

**UNIVERSITY OF GHANA  
COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES**

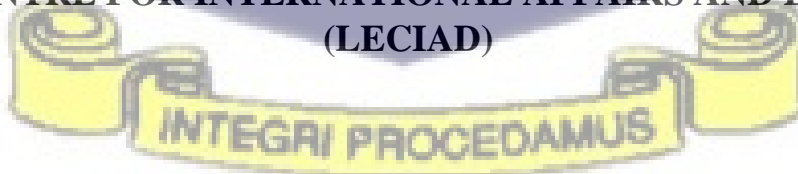


**IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION IN AN INTERDEPENDENT WORLD: THE  
CASE OF THE ARTS IN GHANA'S DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS**

**BY  
BERNICE ADWOA COOPER  
(10174362)**

**THIS THESIS IS SUBMITTED TO THE UNIVERSITY OF GHANA,  
LEGON, IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR  
THE AWARD OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN INTERNATIONAL  
AFFAIRS**

**LEGON CENTRE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS AND DIPLOMACY  
(LECIAD)**

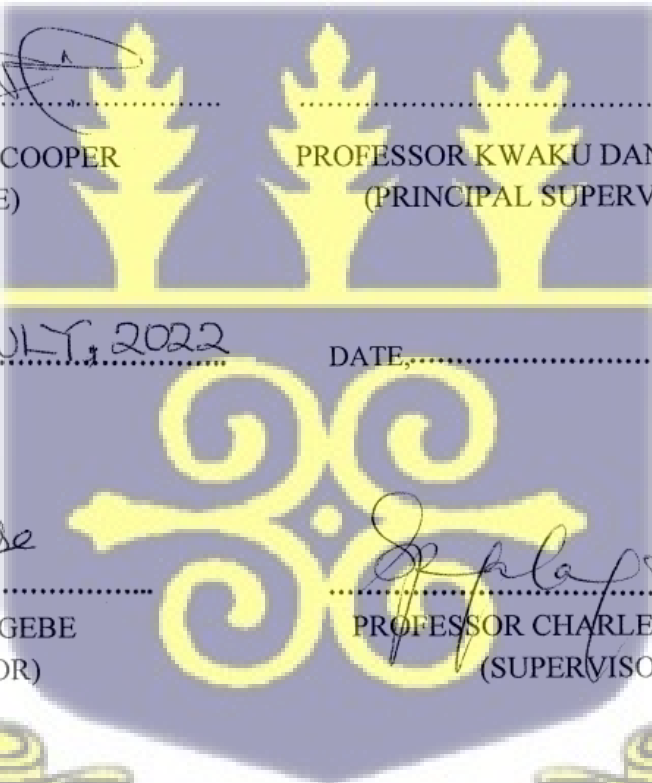


**LEGON**

**JULY 2022**

## DECLARATION

I, Bernice Adwoa Cooper, hereby declare that except references to published works and materials related to the topic, which have been duly acknowledged, this thesis is an original work written by me, under the supervision of Professor Kwaku Danso-Boafo, Dr. Boni Yao Gebe and Professor Charles Frimpong. I wish to declare that this work has not been presented in part or in whole to any other degree awarding Institution or University. All data and references mobilized for this study have been duly attributed to their sources.



*Bernice Cooper*  
BERNICE ADWOA COOPER  
(CANDIDATE)

*Kwaku Danso-Boafo*  
PROFESSOR KWAKU DANSO-BOAFO  
(PRINCIPAL SUPERVISOR)

DATE: 18<sup>TH</sup> JULY, 2022

*Boni Yao Gebe*  
DR. BONI YAO GEBE  
(SUPERVISOR)

*Charles Frimpong*  
PROFESSOR CHARLES FRIMPONG  
(SUPERVISOR)

DATE: 18<sup>TH</sup> JULY, 2022

DATE: 18<sup>TH</sup> JULY, 2022

INTEGRI PROCEDAMUS

## DEDICATION

*To the Glory of God Almighty, who makes all things possible in his time, and to the memory of  
my beloved Father, the late Emmanuel Avornyo Cooper.*



## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to acknowledge the profound roles played by Professor K. Danso-Boafo (LECIAD), Professor Charles Frimpong (Dean, Faculty of Arts, KNUST) and Dr. Boni Yao Gebe (HOD, International Affairs, Wisconsin International University College) as members of my thesis committee, whose insightful questions, comments, constructive criticisms and suggestions have helped in clarifying issues at all stages of the write-up of this thesis. Among the people who have been most instrumental in shaping my focus for this study include Dr. Mawuko Yevugah, Senior Lecturer (GIMPA), Dr. Ken Ahorsu, Senior Research Fellow (LECIAD), Dr. Nene-Lomotey Kuditchar (Political Science Department) and Amarkine Amarteifio, an accomplished Ghanaian Artist.

I wish to sincerely thank Professor Emmanuel Debrah (Director) for his sterling leadership, entire Senior Lecturers, staff and my colleagues at the Legon Centre for International Affairs and Diplomacy (LECIAD) for providing me with diverse forms of assistance throughout my studies, particularly during the course of this research project.

I could not have conducted such a study without a substantial financial resource. My extraordinary indebtedness goes to the Registrar, Mr. Kingsley Agyeman, Ghana Scholarships Secretariat, for granting me a scholarship which contributed to the successful completion of this research.

Among those who have assisted in diverse ways in connection with data collection from diverse sources include Ambassador Dampety Asare, formerly Director of PPMEB, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration (MFARI). He was instrumental in assisting with data collection

activities and in liaising with some top-respondents from the Diplomatic Corps for them to be interviewed in the wake of the scary COVID-19 Pandemic. Professor E. Ablade Glover, Professor Florence Abena Dolphyne, Mr. David Dontoh and Mr. David Apim-Tetteh (Emefa Jewellery, Haatso) deserve to be acknowledged for giving me great insight and understanding into the Ghanaian arts and culture. I also wish to thank the Late Ambassador Albert F. Yankey, former Chief Director at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration (MFARI), Ambassador Ben Clement Eghan, (Ghana's former Ambassador to Malaysia, and a godfather), Ambassador Ebenezer Amatei Akuete, former Career Minister and Deputy Chief of Mission, Embassy of Ghana, Washington, D.C, and Nana (Professor) Edward O. Asante, one time Deputy Rector of GIMPA for their immense rich contribution, guidance and insight into this research.

Valuable information about symbolic Kente designs have been provided by the Chief Kente weaver of Ntonso in the Ashanti Region (who wishes to remain anonymous) and his team of weavers. I also wish to acknowledge the contributions of the following institutions: The Department of African Studies and Confucius Institute (University of Ghana, Legon), The Goethe Institute, The British Council, The Arts Centre and The Ghana National Museum, Accra.

The following individuals have also played prominent roles in the journey towards the achievement of this doctoral degree: I am indebted first of all to Mr. Alfred Agbesi Woyome, former Honorary Vice Consul of Austria in Ghana and also a former Boss at the Anator Holding Company Ltd. Also, to Mr. Christian Wilson Ayiku, Director of F&A and Human Resource Directorate, the Late Mr. Evans Adjei Mensah, a former Director (Assets Recovery Unit), Mr. Colling Nkrumah and Alhaji Abubakari Wayo (Chief Budget Analyst), all at the Jubilee House.

I wish to thank Mr. Eric Amartey for guiding and helping in the compilation of this Research. I also acknowledge the moral support and diverse forms of assistance, especially from Enoch Yaw Mensah, Rev. John Osbourn Nkum (Consultant), Dr. Frederick Boamah, Esq. (LECIAD) and Dr. and Justice Rebecca Sittie. My profound appreciation goes to Her Ladyship Professor Henrietta J. A. N. Mensa-Bonsu, Justice of the Supreme Court of Ghana, who was then the Director of LECIAD when I enrolled. Her personal interest and advice proved to be very strengthening in the initial phase of my project.

To my two sons and heroes, Jason and Jaden, thanks for all the patience and love.

Finally, to my late beloved father, Emmanuel A. Cooper for pushing me this far in my educational pursuit. Your memory will forever linger on.



## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

3 D	-	3 Dimensional
AGOA	-	African Growth and Opportunity Act
BBC	-	British Broadcasting Corporation
CIA	-	Central Intelligence Agency
CNC	-	Centre for National Culture
COVID-19	-	Coronavirus disease 2019
F & A	-	Finance and Administration
GIMPA	-	Ghana Institute of Management and Public Administration
HOD	-	Head of Department
ICD	-	Institute of Cultural Diplomacy
ICT	-	Information and Communications Technology
IFFDTA	-	International Festival for Drums and Traditional Arts
IR	-	International Relations
Ir	-	International relations
ISSER	-	Institute of Statistical, Social and Economic Research
KNUST	-	Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology
LECIAD	-	Legon Centre for International Affairs and Diplomacy
MFA	-	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
MFARI	-	Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration
NCC	-	National Commission on Culture
NGOs	-	Non-Governmental Organizations
PANAFEST	-	Pan African Historical Theatre Project

PNDC	-	Provisional National Defence Council
PPMEB	-	Policy Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation Bureau
UK	-	United Kingdom
UNESCO	-	United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNICEF	-	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
USA	-	United States of America
USSR	-	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
YALI	-	Young African Leaders Initiative



## TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>DECLARATION.....</b>	<b>i</b>
<b>DEDICATION.....</b>	<b>ii</b>
<b>ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS .....</b>	<b>iii</b>
<b>LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS .....</b>	<b>vi</b>
<b>TABLE OF CONTENTS .....</b>	<b>viii</b>
<b>LIST OF TABLES .....</b>	<b>xi</b>
<b>LIST OF FIGURES .....</b>	<b>xii</b>
<b>ABSTRACT.....</b>	<b>xiii</b>
<b>CHAPTER ONE .....</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>INTRODUCTION.....</b>	<b>1</b>
1.0 Background to the Research Problem.....	1
1.1 Statement of the Research Problem .....	8
1.2 Research Questions.....	9
1.3 Research Objectives.....	9
1.4 Scope of the Study .....	10
1.5 Rationale/Justification of the Study .....	10
1.6 Conceptual Clarifications.....	11
1.7 Limitations .....	17
1.8 Organization of Chapters .....	18
<b>CHAPTER TWO .....</b>	<b>19</b>
<b>THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK.....</b>	<b>19</b>
2.0 Introduction.....	19
2.1 The Role of Theory in International Relations .....	20
2.2 Constructivism .....	21
2.3 Constructivism and Interdependence .....	22
2.4 Some Scholars Associated with Constructivism.....	23
2.5 Some Issues and Criticisms of the Theory of Constructivism .....	25
2.6 Deployment of Theory: The Relevance of Constructivism to the Research Work.....	30 30
2.7 Conclusion .....	32
<b>CHAPTER THREE.....</b>	<b>34</b>
<b>LITERATURE REVIEW .....</b>	<b>34</b>

3.0	Introduction.....	34
3.1	General Review on Identity Construction in the International System.....	34
3.2	Interdependence in the Area of Culture in International Relations.....	39
3.3	General Studies on Art and Arts, and reasons for choosing the latter (Arts).....	40
	3.3.1 <i>Definition of Art</i> .....	42
	3.3.2 <i>Categories of Art</i> .....	43
	3.3.3 <i>The Arts in the Context of Low International Politics</i> .....	45
3.4	Overview of Arts in the Ghanaian Culture and its Impact on Diplomatic Relations.....	46
3.5	Conclusion.....	53
	<b>CHAPTER FOUR.....</b>	<b>55</b>
	<b>RESEARCH METHODOLOGY.....</b>	<b>55</b>
4.0	Introduction.....	55
4.1	Area of Study.....	55
4.2	Design of the Study.....	56
	4.2.1 <i>Responses from The Embassies/High Commission and Other Categories</i> .....	61
4.3	Target Population.....	65
4.4	Sampling Technique.....	66
4.5	Research Instruments.....	67
4.6	Validity of Research Instruments.....	70
4.7	Reliability of the Research Instruments.....	70
4.8	Data Collection Procedure.....	71
4.9	Data Analysis.....	76
4.10	Ethical Considerations.....	76
	<b>CHAPTER FIVE.....</b>	<b>78</b>
	<b>THE ROLE OF VISUAL ARTS IN DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS.....</b>	<b>78</b>
5.0	Introduction.....	78
5.1	Visual Arts.....	79
5.2	Two-Dimensional Media – (Drawing as a preparatory stage for Painting and Textiles/Print making).....	80
	5.2.1 <i>Painting</i> .....	81
	5.2.2 <i>Textiles/Printmaking</i> .....	85
	5.2.3 <i>Three-Dimensional Media (Sculpture)</i> .....	92
5.3	Reflections on Kwame Nkrumah’s policies concerning the visual arts.....	97
5.4	The Arts in (Para)Diplomatic Relations.....	102
5.5	Conclusion.....	105

<b>CHAPTER SIX .....</b>	<b>107</b>
<b>ANALYTICAL CHAPTER .....</b>	<b>107</b>
6.0 Introduction.....	107
6.1 Analyzing Data .....	107
6.1.1 <i>Analysis of the Responses from the Diplomatic Corps</i> .....	108
6.1.2 <i>Analysis Based on the Responses from the Embassies/High Commission</i> .....	114
6.2 Thematic Analysis .....	119
6.2.1 <i>Familiarization and Organization of Data for Easy Retrieval</i> .....	121
6.2.2 <i>Identification and Organization of Frequently Used Words</i> .....	122
6.3 Coding.....	123
6.4 Construction of Over-arching Themes in the Data .....	129
6.5 Ensuring Validity and Reliability in the Data Analysis and in the Findings .....	131
6.6 Testing Emergent Findings .....	132
6.7 Checking for Researcher Effects.....	133
6.8 Validating/Confirming Findings .....	133
6.9 Obtaining Feedback from Participants.....	138
<b>CHAPTER SEVEN .....</b>	<b>140</b>
<b>SUMMARY OF RESEARCH FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS</b> <b>.....</b>	<b>140</b>
7.0 Introduction.....	140
7.1 Summary of Key Findings .....	140
7.1.1 ..... <i>Overview of The Relevance and Role of Visual Arts as a Tool for Diplomacy and Foreign Policy</i> .....	141
7.1.2 ..... <i>Assessment of Visual Arts as a Catalyst in Promoting International Peace and Understanding among Nations</i> .....	142
7.1.3 .. <i>Assessment of the Ghanaian Culture Constituting a Vehicle for Advancing the Goal of Constructing National Identity and for Diplomatic Relations</i> .....	144
7.2 Conclusion .....	148
7.2.1 <i>Contribution to Knowledge</i> .....	149
7.3 Recommendations .....	151
7.4 Areas for further research .....	155
<b>BIBLIOGRAPHY .....</b>	<b>158</b>
<b>APPENDICES .....</b>	<b>175</b>

## LIST OF TABLES

Table 4.1: Perceptions of some selected categories concerning the role of the Visual Arts in Ghana's Diplomatic Relations .....	61
Figure 4. 2: Perceptions of Respondents Concerning the Role of Visual Arts in Ghana's Diplomatic Relations .....	63
Table 6. 1: The role of the arts in Ghana's Diplomatic relationship with the Embassies/High Commission (U.S, U.K, Brazil, Egypt and China) .....	114
Table 6. 2: Visual Arts in Ghana's Diplomatic Relations.....	124
Table 6. 3: Responses from the Arts Market.....	128
Table 6. 4: Triangulation from Different Sources.....	134
Table 6. 5: Triangulation from Different Methods.....	136



## LIST OF FIGURES

Plate 1. 1 Painting of “Guernica” by Pablo Picasso.....	6
Plate 1. 2 “Genocide” by Kofi Setordji.....	7
Table 4.1: Perceptions of some selected categories concerning the role of the Visual Arts in Ghana’s Diplomatic Relations .....	61
Figure 4. 2: Perceptions of Respondents Concerning the Role of Visual Arts in Ghana’s Diplomatic Relations .....	63
Plate 5. 1: Painting of “The People II” by Professor Ablade-Glover.....	83
Plate 5. 2: Paintings by Betty Acquah.....	84
Plate 5.3: “Ghana’s Textiles: The Color of Life” by Christine Bedenis .....	86
Plate 5. 4: “Ghana’s Textiles: The Color of Life” by Christine Bedenis .....	86
Plate 5. 5: Kente: Ghana’s Premiere Textile.....	89
Plate 5. 6: Kente: Ghana’s Premiere Textiles .....	90
Plate 5. 7: Kente: Ghana’s Premiere Textiles .....	90
Figure 5. 8: A sculpture made in Ghana .....	95
Table 6. 1. 1: Graph Showing Analysis of the Responses from the Embassies/High Commission in Connection with the Role or Place of Arts in the Selected Countries Represented here in Ghana .....	113
Figure 6.2.1: Perceptions of Respondents on the Role of the Visual Arts in Ghana’s Diplomatic Relations. ....	126
Figure 6.3.1: Triangulation from different sources.....	135
Figure 7. 1: Overview of the Relevance and Role of Visual Arts as a Tool for Diplomacy and Foreign Policy .....	142
Figure 7. 2: An Assessment of Visual Arts as a Catalyst in Promoting International Peace and Understanding among Nations.....	143
Figure 7. 3: Assessment of the Ghanaian Culture Constituting a Vehicle for Advancing the goal of Constructing National Identity for Diplomatic Relations .....	147



## ABSTRACT

The intensity of globalisation after the Cold War has led to a general concern about how national identities of states and societies are being constructed through the arts and utilized by states in their diplomatic engagements. Specifically, this study sought to unravel the extent to which the arts, broadly understood, have been utilized by the foreign missions of the United States of America, China, Egypt, Brazil and the United Kingdom. With the aid of the theoretical framework of constructivism and the qualitative methodology advanced through the use of primary (interviews and focus group discussions) and secondary data, the result of the study shows that all the foreign missions in Ghana prioritize the use of the arts as part of a deliberate strategy to construct national identities in ways which will enhance their standing in World Affairs. Unlike the foreign missions, Ghana does not seem to have realized the importance of its national identity building resources and thus having a strategic paradigm to derive any advantages that may result from such an initiative. Given the advantages that can be gained from such as strategy, as indicated by respondents, Ghana can begin a process of leveraging its cultural capital in the arts to construct a national identity which can serve as currency in its engagements with other governments.



## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1.0 Background to the Research Problem

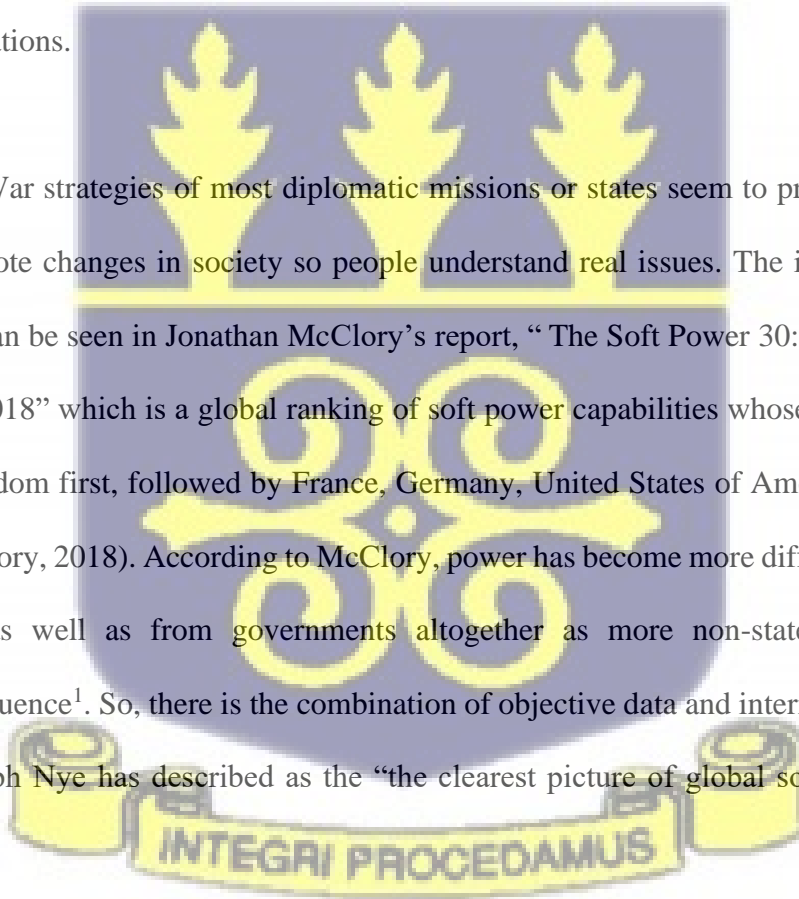
The conceptual boundary of this study is defined by the analytical distinction between International Relations (IR) and international relations (Ir). IR is theoretically defined as international politics and hence highlights the conflictual power-laden and national interest-based transactions between the governments of states (Waltz, 1979; Barnett & Duval, 2005; Morgenthau, 1967; Nuechterlein, 1976). Ir on the other hand encompasses all transnational or transborder interactions. In this respect, it includes but goes beyond government-to-government relations (i.e., international politics) to encompass mundane interactions such as the transmission of emails, tourism, academic conferences, and government-people events like the granting of scholarships, cultural exchanges, and the like. The theoretical distinction between IR and Ir marks the boundary between high international politics and low international politics (Jackson & Georg, 2006, p. 106; Paul, 1999; Keohane & Nye, 1977, pp. 18-21). While high international politics deals with strategic questions that border on state sovereignty and survival and as such touches on none negotiable core national interests (Lockhart, 2018; Menon, 2013), low international politics is about non-strategic issues which do not, in principle, touch on the survival of the state. For instance, the FIFA World Cup and the Confederation of African Football tournaments, and the Olympic Games are transactions of low international politics (Jackson & Haigh, 2008; Bainvel, 2005; Levermore, 2008). The Arts, which form the basis of this study, is also a relevant example of Ir and low international politics (Seeger, 1949; Åhäll, 2008; Tidy & Turner, 2020; Australian Academy of the Humanities, 2021; Ramel, 2018).

