.

The essence of diplomacy is to establish and maintain goodwill between states while advancing national interests and resolving issues of international concern in a peaceful way. There are a variety of diplomatic strategies often adopted by governments to achieve set goals. These diplomatic strategies have been categorized under two fields namely: Traditional diplomacy and Public diplomacy (Javaid, 2019).

Traditional diplomacy, also known as government-to-government diplomacy, is centered on attempts of officials of a state to influence officials of another state in order to make certain choices through dialogues and negotiations (Javaid, 2019). Public diplomacy is a process whereby a state seeks to build trust and understanding by engaging a broader foreign public through organizing educative and culture-related programs in a target country. Typically, these programs help the advocate country to institute a positive opinion and image in a target country that will persuade the political leaders of the target country to make conclusive decisions that are advantageous and in line with the foreign policy goals of the advocate country (McClellan, 2004).
Usually, the advocate country’s prime concern is to capture the attention of the large audience in the target country and establish awareness in the target country. Through media relations and cultural events such as art exhibitions, the advocate country is capable of building understanding in the target country. As a result, many members of the foreign audience will develop interest in the unique culture of the advocate country.

The exchange of ideas, information, art, language, fashion styles and other features of culture between states and its people in order to maintain mutual understanding and trust is done through a process called cultural diplomacy (Cull, 2009). Cultural diplomacy can be defined as a state’s goal to ensure that its cultural assets and accomplishments are recognized abroad. Some countries have pivoted on their foreign policy objectives to advance the transport of some aspects of their culture (Cull, 2009).

Today, there are organizations such as the British Council, the Confucius Institute of China, and the Italian Cultural Institute that have been created by states to project unique examples of their culture and foreign objectives; while, they align with the precision of diplomacy.

Practically, cultural diplomacy is often regarded as a subdivision of public diplomacy where the culture (which includes fashion, language, film, dance, art, music, cuisine, religion, and so on) of states are projected abroad in such a way that it meets the foreign policy objectives of the particular state. The idea is to first tackle any stereotyping against the advocate state in the target state by developing mutual understanding and pursuing national reputation and relationships across board (Lovrinić, 2018).
It is a fact that today, cultural diplomacy plays a significant role in global competitiveness for political dominance, trade, tourism and investments. Cultural diplomacy has some linkage with global competition through soft power (political) and the creative economy (economic). These constitute the socio-economic and political indication of cultural diplomacy conducted by states within the international system. It also entails a framework that allows countries to present its national and cultural identity abroad (Lovrinić, 2018).

The art of fashion undoubtedly serves as a relevant medium in channeling a nation’s identity since it has and continues to play an important role in our diverse societies around the world. It is so deeply tied to our culture and identity and binds together communities right from births to initiations, to weddings, to funerals, to adorning families and to being a source of wealth. Fashion is an aspect of the creative industry that has been capitalized by countries to create an image for themselves in the international community by setting popular fashion trends through designer clothes, shoes and accessories in order to influence the sense of fashion of the audience of their target countries (Lovrinić, 2018).

A country like France, since the 17th century has been a trendsetter in the world of fashion and has been popular for creating three types of clothing known as; *haute couture* (tailor-made clothing), *prêt-à-porter* (ready-to-wear) and lingerie. French designers like Christian Dior, Chanel and Louis Vuitton continue to explore fashion with different styles and fine fabrics made of lace, silk or any other material. France, through fashion has managed to influence its foreign audience to unknowingly encounter an integral aspect of its culture that will always be a part of their fashion sense (Lovrinić, 2018).
In the case of Britain, a lot of fashion trends before the 1900s came into existence through the royal family. A lot of fashion enthusiasts draw inspiration from the British royal family. Especially, a lot of women resorted to wearing corset in order to acquire the slim figure of Elizabeth I. And Queen Victoria’s preference for wearing black outfits for funerals became in vogue. Since then, the fashion trends in Britain have evolved rapidly (Lovrinić, 2018). Cathy McGowan, a British designer, made and introduced miniskirts in the 1960s which became very popular as it still is today. The fashion industry of Britain as at 2017 is said to have contributed 280 billion Pounds to the United Kingdom economy. The attainment of Britain in the area of fashion has helped to create a niche for them worldwide (Lovrinić, 2018).

In 2003, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan started a movement called “Cool Japan” that sought to extend the Japanese culture in a way that will make it more appealing by establishing a national image that has been built ever since the end of World War II through fashion, anime, drama, healthy Japanese meals and computer games (Lovrinić, 2018). In 2004, the Japanese Harajuku clothing was first introduced to the Western world through a music video by an American entertainer named Gwen Stefani. It has been in existence since the 1980s and is named after the Harajuku station in Japan. The Harajuku style constitutes colorful traditional Japanese attire and western clothing that is mostly patronized by the youth in Japan. Currently, the new craze of casual fashion trends across the globe includes the Japanese kimono jackets that are often worn over dresses and denim jeans (Lovrinić, 2018).

In Africa, Ghana has proven to also be a pacesetter with regards to fashion by being the indigenous producer of Kente ("Bonwire Kente Weaving Village - touringghana.com", 2019). Kente was established around the 17th century by the people of the Ashanti kingdom. It is a fact that in the troubled times of Ghana, characterized by political instability and halted development; the kente
remained the expression of the resilience of the people of Ghana. Today, *kente* is a national cloth that has gained worldwide recognition. *Kente* is used for different purposes and at different functions. Aside its beauty and color, *kente* has diverse patterns of representational meaning derived from moral values, oral literature, philosophical concepts, human behavior, individual achievements, animal life, proverbs and social codes of conduct. Some examples of these patterns are, *Afa* (meaning, I have taken it), *Ohene Anewa* (the king’s eye), *Nkyimkyim* (life is not a straight pattern), among others. Although *kente* may have different patterns, each pattern holds a symbolic meaning. Some examples are the Golden Stool symbol which denotes power or authority among the Ashantis in Ghana and the *Gye Nyame* symbol which means unless God. The *kente* cloth is very popular among students during their graduation ceremonies, with their gowns portraying a touch of *kente* particularly in some parts of Europe and America ("Bonwire Kente Weaving Village - touringghana.com", 2019).

In addition, the African Print textile is also being promoted abroad. Textiles like *adinkra*, and the African wax print materials such as *nsubura*, *akyekyede3 akyi*, *ahwene pa nkasa*, *sika wo ntaban*, among others are being patronized by politicians, fashion icons, entertainers, pastors and many more both home and abroad (Brown, 2018). It is slowly gaining influence on global fashion. The African wax print fabric continues to reflect the identity, status and even the emotional state of the wearers through color, style and adornment in diverse ways.

Consequently, the textile industry of Ghana holds a lot of potentials in projecting a sense of national identity and a source of an alternative revenue through the promotion of tourism and increased investments as in the case of the African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA) which was created to strengthen the economies of sub-Saharan African countries through improved economic relations between the United States of America and the region (Dugbartey, 2017).
AGOA offers a duty-free access to the US to allow for sub-Saharan countries to promote diversified exports and attract investments to the region. It offers beneficiary countries a competitive edge over non-AGOA countries that have to pay tariff rates when exporting goods to the US. It has been recorded that since the introduction of AGOA in 2000, Ghana’s participation has not been too encouraging with $29 million worth of exports as at 2016. And for that matter, has to understand the huge benefit of AGOA and take more advantage of the opportunity it offers. As in the case of Ghana, trade sectors like apparel, cashew, mangoes and shea are expanded through AGOA (Dugbartey, 2017).

Globally, the fashion industry, which includes world textiles and apparel exports, amounted to $296.1bn and $454.5bn respectively in 2017 (Lu, 2018). According to statistics, it appears to be a potentially beneficial industry that can be tapped in Africa.

It must be acknowledged that in Ghana’s bid to fully tap into the potentials of cultural diplomacy through its fashion, there has been the formulation of a Cultural policy document in 2004 and the organization of cultural programs by certain institutions as attempts in promoting Ghana’s fashion in order to attain results. In spite of these, the fashion industry in Ghana through its diplomatic relations with other states still remains inadequately utilized for large scale revenue and nation branding. For this reason, Ghana can do more to promote or invest in the fashion industry in order to benefit from the huge annual revenue of the global fashion industry while creating a niche for itself in the international system.

1.1 Statement of the Research Problem

In an increasingly interconnected world, there is the need for states to stand out in order to attain their goals on the global front. Relations between states within the international system offer an
opportunity to advance these interests. This is particularly true about cultural diplomacy where states seek to promote the valuable parts of their culture abroad (Cull, 2009). Ghana is rich in culturally diverse ways and has so much to offer through its cultural diplomatic interactions with other states. Through her diplomatic engagements, its unique African Print fashion (kente, adinkra, batakari, African wax print) can serve as a channel in promoting tourism that will attract foreign direct investment and boost national development while carving a niche for itself.

However, the development of Ghana’s cultural diplomacy using African Print Fashion has been very slow over the years. This is despite the formulation of a comprehensive cultural policy document enumerating ways to boost Ghanaian fashion as part of the broader plans to promote cultural diplomacy. Admittedly, successive governments over the years have put in effort to ensure the advancement of Ghana’s fashion abroad as a component of the country’s cultural diplomacy. Meanwhile, the efforts, policies and institutions put in place for this purpose, appear not to be enough. Patronage and promotion of Ghanaian print fashion abroad are still low. At the same time, academic literature purposely investigating the performance of African Print fashion as an aspect of cultural diplomacy in Ghana remains limited (Allman, 2004). This study therefore seeks to explore progress made with regards to the fashion print aspect of Ghana’s cultural diplomacy, reasons for the slow progress and the prospects for promoting cultural diplomacy by capitalizing on fashion.

1.2 Research Questions

This research seeks to investigate and find answers to the following questions:

- What makes cultural diplomacy significant in a country’s diplomatic relations?
- How significant is cultural diplomacy as an important tool in promoting Ghana’s diplomacy?
• How can African Print Fashion help promote Ghana’s national image in the international system?

1.3 Research Objectives

The objective of this study is to:

• Explore the importance of cultural diplomacy;
• Examine the extent to which Ghana’s government and private sector support and prioritize cultural diplomacy; and,
• Ascertain the prospects and challenges surrounding the promotion of cultural diplomacy through African Print Fashion.

1.4 Scope

For this study, African Print Fashion constitutes apparels and accessories made with kente, adinkra, batakari and African wax prints. The study also focuses on Ghana’s use of African Print Fashion in cultural diplomacy from 2004 to 2018. The Cultural Policy of Ghana, under the authorship of the National Commission on Culture was established in 2004 and can serve as a yardstick to a possible examination on the role African Print Fashion has played in Ghana’s diplomacy from 2004 to 2018.

This research investigates what Ghana may have achieved as well as challenges it may have encountered, using African Print Fashion in its’ cultural diplomatic relations for the past 14 years since the formulation of the Cultural Policy document.
1.5 Rationale

The aim of promoting national interest and foreign policy objectives of countries is to establish and maintain a socio-economic and political feat in the international system. It is for this reason that this study seeks to bring the attention of governments on the need to pay more attention to soft power in pursuing their national interests. Cultural diplomacy definitely is a means to achieve this. Hopefully, this study will add up to existing knowledge on the subject in academia and serve as a reference to policy makers and future research.

1.6 Hypothesis

The promotion of cultural diplomacy by capitalizing on African Print fashion creates an opportunity for states to carve a niche for itself within the international system while pursuing their national interest.

1.7 Conceptual Framework

This study adopts the concept of soft power as the underlying framework for analysis. The concept of power is vital in relations between states within the international system. A dominant trend in the global world today is the desire of states to sustain their power as a means of influence or control in order to stay relevant in international politics. Power can be defined as the ability to successfully set, reach and maintain a goal (Turcsányi, 2018). Power can also be referred to as the ability to influence and have an effect on others in order to arrive at desired results. It entails certain capabilities or resources whether tangible or intangible for which states leverage on when pursuing an objective. These capabilities of power have been categorized into two fields namely; hard power and soft power (Nye, 1990).
Hard power employs the use of rewards or threats (i.e. carrots and sticks) through military and/or economic means. As a matter of fact, it involves getting a body to behave in a manner that is in line with one’s preference usually through coercion (Jain, 2018). Typically, hard power is measured by a country’s population size, territory, geography, natural resources, military force and economic strength. Contemporary examples of hard power include the sanctions against both Iran and North Korea. The former was recently sanctioned by the UN, EU and US as a means to stop Iran from continuing with its nuclear weapon program while the latter was sanctioned by US only, for the same reason (Jain, 2018).

Conversely, soft power is positioned on the capacity to impact the desire of others without resorting to violence, force or threat. Instead, it can be done through intangible resources like culture, reputation, education, language, and values that are considered lawful or possess moral influence. In short, it entails things that make people love a country rather than fear it and requires things that are often the products of people, institutions, foreign policies and brands as opposed to only governments (Nye, 2018).

Some examples of soft power include institutions like the British Council establishing trust in target countries by organizing cultural, educational or English language programs that encourage new ways of experiencing the British culture through development of arts and creativity. As a result, the English language is currently spoken by approximately 25% of the world’s population. The British Council, which has about 191 offices in 110 countries, is the leading cultural relations organization in the world with the aim of encouraging togetherness and to attract people to work in the UK ("British Council | Ghana", 2019).
Another example of soft power is the cultural influence of Hollywood (the entertainment industry in the US) through music, movies, fashion, and so on, that has been championed across the globe. A research conducted as at 2017, records that the American movie industry alone is faintly developing than the general economy of the country with about $43.4 billion which has risen within the past 5 years (Robb, 2018).

Some scholars believe that the techniques of soft power have gained recognition in contemporary international relations unlike the hard power approach. Whereas the power of soft power lies in perseverance and sustainability, the approach of hard power cannot stand the test of time due to the constant dynamics of the world order (Wagner, 2014).