Preservation of peace and stability has always been a predominant concern. The arts are a medium through which the world could be united through the various languages, different beliefs and different ethnic backgrounds. Instead of forcing a political or religious ideology onto another culture, it is important to find a common ground, embrace similarities and appreciate each other knowing that we are all not the same which could bring about lasting solution to tensions created around the world (Naidu-Silverman, 2015). Energy is wasted in promoting violence as currently being witnessed across the globe, making tension, chaos and destruction seem more important than creativity. Among other things, the world should be inspired by the things that occur around us to create and recreate more since there is nothing new under the sun. In a world where hate and discrimination by race and colour has become predominant, the arts could serve as a cure and should not be shelved at all costs. The artistic actions intended by intergovernmental organizations are issues that permit them to get a voice for the voiceless, so they are heard all over the world (Zappone, 2003).

The arts are influencing international relations and are essential for the well-being of society by offering inspiration and perspective to relations among people of different nations and life experiences by awakening a sense of patriotism or stirring emotions of people to take up action. It is a universal language, and many artists are contributing, thanks to their different artworks to promote a peaceful world (Kellner, 1995). People by watching, reading and listening are cogitating as well as compromising about politics and conflicts. Many artists have in mind to make people think and to sensitize them about the world they are living in. This manifests in the way the arts influence people's opinions, instil values and build up experiences that are translated across space and time. For example, some mural paintings from the famous Mexican Painter, Diego Rivera,

had the aim to make people feel concerned about the abuse of power and the lack of rights for indigenous people after the Mexican revolution (Folgarait, 2017). Rivera set an example as a community member who used his talents to tell the stories of the working class. Additionally, and perhaps most importantly, Diego Rivera took art out of the gallery and into the public domain so that more people could enjoy and appreciate its beauty. People are important actors in states, so they need to be aware of the issues going on all over the world. That is why the arts are now a diplomatic resource and is helping to transform the world. Indeed, arts and cultural diplomacy are important stakes for the states. This is because arts can change the way people think, feel and behave, which is often talked about as cultural diplomacy or soft power when set in the context of international relations.

The post-Cold War strategies of most diplomatic missions or states seem to prioritize the use of the arts to promote changes in society so people understand real issues. The importance of this state of affairs can be seen in Jonathan McClory's report, "The Soft Power 30: A Global ranking of Soft Power 2018" which is a global ranking of soft power capabilities whose 2018 listing puts the United Kingdom first, followed by France, Germany, United States of America and Japan in that order (McClory, 2018). According to McClory, power has become more diffuse, moving from West to East as well as from governments altogether as more non-state actors leverage international influence<sup>1</sup>. So, there is the combination of objective data and international polling to build what Joseph Nye has described as the "the clearest picture of global soft power to date" (McClory, 2018)



---

<sup>1</sup> See: *Soft Power 30* index is basically the world's most comprehensive comparative assessment of global soft power ranking. See <https://softpower30.com/>

The Arts create personal emotions such as patience, creativity, innovation and sharing. These traits when incorporated into educational curricula helps improve academic performance and student self-discipline (Guetzkow, 2002). These go a long way to serve as a catalyst for the creation of social capital and the attainment of important community goals. Hence, it is essential for states to have vibrant platforms in order to promote the arts given their obvious social empowering effects as noted. The arts are much broader in comparison to art generally. It encompasses much more. Art is limited and deals basically with the visuals like drawing and painting. Although art and the arts are sometimes used interchangeably, for the purposes of this research, the arts are used in a plural form because of its broad view as earlier explained.

It is also an important way for intergovernmental organizations to get a voice and be heard all over the world (Chorev, Rey, & Ciplet, 2011). A report on the 2009 proceedings held at the Redford Centre, Sundance, states in the introduction that in today's global economy, transnational flows of information, social connectivity, financial and human capital, technology, as well as cultural goods and services are all things affecting individuals, organizations, communities, enterprises and governments alike. While most accept this change as a matter of fact, not all view it as positive. Many see global interdependence as a threat and fear its consequences as loss of jobs, national security or a breakdown of community (Porter, 1990). The arts can play a pivotal role in moderating the complexities of globalization including the ability to act as a conduit for strengthening transnational community connections by building strong ties among people which also give them identities ( Annku & Adu-Agyem, 2012). The arts open dialogue among diverse groups by creating safe spaces for engagement, thus allowing new relationships and bonding to take root. They help us understand and bridge cultural distinctions and contribute to economic

opportunity and community vitality. Furthermore, apart from enhancing our quality of life, through their multiple means of expression, the arts help give voice where once there was only silence. The arts are a powerful and proven means to advance more positive connections between peoples, non-governmental agencies, businesses and governments at home and abroad (Melissen J. , 2005).

A classic example is the young Ghanaian artist, Dennis Owusu Ansah, described by CNN's Ezra Gurkan as "taking over social media by storm with his art", using art in a way to turn global attention to Ghana's rich culture and tourism in a more revolutionary way by painting top celebrities across the globe like 'Beyonce' wearing cloth from Ghana and other African countries (Gurkan, 2016). For big issues like climate change or humanitarian issues, many artists have contributed to helping some organizations or intergovernmental organisations like the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF) that may use the arts through narratives to change people's minds positively towards a worthy cause. A classic example is the United Nations Art Initiative which connects educators and artists, thus promoting art as a vehicle for solution oriented strategic planning and development across the globe. Through these, the outcome sensitizes people to be open minded and to think about important issues which can or may occur in years to come.

Museums are today important international actors that are also influencing the relations between the states in the world (Amineddoleh, 2014). Some curators, scholars and historians have argued that without them, most people would not take time to get interested in the arts. Artworks are travelling all over the world in different museums for exhibitions. Through the exhibitions, the arts remind people of some conflicts that occurred years back and is a way for people to do their "devoir

de memoire” - obligation to remember, and to prevent the recurrence of the grave errors of the past and stop ongoing cruelties around the world. For example, Pablo Picasso’s masterpiece, “Guernica” which can be located at the Reina Sofia Museum, Madrid, was painted in order to show the horror or atrocities of the Spanish War caused by the Nazis in 1937. Guernica is like no other painting in the world – portrayed in black and white tones with shocking brutality and vehement in its political protest, this great work of Picasso’s stands alone in the history of art” (Gilbert, 1998).

**Plate 1. 1 Painting of “Guernica” by Pablo Picasso**



**Source:** Picasso’s Guernica.<sup>2</sup>

---

<sup>2</sup> See (Cantelupe, 1971)

Another example is Kofi Setordji's (prominent Ghanaian artist) famous work titled "Genocide" which stands as a monument, reminding us of the genocide which occurred in Rwanda from April to July 1994 (Hintjens, 2013).

Composed of sculpted groups, Setordji considered it his duty to show the world what had occurred, not merely to counter oblivion and commemorate the dead but as an attempt to come to grips with the devastating tragedy. The art piece turned out to be an emotionally wrenching but creative process for him. The sculpted pieces show the harrowing massacres of the Rwandan genocide in which millions of people were killed, showing the victims' suffering as depicted in "Guernica", the silence of the international community at a point and the deep gap or division in the Rwandan society.

**Plate 1. 2 "Genocide" by Kofi Setordji**



Source: Genocide. <sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>3</sup> See (Kofi Setordji, 2015)

## 1.1 Statement of the Research Problem

International relations is mainly about inter-state relations. Mainstream theories and analysis of such inter-state relations tend to focus on power, defined in military and economic terms and how states in the quest to maintain their power and influence in a highly competitive world system, engage in realpolitik or raw power politics (Barnet & Duval, 2005). Thus, the acquisition and maintenance of power as the predominant preoccupation of international relations prioritises ‘hard’ politics over ‘soft’ politics (Nau, 2017).

Some contributions concerning soft power have been made with it being scaled down to three components: namely culture, political values and foreign policy. It works effectively when culture enjoys popularity abroad, political values shared by other states, and foreign policy is approved, or at least is not opposed to. It must be noted however that although the concept of soft power has overcome a few waves of popularity in the USA, Russia, China to mention just a few, its propagation was spurred by globalization, informatization of economic and political process, development of communications and technologies (Nye J. S., *Soft Power: The Means To Success In World Politics*, 2005).

In recent years, with an increasing trend towards global integration and globalization, governments have seen the need to put their foreign missions on queue to be attentive and sensitive to the pressures of globalization which is moving the world gradually towards a homogenised context where individual and national identities of countries and societies are increasingly becoming blurred or being reconfigured in ways which reflect greater interdependence even in the midst of national differences. Thus, while societies become more integrated with ideas and values being

homogenised, there is a general concern about how national identities of states and societies are constructed, thus leading to the concern for this study, which is, the need to explore how the visual arts, expressed in various forms could become a great source for generating and producing Ghana's national identity, power and influence in a globalised but inter-state system. The study would be of value and interest because there is limited scholarly focus on the visual arts as a source for foreign policy and diplomatic relations.

## 1.2 Research Questions

The study is guided by the following questions:

- What is the role and relevance of the visual arts as a tool for international relations and foreign policy?
- How can the visual arts be used to promote international peace and understanding among peoples and societies?
- How can Ghanaian culture, expressed in various art forms, constitute a vehicle for advancing the goal of constructing national identity and for diplomatic relations?

## 1.3 Research Objectives

The research seeks to accomplish the following objectives:

- To investigate the relevance and role of visual arts as a tool for diplomacy and foreign policy
- To examine how the visuals can promote international peace and understanding among peoples and societies.

- Examine how Ghanaian values, expressed in various arts forms (paintings, sculpture, printmaking/textiles), can constitute a vehicle for advancing the goal of constructing national identity (and for) diplomatic relations.

#### 1.4 Scope of the Study

The ontological scope of this study, as intimated in the introduction, is Ir and low international politics and informed by the epistemic belief, instructed by phenomenology that subjective experiences sketch, approximate or define, even if crudely, the structures of empirical reality or tendencies (Landgrebe, 1973; Schellenberg, 2010). Hence this study is delimited by the experiences of respondents around the arts in paradiplomacy. The empirical context of the study is Ghana with an interest in the local motivations, strategies, and experiences of the United States of America, United Kingdom, China, Brazil, and Egypt. Finally, this study is not temporally limited to anytime frame: it seeks to elicit the historical and contemporary experiences as recollected by respondents.

#### 1.5 Rationale/Justification of the Study

This research is important in view of its potential to break new grounds with scholarly knowledge in the role of visual arts in Ghana's diplomatic relations. While there is an abundance of literature focusing on increasing globalization and homogenization of peoples, cultures and societies, there is limited study on how Ghana, with the use of visual arts (paintings, sculpture and printmaking/textiles) could advance the goal of constructing her national identity on the international platform and in so doing, promote international peace and understanding among nations. Roland Bleiker posits in his "Visual Global Politics" that "in understanding the crucial

and persistent role of images in today's world since the inception of a visual age, images and visual artefacts shape international events and the understanding of them. Apart from that, these also frame how politics is perceived and enacted" (Bleiker, 2018). The visual arts are necessary to push boundaries, encourage new ways of thinking in order to bring novelty. Also, these visual elements have a great impact in our contact with people in various communities and cultures within which they are inextricably meshed. Finally, Neil Gaiman opines that the visual arts matter and are usually displayed within the context of transformation and celebration of lives in societies (Gaiman, 2018). Using the arts, some aspects of visual arts have been selected for the purpose of this research and they are painting, sculpture and printmaking or textiles.

The study also has relevance for policy because of its potential to reorient Ghana's foreign policy makers towards a more aggressive adoption of cultural diplomacy with the aim of using various aspects of the country's rich and unique cultural heritage and values as important aspects of our relations with other countries. Finally, the findings would add to existing policy briefs and serve as reference literature for further studies as well as contribute to knowledge in the field of Ghana's diplomatic relations.

## 1.6 Conceptual Clarifications

Definition of key words in the context of the research project:

- **Identity**

Leary and Tangney's (2012) conceptualize identity as in-group regimes such as traits and characteristics, expectations in social relations, gender roles and social ranking in group membership which defines one's identity within the larger social context. Identities are orienting

and make up one's self-concept variously described as what comes to mind when one thinks of oneself. James Fearon (Fearon, 1999) uses identity in terms of social system attributions and personal traits. In this respect, identity has a dual meaning of first, referring to a social system constituted by people set apart by distinct rules of membership and second, individual characteristics and attributes.

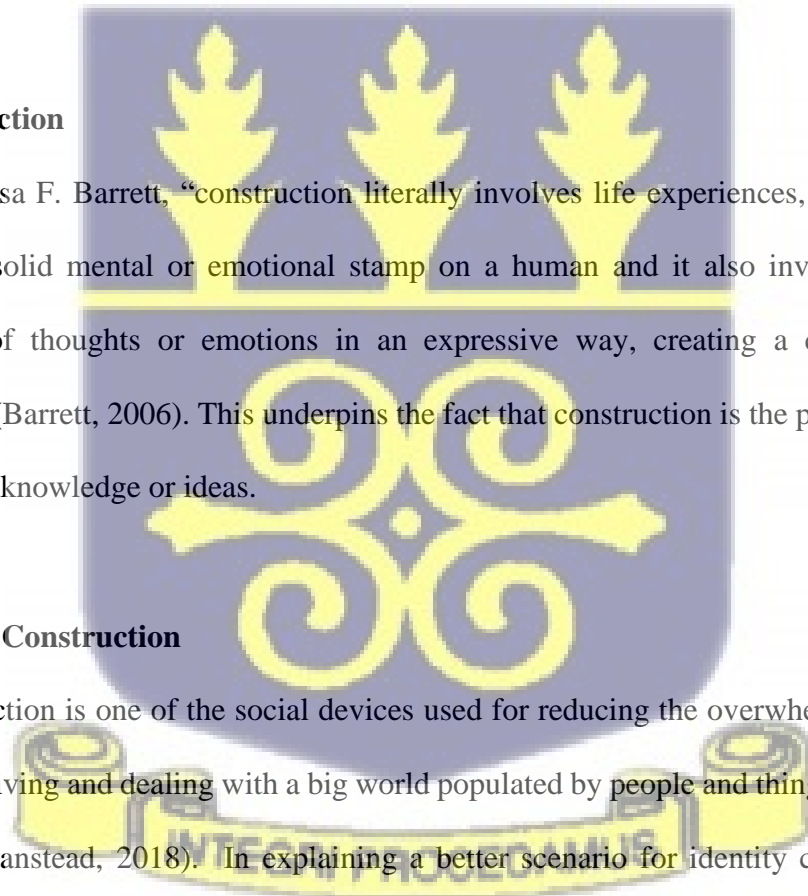
Used in international relations, it also means, as Fearon posits, "to describe the way individuals and groups define themselves and are defined by others on the basis of race, ethnicity, religion, language and culture" (Fearon & Laitin, 2000)

- **Construction**

According to Lisa F. Barrett, "construction literally involves life experiences, relationships and connections, a solid mental or emotional stamp on a human and it also involves a symbolic representation of thoughts or emotions in an expressive way, creating a conceptual visual representation" (Barrett, 2006). This underpins the fact that construction is the process of forming something from knowledge or ideas.

- **Identity Construction**

Identity construction is one of the social devices used for reducing the overwhelming challenges that come with living and dealing with a big world populated by people and things we find strange and familiar (Manstead, 2018). In explaining a better scenario for identity construction to be grasped, Cummings and Worley argues that "by assigning identities and categories to people and



phenomena, it was then that mankind began both the orderly and controlled organization of what would otherwise have been a chaotic and meaningless world” (2008).

The phenomenon has since evolved into a complex socio-political tool with far reaching consequences that affect and determine the destinies of people and nations. What we think and how we feel about ourselves and other people, and what plans or actions we make and take in respect of our relations with people and nations, are largely determined by what identities we assign or project or are projected by others towards us (Stangor, 2014). These factors, in a fundamental way, explain why nations or continents differ from each other. For example, the philosophical doctrines and ideas that Hegel espoused in his writings about Africa, that (Camara, 2005):

- a. Africa has no history, underdeveloped just as lower species, has no morality, religions and political constitution (Camara, 2005).
- b. Based on “a” above, Europe is justified to enslave Africans and colonize the continent (Camara, 2005).

The above greatly influenced Europe’s racial construction of the continent as a people incapable of self-development without the help or assistance from Europe (Feinberg, 1967). However, many Black Scholars from an African point of view have rejected and refuted Hegel’s grotesque criticism of Africa<sup>4</sup>. He describes Africa “as children in the forest, unaffected by the movement of history” (Camara, 2005). Joseph Harris also posits that such theses about Africa have contributed to the “stereotypic image of Black people” globally. Charles Verharen has also criticized Hegel, offering a voice for all Blacks offended by this outmoded denigration to prove Hegel wrong in every way

---

<sup>4</sup> See: Camara discusses Negritude’s perspective from an African point of view, refuting G.W.F.Hegel’s two theses’ on “Slavery and The State in Africa, pointing to the biases and shortsightedness in them.

possible so far as the Black race is concerned. Verharen successfully calls on the renowned Senegalese African Scientist and Scholar, Cheikh Anta Diop, who is well vested with the origins of humanity and the pre-colonial African culture, to debunk Hegel's assertions and to calm emotions. He stresses that Black Africans have been in existence since time immemorial.<sup>5</sup>

Diop argues that his historiography which fits into the debate on a speculative philosophy of history namely, world history and history of reason, such as it was propounded by Hegel exist to date with an aim to interrogate their capacities to serve as ethical base for the African development (Diop, 1974)

The point here is that it appears Hegel is not aware of the implications of his theses on Africa. Hegel denies rationality to Africans, implying inferior racial considerations, with numerous damaging effects on the African milieu and social structures. Such denigrating understanding of humanity as it relates to Africa must be refuted everywhere. Adegbindin posits that as a philosophical treatise, Hegel's Philosophy of History disrespects Africa's contribution to civilization. His interpretation of Africa's place in world history is a gross misinterpretation. Traditional African culture is very complex, and Hegel's use of facts is not only questionable but shallow. His understanding of African culture is tainted, and his assumption – that the cultural characteristics of African people could only reach a significant level by contact with the outside world (Europe) – is a misconception that does not qualify as being historically valid, scientifically adequate, or culturally sound (Adegbindin, 2015).

---

<sup>5</sup> See: Diop cites an example using Egypt as a classic example to say that Africa is an independent continent and will always be regarded as the cradle of civilization/

- **Interdependence**

Diplomacy should be advocated for, which will in turn also increase the probability of cooperation among states. In concrete terms, interdependence as expressed in the Arts emphasizes the horizontal dimensions of international relations and as such emphasizes people-to-people or government-to-people commonalities and therefore highlights humanitarian bonds across borders (Resnik, 2007; Lindberg, 2014). Interdependence in this respect differs from dependence which presupposes uneven distribution of power, influence, and manipulation and thus makes room for dominant-dominated outcomes in international affairs (Majeski, 2004; Long, 2017; Phillips, 2017). Arts-enabled interdependence, the substance of paradiplomacy, shifts the axis of international affairs from the mere quest for dominant power to, in the context of this study, pacifist identity constructions which, given the various cultural possibilities of such initiatives can promote cultural acceptance, understanding, convivial curiosities, and the quest for unity in diversity (van Ham, 2001; Wang, 2005; 2013). Soft Power and paradiplomacy, analyzed in chapter five of this study, is a sketch of the mechanisms through which the said shift in the axis of international relations from power-laden interactions between governments to people-to-people and governments-to-people is theoretically and empirically operationalized.

- **Arts**

Refers to artisanal activities enabled by skill and imagination. It embraces the broad array of artistic disciplines and expressions which include dance, music, theatre, visual and media arts, literary arts, traditional and folk arts, as well as the infrastructure that connects artistic work with audiences and participants (Redford & Lynch, 2009). In this research, the focus is on visual arts which have components such as painting, sculpture, and printmaking.

- **Foreign Missions in Ghana**

In laying emphasis on Ghana's foreign missions, the capital of Ghana currently hosts about 82 Embassies and High Commissions – made up of forty-nine (49) Embassies, ten (10) High Commissions, three (3) Consulates General and finally, twenty (20) Consulates (Diplomatic Missions in Ghana, 1994 - 2019).

- **(Para) Diplomatic Relations**

Diplomacy in this respect tends to be related to IR and high international politics as managed in the transactions of the agents of sovereigns. Given that this study is situated in the context of IR and low international politics, the notion of paradiplomacy is germane and therefore a paradigmatic guide. Paradiplomacy (also known as multilayered diplomacy) has to do with international relations initiated, managed by, or in conjunction with governments and a motley of subnational, regional, or local governments, non-governmental organizations, or individual actors. Paradiplomacy is different from diplomacy in the traditional sense in terms of the actors involved and resources required for the execution of given agendas: unlike diplomacy, traditionally understood, paradiplomacy is primarily driven by horizontally arrayed interactions between actors devoid of zero-sum interactions or hard-nosed bargaining (Duran, 2015; Chatterji & Saha, 2017; Paquin, 2019; Aldecoa & Keating, 1999). Furthermore, diplomacy, when the occasion demands, often requires the use of (military) force/coercion (Crystal, 2016; Welzel, 2003); paradiplomacy is solely driven by creative aesthetic humanitarian/convivial values (Bleiker, *Aesthetics and World Politics*, 2009; Edkins & Kear, 2013; Hinderliter, Maimon, & Mansoor, 2009). Diplomacy as used in this study, therefore, means paradiplomacy.

## 1.7 Limitations

Some challenges were encountered during the process of data collection. Even though forty-five (45) respondents from the categories below promised to grant audience, the initial timelines negotiated with them was severely undermined and distorted by the COVID-19 Pandemic outbreak: They were captured as:

- Diplomatic Corps
- Policy Makers
- The Arts Community
- The Arts Market and
- Exclusion Criteria (some Directors of various institutions, Businessmen/women, Bankers, Historians and ordinary Ghanaian citizens)

The screengrabs (under **4.2 – Design of the Study**) are a sample of communications indicating some of the challenges encountered.

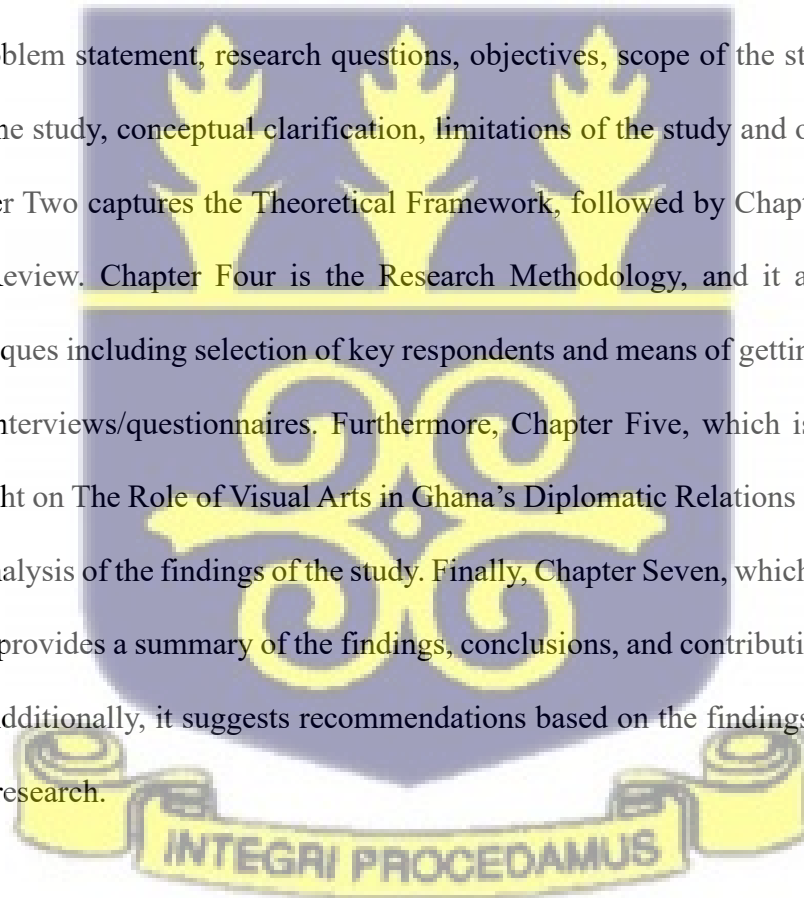
Through a strict chain referral system, data was administered to bring the total to the exact number of forty-five respondents. This challenge, however, did not impede the completion and quality of this work and it was mitigated with the use of high-profile interviews from some institutions such as the British Council, Confucius Institute at the University of Ghana, The Institute of African Studies (Legon), and The Goethe Institute (Cantonments), to get results aligned with the expectations of key questions.

Furthermore, with the surge of the COVID-19 (Coronavirus) pandemic, it became necessary for some of the questionnaire to be administered on-line by email with two (2) conducted through a

zoom conference call. The scare of the pandemic may have influenced hurried responses from some of the participants especially during the months of March and April 2020. Certain statements could also not be clarified from some respondents in the Diplomatic Corps category as would have been appropriate as compared to a pre-COVID-19 schedule – this was because the lock-down prevented people from being engaged for long. However, in the end, it was worth carrying out the research despite the challenges encountered.

## 1.8 Organization of Chapters

The thesis is structured into seven chapters. Chapter One provides information on the background of the study, problem statement, research questions, objectives, scope of the study, rationale and justification of the study, conceptual clarification, limitations of the study and organization of the chapters. Chapter Two captures the Theoretical Framework, followed by Chapter Three which is the Literature Review. Chapter Four is the Research Methodology, and it addresses the data collection techniques including selection of key respondents and means of getting other sources of data aside the interviews/questionnaires. Furthermore, Chapter Five, which is the focus of the study, throws light on The Role of Visual Arts in Ghana's Diplomatic Relations and Chapter Six is made up of an analysis of the findings of the study. Finally, Chapter Seven, which is the last chapter in this research, provides a summary of the findings, conclusions, and contribution of this research to knowledge. Additionally, it suggests recommendations based on the findings and directions or areas for future research.



## CHAPTER TWO

### THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

#### 2.0 Introduction

The study is conducted within the framework of Constructivism and delves into the connection between Constructivism and interdependence. It further highlights some scholars like Wendt, Onuf and Kant to mention just a few, who are associated with this theory. Although it has been critiqued by some Neo-realists and others, its relevance which is key and particularly important to the research is drawn. This chapter also helps to explain that the world is socially constructed, implying that constructivists can investigate global change and transformation, acknowledging that their focus is on human consciousness and treat ideas as structural factors, affirming that knowledge shapes how actors interpret and construct social reality (Barnett, Michael, 2011).

The rise of constructivism, including its impact on global change, to mention just a few, are also discussed. In international relations, Constructivism asserts that “important aspects of international relations are historically and socially constructed, instead of coming about as inevitable consequences of human nature or other things coordinated with world politics (Guzzini, 2000). Constructivism was originated by Nicholas Onuf to describe theories that stress the socially constructed character of international relations, although contemporary constructivist theory traces its roots to pioneering works not only by Onuf but also scholars like Martha Finnmore, Hayward R. Alker, Alexander Wendt and Friedrich Kratochil. However, the best-known advocate of social constructivism in the field of international relations is Alexander Wendt (Peltonen, 2017).

According to Michael Barnett, from very humble beginnings, constructivism is currently regarded as one of the leading schools in international relations. Hitherto, it was not in existence about twenty years ago although it had been proclaimed by the leading American Journal of International Relations, International Organization, that the next great debate will be between rationalism and constructivism (Barnett, 2016). True to that, constructivism is now widely recognised for its ability to capture notable features of global politics and seen as an important theory of international relations.

## 2.1 The Role of Theory in International Relations

Until the end of the cold war in 1989, two dominant theories structured the study of international relations, notably realism and idealism/liberalism. The said theories were based on assumptions which were faithfully upheld by the schools of thought of the perspectives. Even though the theories of realism and idealism were useful in making sense of the politics in the global context as structured by the ideological rivalry between the USA and the USSR, none of the theories was able to predict the end of the cold war, the collapse of the Soviet Union as well as the subsequent emergence of a unipolar global order after 1989. It was this development which created the room for the theory of constructivism in the study of international relations. The point of all this is that theories can be all encompassing, but they also have their limitations in the context of empirical developments.

Therefore, it must be noted that using a theoretical framework of wider extent becomes almost indispensable. In this sense, Bardhok Bashota propounds those international relations theories are paths or means used by scholars to provide explanation on these developments. Among numerous

international relations theories, three key theories are constant: liberalism, realism and rationalism (Bashota, 2016).

## 2.2 Constructivism

The theory of constructivism was put together in the aftermath of the cold war as a way of adjusting the scientific perspectives by which the post-cold war reality of world politics can be understood (Keohane R. O., 1988). Unlike the traditional theoretical perspectives of realism and idealism which are cast in rigid framework of analysis, constructivism is based on the conviction that states, being self-interested actors in perpetual competition, do not constrain their actions through a dogmatic adherence to theory. Rather, they resort to pragmatic selective construction of ideas/perspectives which at any given moment will enhance their power in their interactions with other states (Theys, 2018). Events in politics do not always follow the expectations of theoretical predictions. It is not also always the case that actors fully understand the nature of their political environments. Given this, it is possible for political events to be contingent and whose effects cannot be understood beforehand. Also given that actors do not fully understand their environment, they mostly experiment, innovate or try their luck with the hope that the outcomes they prefer will come to pass. Constructivism lends itself to these realities of political events and human actions.

Everything we know about the world is socially constructed. This view refers to the nature of reality and nature of knowledge that are also called ontology and epistemology in research. Wendt gives a classic example when he illustrates the social construction of reality in his 1992 article “Anarchy is What States Make of It: The Social Construction of Power Politics”. In it, he explains using five hundred British nuclear weapons as less threatening to the United States than five North

Korean nuclear weapons. It further demonstrates that constructivists go beyond the material reality by including the effect of ideas and beliefs on world politics and shows that reality is always under construction, which opens the prospect for change. In other words, Sarina Theys propounds those meanings are not fixed but can change over time depending on the ideas and beliefs that the actors hold (Theys, *Introducing Constructivism in International Relations Theory*, 2018).

But constructivism has deeper roots; it is not an entirely novel approach. It also grows out of an old methodology that can be traced back at least to the eighteenth-century writings of the Italian philosopher, Giambattista Vico. According to Vico, the natural world is made by God, but the historical world is made by Man. History is not some kind of unfolding or evolving process that is external to human affairs. People make their own history. They also make states which are historical constructs. States are artificial creations and the state system is artificial too; it is made by men and women and if they want to, they can change it and develop it in new ways (Jackson & Sorensen , 2006).

### **2.3 Constructivism and Interdependence**

The end of the Cold War and the increasing pace of globalization, coupled with nations relying on each other has taken on greater importance in international relations. While interdependence between nations may focus on security community or security culture, the constructivist perspective offers additional conceptual tools through its insight into the issues of human consciousness, national identity, and interest formation. In referencing Wendt's "Anarchy is What States Make of It: The Social Construction of Power Politic" (1992) and Ruggie's "What Makes the World Hang Together? Neo-Utilitarianism and the Social Constructivist" (1998), Tsai asserts

that various phenomena of importance to international society can be better understood by or is more meaningful when viewed through the theoretical lens of constructivism (Tsai, 2009).

## 2.4 Some Scholars Associated with Constructivism

Alexander Wendt is considered the best-known advocate of social constructivism in the field of international relations. Wendt emphasizes the role of shared ideas and norms in shaping state behaviour and is critical of both liberal and realists' approaches to the study of international relations which, he argues, emphasize materialist and individualistic motivations for state actions rather than norms and shared values as they should (Wendt, 1992)

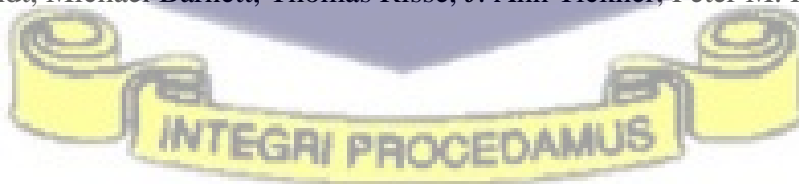
Contemporary constructivist theory traces its roots to pioneering work not only by Onuf, but also by Hayward R. Alker, Jr., Richard K. Ashley, Martha Finnemore, Friedrich Kratochwil, John Ruggie, and Christian Reus-Smit. Several strands of constructivism have been identified. On the one hand, there are constructivist scholars such as Martha Finnemore, Kathryn Sikkink, Peter Katzenstein, Elizabeth Kier, and Alexander Wendt, whose work have been widely accepted within the mainstream international relations community and has generated vibrant scholarly discussions among realists, liberals, institutionalists, and constructivists (Kiff, 2008).

A classic example is again given by Ted Hopf's study of The Soviet and Russian foreign policy that also focuses on the domestic formation of identity to understand how national interests are defined and what foreign policies they lead to. He seeks to provide 'an account of how a state's own domestic identities constitute a social cognitive structure that makes threats and opportunities, enemies and allies, intelligible, thinkable, and possible'. State identity is expressed through key

decision-makers. The identity of key decision makers is uncovered through textual sources, including archives, journals, newspapers, memoirs, and textbooks. These two case-studies were undertaken in Moscow in 1955 and 1999 respectively. The claim is that the reconstructed domestic identities go a long way in explaining Soviet/Russian foreign policy in 1955 and 1999 (Jackson & Sorensen , 2006).

Immanuel Kant is another forerunner for social constructivism and argues that one can obtain knowledge about the world, but it will always be subjective knowledge in the sense that it is filtered through human consciousness. Max Weber emphasized that the social world, made up of human interaction, is fundamentally different from the natural world of physical phenomena. “Human beings rely on ‘understanding’ of each other’s actions and assigning ‘meaning’ to them. In order to comprehend human interaction, we cannot merely describe it in the way we describe physical phenomena, such as a boulder falling off a cliff; we need a different kind of interpretive understanding, or ‘verstehen’. Is the pat of another person’s face a punishment or a caress? We cannot know until we assign meaning to the act. Weber concluded that “subjective understanding is the specific characteristic of sociological knowledge” (Kalberg, 1980). Constructivists rely on such insights to emphasize the importance of ‘meaning’ and ‘understanding’ (Fierke & Jorgensen, 2001). Other notable constructivists in international relations include the following:<sup>6</sup>

Anthony C. Arendt, Michael Barnett, Thomas Risse, J. Ann Tickner, Peter M. Haas and Kathleen R. McNamara.



---

<sup>6</sup> See: These are some key constructivists who assume that interstate and inter-organizational relations are always at some level linguistic contexts. Thus they bridge international relations theory and social theory

## 2.5 Some Issues and Criticisms of the Theory of Constructivism

Since neorealism is the main theoretical opponent for most constructivists, it is imperative to begin with a neorealist critique of the constructivist approach. First, neorealists are sceptical about the importance that constructivists attach to norms, particularly, international norms. Such norms surely exist, but they are routinely disregarded if that is in the interest of powerful states. Ever since the Peace of Westphalia in 1648, writes Stephen Krasner: “Powerful states have violated the autonomy and the integrity of weak ones”. The Peace of Westphalia included elaborate provisions concerning religious practices within Germany and specified electoral procedures for the selection of the Holy Roman Emperor. Hardly a testimony to respect for sovereign autonomy. Every other major post-war settlement since 1648 has attempted to restructure domestic political institutions in defeated states. If there is an international society out there it has not had much more impact on the behaviour of states than conventional norms about sex, family, and marriage now have on the behaviour of individuals in North America and Europe (Krasner, 1995-1996).

At the same time, neorealists are not ready to accept that states can easily become friends due to their social interaction. Such a goal may be ‘desirable in principle, but not realizable in practice, because the structure of the international system forces states to behave as egoists. Anarchy, offensive capabilities, and uncertain intentions combine to leave states with little choice but to compete aggressively with each other. For realists, trying to infuse states with communitarian norms is a hopeless cause’ (Mearshiemer, 2001). The major problem that states face in anarchy according to neorealists, is a problem that is not sufficiently analysed by constructivists; it is the problem of uncertainty. According to Dale Copeland, uncertainty is about the present intentions of other states, and it is about future intentions of other states. At any given moment, there may be

peace and quiet in the international system. But in anarchy, states are always seeking security with moves in one direction being misread by other states; that is what the security dilemma is all about. 'Realism only needs states to be uncertain about the present and future interests of the other, and in anarchies of great powers, such uncertainty may often be profound' (Copeland, 2000). Furthermore, Copeland posits that Wendt's constructivist analysis overly downplays the fact that states have difficulties in obtaining trustworthy information about the motives and intentions of other states. The problem of uncertainty is significantly increased by the fact of deception. Constructivists tend to assume that social interaction between states is always sincere and that states genuinely attempt to express and understand each other's motives and intentions. But there is a pervasive element of deception in the relations between many states.

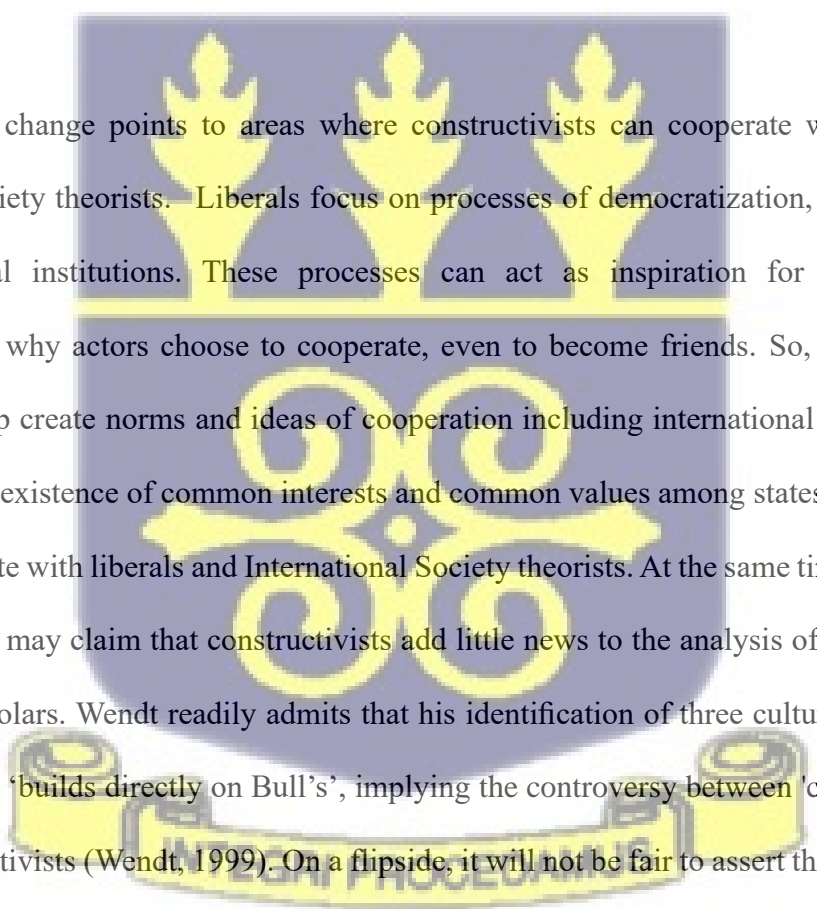
Deceptive actors tend to stage-manage the situation to create impressions that serve their narrow ends, and other actors, especially in world politics, will understand this (Copeland, 2000). What is being portrayed here is, do states pretend to paint peaceful pictures or they are peaceful? In the case of the Hitler–Stalin pact it was clear to most that it was not based on good and sincere intentions about cooperation between the two states; but it is easy to find other examples where states say one thing and mean another. A classic example is given in the analysis of Ted Hopf where comments made by Khrushchev at a party gathering, advocated for closer ties between China and Germany. That is only part of the story. That same year, 1955, Khrushchev warned West German Chancellor, Konrad Adenauer, in private conversations that China represented a real threat to the USSR and to the West, making one wonder about the real Khrushchevian view of China? One cannot explain Soviet policy in 1955 without engaging in that discussion (Wishnick, 2004). Against this critique, constructivists will maintain that anarchy is a more complex entity than posited by

neorealists. It need not always lead to self-help, mutual aggression and the risk of violent conflict. The claim by Mearsheimer, that realism was the dominant discourse from about the start of the late medieval period in 1300 to 1989, and that states and other political entities behaved according to realist dictates during these seven centuries is not accurate; without incorporating a focus on ideas and social interaction, on the formation of interests and identities, it will not be possible, say constructivists, to produce a precise analysis about the nature of anarchy in particular historical periods. Furthermore, it may be true that shared ideas about friendship do not reflect a deep commitment between some states; but that point can be addressed by carefully analysing the ‘degree of internalization’ of shared ideas.

Neorealists, in turn, retort that Wendt’s first degree of internalization reflects a thin commitment to shared ideas among states; at the same time this ‘first degree’ level is commonplace in the real world. Wendt’s ‘first degree’ is thus in effect, another way of admitting the core relevance of the neorealist analysis of anarchy.