The term “soft power” was first coined in 1990 by Joseph Nye who believed that when states are able to attract and influence other states to share in their desired outcomes without necessarily adhering to the use of force or cohesion then that state has an effective soft power (Nye, 1990). Nye (1990) argues that in a globalized world, states are rapidly becoming interdependent on one another for economic reasons and for that matter, the need for military strategies is unfeasible. More so, Nye further argues that advocates of soft power believe that although there may be a fall in the use of hard power in the international system, states must adjust their intention of power, though not completely rubbing out military prowess. Instead, they ought to invest in the untapped potential of soft power (Nye, 1990).

According to Nye (2004), there are several techniques that states can employ when pursuing soft power in both international and domestic relations. In order to attain an effective soft power, he urges states to strengthen long-standing relations with other states for a conducive environment in making policies. A strategy, like governments constantly communicating decisions that they are
yet to take or have taken not only to domestic media outlets but to international media goes a long way in building soft power. Nye (2004) maintains that building friendship among states and citizens of other states is crucial in diplomacy. Hence, this approach can strengthen soft power through the organization of programs that promote cultural exchanges between states.

Soft power has been criticized by proponents of Realism such as Kenneth Waltz, Hans Morgenthau, Edward Hallett Carr, among others, who believe that hard power is preferable in pursuing national interests. Realism is a school of thought that believes that the international system is anarchical and for that matter, human nature is portrayed by the grapple for state survival and pursuance of national interest as conflict is inevitable when power is being contested (Fernandes, 2016).

In addition, regardless of Nye’s argument on soft power, there have been some limitations of soft power that has been pointed out by some academic scholars. Ferguson (2009) believes that, the USA is currently recognized within the international system as a hegemon based on its military capabilities, and its stupendous budget on defense which has been allocated to political establishments and economic growth. According to him, soft power as a means to attain national interest is “too soft”. Though people in other countries may enjoy McDonalds or find delight in Hollywood movies or music, it does not insinuate that they admire USA as a country. Ferguson (2009) asserts that the only way the USA can accomplish its national interest is by possessing some significant components of power like, crude oil, guns, money, and the like.

Another critic of soft power, Gray (2011), is convinced that unlike soft power, hard power is a better choice in pursuing the foreign policies of a state. He is confident that soft power is flawed as it only hinders the potentials of military and economic prowess of a state. He acknowledges the
fact that there is a decline in the use of hard power by states. However, it still remains one of the essential mechanisms in attaining foreign policy objectives. He also insists that warfare is a part of human experience since not all conflicts can be resolved by non-military measures such as diplomacy.

In spite of these criticisms, the concept of soft power is relevant to this study because of its capability as a suitable method in guiding cultural relations between states. Since culture, according to Nye is one of the essential pillars of soft power, Ghana over the years, has engaged in cultural relations with foreign audiences which appears to be in line with Nye’s soft power. It has and continues to serve as a strategy of the county in a bid to promote tourism and attract foreign investments into the country for national development by influencing or attracting others using its rich cultural elements like clothing, cuisine, music, festivals, and so on.

1.8 Literature Review

Ever since the 1648 Treaty of Westphalia, states all over the world have engaged in diplomatic relations to pursue their national interests. Since the Treaty of Westphalia, there have been a number of scholarly works that have touched on emerging techniques in the maintenance of good relations between states and projecting a positive image within a much globalized international system while advancing foreign policy objectives.

In “Culture and Globalization Related to International Relations”, (Ghosh & Sarkar, 2013) define International Relations (IR) as the “study of relationship between states within the international system which involves the roles of states, intergovernmental organizations (IGOs), international nongovernmental organizations (INGOs), nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) and multinational corporations (MNCs)” (p. 6). According to Ghosh & Sarkar (2013), international
relations is a multi-faceted area of study that draws from various fields like “international law, history, geography, philosophy, economics, social work, sociology, anthropology, psychology, gender studies and cultural studies” (p. 8).

Furthermore, culture can be termed as “the human-made part of the environment that provides the patterns, meanings and knowledge of human activity socially and in relation to the world” (Ghosh & Sarkar, 2013, p. 11). Culture, according to (Ghosh & Sarkar, 2013), is crucial in every society because it guides values, views of the world and the composition of human relations. Ghosh & Sarkar (2013) argue that culture actually has an impact on the decisions of leaders and limits the actions of governments when making certain decisions. In effect, they are of the view that culture is an important factor that leaders consider when making foreign policies.

The authors posit that in critically analyzing IR, one will realize that IR in a broader perspective entails the interactions of diverse cultures. Through this, international organizations such as UNESCO and ASEAN have gained a lot from promoting cultural diplomacy and cultural internationalism (which is a concept that the world can and should be committed to communication through cultural activities across national borders).

Nonetheless, Ghosh & Sarkar (2013) contend that in a progressively interconnected and interdependent world, appreciating and accepting diverse cultures is made less difficult. Here, the authors go ahead to define, globalization as “a process of increasing the connectivity and interdependence of the world’s markets and businesses” (p. 11). Ghosh & Sarkar (2013) are convinced that globalization promotes technology, effective communication and motivates the use of popular products. And that apart from this, it links cultures and IR in different ways; whether “economically, socially or politically, and so on” (p. 15).
To conclude, the authors assert that IR has utilized globalization to get to the point where it is prepared to accept diverse cultures. They are certain that culture, globalization and international relations are becoming more interdependent of each other and having them at the fingertips helps a nation and its people to acquire power and control within the international system.

The work of Ghosh and Sarkar is relevant to my study because it highlights the importance of culture in a globalized world of international relations. The authors however, did not discuss extensively how states can promote cultural diplomacy and capitalize on it to pursue its national interest in a globalized economy. My study seeks to fill this gap by studying how states, using Ghana as a case study, can advance its foreign policy while employing cultural diplomacy as a channel.

In *Diplomacy: Theory and Practice*, Berridge (2002) first defines diplomacy as a significant means of interaction between states within the international system in order to arrive at agreements. Berridge (2002) highlighted the relevance of diplomacy when he pointed out that diplomacy serves as a means for states to promote and acquire its foreign policy goals in a manner that does not call for violence or propaganda. Berridge (2002) asserts that diplomacy is carried out not only by experts in the field but by private individuals under the directions of officials.

He argues that for a state to execute diplomacy effectively in its relations with other states, it must be managed by a ministry usually identified as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MoFA). According to Berridge (2002), the MoFA plays a role in monitoring a country’s diplomatic relations with other states through which the practices of traditional diplomacy is employed alongside the embassies and their diplomatic missions abroad. For instance, missions abroad foster cordial relations between states and negotiate on official issues on behalf of its governments and its
peoples with authorities of the host country. This will ensure that the policies and the interests of their governments and issues of developments in their countries are well-deliberated on with the authorities of the host country.

Berridge (2002) posits that the MoFA does not only conduct traditional diplomacy (government-to-government diplomacy) but conducts non-traditional forms of diplomacy such as public diplomacy. Even though in his work he refers to public diplomacy as another name for propaganda, he mentions the importance of public diplomacy in projecting a state’s image through radio and television broadcasting and its cultural diplomacy programs. However, Berridge (2002) cautions governments to pay particular attention to foreign media correspondents whose reports can influence a state’s image in the international system. Furthermore, Berridge (2002) encourages states to pay peculiar attention to public diplomacy in its diplomatic activities just as the US did by merging its Information Agency with its State Department in 1999 which allows for public diplomacy officials to be linked to regional bureaus.

The definition of public diplomacy by Berridge (2002) as a euphemism for propaganda has been contested by Nye in his work, Public Diplomacy and Soft Power (Nye, 2008). Nye (2008) argues that pessimists who opine that public diplomacy is just another name for propaganda are misconstrued due to the fact that propaganda is often unreliable and is actually misleading in order to promote a political view. On the other hand, public diplomacy constitutes the public relations of states that go a long way to project a positive image while building deep-rooted relations between states. This usually results in the creation of a conducive environment for pursuing national interests as well (Nye, 2008).
Despite the fact that the author underlined the essence of public diplomacy and how it is employed through broadcasting information of states to a foreign audience as well as organizing cultural programs, he was silent on some challenges associated with implementing it. Since my study covers cultural diplomacy which is a fragment of public diplomacy, my work seeks to fill this gap by addressing the challenges associated in carrying out cultural diplomacy by states.

In “Beyond the Nation Brand: The Role of Image and Identity in International Relations”, Anholt (2013) defines brand in three ways. First, brand can be termed as “designed identity” of a commodity; second, it is used to refer to the culture of the establishment behind the commodity; and third, brand represents the “products or a corporation’s reputation” in the judgement of the target audience (p. 1) In addition, Anholt (2013) highlights the definition of nation branding as efforts of shaping positive images of states through marketing communications.

The author argues that the notion of nation branding is only a fallacy because it is impossible for a nation to carve a reputation by resorting to strategic marketing communications. According to him, a state can only by judged by its actions and not words (Anholt, 2013). Anholt (2013) is convinced that countries that possess features of a “well-organized, effective and efficient structures, processes and mechanisms”, are more likely to attract a better perception of themselves in the international system (p. 3). He posits that if a state is committed to promoting its image internationally, it should focus on product expansion and marketing independently instead of merging it with the idea of branding. The author further argues that “relevant ideas, products and policies of countries slowly boost the image of the country that produces them” (Anholt, 2013, p. 3).
Furthermore, Anholt (2013) opines that in a congested global market, most organizations and people do not have the time to learn much about other places. He asserts that people are too occupied with themselves and their own country to worry about other countries. To Anholt (2013), even the “nicest packaged commodity of a country or even a large amount of money that a country invests in promoting its image will still not make that country relevant in the lives of foreigners” (p. 3).

In conclusion, the author posits that, there are some stereotypes associated with countries whether positive or not that affects how people react to it and products from there. For instance, when we think of Japan, technology comes into mind or for Rio de Janeiro, carnival and football come into mind. However, when we think of Africa, we imagine “poverty, corruption, war, famine and diseases” (Anholt, 2013, p. 3). Anholt (2013) maintains that these stereotypes may seem “unfair but there is nothing that can be done about it” (p. 3).

I disagree with the position of (Anholt, 2013) that people are too busy thinking about their countries and have no interest in learning about other countries. States within the international system are interconnected in that, via diplomatic interactions states are able to help develop each other through the establishment of international organizations such as the UN, EU, AU, ECOWAS, and so on. Also, countries can transform any negative image of them into a positive one with the right choices and a sound cultural diplomacy agenda.

In addition, the author mentioned that images of poverty, war, famine, corruption and diseases are attached to the perception people across the globe have of Africa. My study seeks to change these perceptions of Africa by portraying that Africa and for that matter, Ghana has a lot to offer. And that the potentials of Ghana go beyond such negative images. Just like Japan has carved a niche
for itself, in the area of technology, Ghana is capable of projecting a positive image through its cultural products like fashion and others such as music, film, and so on.

In “Korea’s Wave as a Tool for Korea’s New Cultural Diplomacy”, the authors, (Jang & Paik, 2012) acknowledge that there has been an “influx of Korean popular culture” (p. 196). From a tiny part of East Asia, the Korean pop culture, according to the authors, advanced to other parts of the world like East Asia, South-East Asia, Europe and the Americas. They assert that Korea’s popular culture is also termed as the Korean Wave which constitutes “television dramas, movies, popular music, dance and to a smaller extent, video games, food, fashion, tourism and language” (Jang & Paik, 2012, p. 196). The Korean Wave was coined by the Chinese press when “a popular idol group known as H.O.T” performed at a concert in Beijing (p. 196). Jang & Paik (2012) highlight the fact that, Korean’s pop culture has widened from Asia to acquire more global audiences in the “Middle East, Africa, Europe and the Americas” ever since it began exporting its television dramas to China in the late 1990s (p. 196).

The authors are of the view that, Korean Wave began with television dramas when for the first time “Winter Sonata” was well-received by foreign audiences in Japan and China (Jang & Paik, 2012, p. 198). Later in the 2,000s, young idol groups, movies and other cultural elements of Korea followed. The Korean Wave practically spread across the globe through the internet and social media. Again, Korean TV dramas such as Dae Jang Geum popularly known as “Jewel in the Palace”, created a window of opportunity for other TV dramas in China, Japan and Southeast Asia (Jang & Paik, 2012, p. 198). The TV drama, “Jewel in the Palace”, was a true life story of an orphaned girl who struggled her way to becoming the king’s chief physician in the 16th century Chosen Korea (Jang & Paik, 2012, p. 198). Through this drama, the fashion of the Chosen royal court, the architecture and cuisine at the time attracted global audience to enjoy and appreciate
Korean traditional culture. The drama was first aired in Taiwan in 2004, after which it was aired in Hong Kong and China with high ratings in both countries. The drama has so far been aired in “China, Vietnam, Israel, India, Sweden, Russia, Colombia, Romania, Nigeria, Hungary, USA, Bosnia, Canada, Australia, Peru and New Zealand.” (Jang & Paik, 2012, p. 198)

More so, Jang & Paik (2012) argue that the Korean drama (K-Drama) is loved for various reasons all over the world. The Americans find it “relaxing and cheerful” while the Europeans feel that “the plot is uncomplicated and romantic” (p. 198). The Asians on the other hand, find it as “an opportunity to find trending lifestyles they wish to copy” (Jang & Paik, 2012, p. 198). Also, the Muslim countries find the drama “safe” in the sense that, there is a “subtle display of romance and affection without resorting to overt sexuality” (Jang & Paik, 2012, p. 198).