Another critique by neorealists concerns the constructivist view of change. Constructivists ‘provide few insights on why discourses rise and fall and say little about why realism has been the dominant discourse, and why its foundations are so shaky. They certainly do not offer a well-defined argument that deals with this important issue. Nevertheless, constructivists occasionally point to factors that might lead to changes in international relations discourse. In such cases, however, they usually end up arguing that change in the material world drive changes in discourse (Mearshiemer, 2001). Robert Jervis contends that constructivists fail to explain ‘how norms are formed, how identities are shaped, and how interests are defined as they do. Constructivism does

not, by itself, tell us something about the processes at work in political life, it does not, by itself, tell us anything about the expected content of foreign policies or international relations' (Walt, 1998). Constructivists claim that they do study change. It is rather neorealism that downplays change by claiming international relations to be a repetition of 'the same damned things repeatedly', that is, a constant logic of anarchy. Constructivists, by contrast, claim that they most certainly study change, through the analysis of social interaction. Regarding the mechanisms of change, Adler argues that some constructivists emphasize collective learning, cognitive evolution, epistemic change and the "life cycles of norms", all of which involve the institutionalization of people's knowledge, practices and discourses (Adler, 2001).

The image features a large, semi-transparent watermark of the University of Ghana crest in the background. The crest is a shield-shaped emblem with a blue field and yellow symbols. At the top are three stylized flames. Below them is a horizontal bar. The center of the shield contains a complex, symmetrical yellow design resembling a stylized 'G' or a traditional Ghanaian symbol. At the bottom of the shield is a banner with the Latin motto 'VERITAS PROCEdit' (Truth leads forward).

The analysis of change points to areas where constructivists can cooperate with liberals and international society theorists. Liberals focus on processes of democratization, interdependence and international institutions. These processes can act as inspiration for a constructivist interpretation of why actors choose to cooperate, even to become friends. So, in effect, liberal progress can help create norms and ideas of cooperation including international society theorists emphasizing the existence of common interests and common values among states. Constructivists can thus cooperate with liberals and International Society theorists. At the same time, International Society theorists may claim that constructivists add little news to the analysis of anarchy already produced by scholars. Wendt readily admits that his identification of three cultures of anarchy is an argument that 'builds directly on Bull's', implying the controversy between 'conventional' and 'critical' constructivists (Wendt, 1999). On a flipside, it will not be fair to assert that constructivists do not bring anything on board. Their emphasis on the importance of social theory and the detailed analyses of social interaction in international relations breaks new ground. And as can be seen

above, several constructivists emphasize the role of domestic norms, an area little studied by International Society theorists. It is also interesting to note that some Marxists are also critical of constructivism. Wallerstein's world system theory focuses on the material structure of global capitalism and its development since the sixteenth century. That analysis leaves little room for the social interaction analysed by constructivists.

It is said that Robert Cox's neo-Marxist view of 'historical structures' makes more room for 'ideas' and will thus be more sympathetic to a constructivist approach. In sum, neorealism remains the main contender and intellectual opponent for constructivist theory. When it comes to liberal and International Society theory, and even to some versions of neo-Marxist theory, constructivists can find more room for intellectual cooperation and ongoing debate among constructivists concerns about basic social theory. The outline made above recorded the controversy between 'conventional' and 'critical' constructivists. From the 'conventional' camp, Emanuel Adler argues that in order to make an impact in the discipline of international relations, constructivists need to develop a coherent constructivist methodological base that suggests a practical alternative to imitating the physical sciences (Adler, 2001). Maja Zehfuss critiques constructivist theories of international relations (currently considered to be at the cutting edge of the discipline) from a standpoint and finds them wanting and even politically dangerous. Zehfuss uses Germany's first shift toward using its military abroad after the end of the Cold War to illustrate why constructivism does not work and how it leads to analytical outcomes and forecloses others. She argues that scholars are limiting their abilities to act responsibly in international relations by looking towards constructivism as the future. She posits that the assertion of an independently existing reality, which cannot be proved and seems to demand no proof, works to support political positions and to exclude others from

consideration (Zehfuss, 2002). In other words, clarification of basic social theory is important for the constructivist research programme. The debate about basic theory is of course relevant for the constructivist ambition of demonstrating that ‘ideas matter’.

Finally, it will be important for constructivists to further clarify the relationship to the approaches that have dominated international relations so far: realism, liberalism, International Society and International Political Economy. One may wonder and debate whether there will ever be fruitful cooperation among the theories since early constructivist contributions indicated a deep gulf between materialist neorealism and a norms-idea focused constructivism. The debate has demonstrated that the gulf is much smaller: neorealists do recognize the importance of ideas as well as constructivists recognizing the importance of material factors. In general, it can be deduced that constructivist research is as compatible with a realist worldview as with any other. Having a realist constructivism could prove useful in international relations theory beyond clarifying methodological debates, including helping to specify the relationship between the study of power in international politics and the study of international relations as a social construction.

## **2.6 Deployment of Theory: The Relevance of Constructivism to the Research Work**

Constructivists have demonstrated that ‘ideas matter’ in international relations. They have shown that culture and identity help define the interests and constitute the actors in international relations. It will therefore be important for all students of international relations to be familiar with the important debates raised by constructivists, about basic social theory and about the different ways in which ideas matter in international relations.

Identity matters in international politics. The pursuit of status and the desire to play a particular international-social role can condition states' foreign and policy choices. Culture impacts the way that states interpret security threats, formulate strategy, and ultimately fight. Nationalism causes political communities to be constituted as nation-states. Yet despite a recognition of such a role for identity, that does not mean that it offers the promise of a fundamental transformation of international relations – particularly great power relations – away from the competition and periodic conflict predicted by realism. While social role (in the case of the arts) may be an interest of states, it is necessarily subordinate to, rather than constitutive of survival, security, peace and prosperity: all of which have a material base. Since states cannot be sure of other states' intentions, moreover – particularly their future intentions – securing these material interests requires guarding against the threat potentially posed by others. Just as Wendt posits that constructivists believe that norms, customs, culture and learning can change the behaviors and interests of a country's citizenry, so are the arts that can unite people of diverse cultures, using painting, sculpture and textiles, thereby bringing better understanding, appreciation of each other, thus promoting lasting peace. 'Unlike rationalism, which sees anarchy as the inevitable result of self-help, constructivism sees anarchy as created by the state, and as susceptible to change by state intervention' (Wendt, 1992).

Against the background of the foregoing, Ghana, in principle, can 'construct' its national identity by leveraging the Arts as a component of a paradiplomatic strategy. Perhaps its general status as a lowly ranked state with limited hard power capabilities may instruct that its best option will be to make itself uniquely attractive and by that seek to make gains that may feed into its national objectives. The viability of such national identity construction is indicated by the interdependent

structure of the world order which implies that beyond economic and military power as will be required by anarchy, states that have soft resources can be leveraged. Constructivism, therefore, is germane to the character of the Ghanaian state. This is much more so in the context of this study, which with its focus on the arts, presupposes the inherent importance of constructive creativity in international affairs.

## 2.7 Conclusion

Constructivism is often said to simply state the obvious – that actions, interactions, and perceptions shape reality. Constructivists offer alternative explanations and insights for events occurring in the social world. They show, for instance, that it is not only the distribution of material power, wealth and geographical conditions that can explain state behaviour but also ideas, identities and norms. It would also not be an exaggeration to say that constructivism has hugely contributed to the development of the study of international relations as well, providing novel insights and distinct ways of understanding of social and international reality with its own added value—by focusing on the role of ideas, identity, and norms in shaping state preferences and world politics (Jung, 2019). According to how some international relations scholars perceive the world in connection with the ‘Ivory Tower Survey conducted by Foreign Policy’, these scholars deduced that, with an attachment to the constructivist approach, (22%) outnumbered either the liberal (21%) or realist (16%) camp for the first time in the year 2011.<sup>7</sup>

Hoyoon Jung propounds that “from prospect to prosperity might be the best indication of the evolution and the development of constructivist approach over the past two decades in

---

<sup>7</sup> See: Article available at <https://foreignpolicy.com/2012/01/03/the-ivory-tower-survey/>

international relations” (Jung, 2019). It is therefore deduced that the paradox of international relations constructivism being a success but also a disappointment for many constructivists, can be understood through constructivism’s evolutionary path. While the disappointment is understandable, it is however misplaced because it is a process which takes time that eventually ends well.



## CHAPTER THREE

### LITERATURE REVIEW

#### 3.0 Introduction

This chapter focuses on identity construction and its place in international affairs. It also highlights the distinction between art and the arts as used in this study as well as how the arts feature in diplomatic relations.

A lot of scholarly work has been done and produced in the area of Identity Construction in International Relations, and in other ways connected to the topic. However, relatively few scholars have examined or connected identity construction to the arts. The review of literature is divided into the following themes:

- General review of Identity Construction in the international system
- Interdependence in the area of culture in International Relations
- General studies on Art and Arts and reasons for choosing the latter
- Overview of arts in Ghanaian culture and its impact on diplomatic relations

#### 3.1 General Review on Identity Construction in the International System

This section reviews the literature on the definition and history of identity construction based on the studies which have been conducted on it in the international system. “Identity” in its historical, contemporary and novel complex of meanings, derives, most of all, from Erik Erikson’s work in the 1950s – where he used “crises” to describe a series of internal conflicts that are linked to developmental stages especially during the adolescent stage and goes on to say that “the way a person resolves the crises will determine their personal identity and future development” (Morelli

, 1995-2019). By the 1970s, the word used in this sense had acquired a highly successful life of its own in ordinary language and many social science disciplines. Under the influence of postmodernism and debates over multiculturalism, the late 1980s and 1990s found historians, anthropologists and most of all humanities scholars relying ever more heavily on “identity” as they explored the cultural politics of race, class, ethnicity, gender, sexuality, citizenship and other social categories (Fearon, What is Identity (As we now use the word)?, 1999). Since the past two decades, general research on identity has directly been opposed to or been in contrast with traditional concerns, stemming from a shift largely fueled by three important trends as follows:

- i. For decades, there has been a shift from the social and nationalist movement to issues of group agency and political action. As a result of this, research on identities have been relocated to the site of the collective and grouped with gender/sexuality, race/ethnicity, and class, forming the “holy trinity” of the discursive field (Appiah & Gates 1995:1). So generally, identity constitutes a collective and the political implications that result from collective definitions (Cerulo, 1997).
- ii. Intellectual concerns with agency and self-direction have re-energized the study of identification processes. At the level of the collective, scholars are examining the mechanics by which distinctions are created, maintained, and changed (Cerulo, 1997)
- iii. With the surge of globalization, information and communication technologies have taken the stage, relegating the former modes of slow communication where the presence of person was needed to make an impact. All these have contributed tremendously to the construction of the self with other developments such as “I” and “me” leading to other interesting developments.

Identity construction and identity are two words used interchangeably in this research. Parker J. Palmer in his work, “The Heart of a Teacher: Identity and Integrity in Teaching” defines identity as “an ever-evolving core within where our genetics (biology), culture, loved ones, those we care for, people who have harmed us and people we have harmed, the deeds done (good and ill) to self and others, experiences lived, and choices made come together to form who we are at this moment”. At a point, either family, cultural, personal, or other traits may play roles in shaping one’s identity (Palmer, 2010).

James D. Fearon contributes to the definition by asserting that an “identity refers to either (a) a social category, defined by membership rules and (alleged) characteristic attributes or expected behaviours, or (b) socially distinguishing features that a person takes a special pride in or views as unchangeable but socially consequential (or (a) and (b) at once). In the latter sense, “identity” is modern formulation of dignity, pride, or honour that implicitly links these to social categories” (Fearon, What is Identity (As we now use the word)?, 1999). To the author, this definition makes the impact of identity more concrete and to better understand how “identity” can help explain political actions, and the meaning of claims such as “identities are socially constructed.”

Many scholars have devoted much new research to the identity politics of race, gender and sexuality. In comparative politics, identity plays a central role in works on nationalism and ethnic conflict (Horowitz 1985; Smith 1991; Deng 1995; Laitin 1999). In international relations, the idea of “state identity” is at the heart of constructivist critiques of realism and analyses of state sovereignty (Wendt 1992; Wendt 1999; Katzenstein 1996; Lapid and Kratochwil 1996; Biersteker and Weber 1996). In political theory, questions of “identity” mark numerous arguments on gender,

sexuality, nationality, ethnicity and culture in relation to liberalism and its alternatives (Young 1990; Connolly 1991; Kymlicka 1995; Miller 1995; Taylor 1989). Compared to recent scholarship in history and the humanities, however, political scientists remain laggards when it comes to work on identities. Due to influences ranging from Michel Foucault to the debate on multiculturalism, the historical and cultural construction of identities of all sorts has lately been a preoccupation for both social historians and students of literature and culture. Despite this vastly increased and broad-ranging interest in “identity,” the concept itself remains something of an enigma.<sup>8</sup> The study of identity forms a critical cornerstone within modern sociological thought. Introduced by the works of Cooley and Mead, identity studies have evolved and grown central to current sociological discourse (Cerulo, 1997).

Identity is also linked to racial and cultural heritage, sexual preference, age, social class and issues of gender. Early socialization and people’s expectation especially from family, friends and community also shapes one’s identity. In his book, “Introducing Identity”, David Buckingham asserts that “our identity is something we uniquely possess: it is what distinguishes us from other people. Yet on the other hand, identity also implies a relationship with a broader collective or social group of some kind”. Mention of national identity, cultural identity, or gender identity, for example, implies that “identity is partly a matter of what we share with other people”. Identity is about identification with others whom we assume are like us (if not the same), at least in some significant ways. Through another lens, identity is constructed by ourselves, especially from the tensions between these two aspects. According to Buckingham, one “may struggle to be himself

---

<sup>8</sup> See: James Fearon tries summarizing that given the centrality of the concept to so much recent research and especially in social science where scholars take identities both as things to be explained and things that have explanatory force, this amounts almost to a scandal (Fearon, What is Identity (As we now use the word)?, 1999)

or to find his true self,” yet multiple identifications with others, on the basis of social, cultural, and biological characteristics, as well as shared values, personal histories, and interests<sup>9</sup> makes one entirely free to choose how one defines him or herself” (Buckingham, 2008). This statement explains that some aspects of our identities are constructed for us while others are constructed by ourselves (Dowling, 2011). Identity Construction is an integral component of the human species which has been researched and explored through many different venues. By using a vast array of mediums and techniques, artists have projected identity of self and society through the means of visual representation (Dowling, 2011).

Identity construction can be said to be some kind of social tool(s) used for reducing the overwhelming challenges that come with living and dealing with a big world populated by people and things we find strange and not very familiar with. By assigning identities and categories to people and phenomena, mankind began both the orderly and controlled organization of what would otherwise have been a chaotic and meaningless world. The phenomenon has since evolved into a complex socio-political tool with far reaching consequences that affect and determine the destinies of people and nations. What we think and how we feel about ourselves and other people, and what plans or actions we make and take in respect of our relations with people and nations, are largely determined by what identities we assign or project or are projected by others towards us. These factors, in a fundamental way, explain why nations or continents differ from each other. This has been elaborated through Hegel’s perspective on the philosophical doctrines and ideas he espoused in his writings about Africa, which has greatly influenced Europe’s racial construction of the continent as a people “unfitted by ‘nature’” (Cowen and Shenton 2005:155), which are narratives

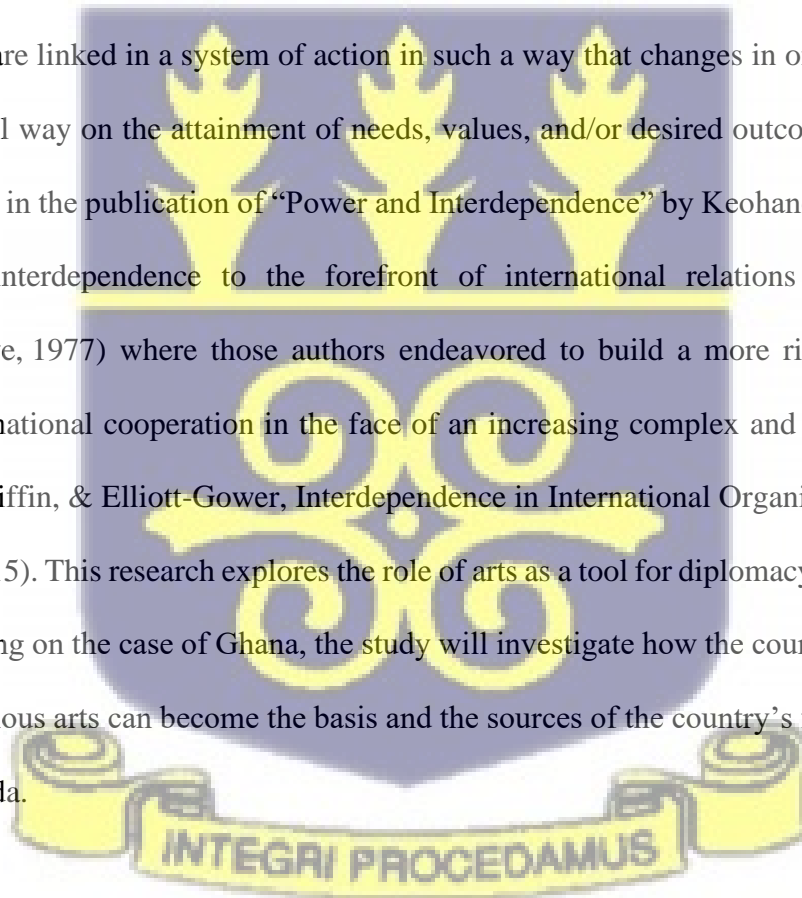
---

<sup>9</sup> See: Buckingham explains here that indeed the term is both ‘ambiguous and slippery’ as has been elaborated.

played out in Africa's enslavement, colonialization and by extension the current phenomenon of globalization in a subtle way. Similar methods have been employed in the Anglo-American construction of Iraq's image as an emerging nuclear power during the Bush and Blair era to prosecute the so-called war on terrorism. The cold war of the 1950s and 60s could as well be said to be a war of who gets to wield the most control of the construction of identity on the international stage<sup>10</sup> (Melissen J. , 2005).

### 3.2 Interdependence in the Area of Culture in International Relations

Interdependence means more than simple interconnectedness. It entails a relationship in which two or more parties are linked in a system of action in such a way that changes in one party impact in some meaningful way on the attainment of needs, values, and/or desired outcomes of the others. This can be seen in the publication of "Power and Interdependence" by Keohane and Nye in 1977 which brought interdependence to the forefront of international relations (IR) scholarship (Keohane & Nye, 1977) where those authors endeavored to build a more rigorous theory for explaining international cooperation in the face of an increasing complex and globalizing world order (Coate, Griffin, & Elliott-Gower, *Interdependence in International Organization and Global Governance*, 2015). This research explores the role of arts as a tool for diplomacy and international relations. Drawing on the case of Ghana, the study will investigate how the country's rich cultural heritage and various arts can become the basis and the sources of the country's foreign policy and diplomacy agenda.



---

<sup>10</sup> See: Jan Melissen joins the debate with experts from different countries and from a variety of fields to analyse the theory and practice of public diplomacy. They also evaluate how public diplomacy can be successfully used to support foreign policy.

### 3.3 General Studies on Art and Arts, and reasons for choosing the latter (Arts)

Since the 1950s, as opined by the Aesthetician, George Dickie (one of the most famous art philosophers), many Philosophers and art critics, after several arguments, had come to the conclusion that it was very difficult to define art. Weitz noted, for example, that “the very expansive, adventurous character of art, its ever-present changes and novel creations, make it logically impossible to ensure any set of defining properties” (Torres & Kamhi, 2000). W. E. Kennick argued two years later that since art has no definite functions, it cannot possibly be defined.

In Ayn Rand’s “Esthetic Theory, What Art is”, two independent scholars and critics, Torres and Kamhi, present a clear introduction, contrasting Rand’s ideas with those of other artists, including contemporary ones that “all such work, however incomprehensible, is art” (Torres & Kamhi, 2000). However, philosopher and novelist, Ayn Rand, has opined that what some people purport to be “art is really not art at all” (Torres & Kamhi, 2000). Her view on art is that an artwork presents a philosophy, or simply put, a basic view of life.

Another dimension to this twist and argument is that Rand’s theory debunks or shows how less important works of prominent and accomplished modernists and post-modernist artists such as Pablo Picasso, Anita Malfatti, Henri Matisse, and in Ghana, Wiz Edinam, Ablade Glover, Ato Delaquis and others, are. The following definitions that follow, show that Rand’s theory could be

a misleading argument. The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy makes it clear that defining art has been debated several times making it a matter of controversy.<sup>11</sup>

Walton posits that this has become confusing, and it seems it is the same old cultural practices and issues about art being addressed without arriving at a logical conclusion (Walton, 1997). The Webster dictionary defines art as “...the application of any creative skill and imagination through forms that can be perceived such as drawing and painting, sculpture and other visual forms appreciated for the beauty they evoke as well as having emotional power.” Within the political context of international relations, art would imply the employment of the most effective cultural devices which can help a nation construct, project and maintain a positive image on the world stage.

On the other hand, arts or (the arts) simply refers to the various types or branches of any creative activity which include architecture, music, drawing and painting, sculpture, ceramics, and is executed by people with skills and imagination. Arts means different things to different people. Fundamentally, it reflects a set of ideas and the skills employed in translating those ideas and ideals into the desired social objective of progress and the enhancement and preservation of life. The arts not only include the traditional forms such as music, literature, landscape architecture, dance, painting, architecture, sculpture, and other visual arts, but also more recent additions such as photography, film, earthworks, performance and conceptual art, the crafts and decorative arts, contemporary digital innovations, and other cultural practices, including work and activities in the field of popular culture (Stecker & Gracyk, 1941).

---

<sup>11</sup> See: This had prevailed through the 1950s although their influence had subsided, the uneasiness in connection with the definitions still persisted. To date, there has not been a successful definition for art.

### 3.3.1 Definition of Art

Firstly, in order to distinguish Andy Warhol's Brillo Boxes from actual Brillo boxes, Snyder defines art as an embodied meaning. This challenges "the popular interpretation that art is an indefinable concept". Arthur Danto argues that a work of art is always defined by two criteria; meaning and embodiment, and the one a viewer contributes leading to the interpretation of an artwork (Snyder, 2010).

Secondly, Saul Bellow (1915-2005), an American novelist sees art "as when it has something to do with the achievement of stillness in the midst of chaos" (Herman, Judith. 2014). Leo Tolstoy (1828–1910), a Russian author, from his book - What is Art? Says of art..."to evoke in oneself a feeling one has experienced, and then, by means of movements, lines, colours, sounds or forms expressed in words, so to transmit that feeling—this is the activity of art."<sup>12</sup> Furthermore, Ablade Glover posits that "in Ghana, and in Africa more broadly, art is historically not separated from life. It is part of life. You don't think of art as a thing that is detached from everyday life. Art is a thing that is part of day-to-day activity. It is not a thing that you put on a wall and come to look at" – Ablade Glover.<sup>13</sup>

A very complicated way of defining art, the famous artist and arguably the best-known of all living African artists, El Anatsui, does not clearly define art because to him, they are different every time they are hung, he said, which for him gives them their force. He also suggests that one can always scramble it to make something new hence he has always looked for an art form that reflects that

---

<sup>12</sup> See: (Almyer, 1960)

<sup>13</sup> (Greslé, 2014)

dynamic freedom because life is not a fixed thing. At another point, he says “call it anything,” he laughs, “but they're not pre-planned. So, it's always a little bit of an accident” (Whyte, 2010). Finally, Ama Ata Aidoo sums it up as Africans perceiving literature as serving a purpose: to expose, embarrass, and fight corruption and authoritarianism. It is thus understandable why the African artist in expressing himself is designed to be useful or simply utilitarian. She goes on further to link her secondary identity as an African to her primary Ghanaian roots (Asare-Kumi, 2010). These studies are important with the fact that different writers or authors define the term art differently and accord different connotations to it. Definitions vary and could be ambiguous and quite elusive. The study of art is also important since insight into various challenges are given, helping us to appreciate the role art must play even at the international level.

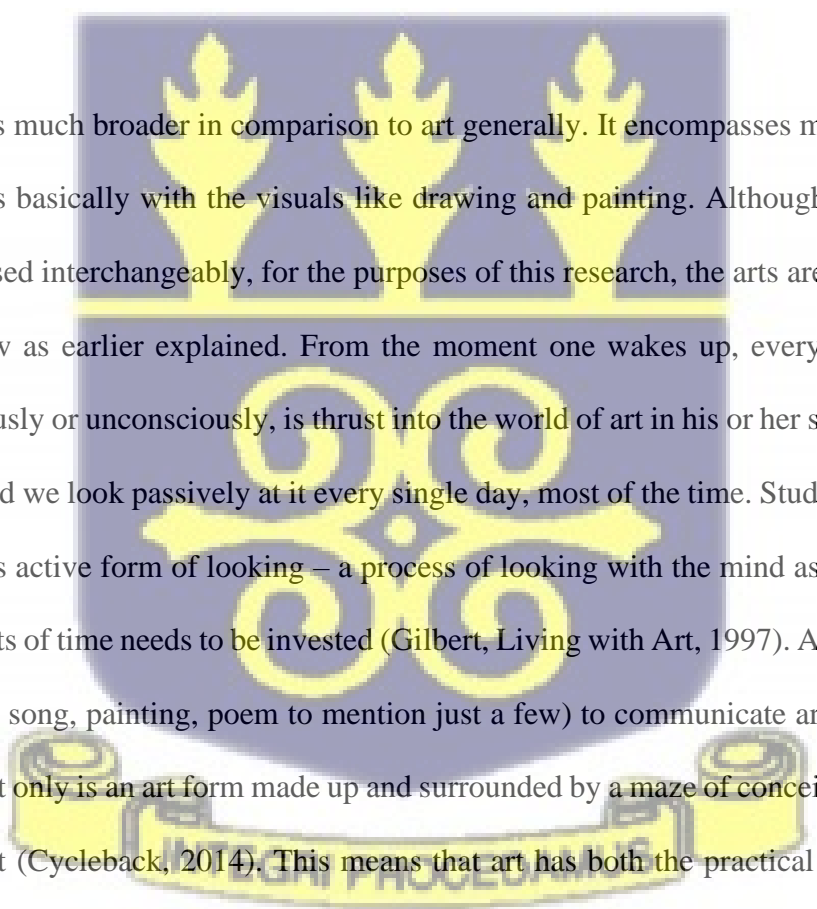
### ***3.3.2 Categories of Art***

The four different kinds or categories of art so far are:

- Literature or Literary arts (written books, prose, etc.)
- Performing arts (musical performances, dance, drama to mention just a few)
- Visual arts (paintings, Sculpture among other kinds of art)
- Multidisciplinary arts (combination of music, dancing and acting on the stage to create a new kind of experience for the viewer)

The literary works of great authors have evolved over time to represent the cultures and civilizations of the countries where these authors hail from - Plato, Aristotle, Voltaire, Moliere, Shakespeare, Chinua Achebe, Ayi Kwei Armah, and Wole Soyinka, are but a few examples of

how the literary arts can transcend national borders in the formation of the national identities and cultural pride of their respective people. Works of artists such as Leonardo Da Vinci, Michelangelo, Picasso, and Rembrandt, to name a few, also represent how the arts contribute to the soft politics of identity construction. They indicate the iconic power of images, and their subliminal effect on our perceptions cannot be underestimated. The ancient pyramids and sphinx (Egypt), the Eiffel Tower (Paris), The Taj Mahal Palace (India), The Kaaba (Saudi Arabia), the Statue of Liberty (USA), Christ the Redeemer Statue (Brazil), The leaning Tower of Pisa (Italy), the Larabanga Mosque (Ghana) are but a few architectural and artistic works that have come to symbolize and identify specific nations in international relations iconography (Sklair, 2006).

The logo of the University of Ghana is a watermark in the background. It features a shield with three golden flames at the top, a central golden emblem with a cross and four circles, and a banner at the bottom with the motto 'IN PROGRESSU'.

The arts or arts is much broader in comparison to art generally. It encompasses much more. Art is limited and deals basically with the visuals like drawing and painting. Although art and the arts are sometimes used interchangeably, for the purposes of this research, the arts are chosen because of its broad view as earlier explained. From the moment one wakes up, every sighted person, whether consciously or unconsciously, is thrust into the world of art in his or her surroundings. Art is everywhere and we look passively at it every single day, most of the time. Studying art involves a more conscious active form of looking – a process of looking with the mind as well as with the eyes, in which lots of time needs to be invested (Gilbert, Living with Art, 1997). Artists use various art forms (novel, song, painting, poem to mention just a few) to communicate an idea or ideas to the audience. Not only is an art form made up and surrounded by a maze of conceits, but each form is itself a conceit (Cycleback, 2014). This means that art has both the practical benefits and the inherent limitations of all conceits. Cycleback goes on further to say, in connection with how people think and feel from their standpoint, that an artistic conceit can be deep, trivial, traditional,

ephemeral, regional, worldwide, conflicting and so on. In this regard, one can conclude that art or the arts has no limitations just like the human mind.<sup>14</sup>

### ***3.3.3 The Arts in the Context of Low International Politics***

Notwithstanding the cited distinctions between Art and the Arts, they both serve as strategic links in IR and Ir. Indeed, they are important inputs in the preliminary phases of international integration efforts. The previously cited Keohane and Nye (1987) distinction between ‘high’ and ‘low’ politics is worthy of recollection once again that while the former has to do with the core national interests of states and as such borders on sovereign integrity and national survival, the latter refers to mundane actions of governance involving state and non-state actors. One will also once again reiterate the point that the Arts belong to the realm of Ir and low politics (Jenkins,1999; Conlin, 2001; Simoniti, 2021; Åhäll, 2009). Functionalism and its derivative neo-functionalism, instruct that the difficult terrain of strategic ambitions and government pursuit of (most likely zero-sum) national interests which can hamper international cooperation can be overcome when states embark on joint efforts in low political affairs. Over time, there will be spill-over effects into previously 'no go area' issues of high politics. The spill-over transition from low to high politics comes about as a result of the building up of trust in mundane issues which provides the confidence and familiarity needed to tackle difficult negotiating differences (Andersson, 2016; Riedel; 2008; Gehring, 1996). By and large, iterated rounds of interaction by several actors (governmental and non-governmental alike) consolidate into international regimes of trust and solidarity (Haas, 1980; Sani & Mohammadzadeh, 2016; Perez,2005; Bandyopadhyaya & Mukherjee, 2000). The

---

<sup>14</sup> See: The Art Historian and Philosopher, Cycleback, takes us on a journey to understanding the connection between reality and art by the same often nonconscious methods used in looking at them.

consolidation of the European Union (EU) from its inception in 1958 is due to the unifying power of spillover effects from cooperation in low politics issue areas to the level of high politics. Further, the arguments adduced by the 'gradualist' Monrovia Group in the 1960s against the Casablanca Bloc (who were vouching for the immediate establishment of a continental government) in the quest for African unity were informed by the integrative potential of spillover effects overtime (Frankie,2007). The subsequent section focuses on the extent to which culture features in Ghana's diplomatic initiatives.

### **3.4 Overview of Arts in the Ghanaian Culture and its Impact on Diplomatic Relations**

Having said this, the theoretical issues explored so far seem not to have been empirically operationalized or scientifically explored by the academia in Ghana. To be sure under the auspices of Kwame Nkrumah and the CPP, Ghana sought to carve a national identity for itself when it adopted the Black Star as its national symbol. Drawing inspiration from Marcus Garvey, it actively operationalized the symbolic meaning of the Black Star by linking its foreign policy at independence to the total liberation of the African continent (Thompson, 1969). Further, the government of Ghana in 1969 presented a Kente cloth called in Twi "Tikro Nnko Adjina" meaning "One Head Cannot Go into Council" to the United Nations (UN, 2018) in a bid to project the country's culture to the international community. In addition, Diplomats at the end of their tour of duty in Ghana are presented with carved stools by the President. Nevertheless, academic efforts to ascertain the extent to which these initiatives feed into any attempt to project soft power have been hardly probed. For instance, even though Ghana has a cultural policy with which it aims at projecting an African personality to the world (UNESCO, 1975; National Commission on Culture, 2004), the question of whether it feeds into a diplomatic strategy has not been addressed. The same

can be said about cultural initiatives such as PANAFEST, the Joseph Project, the Year of Return and Beyond the Year of Return (Obeng, 2020; Ghana Web, 2007; Tetteh,2020). The cited initiatives are primarily aimed at attracting the African Diaspora to Ghana to boost the tourism industry. Stretched to a logical conclusion they may be considered national identity initiatives. Nevertheless, how they form part of a systematic effort to diplomatically project soft power as a strategic link in Ghana's international affairs has not been addressed in scholarly circles. This study is therefore the first attempt in this respect.

Ghanaian arts go beyond concrete artifacts. It is also concerned with the social life of its people such as the various types of languages, literature, history, culture and many more. The arts in Ghana have survived many decades of transformation through the colonial era to emerge as one of the potential forces in the economic growth of the country. The gains from globalization and cultural diversification have been tremendous in terms of education and unprecedented technological innovations. Though traditional arts have been greatly influenced over the years by Western concepts and technology, the arts in Ghana still have more room for improvement in order to be sufficiently competitive in the global market. There are no qualms that globalization has digitally caused a great stir in the arts of the whole world. For a developing country like Ghana to measure up or make a remarkable mark, it is a sine qua non to re-strategize the production lines from two distinctly unique angles – symbiosis of African and Western arts – to be well positioned in the global village for gainful business in the arts. In other words, while we enjoy the benefits of globalization, we need to be innovative enough to preserve original arts in Ghana for posterity (Annku & Adu-Agyem, 2012).

The arts continue to serve their traditional functions as sources of inspiration, provision of more fulfilling intellectual, emotional, moral and spiritual values as well as shelter, clothing, entertainment, beautification and as a booster to the tourist industry. Indeed, the acceptance and recognition of the globalization process and cultural diversity is an indispensable asset for the achievement and sustainable development in the arts today, particularly through the use of the media, computers, Information and Communication Technology (ICT), the internet and global trading (Annku & Adu-Agyem, 2012). The impact of globalization has indeed affected some cultures across the world. Among other things, it stifles original tradition that has been around from time immemorial. Promotion of western culture also threatens cultural values and heritage especially with the inception of sophisticated Information and Communications Technology (ICT)<sup>15</sup> (Neyestani & McInturf, 2006).

Maxym Alexandrov's article, "The Concept of State Identity in International Relations: A Theoretical Analysis" is one of several articles used as literature review. Although the article clarified the relationship between state identity and other important concepts of constructivist approach, as well as providing a systematic review of directions of research pursued by different constructivist approaches, the article showed that state identity is constructivism's central concept, which serves as the theoretical foundation for the constructivist argument about norms. It also identified the problems and clarified some ambiguities inherent in constructivist theorizing about state identity. These include the underspecified relationship between state identity and other important concepts of constructivism, the problem of choice among multiple identities such as

---

<sup>15</sup> See: Neyestani & McInturf posits that the rapid advances in information and communication technologies coupled with the dominant overarching Neo-liberal/capitalist ideological underpinnings of the dominant Western powers have generated a momentum towards a homogeneous global village. The impact of which has been to expand World conflict and propelled many nations towards losing their national identity and traditions.

culture, norms or ideas, and the rarely addressed issue of applicability of the concept of state identity. Finally, the article made an attempt to re-conceptualize the concept of state identity and facilitate its acceptance by largely rationalist mainstream of the international relations discipline. The participation of mainstream scholars like Thomas U. Berger (1998), Alexander Wendt (1992;1994; 1999) et al, who have until now largely ignored the concept, would surely lead to a more productive debate on the role that state identities play in international relations (Alexandrov, 2003). However, some lapses identified include inadequate information on identities relating to art. Alexandrov also makes mention of various reasons this concept has not received the attention it deserves like competition or rivalry between methodological rationalism and constructivism and the fact that identity is regarded as irrelevant to their field of study. Even Alexander Wendt's analysis of this article does not reveal much or is limited within the boundary of identity of a particular state as it leaves out culture and art (Alexandrov, 2003).

In "Theory Talks", when Kevin Dunn (on "Identity in International Relations, the African Challenge to International Relations (IR) Theory and the White-Male Bias of the Field") was asked to explain his thoughts on the above subject of comprehensive discussions, his focus was primarily on how people are "active participants in the construction of international politics, citing a country like Congo, which has not been socially constructed in its favour, has made studies disturbingly biased in accordance with where its most accomplished scholars are coming from" (Schouten, P. 2008). The talk also left aspects of the arts which unites people although he recognizes that identities are socially constructed, relational, are fluid and multiple as well.

It must be noted though that whilst the recent ‘constructivist turn’ has portrayed identity as a legitimate subject in international relations, very few authors seem to have done an amount of research related to the subject or even considered art as a huge factor to success and long-lasting cooperation in an interdependent world. Kevin Dunn ends by saying “we should be critically self-reflective with our choices which have impact on our physical and social worlds since what we are struggling for may be less important than the act of struggling itself” (Dunn, 2008).

Rastko Mocnik, has also emphasized that identities, sometimes defined with the help of "horizontal" relations to other identities of the same register (like Slovene identity as opposed to Croat identity; or Catholics as opposed to Orthodox; or Christianity vs. Islam). The identities so related usually insist that they can themselves lay claim to "universality": in consequence, their confrontation may be particularly lethal, since they tend to construct their relation as mutually exclusive. They are also part of things artists do with constant practices using various forms of artefacts for other purposes and are identified by those, and these identities are not processes but an effect – the result of the psychic processes of identification (Močnik, 2015).

Unlike Alexandrove and Dunn, Mocnik has successfully linked identity and arts together. Writing on the topic, he intimated that the arts play important role in external recognition and less in its internal affairs to secure social relationship under the existing conditions and is only functional in the reproduction of elites and endorsement of hypocritical ways. He however turns in a new twist when he says that using art in the external mode “is much more important” (Močnik, 2015) since this brings about unity, cooperation and a barrier breaker by putting their artists on pedestal internationally for recognition for that state.

As identities are merged in the arts, it brings back those blocked or destroyed political, social and complete relational dimensions that make constructed identities stronger, hoping to make the arts succeed and recognized better in future. Demystifying culture by exposing things that lead to discrimination, conflict and unnecessary tensions to make the world safer and better then becomes a priority.

It is interesting to note that a highly rated Blogosphere Team of the Institute of Cultural Diplomacy, who are the interactive part of the web resources of ICD are responsible for spreading culture and mutual understanding among cultures through blogs. They took off in 2013 to explore how the arts could be used to change theory into practice and express, create and improve social awareness and diplomatic relations with participants from across the globe. The program examined how the arts can be used within the field of cultural diplomacy to initiate intercultural dialogue and cooperation through movement, thought and active expression (ICDBlogspHEREteam, 2013).

Presenting the role museums and art institutions play in international relations today and specifically in the development of what Joseph Nye called “soft power”, Leanne Hoogwaerts (one of the participants) noted that these institutions have been there for a long time. It is to be emphasized that art institutions are increasingly spreading their tentacles wide and occupying key positions in society, converging messages that even trade figures and military forces may not be capable of doing. A benchmark has been set on the international platform where these museums have played roles in cultural diplomacy, thus contributing to the development of soft power where “at times of political difficulty...culture can keep doors open until relations improve”. Soft power should not be underestimated because of its positive value. Holden goes on to argue that “in an

increasingly connected world, we should no longer think of culture as subordinate to politics” but to hold it in high esteem (Holden, 2013).

Leanne Hoogwaerts has successfully used Joseph Nye’s theories on Soft Power to unearth the usefulness of art(s) in a new twist, and its implications on a subtle level where art is used to cultivate a favourable image of a country on an international level as in comparison with the other authors who have not delved this far with the arts. John Holden and Charles Esche in Hoogwaerts’ research have also contributed to bringing in wider notions on cultural diplomacy for the role museums in society play. Ghana could enhance its image positively by using Soft Power, defined as -the capacity to shape the preferences of others (Nye J. , *Soft Power: The Means To Success In World Politics*, 2004) It is used to attract relations by creating images to which other nations would relate to where both art and the arts like literature, design and fashion are used (Hoogwaerts, 2016). Soft Power becomes more effective with the following resources at hand; a country’s rich culture, political values and its foreign policy seen as legitimate and having moral authority (Nye J. , *Soft Power: The Means To Success In World Politics*, 2004).

The intrinsic link between the arts, identity and politics in Africa is considered as given. In this respect, what Nye considers to be soft power and therefore an extra-ordinary form of state capability, is not borne out in the indigenous context of Africa. This tendency springs from the African conception of a universal whole with an unbreakable link between the sacred and secular realms (Nieuwenhuis, 2012; Abbink , 2014). Being so, the arts symbolize power, identity, the sacred as well as the systems of secular power ( Beurden, 2016; Matereke & Mungwini, 2010). Often, the effect of power on the conception of national identity in Africa is trapped in

contradictions set up between the identity preferred by the exotic post-colonial state (e.g. Ghana, Nigeria, Togo and Namibia) and primordial systems of identity (e.g. Ewe, Fon, Tutsi) (Ekeh, 1975; Englebert, 2000; Opondo., 2018) with the effect often implying political instability. Thus, political instability in Africa can be understood as a clash of two different types of national identities. In the said contradictions, different primordial art forms tend to accentuate rather than reduce instability (Okeke-Agulu & Picton, 2006; Mwangi, 2010; Jackson S. , 2007). Elites with European orientations often seek to counter the implied dangers of ethnic group identity-based resistance by projecting identity forms made up of a blend of European ideologies and streaks of African philosophy (Niro, 2003; Curtis, 1991; Oguejiofor, 2007). The gravity of soft power in international affairs is largely based on considerations that did not quite reflect the theoretical basis of the impact of identity construction in an interdependent world made up of weak and strong states. A focus on art in Ghana's diplomatic relations without drawing any link to how art in nations (like Ghana) can help shape or impact relations internationally given domestic conditions can enhance scholarly insights into the dynamics of power which takes into account the full spectrum of states across the globe.