Jang & Paik (2012) contend that the Korean Wave is embedded in the cultural features of music and dance in Korea. They go on to say that Korea had endured pain from Japan colonizing them for over 35 years. Immediately after the end of the Japanese colonialism, the Korean War followed. It shattered the Korean social and economic structures. Korea then decided to catch up with the rest of the world through economic and cultural means and imported foreign culture such as “Buddhism, Confucian teachings and Chinese writings and traditions.” (Jang & Paik, 2012, p. 199)

The authors further argue that Korea was longing to be globally involved in economic development. However, two events took place that changed the terrain for South Korea and promoted the Korean Wave. In 1988, South Korea hosted the Olympic Games in Seoul. This plunged the country into brand recognition, international partnerships and strengthened its national image (Jang & Paik, 2012). Nonetheless, within that year, Korea allowed Hollywood to promote its movies directly through Korean theaters, and this crumbled the Korean film industry. By 1994,
“foreign visual contents earned over 80% of the local market” (Jang & Paik, 2012, p. 200). Subsequently, a report from the Presidential Advisory Board on Science and Technology, displayed how the “Korean economy can benefit from their culture based on the premise that if Hollywood movies like Jurassic Park could generate as much as 1.5 million Hyundai cars, then why can’t Korea benefit in the same way?” (Jang & Paik, 2012, p. 200). Due to this, the Korean government went as far as seeking financial investment from corporate giants like “Hyundai, Samsung and LG, shortly after, Korean cultural product found its feet again in the cultural industry and could enjoy its profits” (Jang & Paik, 2012, p. 200).

To conclude the authors are of the opinion that the Korean Wave creates an opportunity for its government to capitalize on newly emerging cultural and public diplomacy while advancing its national image and national brand in a globalized world (Jang & Paik, 2012).

The work of Jang & Paik (2012) is very relevant to my dissertation because it is in line with the main intents of my work that seeks to portray how cultural products like fashion and others such as music, movies, cuisine and so on can promote cultural diplomacy and serve as a channel to enhance national image and generate alternative revenue for economic development.

In “Geopolitics and Soft Power: Japan’s Cultural Policy and Cultural Diplomacy in Asia”, Otmazgin (2012) defines cultural diplomacy as “a wide range of governmental initiatives, programs and discourses designed to promote the country’s culture, tradition, language, or art” (p. 40). According to Otmazgin (2012), cultural policy may be executed in “the form of public support for public monuments, museums, zoos, libraries and archives, battle fields”, and so on (p. 40).

Also, the author defines cultural diplomacy as “the application of a state’s cultural policy abroad through the exchange of ideas, information, culture and the arts” (Otmazgin, 2012, p. 41). He
asserts that its essence is to implore the interest of a vast variety of foreign audience with the intention to change or refine their opinions of a particular country.

Otmazgin (2012) argues that, Japan after learning from the West established its cultural diplomacy (bunka gaiko) as a plan to pursue its national interest although they were less influential during the post-war era in propagating its culture for fear that it may rekindle memories of them forcing their culture on other parts of Asia in the past. Its cultural policy and cultural diplomacy in Asia has changed considerably over the past 100 years.

The cultural diplomacy of Japan during its empire-building period is in contrast with its post-war cultural policy because it was executed at a period when Japan wanted to reposition itself from a military power to a non-military power that is particularly interested in developing its economy. Its cultural policy gave attention to the economic and diplomatic purposes under such slogans as “soft power” and “cool japan” which were created to increase the export of cultural elements and to project a more appealing image of the country abroad (Otmazgin, 2012).

Otmazgin (2012) opines that in April 2005, the Japanese government inaugurated a new vision named “Japan’s 21st century vision” that was to target at becoming “a culturally creative nation” by 2020 (p. 50). The vision states that Japan would have to invest in its technology, tradition and creative assets as well as intensify free exchange of culture in order to promote a new global position. Presently, a wide range of cultural products like “animation, comic books, music, fashion, television programs, magazines, movies” and other popular cultural products have been accepted by the “cultural markets of Asia” and has now become an intrinsic part of the culture of a lot of people within the region (Otmazgin, 2012, p. 51).
In conclusion, the author posits that soft power in Japan has served as an engine to examine its cultural policy, thereby contributing to national diplomacy. Otmazgin (2012) in his work further argues that there is no doubt that combining cultural exports with soft power is advantageous for the producing country as they give a more appealing and kinder image of the country abroad. He contends that culture can generate economic value for the producing country through direct or indirect income from exports by encouraging tourism. According to Otmazgin (2012), the Japanese experience shows that “cultural policy and diplomacy is not secluded from a country’s geopolitical position and ambitions within the international system, irrespective of the political system under which it operates” (p. 37).

This literature is relevant to my work because it touches on how states can thrive on cultural diplomacy and soft power as a stepping stone to boost a positive image abroad and generate revenue through its cultural products.

In the “Ghanaian Kaba: Fashion that Sustains Culture”, Gott (2010) asserts that the Ghanaian Kaba is worn in 3 different ways in the Ashanti Region. First, it is worn as a two-piece by wearing two unlike yet complementing cloths for the upper and lower parts of the body. It is called *dansinkran* which is named after the popular Asante *dansinkran* hairstyle. The *dansinkran* is mostly worn by queen mothers, elderly women and chief mourners at Asante funerals. Second is the three-piece *kaba* which is sewn as *kaba* blouse, a sewn or wrapped skirt and a third cloth and is often wrapped as a cover skirt or used to tie a stylish headgear. The third is usually worn by young women and girls who depending on the occasion, mood or their stage of life, opt for sewn dresses, skirts and tops using African Print cloths.
Gott (2012) argues that, the name *kaba* originated from “West- Africa’s coastal pidgin trade languages as a local version of the English word *cover* which was introduced by the British colonials” (p. 13). Due to the difficulty of the locals to pronounce the word *cover*, they resorted to calling it *kaba*. The author further argues that at that time, the term *cover* insinuated that when women wear their cloths, they had to cover certain parts of the body such as the breasts and thighs, hence the term *cover* which is now known as *kaba*.

In the Ashanti region of Ghana, according to the author, *kaba* is quite popular in every woman’s closet because of the prestige it attracts and its economic worth of African-print cotton textiles used for the Ghanaian *Kaba*. The Asante term for fabric outfits is known as *ntoma* or what the English call, cloth (Gott, 2010). The two locally produced types of *ntoma* (cloth) are *kente* and *adinkra*. Kente is “a hand-woven silk cloth which is affiliated to leadership” while adinkra a “cotton design with hand-strapped designs of deep symbolic meanings” (Gott, 2010, p. 14). The third and most worn category of *ntoma* is the African wax print cloth which was first developed by European textile companies particularly for West and East African countries. These other manufactured fabrics are called materials; it is a term that constitutes “polyesters, cotton, linens and so on which are used for tops, pants, skirts and dresses for young women and girls” (Gott, 2010, p. 14).

To conclude, Gott asserts that the African-Print *kaba* costume has maintained its state as the most highly accepted form of outfit for women. In the words of the author, “*Kaba* is our national custom. It’s our real Ghanaian dress… To dress well is to dress in cloth” (Gott, 2010, p. 18).

This literature is relevant to my work because it highlights how African Print Fashion is an element of the Ghanaian culture which possesses rich economic wealth. In spite of this, there is little
literature on African Print Fashion and diplomacy. My dissertation therefore seeks to fill this gap by drawing the attention of states to how cultural elements like fashion can be capitalized on to promote cultural diplomacy.

1.9 Sources of Data
The research employs both primary and secondary sources of data. The primary sources constitute semi-structured interviews with resourceful personnel from institutions that matter to the study. The respondents include Mrs Bernice Deh, the Deputy Director of the National Commission on Culture, Mrs. Mabel Cudjoe of the Ministry of Tourism, Culture and Arts, Mr Emmanuel Badger of the Ghana Investment Promotion Centre (GIPC), an official at the National Folklore Board (NFB), an official of the Economic, Trade and Investment Bureau at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and Regional Integration, Amb. Baah Duodu, who is a retired Ghanaian ambassador, Opanyin Kobina Ebo, a vendor at the Accra Art Centre, Samantha Mhlanga, a foreigner I met at the Art Centre, Mr Prince Darkey, one of the organizers of TV3’s Ghana’s Most Beautiful Pageant as well as Ghanaian fashion expert and consultant, Francisca Adamikie Pobi Asiedu. Secondary sources include books, journal articles, reports, websites and documents from the Balme library and LECIAD library.

1.10 Research Methodology
The study utilizes a qualitative method of research. Qualitative researches are constructive, interpretative, and inductive. It gives a detailed analysis of different opinions on the subject (Ospina, 2004). The qualitative interview for this study will employ purposive and snowballing sampling technique. While purposive sampling technique is a deliberate selection of informants due to relevant knowledge or information they possess for the study, snowballing sampling technique helps already existing respondents recruit more respondents from among their
acquaintances. It is significant because it helps the sample size of the study to grow like a rolling snowball.

Semi-structured interviews will be conducted with the respondents of which questions will be asked along the objectives of the research. The interview will be recorded and manually transcribed.

Before conducting interviews, ethical considerations will be respected by first, seeking the consent of the respondents for anonymity and confidentiality sake. Throughout the study, interviewees who prefer to remain anonymous will be captured as “officials”.

1.11 Organization of Chapters

This study is presented in four chapters. Chapter one consists of the introduction of the study which entails the background to the study, statement of problem, research questions, objectives of the study, rationale of the study, the hypothesis, conceptual framework, literature review, sources of data, research methodology and the arrangement of chapters. Chapter 2 explores an overview of cultural diplomacy. Chapter three also investigates Ghana’s commitment so far in promoting cultural diplomacy through its fashion together with the prospects and challenges associated with it. Chapter 4 constitutes the summary of findings, conclusions and recommendations.
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CHAPTER TWO
AN OVERVIEW OF CULTURAL DIPLOMACY

2.0 Introduction

The practice of diplomacy has not been static over the past years. Ahead of the World War II, diplomacy was relevant in the maintenance of government-to-government relationships. However, it has extended since the war to include a government-to-foreign audience connection which is presently known as public diplomacy (Rodney, 2006). This chapter explores the history, evolution and practice of diplomacy over the years; while reviewing how states within the international system use cultural products like language, music, cuisine, sports, and so on, as a medium in pursuing their national interests.

2.1 The origin and evolution of diplomacy

Diplomacy has been practised since time immemorial. And the capacity to practise diplomacy is one of the major requirements of states. It is an important technique that states employ in implementing foreign policies and advancing national interests, particularly through non-violent means. Practically, the use of the military to implement foreign policy is applied only when diplomacy fails (Marks & Freeman, 2019). Diplomacy has been defined as a political activity that entails communication between state officials aimed at promoting their foreign policies either by “formal agreement or tacit adjustment” (Berridge, 2010, p. 1). The art of diplomacy began during the earliest ages when man lived in caves and thought it prudent to establish understanding and trust among neighboring groups. It was noticed that no negotiation could reach an acceptable outcome if emissaries sent from one group to deliver a message to the other neighboring groups were killed on arrival upon the slightest provocation (Mazrui, 2019).
Nonetheless, modern diplomacy commenced with the Westphalian treaty of 1648 which ended the Thirty Years’ War (Nigro, 2006). The Byzantine Emperors were the first to establish a special department that was to oversee the external affairs of the empire at the time and went ahead to train professional negotiators to serve as ambassadors to foreign courts. The creation of the world’s first Foreign Affairs Department attracted strict and complex diplomatic protocols to assist in intelligence gathering, considering the hostility that surrounded the empire during that period (Nigro, 2006).

Since then, the art and practice of diplomacy transitioned and took different dimensions for Italian cities, France, Spain and eventually, the whole of Europe by the 19th century. Through diplomatic relations with other states, ambassadors and their embassies were given the authority by their home countries to pursue and implement foreign policies. However, restrictions were placed on embassies in their relations with the ordinary citizens of the receiving state which was enshrined in the Havana Convention of 1927 as non-interference in the internal affairs of the host country (Rodney, 2006). Also, in 1961, diplomatic missions were given certain privileges which allowed for diplomats to perform their functions without fear of coercion or harassment by the host country and this was codified in the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations of 1961 (“Legal.Un.Org”, 2019).

Following World War I, the art of diplomacy shifted from secrecy, elitism and bilateral agreements to openness, competency and multilateral agreements which reinforced the practice of modern diplomacy (Rousseau, 2019). Some scholars including President Woodrow Wilson are of the view that the World War I could have been averted if diplomacy was conducted differently back then (Kissenger, 1994).
The Cold War which marked the world for more than four decades after World War II also introduced new dimensions of diplomacy due to the bipolar world perspective associated with it. After the Cold War, the practice of diplomacy has been influenced by high-speed communication technology, rapid transport systems, and global activities which allows for diplomacy to broaden in such a way that it was no longer employed by only states but by non-state actors as well. Consequently, this has led to the adoption and use of information transfer and exchange of cultural programs (which emerged victorious in World War II) to advance the foreign policy objectives of states (Baylis, Smith & Owens, 2017).

In pursuing national interests, states have utilized traditional diplomacy which entails the ability to regulate relations and negotiations between governments (Snow & Taylor, 2008). Nonetheless, there is currently a more contemporary tool used by states in pursuing diplomacy. It has to do with states engaging the citizens of target countries in order to strengthen and maintain relations between the two states and to have an impact on the opinions, actions and attitudes of the target audience while advancing national interests and values. This process is known as public diplomacy. It is usually executed through organizing educative and culture-related programs in a target country by engaging the broader foreign public (Gregory, 2008).