### 3.5 Conclusion

It is to be noted that the scale of cultural contact between peoples and the exposure that most global citizens have to other cultures have increased exponentially over the last decade with much of the content of global communications being cultural. The consequence is a world in which culture and international politics are now in an interdependent relationship, where culture plays both a positive and negative role. In this new global environment, people-to-people cultural contact sets the tone and sometimes the agenda for traditional state-to-state diplomacy. Nations are increasingly seeking

to maximize their ‘soft power’ – a term used to describe their ability to achieve their international objectives through attraction and co-option rather than coercion – to promote cultural understanding and avoid cultural misunderstanding.<sup>16</sup>



---

<sup>16</sup> See: Joseph Nye (2004) *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics*. New York, Public Affairs

## CHAPTER FOUR

### RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

#### 4.0 Introduction

Chapter four focuses on Ghana with specific reference to the visual arts and discusses the qualitative used to advance the study. Ghana was chosen as the site and location for the purpose of this research. The target population include views of respondents from five selected diplomatic missions – China, Egypt, Brazil, the United States of America and the United Kingdom, former ambassadors, policy makers, the arts community and arts market and the exclusion criteria made up of ordinary Ghanaian citizens. The research methodology also mentions the type of sampling procedure used, the research instrument used for the various categories of respondents and how their responses were validated for reliability. The procedure used in the data collection, the analysis and finally, ethical considerations obtained to ensure confidentiality are all discussed.

#### 4.1 Area of Study

As may be obvious from above, Ghana is the context for this study. In this sense, Ghana is used as an example to approach the question of the study through the generation of in-depth multifaceted understanding of how the arts fit into Ghana's diplomatic initiatives. This study is based on qualitative techniques advanced through in-depth interviews, observations and sometimes direct participation. According to Crowe et al, "a case study is an approach in research that is used to generate an in-depth, multi-faceted understanding of a complex issue in its real-life context or natural context" (Crowe, et al., 2011).

## 4.2 Design of the Study

This study is Qualitative, an approach in social science research which has been identified by Rubin as involving a flexible, iterative and continuous engagement with respondents (Rubin & Rubin, 2005). Qualitative research data are often sourced through interviews, focus group discussions, observations and questionnaires. Methods employed under qualitative research commonly tend to lean towards interpretive paradigms, bringing new perspective and action across. Hammarberg et al (Hammarberg, Kirkman, & de Lacey, 2016) also suggest that the qualitative approach is used to advance social science research based on information provided by respondents through their subjective interpretations of their life experiences. Given that such information from respondents usually in the form of storytelling are subjective and not precise, such data are hardly reduceable to numerical values. This notwithstanding, qualitative studies using small-focused group discussions, usually probe to ascertain the beliefs, attitudes and the subjective interpretations which shape the world view of respondents. The experiences of respondents in qualitative studies are usually examined in the context of secondary data such as newspaper publications, government report and general articles as a way of fine tuning the insights gained from respondents with precise pre-existing information. For example, if a respondent uses a geological event as a reference point in time, secondary data can be a source to establish the precise point in time when that event occurred.

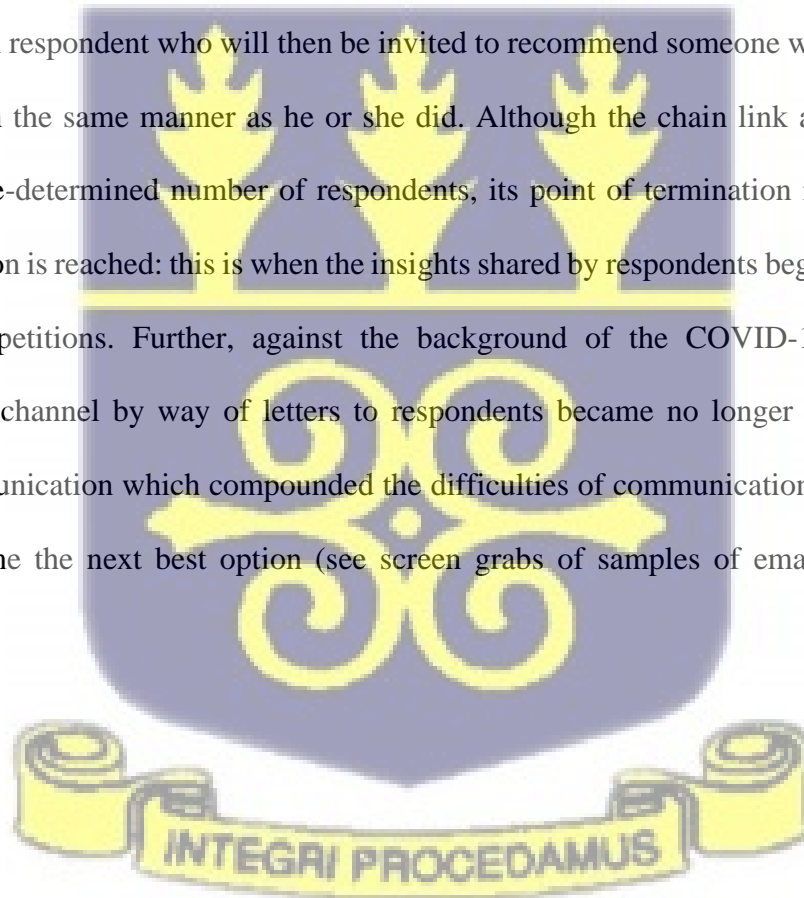
The foregoing shaped the concrete steps with which the study was advanced. To begin with five (5) respondents (one each) from the foreign missions of China, Brazil, the United States, Egypt, and the United Kingdom were sampled. The reasons for the choice of these countries to advance the study are as follows: first, they are a good representative of the levels of power distribution

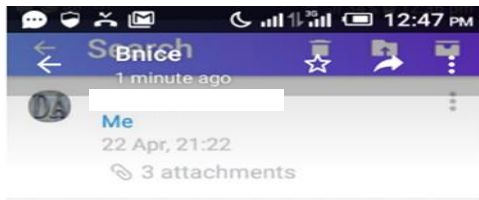
among states in the world system as represented in Ghana. The United States is the world hegemon; followed by China, an Asian hegemon; the United Kingdom an European hegemon; Brazil a hegemon of Latin America and Egypt a regional power in the North of Africa; secondly the countries selected are cultural superpowers with massive historical capital to draw on if they so wish in their diplomatic initiatives. The United States, with its unique blend of peoples drawn from nations across the world, is like a microcosm of the world population. Given this, it has the means to culturally reach out to most countries in the world. China has a rich cultural heritage of being a civilization for centuries. It also has a self-perception of being unique in the world community of nations. The United Kingdom also is representative of the Anglo-Saxon cultural heritage of Europe. Brazil is a cultural gateway to Latin America and with the largest concentration of African diaspora in the world. Last but not the least, Egypt also has a rich cultural heritage of being the land of the Pharaohs and the ancient civilizations in Africa. In addition to these all the countries selected have had a stable diplomatic relation with Ghana since the first republic. Given this, their presence in the country across time from the First to the Fourth Republic provides a good temporal justification for their inclusion in this study.

In justifying why Ghana was chosen, being the first black African country south of the Saharan with an avowed Pan-Africanist identity, it set the tone for what it means to be African in subsequent countries that became independent in the continent. Consequently, it can be said that an identity formation was part of the state formation process in Ghana. Also, given that all the countries selected have had diplomatic relations with Ghana since Independence and have had a long history of using the arts as part of their image projection endeavors, Ghana can be considered as a

laboratory where the various strategies which informs the arts in national identity formation has played out overtime.

The initial request by the researcher to the diplomatic community targeted in the study was to engage with ambassadors or cultural attaches. However, this could not materialize partly due to the scare of the COVID-19 pandemic and tight schedules of the diplomats. So, the chain-link respondent recruitment strategy became the next best option. The chain link strategy (Naderifar, Goli, & Ghaljaie, 2017; Dragan & Isaic-Maniu, 2013; Waldorf & Biernacki, 1981) is an interview strategy based on the recommendations of respondents. With this approach, all that is needed is to contact an initial respondent who will then be invited to recommend someone who will be willing to collaborate in the same manner as he or she did. Although the chain link approach does not begin with a pre-determined number of respondents, its point of termination is defined when a point of saturation is reached: this is when the insights shared by respondents begin to show similar patterns and repetitions. Further, against the background of the COVID-19 pandemic, the communication channel by way of letters to respondents became no longer useful. Electronic means of communication which compounded the difficulties of communication in terms of long-time lags became the next best option (see screen grabs of samples of email communication below).





Show images

Please find attached responses received from a diplomat friend from the

I hope this will be useful.

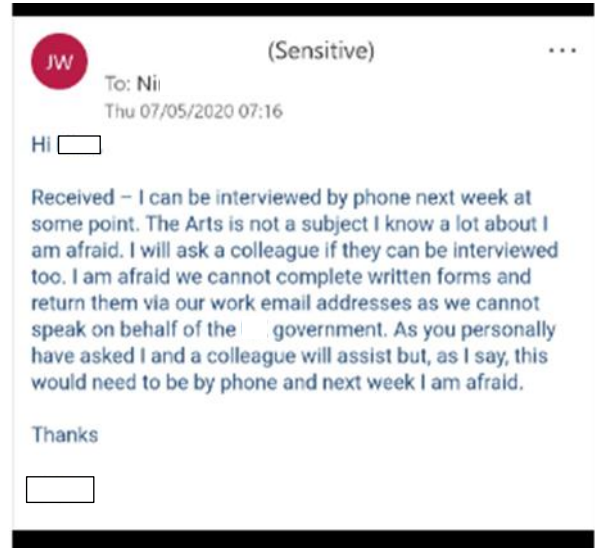
I'm sorry for the inconvenience caused by the delay.

Warmest regards

Get [Outlook for iOS](#)

From:

< >  
Sent: Wednesday, April 22, 2020



The other group of respondents the researcher selected for the study were Ghanaian artisans. This set of respondents were chosen on the basis of the assumption that being the likely constituency that the government of Ghana would reach out to in any effort at activating an identity construction endeavor in its diplomatic initiatives, their experiences would shed light on the extent to which identity construction features in Ghana's interaction with the rest of the world. Also, whether or not such engagements were important in the past, in the present, prospect for the future looks bright and can best be gleaned from the testimonies of this group of respondents. The artisanal category was of two kinds. The first group, which the researcher refers to as the elite artisans was made up of full time practicing artists and scholars and the second group, the plebian artisans made up of small scale informal entrepreneurs, operate from the Arts Center in the Central Business District of Accra (Tourism Authority, 2020; Lonely Planet, 2020). Again, the pandemic outbreak necessitated the employment of the chain-link referral sampling strategy and a combination of face-to-face interactions as well as electronic communications with the use of a questionnaire

being employed by the researcher to advance the sampling process of the elite artisans. For the plebian artisans, interactions were by way of one-on-one interviews and freewheeling focus group discussions in groups numbering between eight to ten artisans at a time and anchored on the broad theme of the study. All the researcher's engagements with the respondents were based on Chatham House Rule (Chatham House, 2020) which stipulate that all information volunteered will be anonymized and used for no other purpose apart from their utilization to advance the study.

The qualitative method has a place for the researcher (McCaslin & Scott , 2003; Fink, 2000; Roger, et al., 2018; Austin & Sutton, 2015). Within the context of this study, the researcher's role in the process as an analytical synthesizer was advanced within the framework of instrumental aesthetics (Guenther, 2012; Evans , 2011; Axelsson, 2013; Dan-Eugen , 2009). The researcher drew on the insights of Dewey (McClelland , 2005; Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy , 2006; Chen , 2017; Stroud, 2007; Jackson P. W., 1998; Väkevä, 2007) and deployed a subjective thought experiment analysis (Dewey, 1987; Hill, 2005) of the insights of the respondents. The instrumental aesthetics approach holds the view that art, in various forms, ought to be of value not as mere objects of cosmetic or decorative value but as artifacts with the actual or real potential to positively transform human practices or experiences for the better. In this respect, art in its various forms, is or ought to be communicative and therapeutic in the moral sense. In other words, works of art need to imbue humanitarian values that promote human development, peace and well-being. Instrumental aestheticism is widely employed by environmental non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in their advocacy processes (Bullock, 2010). The thought experiment dimension of the researcher's involvement in the study was by way of imagining being in the experiential context of the respondent and assessing what may be the basis of arriving at a particular understanding of the arts

in Ghana’s international affairs. This said, the insights shared by the respondents were analyzed by the researcher with the mind to the likely use to which Ghana can put the arts to, in its diplomatic engagements as understood from the importance or otherwise the responses attach to the arts.

The pattern of responses from the foreign missions and other respondents from a key question is shown below (graphs are used to show how responses are analyzed in the study leading to logical conclusions).

#### 4.2.1 Responses from The Embassies/High Commission and Other Categories

**Table 4.1: Perceptions of some selected categories concerning the role of the Visual Arts in Ghana’s Diplomatic Relations**

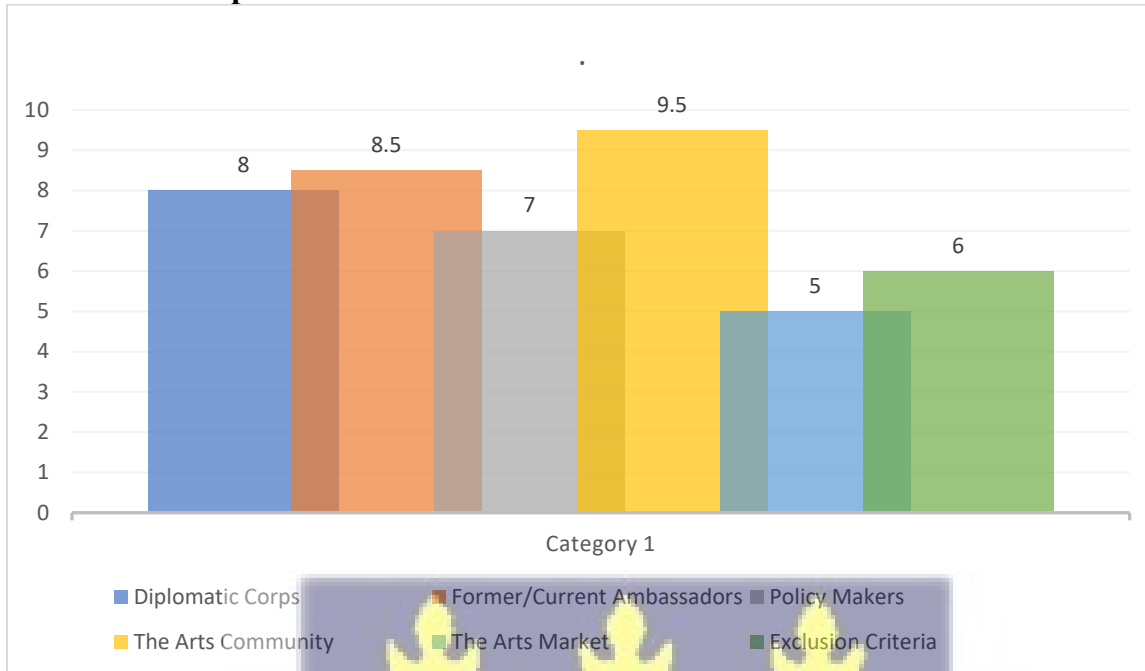
**Question:** What is the Role of the Visual Arts in Ghana’s Diplomatic Relations?

	CATEGORY	INTERVIEW EXTRACT (ANSWERS)	CODES
1.	Diplomatic Corps	The arts are a platform in which communication and expression between peoples thrives. For this purpose, it can be used as means of influence on the international level between States. For centuries, through the arts, some states like Greece and Italy have been able to restore their images, thus have had international recognition. Many states today are more recognized for their cultural influence around the world than by their names. Art	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Acknowledgement of the importance of the arts.</li> <li>• Affirming the arts have great international influence</li> <li>• Cultural influence</li> <li>• Power of the arts</li> </ul>

		plays a significant role in modern diplomacy by the use of soft power.	
2.	Some selected Ministries (Policy Makers)	Visual Arts can at times express view and ideas that words can't. They may add emotions to the statement, which can be interesting as we are witnessing an era where emotions (more than facts) play a significant part in influencing public opinion. Visual art can also draw attention to problems which we find sensitive to describe in words.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Visual phenomena used as proof of the truth</li> <li>• Greatest means of representation</li> <li>• Greatest site of power</li> </ul>
3.	General Arts Community	Art and artists are the creators and innovators of culture, and they must be resourced to perform this role	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The arts and artists are very important</li> </ul>
4.	The Arts Market	We can use our various Ghanaian clothing to promote our culture even at the international level	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Ghanaian textiles promote culture</li> </ul>
5.	Exclusion Criteria (Businessmen/women, Bankers Ordinary Ghanaian Citizen)	The Visual Arts can bring about understanding and appreciation of a country's history in terms of social, political and economic structures, and also strengthen relations already existing.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Mutual understanding</li> </ul>

Source: Field Interview, August 2019 to December 2019 respectively)

**Figure 4. 2: Perceptions of Respondents Concerning the Role of Visual Arts in Ghana’s Diplomatic Relations**



Source: Researcher’s Construction

This is a visual representation of data in the form of bars. Using this graph, responses are displayed and measured in the survey. The graph is studied to understand what it represents. The title (Perceptions of respondents concerning the role of the visual arts in Ghana’s diplomatic relations) tells what information is being displayed. This is done by reading the title, looking at the key and reading the labels (which show variables or parameters like 9.5, 8.5 etc. as seen above).

The meaning of the colour schemes used in 4.2. (above) are explained below. They are:

1. **The colour Yellow** - representing the Arts Community rated first. Indicated that the arts and its players are very important and must be resourced to perform the role especially where diplomacy is concerned since they are the creators and innovators of culture.
2. **The colour Tangerine** – representing former/current ambassadors rated second. They reiterated that the arts play big roles in modern diplomacy by engaging in soft power. They

insist states are more recognized for their cultural influence around the world than by their names.

3. **The colour Sea Blue** – representing the diplomatic corps rated third. They also acknowledge that the arts are a platform in which communication and expression between people thrives. They also affirm that for centuries, through the arts, some countries have restored their images and gained international recognition and influence.
4. **The colour Lavender** – representing the policy makers rated fourth according to the graph. According to that category, sometimes visual arts do express views and ideas that words cannot do. Also, the visual arts draw attention to problems which we find too sensitive to describe. A typical example is visual images showing the effects of climate change around the globe.
5. **The colour Olive Green** – representing the exclusion criteria rated fifth. They posit that the visual arts bring about mutual understanding and appreciation of a country's history in terms of social, political and economic structures, and also strengthen relations already existing.
6. **The colour Aquamarine** – depicts the arts market with the meaning that Ghana can use her various indigenous art in clothing to promote its culture even at the international level.

Conclusions are then drawn based on the pattern of responses as represented in the data. The results of the data analysis process are then used to decide the best course of action.

- ❖ Better decisions are made to help the government. This is because the range of choices expressed are backed by data that has been robustly collected and analyzed. As more surveys are conducted in this field, better and more informed decisions are made to run the economy, state or country more effectively.

### 4.3 Target Population

In all, forty-five (45) cross-sectional interviews were conducted and summarized below:

**Table 4.2 Distribution of Interview Respondents**

No.	AFFILIATION	TOTAL NO. OF RESPONDENTS
1.	<b>EMBASSIES/HIGH COMMISSIONS</b>  China  Egypt  Brazil  United States of America  United Kingdom	1  1  1  1  1
2.	<b>AMBASSADORS</b>	5
3.	<b>MINISTRIES</b>  Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration  Education  Tourism, Culture and Creative Arts  Trade and Industry	2  1  2  1
4.	<b>GENERAL ARTS COMMUNITY</b>  Respondent A  Respondent B  Respondent C  Respondent D  Respondent E  Respondent F	1  1  1  1  1  1
5.	<b>THE ARTS MARKET</b>	10

<b>6.</b>	<b>EXCLUSION CRITERIA</b>	
	Directors of various Institutions	2
	Businessmen/women	4
	Bankers/Historians	3
	Ordinary Ghanaian Citizens	3
	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>45</b>

Source: Compiled by author

#### 4.4 Sampling Technique

The type of qualitative sampling used for the research was Snowball sampling, Purposeful and Quota sampling. This was necessary because of the peculiar topic chosen, bringing qualified persons in that area with expert views on board. In justifying the inclusion of snowball sampling, purposeful and quota sampling in the study, the ultimate goal was to provide an in-depth understanding about the selection, thus targeting a specific group as mentioned above. **Snowball Sampling:** also known as chain referral sampling, helps participants refer the researcher to others who may be able to potentially contribute or participate in the study. This method often helps researchers find and recruit participants who may otherwise be difficult to reach, providing easy access to hidden population, and the process continues until the sample size is achieved. **Purposive Sampling:** is the most common sampling strategy, where participants are selected or sought after based on pre-selected criteria according to the research question. Usually, 'purposive sampling' is used because the informants are available and fit a particular profile, meaning a particular subset of respondents become the target or focus a researcher wants to use. The sample size may be predetermined or based on theoretical saturation, which is the point at which the newly collected data no longer provides additional insights. Finally, **Quota Sampling** is a sampling technique

whereby participant quotas are pre-set prior to sampling. Typically, the researcher is attempting to gather data from a certain number of participants that meet certain characteristics that may include things such as age, sex, class, to mention just a few. This allows researchers sample subgroups that are of great interest to the study. For example, when a trait or qualities need to be investigated, samples are then generalized to the entire population. A classic example is using respondents from the international community and the arts community where they are chosen at will (uncontrolled quota sampling). At the end of the day, this technique represented the entire population, saved research data collection time, cost, and was convenient. Selection of other respondents not necessarily with an art background as seen in the table was guided by a predefined criteria of respondents from the diplomatic community and the exclusion criteria.

#### **4.5 Research Instruments**

Both primary and secondary sources of data were used. On-site interviews and observations at respondents' offices and homes were the main data collection techniques for the study. Primary materials consisted mainly of structured and semi-structured interviews with key individuals and actors within the Diplomatic Corps in Ghana, Policy Makers, the Arts community, the Arts Market and the Exclusion Criteria. These categories of individuals are important source of information because of their peculiar background, experiences and knowledge on the subject matter of the study.

The guides for the questionnaire are found in the Appendices (pages 174-185) and were approved by the Ethics Committee for the Humanities (ECH), University of Ghana. Kindly find the attachment on page 186. Secondary sources of data were in the form of the review and analysis of

the scholarly literature on the subject matter as well as review of policy documents, media articles, major speeches by key factors such as Presidents, Ministers, Diplomats, etc.

The scope was limited to just five countries:

- China
- United Kingdom
- United States of America
- Egypt and
- Brazil

The research site was in Ghana (in-country), precisely the Embassies of China, Egypt and Brazil, The United States of America and The British High Commission all situated in Accra, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration, and arranged places of convenience with other respondents including the General Arts Community and the Arts Market. The reason for selecting the above countries is based on their unique long diplomatic relations in Ghana. Also, they are representative of the distribution of state power in the international system: The USA (super power) Brazil (regional power in South America), China (global economic power), Egypt (Middle Eastern power) and The United Kingdom (European power).

The researcher's engagements with the respondents were conducted in the manner as expressed below:

- a. Resident Ambassadors at the five Embassies
- b. Former Ambassadors to those selected five countries (rationale for this group was because of their vast rich experiences and input as seasoned diplomats)

For holistic view on this peculiar research, the following at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration - The Honourable Minister, The Chief Director including other officials from

the Ministry of Education, Ministry of Tourism, Culture and Creative Arts and the Ministry of Trade and Industry were interviewed. Some officials from the following institutions were also included; The British Council, The Institute of African Studies, The Goethe Institute and the Confucius Institute - University of Ghana, Legon.

The above were all interviewed because they are the custodians of foreign policy information and documentation or narratives on Ghana.

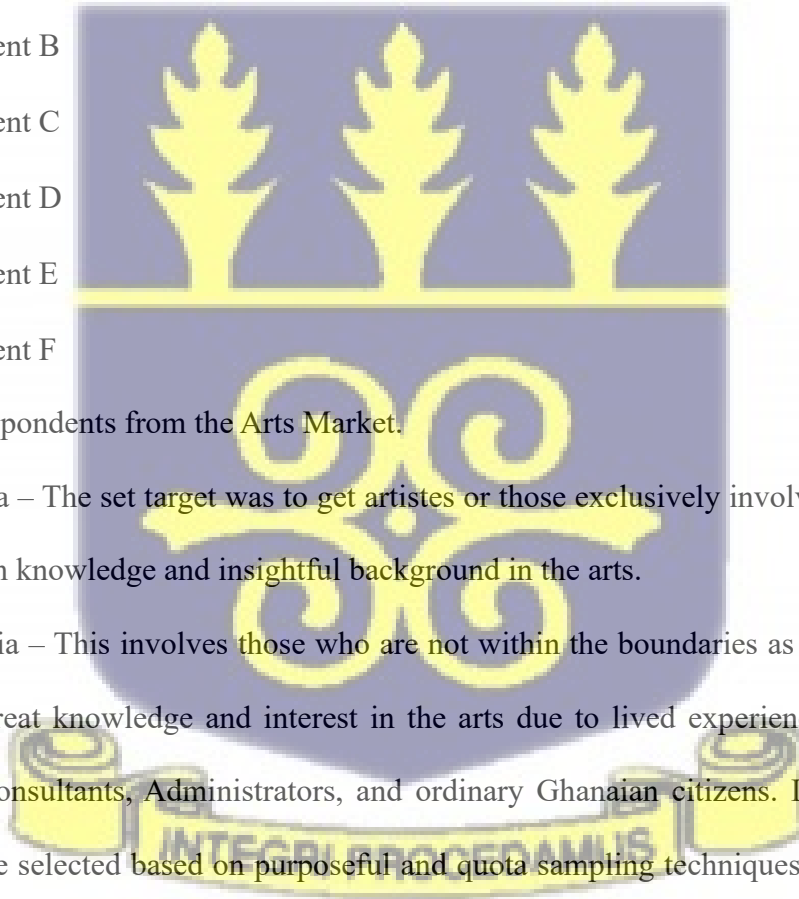
Finally, to the larger Arts community (Art Historians, Artists and Artistes):

- Respondent A
- Respondent B
- Respondent C
- Respondent D
- Respondent E
- Respondent F

Plus, ten (10) respondents from the Arts Market.

Inclusion Criteria – The set target was to get artistes or those exclusively involved in the creative arts industry with knowledge and insightful background in the arts.

Exclusion Criteria – This involves those who are not within the boundaries as practicing artistes but may have great knowledge and interest in the arts due to lived experiences as Diplomats, Businessmen, Consultants, Administrators, and ordinary Ghanaian citizens. In all, eleven (11) respondents were selected based on purposeful and quota sampling techniques. Conscious effort was made in the selection of key participants (both male and female) in order to have a balanced representation of gender.



#### 4.6 Validity of Research Instruments

Validity is an integrity test of the methods undertaken in research in order to ascertain the level of precision of findings and to establish if they accurately reflect or represent the data. As noted by Taherdoost, validity explains how well the collected data covers the actual area of investigation and to determine if the study measures what is intended to be measured (Taherdoost H. , 2016). It is often used to inform decisions that have important implications. This involves checking initial results again and fielding questions differently to see if there is consistency and to see if they still ring true, thus making data more reliable.

Another technique called Triangulation is where multiple perspectives are taken into consideration to derive at a logical conclusion. This was in the form of using different locations, using multiple individuals like engaging the exclusion category using the same questions, which informed results from different angles. For example, there was a general assertion from almost all the categories that the Ghanaian ethics and values are lost and could only be revived through a cultural revolution. Solution to this challenge, according to those respondents, was in the creation of an awareness with the creative arts which could be done successfully through education and being schooled.

#### 4.7 Reliability of the Research Instruments

Reliability also describes consistency within the employed analytical procedures. Reliability concerns the faith and stability of findings that is revealed in the data obtained from the use of the questionnaire guide, that is, the degree to which any measuring tool controls for random error. The questionnaire guide is reliable to the extent that the same instrument administered to a different

category of class (respondents), gives similar results. It means consistency or repeatability because results given are the same.

#### 4.8 Data Collection Procedure

Data collection procedure enables the researcher to answer research questions that are stated and evaluate outcomes with data collected. Since the main objective is ensuring that in-depth and reliable data are collected, data-driven decisions are then made for research at the end of the day.

Methods used in administering the questionnaire guides were in-person interviews, emails, through the phone and online. It is affirmed that although the in-person interviews (face-to-face) were time consuming and expensive, rich and in-depth information were collated (see screen grabs below). The procedure was done on an ongoing and most of the time, regular basis which helped a lot, especially in comparing and analyzing the change in perceptions in connection with views on the arts before and during the outbreak of the novel COVID-19 pandemic.



UNIVERSITY OF GHANA

LEGON CENTRE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS AND DIPLOMACY (LECIAD)

QUESTIONNAIRE/INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR POLICY MAKERS

This questionnaire is aimed at accessing data on “Identity Construction in an Interdependent World: The Case of the Arts in Ghana’s Diplomatic Relations”. Your confidentiality is assured of any information that you may give. In case of any doubts call the number 0548199799 or email [ech@ug.edu.gh](mailto:ech@ug.edu.gh). It is the number of the ethical clearance of the College of Humanities, University of Ghana. I will be grateful if you could assist by giving me your full cooperation in this exercise.

**Date of interview: 24 April 2020**

**Occupation/Position: CEO and Executive Director, Nkum Associates**

1. What is the role and relevance of the visual arts as a tool for international relations and foreign policy?

Visual arts products deliver images that communicate the values, strengths and culture of nations to other nations. Presented as artifacts, photos, paintings, murals, films, info-graphics, etc., all products of visual arts do convey pictorially the level of sophistication of a nation’s culture, civilization and development, and even its governance system. It is relevant for international relations and foreign policy that a nation be deliberate on how it presents its people, culture and civilization in positioning itself, relative to other nations.

2. How can the visual arts be used to promote international peace and understanding among people and societies?

The products of visual arts are used to convey difficult and complex messages on conflict, peace and security, developmental needs, and socio-economic successes and challenges of a people or society, and the nature and quality of relationship between societies. So, when presented or exchanged among societies as gifts, souvenirs, exhibitions, museum artifacts, or educational materials, the products of visual arts do open up people’s appreciation of different cultures and way of life. This promotes mutual appreciation

3. How can the Ghanaian culture, expressed in various forms (paintings, sculpture, printmaking/textiles) constitute a vehicle for advancing the goal of constructing national identity and for diplomatic relations?

INTEGRI PROCEDAMUS

LEGON CENTRE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS AND DIPLOMACY (LECIAD)

QUESTIONNAIRE/INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR POLICY MAKERS

This questionnaire is aimed at accessing data on “Identity Construction in an Interdependent World: The Case of the Arts in Ghana’s Diplomatic Relations”. Your confidentiality is assured of any information that you may give. In case of any doubts call the number 0548199799 or email [ech@ug.edu.gh](mailto:ech@ug.edu.gh). It is the number of the ethical clearance of the College of Humanities, University of Ghana. I will be grateful if you could assist by giving me your full cooperation in this exercise.

Date of interview: Wednesday 08 April 2020

Occupation/Position: Public Health/Programme/M&E Specialist/Consultant

1. Do you consider the Arts industry to be important in diplomacy? Kindly explain your answer.

Yes, I do as the Arts are a versatile and unifying factor in diplomacy. Clear communication and understanding of culture and traditions are key elements of diplomacy.

2. What about national identity? Do we have or require one as a nation?

I will say we do not have a clear or robust national identity in comparison to our Nigerian, Kenyan and South African contemporaries. Yes, we require and should have one as a nation. It portrays a huge sense of nationalism, belonging and pride (in a good way!)

3. As a representative of government, what are the steps you would suggest government

A maximum of forty-five (45) minutes to an hour was used for each respondent. Due to constraints of availability, ‘chain referral sampling’ was used, where respondents were asked to recommend others who might be useful to talk to. Some Ambassadors (as indicated in the screen grab below by way of an example) were interviewed through the email and on-line.



**bernicooper...** 999+  
aaadoob 999+  
...  
Inbox 999+  
Unread  
Starred  
Drafts 58  
Sent  
Archive  
Spam  
Trash  
^ Less  
Views Hide  
Photos  
Documents  
Subscriptions  
Groceries  
Deals

**From:** Lukas Kindl <Lukas\_Kindl@mzv.cz>  
**Sent:** Wednesday, April 22, 2020 7:24:22 PM  
**To:** D...y.asare@mfa.gov.gh>  
**Subject:** Odpověď: Academic Questionnaire

Dear Director Asare,  
I am  
  
Kin

Lukáš Kindl  
First Secretary | Deputy Head of Mission  
Embassy of the Czech Republic in Accra  
Hilla Limann Highway No. 2 (House No. C 260/5)  
P.O.Box 5226, Kanda, ACCRA - NORTH  
REPUBLIC OF GHANA  
phone: +233 302 223 540  
E-mail: [lukas\\_kindl@mzv.cz](mailto:lukas_kindl@mzv.cz)  
[www.mzv.cz](http://www.mzv.cz)

Embassy of the Czech Republic  
in Accra

Reasonable Europe

INTEGRI PROCEDAMUS

UNIVERSITY OF GHANA

LEGON CENTRE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS AND DIPLOMACY (LECIAD)

QUESTIONNAIRE/INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR DIPLOMATIC CORPS

This questionnaire is aimed at accessing data on "Identity Construction in an Interdependent World: The Case of the Arts in Ghana's Diplomatic Relations". It is an academic exercise to fulfil the requirements for the award of Doctor of Philosophy in International Affairs at LECIAD. Your confidentiality is assured of any information that you may give. In case of any doubts call the number 0548199799 or email [ech@ug.edu.gh](mailto:ech@ug.edu.gh). It is the number of the ethical clearance of the College of Humanities, University of Ghana. I will be grateful if you could assist by giving me your full cooperation in this exercise.

Date of interview: 22.04.2020

Name of Embassy/High Commission: Embassy of Czech Republic

1. What do you think are the characteristics that differentiate a Ghanaian from other people?

I have experienced the Ghanaian people as very friendly, positive, smiling and calm, compared to the other countries in the region. I find them patriotic too and proud of their country's achievements.

2. What are the (potential) roles and relevance of visual arts as a tool for international relations and foreign policy?

Visual Arts can at times express view and ideas that words can't. They may add emotions to the statement, which can be interesting as we are witnessing an era where emotions (more than facts) play a significant part in influencing public opinion. Visual art can also draw attention to problems, which we find sensitive to describe in words.

3. How can the visual arts be used to promote international peace and understanding among peoples and societies?

I don't consider visual arts to have a big impact in this respect. Nevertheless, it may surely contribute to understanding between people, mainly because there is no language barrier and it can include emotions. A well designed visual art message can resonate strongly. In addition, by letting people express through visual arts, you may contribute to their self-realization, which can help alleviate some social problems. When it comes to international peace, I don't think visual art can contribute to it directly, but rather from the bottom up through people and societies.

4. In your view, how can the Ghanaian identity, expressed in various arts like painting,

Selected former Ambassadors were interviewed in their homes and offices. Interviews in connection with the studies were conducted in English (written and oral) and in the local Akan dialect, that is, Twi/Fanti (especially for respondents at the Arts Market). Sometimes, because of

time factor, an agreement was struck so that another date was scheduled for the questionnaire to be completed.

This data collection procedure is relevant to this work because a lot of confidence has been gained in the learning process. Through this, enough respondents have also been interviewed so that unnecessary data which are irrelevant are eliminated, bringing the total to forty-five (45) respondents.

#### **4.9 Data Analysis**

According to Wong, data analysis in qualitative research is the methodical search and the sorting of interview transcripts, notes of observation, as well as other non-textual materials accumulated in the quest to understand the phenomenon (Wong, 2008). The process of analyzing qualitative data mostly comprises coding or categorizing the data into discernible patterns. Basically, it includes the reduction of huge amounts to manageable groups of information, followed by the identification patterns, and finally drawing a conclusion given the pattern(s) observed (Wong, 2008). The data generated through interviews, media reports, documents, reports and field observations were transcribed using a method by coding them into themes and categorized for analysis and interpretation. These were analyzed based on the research objectives and questions which served as inputs for the analysis of the role of the visual arts in Ghana's diplomatic relations.

#### **4.10 Ethical Considerations**

The study began upon clearance by the University of Ghana Ethics Committee of the College of Humanities. These letters included letters of invitation to participate with attached consent forms.

All the respondents used in the study were clearly made to understand the purpose of the study and were assured that confidentiality of recovered data would be maintained at all times, and identification of respondents (per their consent) would not be available during or after the study.

Permission was also sought with an official introductory letter signed by the Director of the LECIAD, to all the respective institutions before the necessary data were sourced and collated. This was key given the fact that the diplomatic missions being institutions of proprietary information will be at ease to grant me audience and share insights which they will not ordinarily publicly divulge but will be of importance in the advancement of the study.



## CHAPTER FIVE

### THE ROLE OF VISUAL ARTS IN DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS

#### 5.0 Introduction

In this chapter, all the components that come up as forms of art that make up visual arts are discussed, with focus on painting, textiles/printmaking and sculpture. Insights on the reflections of Kwame Nkrumah's policies concerning the visual arts and the brilliant plans installed since Ghana's independence draws attention to the potential positive impact this can have on the visual culture of Ghana. This said, the power of the arts is always demonstrated in diplomatic relations as an important projection of national cultural attributes and as such provides a leverage through which power and influence can be projected during diplomatic engagements (Baudot, 2020; Kalaycioglu, 2020; Wilcot, 2013; Villaseñor, 2018; Beverly, 2010). Through such initiatives, works of art shape the terrain of international politics by structuring the context in which governments engage. Further, art provides the avenues through which governments imagine or "re-enchant" the promise of a better world as well as communicate their perspectives on many critical challenges such as threat of humanity to peace and security, national aspirations as well as the degradation of the biosphere. The instrumental value of the arts plays out in this respect in terms of its deliberate use to obtain national objectives either in the domestic (for example in the quest for patriotism or mobilization) or external context (as in the expression of cultural solidarity for unified engagements). In the general sense, art has a universal appeal and therefore has the same reach as politics. Given this, governments can enact creative connections between the two tendencies in the quest for national objectives.

The potential of the arts in the international engagements of less industrialized states is of extreme importance given that such states have limited hard power capabilities to deploy against other states to achieve their objectives. In addition, the limited economic options available to such states makes cultural attributes and national identity construction an important resource which can be used to develop the tourist industry. The importance of the tourist industry in the economic development of countries which have successfully constructed attractive national identities to attract visitors is an affirmation of the important role the arts can play in economic diversification and generation of foreign revenue (Khan, Bibi, Lorenzo, Lyu , & Babar, 2020; World Tourism Organization , 2015; Sharma & Thapar , 2016).

## 5.1 Visual Arts

The visual arts are forms of art such as painting, drawing, printmaking, sculpture, ceramics, photography, video, filmmaking, design, crafts, and architecture. Many artistic disciplines such as performing arts, conceptual art, textile arts also involve aspects of visual arts as well as arts of other types. Also included within visual arts, are the applied arts such as industrial design, graphic design, fashion design, interior design and decorative art. Current usage of the term ‘visual arts’ includes fine art as well as the applied or decorative arts and crafts, but this was not always the case. Before the Arts and Crafts Movement in Britain and elsewhere at the turn of the 20th century, the term ‘artist’ had for some centuries often been restricted to a person working in the fine arts (such as painting, sculpture, or printmaking) and not the decorative arts, craft, or applied art media (Crawford, 1997; Arts and Crafts Movement (c.1862-1914), 2020). The distinction was emphasized by artists of the Arts and Crafts Movement, who valued vernacular art forms as much as high forms.

Art schools adopted the distinction between the fine arts and the crafts, with the justification that a craftsman could not be considered a practitioner of the arts. The increasing tendency for painting to be privileged, and sculpture to a lesser degree, above other arts has been a feature of Western art as well as East Asian art (Erin Schoneveld & Laursen, 2018; Masuda, Gonzalez, Kwan, & Nisbett, 2008; Teo, 2010; Cho, 2007). In both regions painting has been seen as relying to the highest degree on the fancy of the artist, far removed from the drudgery and mentally dull nature of manual labour. For example, in Chinese painting the most highly valued styles were those of “scholar-painting” (Lemenkova, Phonesaly, Sommali, Xin, & Shwe, 2017). The Western genres of art also reflected similar attitudes. Training in the visual arts has generally been through variations of the apprentice and workshop systems. In Europe, the Renaissance movement to increase the prestige of the artist led to the academy system for training artists, and today most of the people who are pursuing a career in arts train in art schools at tertiary levels (Wijnberg, 1997; McCormick, 2009). To date, Visual Arts have now become an elective subject in most educational systems.

## **5.2 Two-Dimensional Media – (Drawing as a preparatory stage for Painting and Textiles/Print making)**

The reality of fact is that everyone draws. Rita Gilbert posits that there can scarcely be a person above the age of two who has never made a drawing. People always have a natural impulse to draw something (Gilbert, *Living with Art*, 1998). Drawing is a means of making an image, using any of a wide variety of tools and techniques. It generally involves making marks on a surface by applying pressure from a tool or moving a tool across a surface using dry media such as graphite

pencils, pen and ink, inked brushes, wax color pencils, crayons, charcoals, pastels, and markers. Once a child begins to crawl, the act of scribbling commences.