For instance, before the outbreak of World War II, the British Foreign Service established the British Council to improve British cultural relations with foreign countries and went ahead to fund and provide resources for the activities of the British Council. Till today, the British Council exists and continues to build and manage its cultural relations often through its radio and TV broadcasts to foreign states. As a result, the British Council through the support of the Foreign Service has over the years been a vital element of British public diplomacy (Rodney, 2006).
2.2 Historical Overview of Cultural Diplomacy

Although cultural diplomacy has existed as a practice for centuries, diplomats, scholars and non-state actors in the field of international relations have only recently popularized the term. In the opinion of the Institute of Cultural diplomacy (2019), “explorers, travelers, traders, teachers and artists can all be considered as living examples of informal ambassadors or early cultural diplomats” (para.1). Undoubtedly, people from different cultural backgrounds who interact with one another engage in all forms of cultural exchange in areas such as “fashion, art, literature, sports, cuisine, music, economy, business, science, inter alia” (“Welcome to the institute for cultural diplomacy”, 2019, para. 1). However, these interactions form a portion of what cultural diplomacy entails.

Typically, the creation of regular trade routes facilitated the frequent exchange of information, cultural gifts and provided a platform where traders and even government officials could be expressive on tales of their culture. These forms of cultural and communication exchange shaped the earliest illustrations of cultural diplomacy (“Welcome to the institute for cultural diplomacy”, 2019). All through history, the constant interaction between people from different walks of life coupled with the “exchange of language, religion, ideas, arts and societal structures have strengthened relations between people of diverse backgrounds” (“Welcome to the institute for cultural diplomacy”, 2019, para. 3).

The practice of cultural diplomacy can be traced to the pre-colonial era when slave trade was rampant, particularly in Africa. During that period, “nations exchanged largesse through trade, education, culture, religion and other practices to coordinate cordial relations between each other” (Twumhene, 2014, para. 1). Prior to colonization, Europeans such as the British and the Portuguese who came to Africa were successful in projecting their cultural and foreign policies through “trade,
religion and educational institutions” by building and strengthening relations with the foreign countries they came into contact with (Twumhene, 2014, para. 1). Consequently, they used these as a channel to promote their country’s cultural values in order to sustain long term relations with these other countries (Twumhene, 2014).

Since colonial time, this form of diplomatic practice encouraged the export of cultural values, languages, and political authority which prepared the minds of their interlocutors to accept them as people who have the interest of their countries at heart. Concisely, cultural diplomacy in the early days was used as a means to promote European culture in Africa and some parts of Asia in order to institute a long-term relationship and advance their country’s interest by imposing their culture and political authority on foreign countries.

The history of cultural diplomacy cannot be mapped out without making reference to the Cold War era when the super powers (Soviet Union and USA) at the time sought to influence the opinions and ideologies that people in foreign countries had of them following the ideological rivalry between them. Nonetheless, cultural diplomacy in modern times can be trailed to the 1930s when the U.S Department of State founded the Division of Cultural Relations and simultaneously organized a program designed to promote cultural and educational exchange between the United States and various Latin American countries. This act served as a new approach to conducting relations between states (Katzenstein, 1997).

In the early stages of the Cold War, the U.S government, used a host of private organizations, churches and foundations, as tools to portray American values and consumer goods, bringing to the fore a full and fair picture of American life to Europe and eventually to the Third World. Both Soviet and American policymakers realized that to “win the minds of men” in Europe and to
convince people of the “right” ideology, they had to appeal more to their cultural identity than to their political identity (Gienow-Hecht & Donfried, 2010).

Both superpowers deliberately employed cultural infiltration backed by psychological principles of attraction to weaken the opponent and its allied states on the other side of the Iron Curtain. As a result, cultural productions became the most effective tool to pursue ideological goals and strategies during the Cold War. Between 1945 and 1989 there was an influx of educational exchange programs, grants to American-sponsored schools abroad, among others (Bukh, 2014). On grounds of the propaganda that ensued between the two superpowers which concerned Europe and the division of Germany, Soviet and American policymakers dedicated more time, more activities, and more money to the “cultural cold war” in Central Europe, particularly Germany, than in any other region or continent (Bukh, 2014).

The end of the Cold War led to intense awareness for the promotion of international peace by most states through the pursuit of cultural diplomacy. In effect, institutions such as Goethe Institute, United States Cultural Centre, Alliance Française, Confucius Institute, Japan Foundation, Italian Cultural Institute, Korea Foundation were set up by their respective governments with the aim of promoting understanding, trust and friendship in target countries by conveying a comprehensive image of their countries through language, arts and organizing cultural and educative programs that encourages an enabling environment for intercultural dialogue. All of these, serve as a medium in advancing their national interests and foreign policy objectives (Finn, 2003).

2.3 Definition of Cultural Diplomacy

The term cultural diplomacy was coined by Milton Cummings as the “exchange of ideas, information, values, systems, traditions, beliefs and other aspects of culture with the intention of
fostering mutual understanding” (Einbinder, 2013, p. 8). However, other scholars, academics, policy makers and practitioners have had their own definitions and frameworks for the practice.

In "Cultural Diplomacy: An important but Neglected Tool in Promoting Israel’s Public Image", Appel, Irony, Schmerz & Ziv (2008) define cultural diplomacy by first acknowledging that the concept of culture though broad, provides a variety of fields that fall under the meaning of cultural diplomacy. For example, culture entails “literature, the arts in general, customs, habits and traditions, human behavior, history, music, folklore, gestures and social relationships” (Appel, Irony, Schmerz & Ziv, 2008, p. 8). Therefore, the communication between two states through the exchange of any of these fields is known as cultural diplomacy. Primarily, cultural diplomacy is a process of interaction usually between two states in a bid to promote a nation’s image and values among other foreign audiences and serves as an avenue for states to use these cultural values to promote tourism which undeniably generates revenue for national development (Appel, Irony, Schmerz & Ziv, 2008).

The work of Rivera (2015), “Distinguishing Cultural Relations from Cultural Diplomacy: The British Council’s Relationship with Her Majesty’s Government”, refers to the Oxford English Dictionary’s definition of culture as “both the art and other manifestations of human intellectual achievement regarded collectively” and “the ideas, customs, and social behavior of a particular people or society” (p. 8). More so, these “manifestations include all forms of arts, educational opportunities, language, ideas, food, religion, sport, and more” (Rivera, 2015, p. 8). In view of this, the author argues that cultural diplomacy is a form of diplomacy where states use culture as a channel to network with the target audience of other states as a technique to pursue foreign policy objectives. Rivera (2015) further argues that in employing cultural diplomacy, certain programs such as cultural and educative exchange programs, tours, arts exhibitions, and so on, are usually
targeted at individual citizens or groups. The author opines that these programs are outlined in a manner that clearly assists in advancing foreign policy objectives and the national interest of states.

The work of Mark (2009), “A Greater Role for Cultural Diplomacy” defines culture as various elements in the area of “visual arts, literature, theatre, dance, music and cultural expressions that have been the preserve of the intellectual elites” (p. 5). The author opines that cultural diplomacy though regarded as a fragment of public diplomacy, constitutes how states utilize culture in promoting their foreign policy objectives as it also plays a role in improving national image and branding abroad. Mark (2009) is convinced that governments aside advancing their national interests through cultural diplomacy also seek to build and maintain mutual understanding with other governments and “to combat ethnocentrism and stereotyping” (p. 9).

In “Cultural Diplomacy as a Form of International Communication”, Ryniejska- Kieldanwicz (2009), describes culture as “defined classes of objects, phenomena and processes or certain types of behaviors or elements which are common for members of a certain society and communication within it” (p. 3). Ryniejska- Kieldanwicz (2009) also maintains that the art and culture of countries are usually at the frontline of its promotional efforts. This goes on to portray that these countries understand that their “cultural heritage provides them with an opportunity of showing who they are, creating a positive image, and helping to achieve their political aims” (p. 2). More so, cultural diplomacy is a form of communication where governments convey information about themselves to other states usually through “language teaching, educational exchanges, exhibition and presentations” which are employed to attain their national interests (Ryniejska- Kieldanwicz, 2009, p. 4).
The “Unrealized Potential of Cultural Diplomacy: Best Practices and What Could Be, If Only”, defines cultural diplomacy as “the exchange of ideas, information, art and other aspects of culture among nations and their peoples to foster mutual understanding” (Schneider, 2009, p. 261). The author posits that “arts, culture and media are breaking down barriers, destroying stereotypes, and increasing understanding across cultures” (Schneider, 2009, p. 261). Hence, a government’s deployment of culture as an instrument in practising diplomacy is characterized by “unlimited potential to penetrate political barriers and build connections, even under adverse circumstances” (Schneider, 2009, p. 262). Schneider (2009) argues that cultural diplomacy is significant because it portrays that “civilizations do not clash, they interact” however, it is crucial that these interactions are encouraged (p. 276).

In analyzing the five different scholarly definitions of cultural diplomacy mentioned above, it is evident that all scholars agree that cultural diplomacy entails the exchange of cultural elements like language arts, sports, religion, and so on by governments in target countries through organizing cultural and educative programs and art exhibitions as a medium in advancing their national interests. Aside the fact that all the scholars admit that engaging in cultural diplomacy promotes a mutual understanding between states while projecting a positive image, a few of these scholars posit that cultural diplomacy creates an avenue for states to promote nation branding.

They are convinced that the increasing use of cultural diplomacy by states and non-state actors enhances their international profile to aid in gaining competitive advantage in exports, foreign trade, attracting foreign direct investment and promoting tourism. For instance, France has gained much international recognition and respect for its expensive perfumes, good wine and famous fashion brand names such as Dior and Yves Saint Laurent. Other scholars in their definition believe that cultural diplomacy through organizing art exhibitions and cultural exchange programs, among
others breaks down barriers of understanding and trust while combatting the issue of stereotyping among states (Mark, 2009).

Though there are multiple definitions of cultural diplomacy, the definition of cultural diplomacy in the work of Appel, Irony, Schmerz & Ziv (2008) is closer to my interpretation of cultural diplomacy and will therefore be used for this study because it allows for a multilateral perspective which focuses on state interests and the promotion of tourism for national development.

2.4 The Employment of Cultural Diplomacy in Pursuit of National Interest

Cultural diplomacy has become a strategic tool for states to enhance the promotion of arts, traditions and customs in attaining foreign policy goals. Many programs have been developed to promote cultural diplomacy thereby building and maintaining friendly relations while pursuing national interests. This section focuses on how some states within the international system have utilized cultural products such as language, cuisine, sports and music as a mode in advancing foreign policies and influencing the opinions of other nationals to gain international recognition and respect.

In “Confucius Institute Project: China’s Cultural diplomacy and Soft Power Projection”, Pan (2013) asserts that, cultural diplomacy is a medium which is used by states to advance their soft power. Soft power refers to “the ways in which a nation’s cultural resources constitute a form of power that enhances, or even substitutes military and economic strength” (Pan, 2013, p. 23). Pan (2013) opines that some examples of soft power are “the attraction of normative values, media, business practices, education and language” (p. 23).
According to Pan (2013), cultural diplomacy is an effort of states to manage the international system by making their cultural assets and accomplishments known abroad. The author argues that based on the outcome of a research conducted by the Berlin-based Institute of Cultural Diplomacy there are different ways of regulating cultural diplomacy. They are:

i. state-sponsored cultural diplomacy, which is often used by governments for distinct political purposes;

ii. independent or semi-independent cultural diplomacy institutions, such as the British Council and the Goethe Institute, which take an informative and exchange-based approach to the promotion of national culture; and

iii. potential cultural diplomacy channelled by academic institutions or individual artists, academics or professionals involved in academic exchanges and cooperation (Pan, 2013, p. 24).

Pan (2013) further argues that in this case, the Confucius Institute (CI) project is a form of cultural diplomacy designed to accelerate “economic growth, cultural dialogue, and political trust between China and the rest of the world” (p. 25). The author contends that the Confucius Institute was named after a Chinese philosopher known as Confucius around 551-479 BCE. China’s education has been a product of “Confucian ethics and values ever since Confucius built the first school in China around 521 BCE” (Pan, 2013, p. 25).

The author opines that, at the time of Qing Dynasty, the primary objective of Chinese educational institutions was to transmit Confucian ethics and values which constitutes moral principles of “loyalty, filial piety, humanity, love, faithfulness, harmony and peacefulness (zhong, xiao, ren, ai,
Pan (2013) opines that the motivation of the Confucius Institute (CI) project portrays the People’s Republic of China’s (PRC) acknowledgement that language teaching is an instrument in promoting cultural diplomacy as it focuses on “building relations, enhancing socio-cultural understanding and the promotion of trade and foreign investment” (p. 25). After China’s economic reforms which allowed that it opened up to the West, China endeavored to augment economic opportunities and attract foreign investment. Nonetheless, China noticed that “the issue of lack of Chinese language proficiency and understanding of Chinese culture were challenges that hindered foreign direct investment in China” (Pan, 2013, p. 25). For this reason, China in 1987, “dispatched Chinese language teachers to foreign countries to solve the issue at hand” (Pan, 2013, p. 25). Through this, the Chinese Language Council International (Hanban) was established to organize and facilitate Chinese language programs abroad under the auspices of the Ministry of Education.

According to Pan (2013), Hanban in 2004 launched the CI project aimed at “developing Chinese language and culture teaching resources and making its services available worldwide, meeting the demands of overseas Chinese learners to the utmost degree, and contributing to global cultural diversity and harmony” (p. 25). Furthermore, China’s active involvement in the global economic market resulted in intense international demand for learning Chinese language and culture.

The author maintains that China noticed that other countries were promoting its cultural diplomacy through institutions like “British Council, Alliance Française, Spain’s Instituto Cervantes and Germany’s Goethe Institute” (Pan, 2013, p. 25). It then decided to establish its “own chain of
institutes” to promote Chinese language and culture abroad. Due to this, the Hanban has made some initiatives to regulate the teaching of Chinese language in foreign countries including “preparing teachers to teach Chinese to non-Chinese speakers, developing Chinese language teaching materials and establishing radio, television and internet-based Chinese language distance education programs” (Pan, 2013, p. 25).

The author concludes by contending that China’s use of CI is an opportunity for China’s policy on diplomacy and foreign policy to be recognized through a cultural approach using friendly programs to combat certain opinions that other states have of their political system.

Chapple-Sokol (2013) in his work, “Cultural Diplomacy: Breaking Bread to Win Hearts and Minds” posits that food is generally an integral aspect of “our lives, representing history, traditions and culture” (p.161). The potential interdependence that exists between food and nationalism guides us to eventually regard it as a prospective tool in diplomatic relations. The author maintains that the “art of entertaining foreign diplomats and envoys with one’s national cuisine is as old as diplomacy itself but as an institutionalized method to conduct diplomacy it is still new and relatively untested” (Chapple-Sokol, 2013, p. 162).

Chapple-Sokol (2013) is convinced that this new tool of diplomacy is identified as culinary diplomacy. He defines culinary diplomacy as “the use of food and cuisine as an instrument to create cross-cultural understanding in the hope of improving interactions and cooperation” (p. 162). Furthermore, the author is of the view that culinary diplomacy is a subset of public diplomacy but more particularly a fragment of cultural diplomacy. According to Chapple-Sokol (2013), there is a contrast between food diplomacy and culinary diplomacy as they are of different concepts. He argues that food diplomacy employs “food aid as a medium of reaching out to the public to combat
global hunger” (p.162). Countries like the USA have utilized food diplomacy as a means to eradicate poverty. However, this form of diplomacy goes beyond the field of culinary diplomacy.

Chapple-Sokol (2013) maintains that culinary diplomacy can be traced to the emergence of modern diplomacy which manifested in France. French diplomat Francois de Callières drew attention to the strength and relevance of modern diplomacy and its link to cuisine. He stated that “an ambassador’s table should be served “neatly, plentiful and with taste” (Chapple-Sokol, 2013, p. 164). Charles Maurice de Talleyrand- Périgord, in March 1814 was to welcome Russian Tsar Alexander I to Paris, and asked a cook named Antonin Carême to serve food to the French delegation and their Russian visitor. As the ongoing meeting was to restore friendly relations with countries within Europe after the era of Napoleon, Carême impressed the Russian delegation with delicious cuisine, such as “gateau Nesselrode” and a “Charlotte Russe in honor of Tsar Alexander I” (Chapple-Sokol, 2013, p. 165). However, the Russian delegation during the meeting voiced out their love for their own national cheese but ended up being amazed when Talleyrand served the “Brie de Meaux” brought by Carême and this incident restored France’s image in Europe.

Chappel- Sokol (2013) in his work contends that France’s contribution to the history of culinary has been acknowledged by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) by including “French cuisine on its list of Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity” as a cuisine that strengthens relations, social interaction and promotes intercultural dialogue (p. 165). He further argues that the ability of states to institute culinary diplomacy programs is a display of its soft power and cultural interaction which gives nations with “less military, political or economic strength” the opportunity to make an impact within the international system (Chapple-Sokol, 2013, p. 174). Thus, culinary diplomacy is a powerful tool that less recognized nations can use to put their countries on the map and to prove that they have a lot to offer. The author postulates
that over the past decade, a number of countries in South-East Asia have instituted culinary diplomacy campaigns that will catapult them into international recognition.

In the opinion of Chapple-Sokol (2013), the government of Thailand between 2002 and 2003 initiated a program named “Global Thai.” The aim of the project was to maximize the number of Thai restaurants around the world. After the program was declared, *The Economist* proposed that the increase in the number of Thai restaurants across the globe will not only improve the economy but will “subtly help to deepen relations with other countries” (p. 174).

In addition, the Thai government launched the “Thailand: Kitchen of the World” project which is coordinated by the Foreign Office of the Government Public Relations Department. The objective of the project is to “teach the history and practice of Thai cuisine both in Thailand and abroad, as well as to give a special “Thailand’s Brand certificate to Thai restaurants abroad that satisfies the criteria of Thailand’s Ministry of Commerce” (Chapple-Sokol, 2013, p. 174).

Chappel-Sokol (2013) is convinced that this act of nation-branding has given Thailand international recognition and motivated a lot of Thai chefs to open restaurants abroad. In order to monitor and improve the quality of restaurants abroad, the Thai government has established a brand to certify these restaurants. The program has undoubtedly been successful with “5,500 restaurants at the launch of the campaign to 9,000 by 2006 and to 13,000 in 2009” (p. 174). The Global Thai and Kitchen of the World programs have portrayed another aspect of culinary diplomacy that renders it as an example for not only cultural and political pursuit but economic interests as well.
More so, Chapple-Sokol (2013) is assertive that Thailand’s program encouraged the government of South Korea to follow suit. In April 2009, the Korean government initiated a program called “Korean Cuisine to the World” which was worth US$ 44 million. The program is aimed at “making Korean food one of the five most popular ethnic cuisines in the world” (p. 175). This was to be implemented by “increasing the number of Korean restaurants abroad and instituting international cooking programs at international cooking schools such as Le Cordon Bleu and the Culinary Institute of America, and cultivation of Korean celebrity chefs” (Chapple-Sokol, 2013, p. 175).

The initiative was spearheaded by South Korea’s Ministry for Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries. Chapple-Sokol (2013) states that South Korea’s Vice Minister of Food on record said that, “Ultimately, the plan aims to offer more and better opportunities for people across the world to relish hansik (Korean food) and understand Korean culture” (p.175).

To conclude, the author points out that cultural diplomacy is a potentially multi-faceted tool of diplomacy. With culinary diplomacy as a sub-division of it, countries are able to use cuisine as a means of telling a story about their culture in order to facilitate good relations among themselves while pursuing its national interests.

In Sports as Cultural Diplomacy: The 2010 FIFA World Cup in South Africa’s Foreign Policy, Ndlovu (2010) argues that “football was a highly contested space during the struggle for national liberation in South Africa” (p. 144). The anti-apartheid movement won a resounding victory when South Africa was suspended from FIFA in 1961. This made the country inactive in international football until 1992. During the era of apartheid, the nation decided to employ its diplomacy in order to pursue minor reforms aimed at ending international isolation.
According to the author, in 1970, Prime Minister John Vorster declared a new sport policy which revealed that Europeans and non-Europeans (i.e. Africans, Indians and Coloureds in apartheid language) would be permitted to compete against each other as individuals in open international events (i.e. the Olympic Games, the Davis Cup, and so on) however, they will not be allowed to take part in racially integrated South African national teams. *The Washington Post* of 5 April, 1973 quoted Baron Enk von Frenckell, a Finnish member of the International Olympic Committee as saying, “I believe this means that it will only be a matter of time before South Africa will again be admitted to the Olympic Games” (Ndlovu, 2010, p. 144).

Ndlovu (2010) asserts that countries like Nigeria did not support this policy. Furthermore, a Nigerian, Adebayo Olukoshi, believes that sports has been a very crucial and efficient tool in Nigeria’s foreign policy ever since the nation’s independence from Britain in October, 1960. The author also makes reference to the first secretary of the Nigerian Football Association, Oroc Oyo, who recounted how African delegates rebelled against Stanley Rous, the English President of FIFA since 1961 and instead voted for João Havelange, a Brazilian in the 1974 FIFA presidential elections. Oyo outlined that Havelanges’ intention was “to put an end to ostracizing South Africa because it was time for African football to be recognized” (p. 145). More so, Nigeria used sports in pursuit of its foreign policy objective in 1976 when it “boycotted the Montreal Olympic Games (along with 26 African countries and Iraq) in disapproval of New Zealand’s continuous sporting relations with South Africa which goes against the principles of the 1977 Gleneagles Agreement” (Ndlovu, 2010, p. 145).

Ndlovu (2010) posits that while negotiations to end apartheid were ongoing in the early 1990s, South Africa’s foreign policy and diplomatic relations was not static. After sometime, South Africa incorporated the foreign policy of the post-apartheid government which entailed the promotion of
international relations through “trade, finance, culture and sports” that will be beneficial to the nation as a whole (p. 145). The elected political leaders of post-1994 South Africa pivoted on this and maintained the use of sport diplomacy to advance the country’s Africanness and promote its soft power.

Ndlovu (2010) opines that, most interpretations of the 2010 FIFA World Cup ignore the historical context of South Africa and do not notice the manner in which Pan Africanism has guided the country’s foreign policy. The Deputy President at the time, Thabo Mbeki in his address to South African ambassadors in September 1995, explained South Africa’s duties within the continent when he said,

“There are also expectations from Africa...Despite our own limitations and problems, it is our objective to make a significant contribution to ensuring peace, democracy and respect for human rights and sustained development. These principles are fundamental to our foreign policy” (p. 146).

The position of Ndlovu (2010) on the foreign policy of South Africa is that it targets the fundamental projection of the nation’s dedication to hosting a successful 2010 FIFA World Cup on behalf of the people of Africa. He further argues that South Africa’s FIFA World Cup initiative was regulated by “the African philosophy of humanism, or ubuntu” (p. 146). The doctrines of “ubuntu” came from the Zulu proverb, “umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu” which means, “you are person because of other people” (p. 146). This adage foregrounds the relevance of “communalism and human solidarity to African values” (p. 146).

Ndlovu (2010) highlights Thabo Mbeki’s welcoming address at the 2010 World Cup South Africa, at the Kickoff Workshop in Cape Town on 24 October when he said,
“Every day as Africans we speak of the need to respect the dignity of all human beings and embrace the universal values of ubuntu, of compassion and human solidarity. I must presume that we speak as we do of the vital importance of the sustenance of the values of ubuntu, because the experience of human savagery directed against us is deeply embedded in our collective memory” (p. 147).

Also, in his victory speech after FIFA awarded South Africa hosting rights for 2010, Mbeki maintained that it is an African objective that the World Cup will be regarded as an “African World Cup” hosted in collaboration with all the other African countries. His interpretation of African Unity was extended to Africans living abroad to feel part of the “African World Cup” (Ndlovu, 2010, p. 147).

With the fall of apartheid and the rise of a multi-racial democratic South Africa, cultural diplomacy was going to be a very important tool in the promotion of the new South Africa, branded “the Rainbow Nation”, in the consolidation of the Ubuntu Philosophy, and the organization of the 2010 FIFA World Cup. The author concludes by contending that the 2010 FIFA World Cup has been recognized as an act of cultural diplomacy that portrays how Pan-Africanism has impacted the foreign policy objectives of South Africa through a cultural element like sports.

In “Cultural Diplomacy Harmonizing International Relations through Music”, Einbinder (2013) argues for “the promotion of music as a cultural diplomacy instrument to improve intercultural communication and cooperation between the peoples of the world” (p. 32). Einbinder (2013) points out that though music is defined differently by societies, most of the definitions are based on “some consensus of opinion about the principles on which the sounds of music should be organized” however, the general thing about music is that, “no culture exists without any form of music” thus,
music is a “humanly organized sound which is a product of the behavior of human groups, whether formal or informal” (p. 32).

According to Einbinder (2013), cultural diplomacy became an intrinsic part of a state’s foreign policy during the Cold War era. It was used by the United States during the Cold War as a means to project a better image abroad; and went ahead to employ music as a backbone of its public diplomacy. During this period, cultural diplomacy was principal in US Foreign policy.

Einbinder (2013) maintains that the United States Department of State defines cultural diplomacy as “the direct and enduring contact between peoples of different nations designed to help create a better climate of international trust and understanding in which official relations can operate” (p. 25). Furthermore, during the ideological rivalry between Soviet Union and USA, culture was deployed to “express American influence and power against the Soviet ideology” (Einbinder, 2013, p. 25). In attaining this, the US Department of State began to pursue a better image abroad by “organizing academic exchanges and cultural exchanges such as the Fulbright program, organizing conferences across the world, promoting international music tours and exporting American culture through literature, arts and science” (Einbinder, 2013, p. 26). However, during the Cold War, the tools that were mostly used to promote cultural diplomacy were “ballet and music” (Einbinder 2013, p. 27).

Einbinder (2013) further argues that music as a tool of cultural diplomacy was used to accentuate the “power and attractiveness of American culture and values” (p. 27). Heeding to the recommendation of Adam Clayton Powell Jr, the US Department of State in 1950, established the “Jazz Ambassadors” program as a musical diplomacy project to connect with peoples across the world through music” (Einbinder, 2013, p. 26). Subsequently, the Department of State financed
“international music tours of well-known American jazz musicians such as “John Birks Gillespie famously known as “Dizzie Gillespie”, Louis Armstrong, Miles Davis, John Coltrane or Duke Ellington” (Einbinder, 2013, p. 26). The State Department noticed that sending these jazz musicians to the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe was “a weapon in the battle against communism” (Einbinder, 2013, p. 27).

Einbinder (2013) asserts that on October 24, 2003, the former Secretary-General Kofi Annan during the celebration of United Nations Day at the United Nations Headquarters remarked that,

“Music can capture a wide range of feelings, go to the essence of things and speak to the soul. It has the power to bind us together and strengthen our sense of community through shared emotions” (p. 4).

The next year, in an introductory speech for a lecture entitled “Why Music Matters”, Kofi Annan retained his earlier position when he said that,

“In a world of diversity where often values clash, music leaps across language barriers and unites people of quite different cultural backgrounds. And so, through music, all peoples can come together to make the world a more harmonious place” (p. 4).

In conclusion, drawing from the efficiency and effectiveness of music as a tool of cultural diplomacy, employed by the US during the Cold War to project a positive image of the country and to defeat the ideology of communism, it is safe to say that music is a powerful tool of cultural diplomacy that can be used by states to attain their national interests and should not be undermined. In “Nollywood: A Viable Vehicle of Public Diplomacy in Nigeria”, Fafiolu (2013) asserts that public diplomacy is termed as “government sponsored programs for the purpose of influencing public opinions in foreign countries” (p. 22). According to the author, Nigeria is a country located in West Africa and is well known for its abundantly rich cultural heritage that is spread across the
diverse ethnic groups within the country. Fafiolu (2013) is convinced that the culture of Nigeria is shaped by its multiple ethnic groups. The country’s cultural elements include, language, marriage rites, burial rites, birth rites, dressing, greeting, music, folklore, religion and other tangible cultural materials, natural sites and cultural landscapes.

The author argues that in Africa, Nigeria is the most populated country however, irrespective of its dense population, it is not a sufficient marker to show the strength of a nation. Aside this, Nigeria has recently had to deal with issues of security which have caused some major challenges in its socio-economic and political areas. Hence, it is crucial for Nigeria to reshape and promote a better image within the international system. It is against this backdrop that Fafiolu (2013) maintains that Nigeria’s film industry which is also referred to as Nollywood can serve as a medium that can restore its image globally, generate income that will boost the economy and be a medium to advance its national interest.

She further argues that Nollywood was established in the colonial era. It began with Yuroba film makers such as Ogunde Huber and Balogun Ola in the 1960s who are known to be the pioneers of the film industry. Nollywood is said to be the “third largest film industry in the world, after Hollywood and Bollywood” (Fafiolu, 2013, p. 22). Nigerian films are well-known for its diverse languages which plays an integral role in portraying the Nigerian culture. Movies from Nigeria are very much acknowledged globally and even outsell other movies from different parts of the world (Fafiolu, 2013).

Fafiolu (2013) asserts that Nollywood became popular in 1992 after “Living in Bondage”, a movie produced by Kenneth Nnebue was sold out. The author contends that Nigerian films have gone far and wide to the extent that “Multichoice, a cable television business, offers channels devoted to
Nigerian films” (p. 22). Furthermore, the author opines that one has had the opportunity to travel around the world and had conversations with different people, he or she will realize how much Nollywood and soccer have raised the flag of Nigeria higher. She goes on to say that, certain actors have also projected a good image of Nigeria abroad due to their good image performances and are also regarded as “cultural ambassadors” (Fafiolu, 2013, p. 23). Some examples of these actors are; “Genevieve Nnaji, Rita Dominic, Richard Mofe Damijo, Jim Iyke, Stella Damascus, Omotola Jalade Ekeinde, Desmond Elliot”, and so on (Fafiolu, 2013, p. 23).

In conclusion, the author is of the view that Nollywood serves as an avenue for Nigeria to pursue its foreign policy objectives to project its culture abroad, build and strengthen relations between states and also creates opportunities of economic gains for the country since it travels across national borders. It is for this reason that Fafiolu (2013) believes that Nollywood is a powerful tool in influencing foreign audience to love and accept Nigeria’s rich culture.

2.5 Conclusion

Indeed, cultural diplomacy plays a crucial role in building relations among states in contemporary international relations as it serves as an effective instrument in advancing foreign policy objectives of states. It is evident that countries discussed in this chapter have not only gained international recognition and respect through their diplomatic engagements in cultural products such as language, music, sports and cuisine but have also benefited economically.
REFERENCES


CHAPTER THREE

GHANA’S COMMITMENT TO PROMOTING CULTURAL DIPLOMACY THROUGH ITS AFRICAN PRINT FASHION

3.0 Introduction

Cultural diplomacy currently is a preferred form of diplomacy that best projects the values of a state as it aims at enhancing relations among countries within the international system (Diplomacy, 2005). In the previous chapter, a few countries were discussed concerning the attainment of their foreign policy objectives through their engagement in cultural diplomacy.

It is obvious that cultural diplomacy is a recent phenomenon in Africa due to the conditions of slavery, colonialism and apartheid. Upon attaining its independence in 1957 as the first sub-Saharan African country to become independent, Ghana was a pioneering nation in the promotion of cultural diplomacy when in 1957, its first Prime Minister and later President, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, first issued a cultural policy document which was later revised in 2004. Relying on expert interviews with personnel from institutions that are relevant to the study as well as appropriate secondary sources, this chapter focuses on Ghana’s efforts in utilizing cultural diplomacy as a means to advance her national interest through its African Print Fashion. Also, the chapter analyses what Ghana stands to achieve in dealing with its fashion as an instrument that promotes its cultural diplomatic relations while discussing the challenges associated with it.

3.1 Ghana’s Traditional Garments

The Republic of Ghana, formerly known as the Gold Coast, is a West African country which is a former colony of the British Empire. The country attained its independence on 6th March, 1957 to be the first country in sub-Saharan Africa to gain independence. Ghana is bordered by Burkina Faso to the North, Togo to the East, Cote D’Ivoire to the West and to the South, the Gulf of Guinea.
The country is endowed with a rich culture that extends to over 100 ethnic groups. The largest of these ethnic groups are Akan, Moshi- Dagbani, Ewe and Ga (Long, 2019).

Ghana is divided into 16 regions (as at February, 2019) that have traditional garments unique to them. These outfits carry the traditions, customs and history of the people and have certain designs, symbols, patterns and fabrics that are exclusive to them. The traditional outfits of Ghana are the kente, smocks (batakari), adinkra and the African wax print materials. All fashion items such as jewelry cloths bags, shoes etc. made out of these traditional garments constitute Ghana’s African Print Fashion.

3.1.1 Kente

The kente is a hand-woven piece of fabric that is colorful with symbolic patterns. Kente is usually strip-woven. In Ghana, there are three main types of weaving. The Gonjas and other ethnic groups within the northern parts of Ghana have been centres for mass production of kente textiles. In northern Ghana, strip weaving is done by using simple colors like cream, indigo, black and white (Nationalclothing.org, 2019). The Ewe ethnic group in the southeastern part of the country also engage in kente weaving. Their form of weaving is known as adanudo which is also referred to as kente and is made using double woven bands that contrast with the single- weave background. Furthermore, the Asante kente cloth is made from strips in a single weave with alternating double-woven panels such that when the strips are sewn together, the effect looks as though it were a checkerboard. The Asante kente is known for its bright colors and abstract motifs. It is usually named after historic figures, events and Asante values. The kente design, kyeretwie, or leopard catcher, for example, symbolizes courage while abrewa ben or wise woman indicates respect accorded older women in the Asante society (Nationalclothing.org, 2019).
3.1.2 Adinkra

Adinkra was first introduced to the Asantes in 1818 when the Asante king defeated and killed Adinkra, the rebellious leader of Gyaman, near the current border between Ghana and Ivory Coast. The life of the king’s son, Apau was spared on the condition that he teach the Asantehene’s cloth makers how to make the cloth that the Gyaman king was wearing when he was killed. Those cloth makers were located at Asokwa, and the town became the official source of the Asantehene’s adinkra cloth even till date. Adinkra is made by stenciling patterns onto cloth using badie, a black dye made from the bark of a tree ("A List of 70 African Adinkra Symbols and Their Hidden Meanings", 2019).

The background cloth is usually made of similar pieces sewn together with brightly colored nhwemu stitching to form a larger piece. The patterns of the adinkra cloth are composed of distinctive symbols, each of which has a specific meaning. The symbols are named after important figures and events and also after proverbs. The most popular Adinkra symbol is the (minnsuro obiaa) Gye Nyame, or (I fear no one) except God, symbol whose name is often given simply as Gye Nyame or except God. Though it symbolizes courage, Ghanaian Christians consider it a symbol of their faith as it denotes the power of God. Another example of the adinkra symbol is sankofa which means to go back and get it. It is usually presented as a stylized heart shape or a bird with its head turned backwards while its feet face forward. Adinkra in the past, was used only in mourning. However, it has evolved over the years to being worn for all occasions and its symbols are now being used on cups, stools, t-shirt, and so on ("A List of 70 African Adinkra Symbols and Their Hidden Meanings", 2019).
3.1.3 African wax print

The African wax print is popular in West Africa particularly due to its large patronage in Ghana, Nigeria and Senegal. Though worn mostly by citizens of the countries, there are a number of these prints that are unique to Ghanaians as it is named after the designs and patterns on the cloths. These names are in the Ghanaian local dialect- *twi*. Examples are *s3 wob3 ka me ho as3m a fa akonya tinaase* (if you will talk about me sit down). This cloth has its designs that look like a stool hence its name. Another example of the wax print is *sika wo ntaban* (which means money has wings and can fly away if not handled well). The design of the cloth has birds in flight thus, the name (Quartey, 2015).

3.1.4 Batakari (Smock)

The batakari is also a national garment of Ghana that originated from the northern part of Ghana. It is made from a fabric called the Gonja cloth which is dyed and woven by hand. It is designed to look like a shirt and is usually worn by men however there are also smock designs for women. The smock can also be “*dansika*, *fugu*” or “*batakari*” (Nationalclothing.org, 2019).

3.2 Ghana’s Efforts so far in Promoting Cultural Diplomacy through its fashion

Ghana has had various political governments and its economic heritage is intricately tied to its culture and traditions. The leadership structure before colonial times was established on a strong foundation of traditions, customs and values. The culture and identity of indigenes were inseparable and activities in trade and politics were conducted based on mutual respect ("Cultural Diplomacy in Africa", 2019).

Democracy and politics have evolved within the country and has allowed for the establishment of a partisan state that includes traditions, customs, culture, and so on, in national development. In
boosting the development of the nation, governments have engaged in diplomatic activities as a method of advancing their national interests ("Cultural Diplomacy in Africa", 2019).

Article 40 of the 1992 Constitution underpins the fundamental principles that guide the nation’s foreign policy objectives by developing and maintaining diplomatic and cultural relations with other countries. More so, institutions such as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration, Ministry of Tourism, Culture and Creative Arts, the National Commission on Culture (NCC), the Ministry of Trade and Ministry of Information have been mandated by the executive arm of government to carry out its mission and vision from the grassroots, decentralizing its operations well into the various regional and district levels of culture, locally and internationally ("GCNet", 2019).

The bulk of Ghana’s revenue is derived from the export of traditional cash crops, followed closely by the tourism sector. In order to generate a lot of revenue and simultaneously enhance the image of the country internationally, the Ministry of Tourism, Culture and Creative Arts in conjunction with MFARI organize several activities and programs for the Ghanaian diaspora through the various Ghana Missions abroad ("Diaspora Initiative Engagement of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration", 2019). For instance, during National Day, Ghana’s Missions abroad usually organize art exhibitions, and display a variety of delicious traditional cuisines to commemorate the day.

Furthermore, Ghanaian ambassadors who present their letters of credence to the President of the country they have been assigned to, are usually cladded in either kente, batakari or African wax print designs and this goes a long way in portraying our culture through traditional garments that are unique to us. Apart from this, it expresses our national identity and even attracts the interest of
foreigners due to its beautiful colors ("President Akufo-Addo presents credentials to 22 new ambassadors - Government of Ghana", 2019).

More so, the Ministry of Tourism, Culture and Creative Arts in conjunction with the National Commission on Culture have over the years organized the National Festival of Arts and Culture (NAFAC) which seeks to bring together stakeholders in the Arts and Culture Industry where they interact, showcase talents of fashion designers, sculptors, weavers, film makers, etc. through art exhibitions while projecting the values of Ghana’s cultural heritage ("National Festival of Arts & Culture opens in Accra", 2016).

In 2004, the government launched the “National Friday Wear Program”, an initiative that sought to portray Ghana’s identity through the use of locally manufactured fabric and designs that will be worn to work every Friday. This encouraged private companies, schools and the public sector to opt for Friday wear for their workers and students, respectively. The promotion of made in Ghana textiles was an attempt at reviving the textile and clothing industry. The program also served as a medium to generate income as the locally made cloths would be exported under the African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA) ("National Friday Wear Programme launched", 2004).

Moreover, the Akufo-Addo led-government has launched the Year of Return Campaign both in the US and in Ghana. It is a campaign that aims at encouraging Africans in the diaspora to visit Ghana and reconnect with their culture and roots. The program runs through from July to August and offers an opportunity for Africans to have a feel of Ghana’s tourist sites, taste Ghanaian dishes, wear and patronize Ghanaian traditional wear, as well ("Year of Return – Ghana, 2019).
Also, the MFARI in its bid to promote made in Ghana goods abroad have organized a “2nd Made-In- Ghana Bazaar” at the AICC from 26th to 28th July 2019. The program will have exhibitions of different embassies within the country. Traders at the exhibition whose goods were of standard quality were supported by the Ministry and later sent abroad to compete with the international market for revenue (The 2nd Made-in-Ghana Bazaar, 2019).

In addition, the Ghana Tourism Authority under the auspices of the Ministry of Tourism, Arts and Culture and its agencies have launched the “See Ghana, Eat Ghana, Wear Ghana and Feel Ghana” campaign, which is targeted at evoking the spirit of nationalism through, our traditional food, clothes, music, beautiful sites” (Dzaho, 2019). This campaign is an attempt at rebranding Ghana’s historic sites and market Ghana in order to promote tourism and attract foreign investment. The former Minister of Tourism, Culture and Creative Arts, Hon. Catherine Afeku in her speech during the launch stated that, Ghana’s tourism has a lot to offer through its exciting cultural products. Furthermore, she maintained that, Ghanaians are mindful of the fact that the creative and cultural industries have made a positive impact on economies all over the world. For this reason, the Ghanaian creative and cultural industries should be revitalized for smooth operation and effective results (Dzaho, 2019) hence, the creation of the “See Ghana, Eat Ghana, Wear Ghana, Feel Ghana” campaign.

Over the years, the kente has been promoted during the swearing-in of Presidents from President Rawlings down to the current President. These Presidents as well as officials who grace the occasion are seen in different colorful designs and patterns of kente, batakari or African wax print materials. It only reiterates that these traditional outfits add to the Ghanaian identity and attract dignitaries from other countries to appreciate and respect our rich cultural heritage.
Aside the fact that states and non-state actors (which includes, NGOs, multinational companies, and so on) often facilitate diplomatic relations; there is an increasing trend of public figures engaging in the field of diplomacy. These public icons are now regarded as “influential actors” within the international system due to their “ability to reach popular and elite audiences while building authority, legitimacy and influence that has an impact on local and global processes of governance” (Richey & Budapin, 2016, para. 1).

These icons also serve as ambassadors and activists in various ways with regards to promoting the cultural diplomacy of their states. Through them, a state’s cultural elements such as clothing, music, sports, to mention a few are often projected to foreign audiences in target countries. An example such an icon is Ghana’s first Prime Minister (and later, President), Dr Kwame Nkrumah who in 1957, together with his colleagues “stood at the Old Polo Grounds in Accra on the eve of Ghana’s political independence to declare the country’s freedom from British Colonial rule” (Arku, 2019, para. 1). While addressing the nation, Nkrumah and his colleagues were adorned in one of Ghana’s traditional garment- batakari. This signified the starting point of Ghana’s quest to portray the African and for that matter, the Ghanaian personality as proof that Ghana has something to offer which is uniquely African (Arku, 2019).

Also, ex-President Jerry John Rawlings during his tenure as president was fond of wearing Batakari (Fugu) to state functions, state visits and international conferences. Due to this, Batakari became recognized both internationally and locally as “a symbolic Ghanaian attire of great importance” (Dotse, 2010, para. 10). It also became a formal dress code for political leaders, ambassadors, corporate workers etc.
Another personality who through her musical concerts and music videos has promoted Ghana’s rich *kente* both home and abroad is the popular Queen Asabea Cropper known for her highlife music genre. She has a massive fan base not only in Ghana but in other countries and is always seen adorned in Ghana’s rich *kente* which undoubtedly attracts or influences her fans both locally and internationally to patronize the *kente*. Recently Queen Asabea Cropper who is an advocate for *Kente* during the launch of *Kente* Festival in Accra asked “Ghanaians to revisit the concept behind the weaving of the traditional *kente* cloth and take inspiration from it in order to continue to live as united people” (Nutsugah, 2013, para. 1).

Furthermore, occasions like festivals help to portray Ghana’s diverse culture through clothes, music, food, and so on. Usually, dignitaries from other countries are invited and sometimes in the course of the celebration are clothed in *kente* or batakari by their hosts which are later given to them as gifts. The regalia of chiefs like the Asantehene of the Ashanti Kingdom and the Ya-Na of the Northern part of Ghana during festivals, whom are respectively dressed in rich *kente* and *batakari* is such a beautiful sight that attracts the interest of foreigners who end up purchasing these before leaving the country as proof of the rich culture and traditions they encountered on their visit to Ghana.

More so, Ghanaians in general have promoted the *kente*, *adinkra*, *batakari* and African wax print materials during important occasions such as wedding ceremonies, naming ceremonies, church service, graduations and other fashion accessories like wrist bands, necklaces, purses, etc. and have even gone as far as using the fabrics for interior decorations for their homes and offices.

All of these instances of Ghana’s state institutions and public figures promoting cultural elements like clothing, music, cuisine, festivals etc. while engaging with foreigners does a lot to not only
change certain perceptions people have of Africa and for that matter Ghana but also shows that Ghana has a lot to offer as a nation.

3.2.1 National Cultural Policy Document

Globalization is slowly taking over interactions between states within the international system. Due to this, it is crucial for states to seize this opportunity to utilize soft power in building and fostering friendly relations that will pave way for potential benefits that are in line with their national interests. And there is no other appropriate method to attain this than through the use of cultural diplomacy. Culture plays a role in influencing public opinion through increasing the cultural appeal of states ("Importance of Cultural Diplomacy", 2019).

In so doing, a national cultural policy document was created in 1957 soon after the nation gained independence as Ghana’s bid to ensure that its culture and traditions are promoted. However, successive governments did not implement the policy. It is for this reason that the Kufuor administration in 2004 developed the policy document to its current status. This served as a blueprint for subsequent governments to follow and emulate in order to preserve it. Consequently, since its formulation, various governments after independence have made progressive reforms to the document and in 2004, a cultural policy document was made and put into full operation (National Commission on Culture, 2004).

The Cultural Policy of Ghana is a plan of what to do in particular situations vis-à-vis the traditional and cultural practices that have been agreed officially by a group of people with great expertise and background in our cultural heritage and other fields of study (National Commission on Culture, 2004). It is formulated to provide suitable ways that our cultural heritage can be preserved and
promoted from generation to generation without trivializing its content and benefits as a nation. It also makes distinct the main objectives that the policy seeks to achieve, which are:

i. to document and promote Ghana’s traditional cultural values;

ii. to ensure the growth and development of our cultural institutions and make them relevant to human development, democratic governance and national integration;

iii. to enhance Ghanaian cultural life and develop cultural programs to contribute to the nation’s human development and material progress through heritage, preservation, conservation, promotion and the use of traditional and modern arts and crafts to create wealth and alleviate poverty. (National Commission on Culture, 2004, p. 3-4).

The National Commission on Culture was earlier established by PNDC law 238 in 1990 and is designed to spearhead administrative functions and ensure budgetary provision for the implementation of the policy. The commission is to operate through a number of cultural institutions and agencies. The National Commission on Culture is the main institution mandated to liaise with all district assemblies, the Ghana Education Service, NGOs such as media agencies, the traditional council, individuals, various club associations and other stakeholders towards implementing the cultural policy.

Nonetheless, the implementation plan of National Commission on Culture ought to observe important guidelines to attain the successful implementation of the policy. The following are the guidelines for the implementation of the policy:

i. Ghana’s cultural policy target the entire population and give scope for all individuals and segments of society to access and participate in cultural events;

ii. Although Ghana’s Cultural policy is guided by a holistic approach to culture, it recognizes that not all aspects of culture and cultural processes can be regulated by
policy. It affirms the basic freedoms and fundamental human rights guaranteed by the
creation and which are essential to creativity and artistic self-expression;
iii. Cultural goods and services are an integral part of the national economy. However, for
creativity and cultural entrepreneurship to thrive and contribute to wealth and
employment generation, it is necessary to protect cultural goods and services from
forces and logic of the free market economy through tax relief and other measures.”
(National Commission on Culture, 2004, p. 8-9)

3.3 What Ghana Stands to Gain in Its Pursuit of Cultural Diplomacy

Countries all over the world seek to win the hearts and minds of global audiences through their
cultural diplomatic activities with other states within the international arena. Ghana’s cultural
programs such as events and art exhibitions have been organized within the framework of
highlighting what it has to offer to the world through its cultural elements such as fashion and
others like music, cuisine, festivals, etc. Ghana’s pursuit of cultural diplomacy has been beneficial
as it has; promoted tourism, boosted foreign investment, promoted international recognition and
has gone as far as adding to the economy through the creation of jobs.

3.3.1 Tourism

Tourism is one big industry that attracts billions of people annually from one place to the other
around the world. Ghana is not technologically endowed like other countries who have
manufactured car brands such as Toyota, BMW, Honda or phone brands like Samsung, iphone or
Motorola. However, it is very much endowed with rich cultural elements that are endearing enough
to attract a lot of tourists into the country to experience what we have to offer. The experience
people have when they travel from one country to the other has a significant impact on the
perceptions they have about countries they visited (Mabvuto Ngwira, 2016). This opinion is
reinforced by Mrs. Mabel Cudjoe, an officer at the Ministry of Tourism, Culture and Creative Arts, who argues that Ghana is known to be one of the most peaceful countries in the world, rich in diverse cultural elements such as African Print Fashion, cuisine, music, etc. She stated that, “It is through tourism that countries are able to shape the perception other states may have of them.” She further argues that due to arts exhibitions and other programs organized by MFARI abroad as well as the Ghanaian fashion styles of political figures, musicians, actors and the regalia of chiefs who are quite popular internationally, a lot of foreigners are attracted to visit the country and experience its diverse culture.

In an interview with Mr. Prince Darkey, one of the organizers of TV3’s Ghana’s Most Beautiful (GMB) Pageant, he indicated that the objective of the GMB Pageant is to promote Ghana’s cultural heritage in an educative yet entertaining manner. The contestants of the pageant, the hosts, and even the judges are always styled in kente, batakari or African wax print. He contends that every year through the pageant, foreign African Studies students from Cornell University, Hambur College which is in Canada as well as other universities from Russia and Ukraine who visit the country to be part of the show through the filming process in order to learn more about Ghana’s culture, traditions and customs.

3.3.2 Foreign Direct Investment

Tourism is widely known to be a promising and capable way of increasing the economic development of countries to benefit from foreign direct investors which will help to revive the sector. Mrs. Mabel Cudjoe of the Ministry of Tourism, Culture and Creative Arts in an interview shared in this view when she asserted that cultural elements such as the traditional wears, cuisine, music, festivals, sports, and so on, of any country often attract foreigners to the country who anticipate an unforgettable experience. And this normally opens up the country to more investors.
More so, in an interaction with Mr. Emmanuel Badger, an officer at the Ghana Investment Promotion Centre (GIPC), it was revealed that the GIPC’s role is to assist in attracting investors into the country. Primarily, it is done through art exhibitions and conferences. He opines that it is easier for people to invest in a country when they fall in love with the country due to an experience which has some cultural tenets. It could be the food, people, dressing, language, festivals or through tourist attractions within the country. He posits that, “The elements of culture draw the interest and affection of people to appreciate and love a country and then follow it up with investments.”

3.3.3 International Recognition

In engaging in cultural diplomacy, countries who have mastery over changing opinions that other countries may have of them through their language, arts, clothing etc., gain a lot of respect and recognition from countries within the international system. They are considered to be “champions of global cultural diversity” (Ahearne, 2018).

In an interview at the Art Centre with Samantha Mhlanga, a South African who resides in Denmark with her family, she excitedly recounted her first visit to Accra, in April last year. She was taken to the Art Centre by her Ghanaian friend whom she met on facebook. She asserted that she had told him that she wanted some African souvenirs for her family and friends back at home. Upon getting to the Centre, she realized that there were tons of amazing items to get for her loved ones back at home. She said, “I got myself two beautiful African wax print skirts for myself, a pair of kente bracelets and earrings for my younger sister, a tye and dye bubu with adinkra stamps for my mother and batakari for my father. I also bought ahenema slippers for my best friend and an adinkra designed purse for my neighbor.” She further asserts that she had all the items for a cool price as opposed to the Gucci or Prada designer items. Samantha added that she got a lot of
compliments anytime she wore her skirts back home. Others walk up to her and ask her where she purchased them.

This year however, Samantha came along with her sister and best friend just to shop more fashion items and skincare products like the black soap and shea butter cream. In analyzing this interview, it is evident that Ghana has taken a step in the right direction to leverage on her fashion in order to gain a lot of recognition internationally. Nevertheless, a lot more can be done to get to that point where she’ll be considered a master of cultural diplomacy.

3.3.4 Job Creation

Ghana’s pursuit of cultural diplomacy serves as a channel to achieve its national interests. And as part of a country’s national interest, the welfare of its citizens is a priority. The promotion of cultural diplomacy through its cultural products presents a number of job opportunities with income that adds to the economic growth.

A tête à tête with Opanyin Kobena Ebo, a vendor at the Art Centre, conducted in twi shows that the arts industry is quite lucrative when he said, “Nne3ma tes3 ases3gua, 3ne kente ntoma, mpabo3a, nkawa ne adinkra, 3no saa no, adwuma kjso paa.” He attests to the fact that there are a lot of items that are made and sold at the Centre such as sculptures, stools, skincare products like shea butter and black soap, fashion items and accessories, local cuisine, and so on.

He maintains that the authentic traditional items at the Centre usually attracts foreigners who are very excited to purchase them. However, Opanyin Kobena Ebo at the end of the interview, quickly chipped in his worry about how Ghanaians do not patronize African Print Fashion as much as
foreigners. He mentioned that when there are programs like parties, engagements etc., Ghanaians patronize “already-made” clothes instead.

He argues that already-made clothes are made in the land of the foreigners yet these foreigners prefer to buy our fashion items and accessories in order to stand out when they attend programs. Quoting him, he said, “Y3n timanmufuo) no, y3ntaa nt) kente, adinkra ne African wax print tes3 ah)huo) no. N33mmom y3 k) ayerefo anaa party bi a, y3 p3 obroni wawu ntaade”.

3.4 Challenges

Over the years, Ghana’s indulgement in cultural diplomacy have encountered some major setbacks that prevents the governments and other stakeholders from fully achieving desired results. Issues of financial shortcomings, patent right, piracy, inadequate support from the private sector, inconsistent policies of governments, attitudes of Ghanaians in general, lack of innovative ideas and sub-standard items pose as a hurdle in properly promoting Ghana’s cultural diplomacy.

3.4.1 Financial Shortcomings

A lot of countries within the international system have been able to carve a name for themselves and have also generated a lot of revenue through the promotion of its cultural elements. This is usually because a lot of money has been put into implementing their cultural policies which has helped them gain more proceeds (Triandafyllidou & Szucs, 2019). Culture has to be given more attention in Ghana by periodically providing funds to state institutions that help to implement the strategic ways of promoting Ghana’s cultural diplomacy. All personnel interviewed for this study agree that inadequate funding from the government halts or limits the organization of cultural programs that helps to promote cultural diplomacy.
3.4.2 Intellectual Property Rights

Matters arising from an interview with an official from the National Folklore Board (NFB) had to do with Ghana’s Intellectual Property Rights (IPRs) over kente and adinkra. The official admitted that Ghana had been silent for some years on taking action against foreigners who use kente or adinkra for commercial purposes without paying some royalty to the state. However, authorities of the NFB, who have been mandated by the Ministry of Tourism to protect the folklore of the country, have begun to draw the attention of those who commercialize the kente and adinkra without paying some royalty.

The NFB was recently in the news that it was planning on taking legal actions against Marvel Studios, producers of the Black Panther movie, from using the kente and adinkra in some scenes without permission. When asked about it, the official first of all asserted that the media miscommunicated the true intents of the NFB. He said,

“We are not suing Marvel Studios, instead we are negotiating with them through our legal representation. They have to pay for some compensation. Apart from this, we want them to mention in their write-ups that the designs of the kente and adinkra used in the movie are from Ghana.”

Furthermore, he posits that we are proud that our traditional outfits- kente and adinkra were featured in the movie which had over 1 billion views. It has also put us on the map and the fact that we have claimed that it is ours has only created an opportunity to gain recognition internationally.
3.4.3 Piracy

In “The Copyright Thing Doesn’t Work Here: Adinkra and Kente Cloth and Intellectual Property in Ghana”, the author, Boatema Boateng argues that in November 1996, she read an article in Public Agenda, a Ghanaian newspaper that reported an imitation of Ghana’s kente cloth being massively produced by East Asian countries without any compensation to the originators of the design (Boateng, 2011). She also recounted how the Ghanaian music industry gained a lot of money after an American musician, Paul Simon paid for the right to use a popular Ghanaian highlife tune for his music due to an rigorous national copyright protection program for musicians at the time. This got the author wondering why Ghana’s fashion industry is not benefitting from payment of royalty from the East Asian countries.

An official of the NFB shares in Boatema’s opinion about piracy of kente designs and even African wax print designs by the Chinese. He opined that Ghana-China relations has been a long-standing one that has benefitted Ghana through grants and loans from China for developmental projects. For this reason, he believes that there is political play when it comes to putting a stop to the long years of China’s mass-production of kente and African wax prints. He goes on to say that, “Probably of government takes action against China, it may mar the long-standing relationship between them and Ghana may lose out on loans and grants from China.”

Mrs. Mabel Cudjoe from the Ministry of Tourism is also of the view that Chinese have collapsed the business of local textile manufacturers because the textiles they produce are of a cheaper price as compared to the locally-manufactured ones though they are of low quality.
3.4.4 Low support from the private sector

According to an official of the MFARI, the private sector has supported in terms of media coverage of cultural related programs. However, their assistance has not been massive. Usually they are reluctant to invest a lot of money for fear of not getting much proceeds since it will take a while before the proceeds will shoot up.

Furthermore, in an interview with an official at the NFB, he stated that corporate policies have definite guidelines when it comes to sponsorship, do not sponsor culture-related programs that has to do with our movies, folklore or clothing rather, they are more interested in sponsor football and beauty pageants. He added that UNESCO usually gives technical support and helps NFB connect with potential investors from the private sector.

3.4.5 Inconsistent policies of governments

As far as formulation and implementation of policies are concerned, there is an inconsistency in government policies that slows down processes of communication. An officer of the National Commission on Culture, Mrs. Bernice Deh contends that, usually political party A formulates a policy and has just begun implementing the policy. However, it is voted out of power and political party B being the government of the day does not follow up on the implementation of policies formulated by Party A. Instead Party B begins a different project altogether. When voted out of power, the scenario plays out again.

3.4.6 Attitude of Ghanaians

In an interaction with an official from the NFB, he argued that Ghanaians by default like to identify that which is not theirs as opposed to Nigerians who will stick to theirs. He further argues that there are things in the country that are of more interest to us like, political discussions and football.
He added that culture is not given much attention in the country. And an evidence to this claim is our media content. The cultural policy document stipulates that 70% of media content should be local. However, this is actually not the case in practice. Mexican soap operas for instance, have gained so much interest from the public to the extent that the indigenous language of the Mexicans used in their movies has been translated into our local dialects for better understanding. Meanwhile, these soap operas require that media agencies that air them pay royalties according to the laws that protect the Mexican brand. This money could have been used to promote our local content.

3.4.7 Lack of innovation

Profits of a business usually depend on the workers’ ability to be creative and generate new solutions that can compete with other businesses that are already being innovative (Thomas, 2017). An interview with a retired diplomat, Amb. Baah Duodu reveals that the thickness of the woven kente fabric is very thick and makes a lot of Ghanaians hesitant in purchasing it due to the tropical weather in the country. He urged local manufacturers of the kente fabric to be innovative enough to use a more comfortable fabric that will allow buyers feel comfortable in their kente outfits.

Furthermore, in an interview with a Ghanaian fashion designer and consultant, Francisca Adamikie Pobi Asiedu, she opines that designers of the African Print Fashion should be mindful of not making fashion items that are sub-standard. These items are exported to compete with influential designers like Chanel, Prada and the like. Therefore, it is crucial that designers make items that are well-branded and packaged which can compete fiercely on the global economic market.
3.5 Conclusion

There is no exclusive data to indicate the pragmatic specificity that cultural diplomacy has contributed a particular amount of money or popularity to Ghana’s image abroad. Nonetheless, it is obvious from the above discussions that Ghana’s costumes especially African Print Fashion has contributed an invaluable dimension to Ghana’s popularity abroad. However, the emphasis of the study has been on the potential that cultural diplomacy commands in promoting Ghana’s image abroad while reinvigorating its tourism and hospitality industries to attract foreign direct investments for national development.
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Interview with Opanyin Kobena Ebo at the Art Center on 12th July 2019.

Interview with Samantha Mhlanga at the Art Center on 12th July 2019.


CHAPTER FOUR

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

4.0 Introduction

This study began on the premise that diplomacy has greatly evolved over the years. The current practice of diplomacy allows governments to influence the people of another country through their embassies in the host country using cultural elements such as fashion and others like music, cuisine, sports etc. Chapter one of the research postulates that cultural diplomacy is a soft power tool that can be used to attain national interest through tourism. Chapter two discusses an overview of how some countries have used cultural diplomacy in gaining international recognition while advancing their foreign policy objectives. Chapter 3 explores Ghana’s attempts at promoting cultural diplomacy through the use of her African Print Fashion in order to carve a niche for herself and attain her national interests. This chapter also presents a summary of findings, conclusion and recommendations that were arrived at in the previous chapters.

4.1 Summary of findings

The research was conducted based on three key objectives that guided it. They are; to explore the importance of cultural diplomacy; to examine the extent to which Ghana’s government and private sector support and prioritize cultural diplomacy; to ascertain the achievements and challenges surrounding the promotion of cultural diplomacy through African Print Fashion.

The research unveiled that cultural diplomacy is very important in every states’ diplomatic activities within the international system as it serves as a medium to achieve national interests and to benefit tremendously from economic gains. From the research, it was obvious that the
government of Ghana acknowledges the significance of cultural diplomacy and has gone ahead to organize programs in promoting its culture locally and abroad though with little support from the private sector. Also, the research showed how beneficial the practice of cultural diplomacy can be to the country as it promotes tourism, attracts investments, creates jobs and brings about international recognition to Ghana. The study relied on interviews with personnel from MFARI, NCC, NFB, Ministry of Tourism, Culture and Creative Arts, a retired diplomat, a fashion designer and consultant, a foreigner and a vendor at the Art Centre.

In examining Ghana’s commitment to promoting cultural diplomacy through certain cultural products like clothing, festivals, dance, etc., the cultural policy document adopted was discussed. Through my research, it was discovered that since the policy’s formulation in 2004 till date, a lot of strategies that were stipulated in the document to promote and preserve Ghana’s culture have not been implemented.

Interviews and research conducted reveals that Ghana’s kente has over 4,000 designs and none of them are being protected by Intellectual Property Rights (IPRs). Primarily’ this is the reason why there is still the issue of piracy and the continuous use of kente and adinkra for commercial purposes without payment of royalty to the state. A lot more revenue can be generated through kente alone due to its numerous designs.

Officials interviewed admitted that though soft power has a lot of potentials in Ghana’s diplomacy, it has not been given much attention. However, they affirm that soft power enhances the image of a country in a lot of ways. They maintain that culture through tourism attracts investments into Ghana while the proceeds from exporting cultural elements can serve as an alternative revenue for national development. Soft power also bridges gaps between countries and helps build a rapport
among them. It can actually serve as a means to even attract a state’s “enemy” to love and appreciate its culture.

4.2 Conclusion

This study concludes that cultural diplomacy is an essential tool and platform for the promotion of diplomatic relations between Ghana and other states within the international system. Ghana is endowed with rich diverse cultures but has not immensely benefitted from it due to challenges such as financial shortcomings, lack of intellectual property rights on its African print fashion, piracy of traditional cloths by the Chinese, low support from the private sector, inconsistent policies of governments, attitude of Ghanaians towards patronizing made-in- Ghana goods and local media contents as well as lack of innovation in creating different kente cloths that can suit different weather conditions.

Based on the interviews conducted, it was established that though the cultural policy document has put in place structures and frameworks, to ensure that culture is practised, preserved and promoted accordingly for optimum benefits, it has not made very good results. However, this does not downplay the fact that Ghana still benefits from the random use of cultural elements without necessarily adhering to an official policy in its daily interactions with other states.

The research contends that Ghana can leverage on its rich traditional and cultural values vis à vis its fashion and others like arts, music, festivals, movies and many more to pursue its foreign policies and advance its national interests for maximum gain.
4.3 Recommendations

From the findings and conclusions, the study makes the following recommendations:

- Ghana must adopt a well-structured framework for dissemination of information and implementation of the policies of the cultural policy document. There should be an end-to-end process detailing what state institutions and organs have to practise in diplomacy based on our traditional values, customs and cultural beliefs. This will ensure that cultural diplomacy is imbibed in the day to day activities of all stakeholders for the promotion of arts and culture. In order to ensure its effectiveness, there is the need for a monitoring and evaluation process as well as the provision of enough budgetary support for such a program.

- The government of Ghana should make it a point to have patent rights for kente, adinkra and African wax print materials which will put a stop to the piracy of these traditional garments. This will also go a long way to encourage the payment of royalty to the state when used for commercial purposes.

- Ghana must first instill an orientation or public sensitization of defending, protecting, preserving and promoting its cultural heritage among its peoples. In instilling the “I am Ghanaian” spirit, the government can start from schools by organizing programs or workshops that will teach the children elements of their culture as part of their curriculum. This should be done regularly. Furthermore, the government should include a National Day program where schools encourage children to wear kente, adinkra, batakari and African wax print, learn cultural dance steps, eat local meals and be taught how to make certain fashion items like beaded necklace and the like.

- The reception of diplomatic missions abroad can have a media content that will be shown on their tv screens for foreigners to see what we have to offer through our culture. We can
have videos of our tourist attractions, our festivals, our *kente* and even the history of how all these came about in our local dialect with English subtitles.

- The MFARI, NCC and the Ministry of Tourism should work hand in hand and not in isolation to easily champion the course of Ghana’s cultural diplomacy.

- In organizing cultural-related and educative programs, the MFARI can give incentives at the end of the program in the form of Ghana’s chocolate with a *kente* design or a brochure with any *adinkra* symbol as a form of design and so on as a form of attracting the interest of participants to patronize our African Print Fashion.

- Aside the governments’ political figures, musicians and actors with a large international following must endeavor to represent Ghana’s identity by consciously wearing outfits with our *kente* or *adinkra* designs or our *batakari* at any given opportunity. This will attract and influence a lot of people to patronize the African Print Fashion.

- In the era of growing social awareness, corporate bodies should incorporate culturally sensitive marketing plans and campaigns which will promote a positive public opinion and good image of the companies themselves, thus, enabling the companies to financially perform better.
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Interview with Ms. Samantha Mhlanga at the Art Center on 12th July 2019.

F. Internet Sources


APPENDIX


A Semi-Structured Interview Guide

Research questions;

OBJECTIVE 1. To explore the importance of cultural diplomacy.

1) What is your understanding of cultural diplomacy?
2) How significant is cultural diplomacy to Ghana?
3) How can cultural diplomacy be promoted?

OBJECTIVE 2. To examine the extent to which Ghana’s government and private sector support and prioritize cultural diplomacy?

1) How intense has the government pushed for cultural diplomacy as a means to promote tourism and attain national development?
2) Has your institution supported the government in pursuing cultural diplomacy in any way?
3) How can the private sector help to promote the cultural diplomacy of Ghana?

OBJECTIVE 3. To ascertain the achievements and challenges surrounding the promotion of cultural diplomacy through African Print Fashion

1) What have been the challenges in promoting cultural diplomacy and how can it be tackled?
2) What could be the potential benefits of Ghana pursuing cultural diplomacy?
3) What has Ghana achieved from cultural diplomacy and what more could be achieved?

PERSONS INTERVIEWED FOR THE STUDY

1) Mrs. Mabel Cudjoe of Ministry of Tourism, Culture and Creative Arts on 27th June 2019
2) Mr, Prince Darkey of TV3 Network on 14\(^{th}\) June 2019

3) Mr Emmanuel Badger of Ghana Investment Promotion Centre (GIPC) on 4\(^{th}\) July 2019

4) Miss Samantha Mhlanga at the Art Center on 12\(^{th}\) July 2019

5) Opanyin Kobena Ebo at the Art Center on 12\(^{th}\) July, 2019

6) An official at the National Folklore Board on 11\(^{th}\) July 2019

7) Mrs. Bernice Deh of the National Commission on Culture via mail on 15\(^{th}\) July 2019

8) Amb. Baah Duodu, a retired Ambassador on 2\(^{nd}\) July 2019

9) Francisca Adamikie Pobi Asiedu, a Ghanaian fashion consultant and designer on 17\(^{th}\) July 2019