The main techniques used in drawing are line drawing, hatching, cross-hatching, and random hatching, scribbling, stippling, and blending. An artist who excels in drawing is referred to as a draftsman or draughtsman. Drawing goes back at least 16,000 years to Paleolithic cave representations of animals such as those at Lascaux in France and Altamira in Spain. In ancient Egypt, ink drawings on papyrus, often depicting people, were used as models for painting or sculpture. Drawings on Greek vases, initially geometric, later developed to the human form with black-figure pottery during the 7th century BC. With paper becoming common in Europe by the 15th century, drawing was adopted by masters such as Sandro Botticelli, Raphael, Michelangelo, and Leonardo da Vinci who sometimes treated drawing as an art rather than a preparatory stage for painting or sculpture (Visual Arts, 2019)

### ***5.2.1 Painting***

Painting is the practice of applying any pigment suspended in a carrier and a binding agent, usually a glue to a surface such as paper, canvas or a wall. However, when used in an artistic sense it means the use of this activity in combination with drawing or other aesthetic considerations to show the expressive and conceptual intention of the practitioner (Visual Arts, 2019). Origins and early history like drawing, painting has its documented origins in caves and on rock faces. The finest examples, believed by some to be 32,000 years old, are in the Chauvet and Lascaux caves in southern France. In shades of red, brown, yellow and black, the paintings on the walls and

ceilings are of bison, cattle, horses and deer<sup>17</sup>. Coming down to Africa, paintings of human figures like Nefertiti being led by Isis in the great temple of Ramses II, are found in the tombs of ancient Egypt. The Greeks contributed to painting but much of their work have been lost. One of the best remaining representations are the Hellenistic Fayum mummy portraits. From Giotto in the 13th century to Leonardo da Vinci and Raphael at the beginning of the 16th century, were among the richest period in Italian art as the chiaroscuro techniques were used to create the illusion of 3D space. Jan van Eyck from Belgium, Pieter Bruegel the Elder from the Netherlands and Hans Holbein the Younger from Germany are among the most successful painters of the times<sup>18</sup>. They used the glazing technique with oils to achieve depth and luminosity. The 17th century also witnessed the emergence of the great Dutch masters such as the versatile Rembrandt who was especially remembered for his portraits and Bible scenes (Visual Arts, 2019).

Painting is synonymous to all cultures globally. This is underpinned by the vast discovery of cave art seen even though this phenomenon does not continue into some ancient traditions that followed. In the case of Ghana, Antwi and Adi-Dako, postulate that art historians in Ghana observed that painting started with the educational training of the arts by the colonial masters in Achimota from the 1900s. They also argue that through historical review, analysis amongst others, it has been unraveled that painting existed years ago especially in places like Sirigu, Ahwiaa and Ntonso before the introduction of formal training by the colonial masters. It must be noted also that painting was important and key to Ghanaians during pre-colonial times because it mattered to their existence and cultural heritage (Antwi & Adi-Dako, 2014)

---

<sup>17</sup> See: History of Painting from History World. Retrieved 23 October 2009

<sup>18</sup> See: History of Painting

**Plate 5. 1: Painting of “The People II” by Professor Ablade Glover**



Source: Ablade Glover<sup>19</sup>

Professor Emmanuel Ablade Glover has earned several distinctions which demonstrate his importance as an artist and an enthusiastic educator on the national and international art scene. The foundation of Glover’s Artist Alliance Gallery in 1993 brought international attention to traditional and contemporary African art. Among other credentials, he is listed in “Who’s Who in the World: Dictionary of Contemporary International Artists”, and “Who’s Who in Art and Antiques” (Ablade Glover).



---

<sup>19</sup> See (Ablade Glover)

**Plate 5. 2: Paintings by Betty Acquah**



Picture 1



Picture 2



Picture 3

Source: Betty Acquah's Gallery<sup>20</sup>

---

<sup>20</sup> See **Invalid source specified.**

A full member of the Ghana Association of Visual Artists (GAVA), which is one of the agencies under the Ministry of Culture, Betty Acquah, an accomplished Painter and artist has exhibited her unique paintings in Ghana, Nigeria, U.K, India, Germany, Spain, Japan and U.S.A. The above paintings by Acquah display Ghana's unique identity and culture.

They are titled:

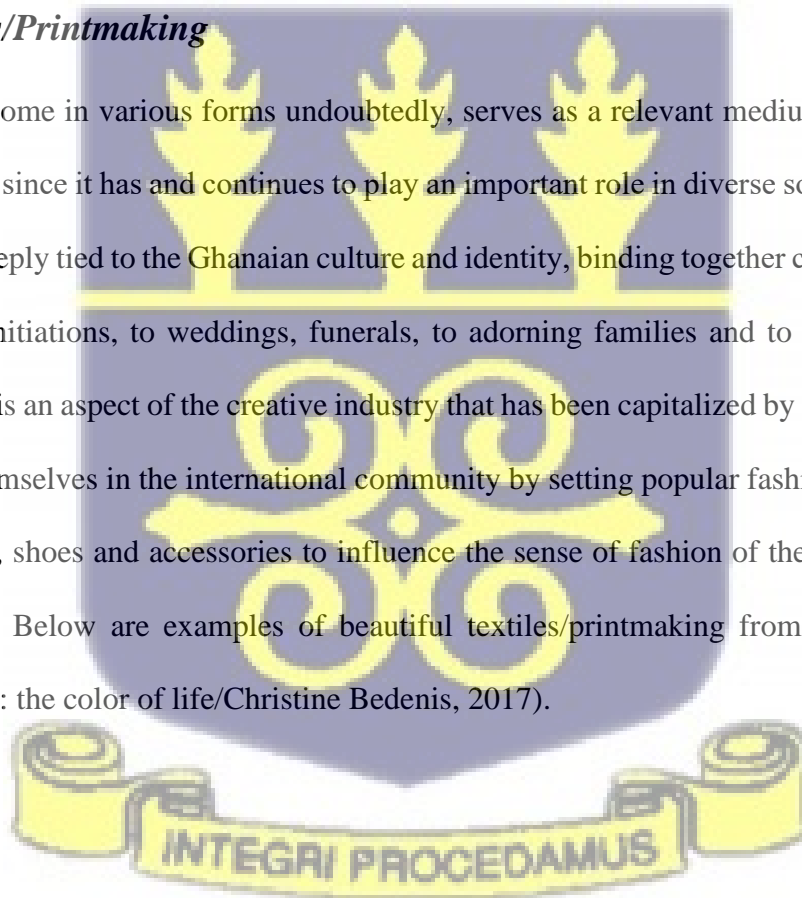
Picture 1 - Rewarding Adventures

Picture 2 - Perfect Harmony

Picture 3 - Dreamland

### ***5.2.2 Textiles/Printmaking***

Textiles which come in various forms undoubtedly, serves as a relevant medium in channeling a nation's identity since it has and continues to play an important role in diverse societies around the world. It is so deeply tied to the Ghanaian culture and identity, binding together communities' right from births to initiations, to weddings, 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 to influence the sense of fashion of the audience of their target countries. Below are examples of beautiful textiles/printmaking from Ghana (Bedenis, Ghana's Textiles: the color of life/Christine Bedenis, 2017).



**Plate 5.3: “Ghana’s Textiles: The Color of Life” by Christine Bedenis**



Women dressed in their Sunday best for church.

Source: Christine Bedenis’ Archives<sup>21</sup>

**Plate 5. 4: “Ghana’s Textiles: The Color of Life” by Christine Bedenis**



<sup>21</sup> See: (Bedenis, 2017)



Source: Christine Bedenis Archives<sup>22</sup>

Referencing Britain, a lot of fashion trends before the 1900s came into existence with people drawing inspiration from the royal family. Notably, a lot of women resorted to wearing corset in order to acquire the slim figure of Elizabeth I. Also, Queen Victoria's preference for wearing black outfits for funerals became the latest trend for many as it was copied (Meyer, 2019). Since then, the fashion trends in Britain have evolved rapidly. As of 2017, it was estimated that the UK fashion industry was worth thirty-two billion pounds to the UK economy (Owen, et al., 2019). The garment industry is reportedly the world's third biggest manufacturing industry after automotive and technology industries, and this has helped to create a niche for itself worldwide.<sup>23</sup>

In Africa, Ghana has proven to also be a pacesetter with regards to fashion by being the indigenous producer of Kente. According to Charles Frimpong and Asinyo, Asante Kente is unquestionably the most popular and best known of all Africa textiles because it is produced in greater quantity,

---

<sup>22</sup> See (Bedenis, Ghana's Textiles: the color of life/Christine Bedenis, 2017)

<sup>23</sup> (Owen, et al., 2019)

exported to more places, and incorporated into a greater variety of forms than any other African fabric. Also, it has captured the attention of visitors since at least 1817 as observed in the following descriptions of Bowdich (1966) ; “the general blaze of splendour and ostentation”, “cloths of extravagant price” and “incredible size and weight, thrown over the shoulder exactly like the Roman toga...” (Frimpong & Asinyo, 2013). The Asante and Ewe people weave basically warp-faced strips, with sections of weft-floats. The length of these sections is often carefully planned so that when the strips are sewn together, the ‘blocks’ of weft floats line up, often in a ‘checkerboard’ pattern (Frimpong & Asinyo, 2013).

Traditionally, weaving is practiced in Ghana by the people of Asante, Ewe and the Northern Region. The Asante Kente is woven in villages such as Bonwire, Woonoo, Maape, Adanwomase and Ntonso, outside Kumasi, the capital of Ashanti region. Kente is also woven by the Ewe people in the Volta Region, in communities such as Kpetoe (Agotime Kpetoe, and Agotime Abenyinase), Anlo and Somme areas (Denu, Agbozume, Klikor, Wheta, and Keta), and Mafi-Kumase area in the Tongu District as well as Kpandu. In the Northern Region, major weaving activities are practiced in Doboya and Yendi.

The strip-woven cloth called ‘Kente’ made by the Asante people of Ghana and ‘kete’ among the Ewe people of Ghana and Togo is the best known of all African textiles. Although Asante and Ewe strip-woven cloth may look very similar, there are significant differences, especially in the weft designs and in some technical areas with respect to the weaving process. Original Ewe Kete is often identified by its figurative motifs. It must however be stated categorically that recent developments have seen a gradual erosion of what used to be the distinctive differences between

the two. The distinctive characteristics of the Bonwire Kente is marked mainly by geometric shapes of different sizes in brilliant colours of maroon, gold, green, dark blue and black - which seemed to have gained a surge in demand on the international scene over the designs from the Volta region which originally came in relatively duller colour schemes oftentimes speckled. This popularity has mainly been a result of an inadvertent promotion of the national philosophy of the ‘African personality’, a brainchild of the first president of Ghana, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah in which he sought among other things, to promote the African creativity and ingenuity through the wearing of Ghanaian garments both at national and international meetings he attended. This was intended to imbue into Africans the fact that they ought not to despise their innate artist talents and that it was a source of strength rather than weakness to be African. It therefore became more economically viable for even Ewe weavers to produce the Bonwire type designs at the expense of the Ewe type designs (Frimpong & Asinyo, 2013).

**Plate 5. 5: Kente: Ghana’s Premiere Textile**



Source: Christine Bedenis’ Archives<sup>24</sup>

---

<sup>24</sup> See (Bedenis, 2017)

Just after gaining independence in 1957, former President Kwame Nkrumah visited Washington D.C, adorning a rich Kente cloth draped around his body. Many African Americans were very much touched by this and so went further to adopt Kente wearing as a symbol of African history and pride. Its significance in terms of Ghana's diplomatic engagements is that the pride aroused in the African American constituency in the US, can serve as an internal pressure on Washington if it ever contemplated policies that may harm the interests of Ghana.

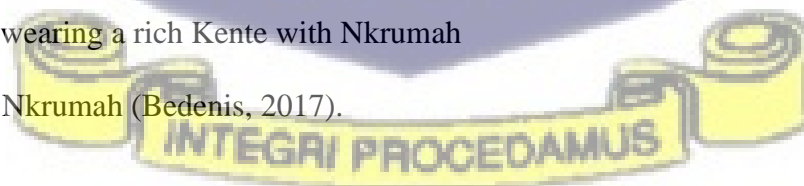
**Plate 5. 6: Kente: Ghana's Premiere Textiles**

According to Bedenis, famous icon Boxer, Muhammad Ali also wore Kente for much of the time he visited Ghana in 1964.



Muhammad Ali wearing a rich Kente with Nkrumah

Source: Kwame Nkrumah (Bedenis, 2017).



**Plate 5. 7: Kente: Ghana's Premiere Textiles**



Display of beautiful Kente in different colours and shades

Source: Christine Bedenis' Archives<sup>25</sup>

This interesting fabric is used for different purposes and at different functions. Aside from 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 (Ayiku, 1998). Some examples of these patterns are, Afa (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 Europe and America.

In addition, the African Print textile is also being promoted abroad. Textiles like the "adinkra", and the African Print materials such as "nsubura", "akyekyede3 akyi", "ahwene pa nkasa", "sika

---

<sup>25</sup> See (Bedenis, 2017)

wo ntaban” among others are being patronized by politicians, fashion icons, entertainers, pastors and many more in Ghana and abroad, thus, slowly gaining influence on global fashion. The African Print fabric continues to reflect the identity, status and even the emotional state of the wearer(s) through color, style and adornment in diverse ways.

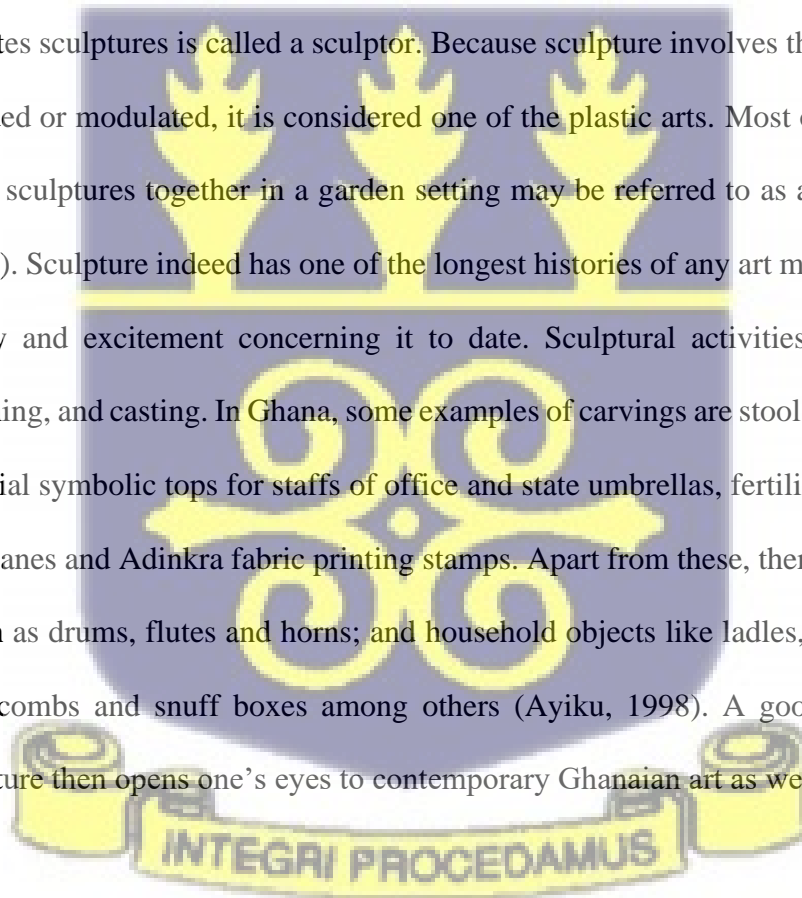
Consequently, the textile industry of Ghana holds lots of potential in projecting a sense of national identity and a source of an alternative revenue through the promotion of tourism and increased investments as in the case of the African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA) which was created to assist the economies of sub-Saharan African countries through improved economic relations between the United States of America and the respective regions (Brock, 2015).

Globally, the fashion industry, which includes world textiles and apparel exports, amounted to \$296.1bn and \$454.5bn respectively in 2017 (Brock, 2015). According to the statistics, it appears to be a potentially beneficial industry that can be tapped in Africa. The fashion industry in Ghana is inadequately utilized for large scale revenue and nation branding. For this reason, Ghana can do more to promote or invest in the fashion industry to benefit from the huge annual revenue of the global fashion industry while creating a niche for itself in the international system.

### ***5.2.3 Three-Dimensional Media (Sculpture)***

A large proportion of the visual arts in Ghana, is in the area of sculpture. Some materials used for sculpture are wood, ivory, bone, stone, calabash and gourd, clay, and metals such as iron, silver, bronze, brass, and gold to mention just a few. Sculpture is a major art form that influences the works of most Ghanaian artists as compared to the other art forms such as pottery, textiles or

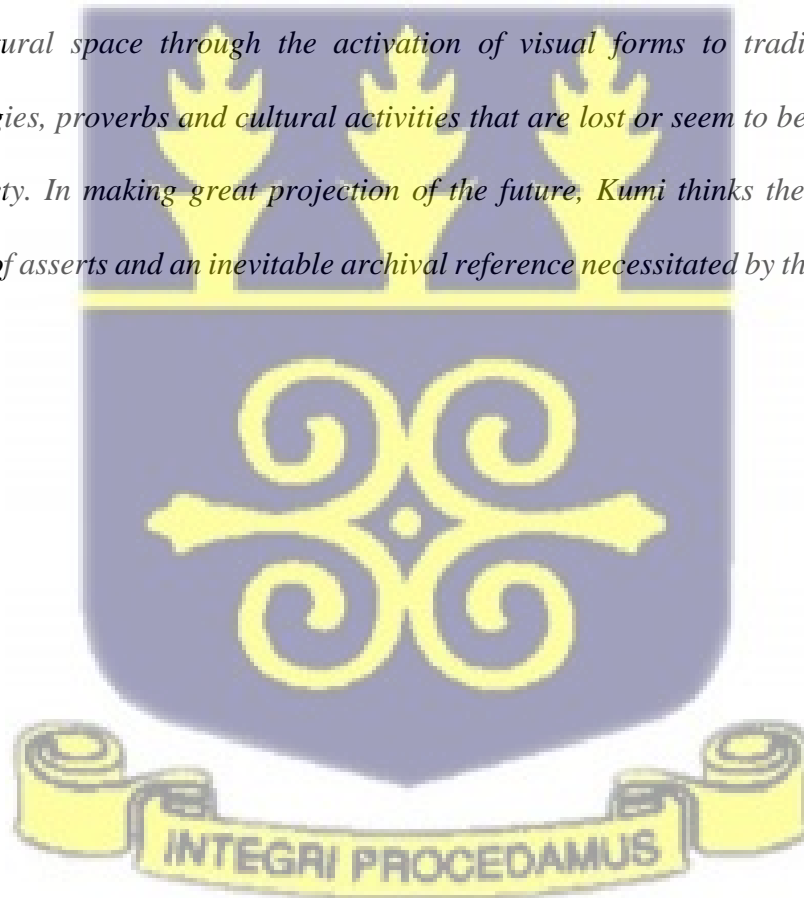
painting. Gilbert observes that Sculpture is three-dimensional (because it confronts us with the concept of depth) artwork created by shaping or combining hard or plastic material, sound, or text and or light, commonly stone (either rock or marble), clay, metal, glass, or wood. The media here simply means adjusting our perceptions of depth in a way that is almost contrary to nature like seeing images of people on screens or the newspapers. Even though in reality, these are flat images, people are understood to be full-bodied and three dimensional, thus the correction of depth becomes automatic so that we do not even have to think about justifying why it is so (Gilbert, Living with Art, 1998). Some sculptures are created directly by finding or carving; others are assembled, built together and fired, welded, molded, or cast. Sculptures are often painted. A person who creates sculptures is called a sculptor. Because sculpture involves the use of materials that can be molded or modulated, it is considered one of the plastic arts. Most of the public art is sculpture. Many sculptures together in a garden setting may be referred to as a sculpture garden (Sculpture, 2019). Sculpture indeed has one of the longest histories of any art medium and yet has so much vitality and excitement concerning it to date. Sculptural activities include carving, modelling, smithing, and casting. In Ghana, some examples of carvings are stools, state ceremonial Swords, proverbial symbolic tops for staffs of office and state umbrellas, fertility (Akuaba) dolls, walking sticks, canes and Adinkra fabric printing stamps. Apart from these, there are also musical instruments such as drums, flutes and horns; and household objects like ladles, Fufu mortars and pestles, basins, combs and snuff boxes among others (Ayiku, 1998). A good appreciation of traditional sculpture then opens one's eyes to contemporary Ghanaian art as well.



Isabella Muma, in showcasing Samuel Kumi – a renowned Ghanaian Sculptor, argues that the richly endowed African continent still suffers from insufficient recognition and exposure, in spite

of its enormous diversity and huge contribution to the world of art. Famous for his commissioned sculptors across the country that are so realistic, Kumi has hope in the revival of African figurative sculptors, since according to him, “there is a lot to offer to what is already characterized as African art”. After assessing Kumi’s sculptors, Muma posits that

*“Kumi Samuel have taken particular interest in sculpting in a bid to make the African art great again. His skill in sculpting is the best means to make known and share the Ghanaian cultural believes and heritage with the rest of the world. The Hallmark of his work is the realistic rendition of his subjects through which he seeks to revive and reconcile indigenious and ethnic art with global artistic conceptions. His work appropriates from the sociocultural space through the activation of visual forms to traditional ideologies, mythologies, proverbs and cultural activities that are lost or seem to be diminishing from the society. In making great projection of the future, Kumi thinks the past becomes an arsenal of asserts and an inevitable archival reference necessitated by the present” (Muma , 2018).*



**Figure 5. 8: A sculpture made in Ghana**



Source: Samuel Kumi

According to this great sculptor:

*“My work provides a new dialectical and conceptual context and direction for the preservation of some of those cultural activities, that have seemingly lost their glory or cultural relevance; and hence serves as a reminder to the people of their ancestral history”*  
(Muma , 2018).

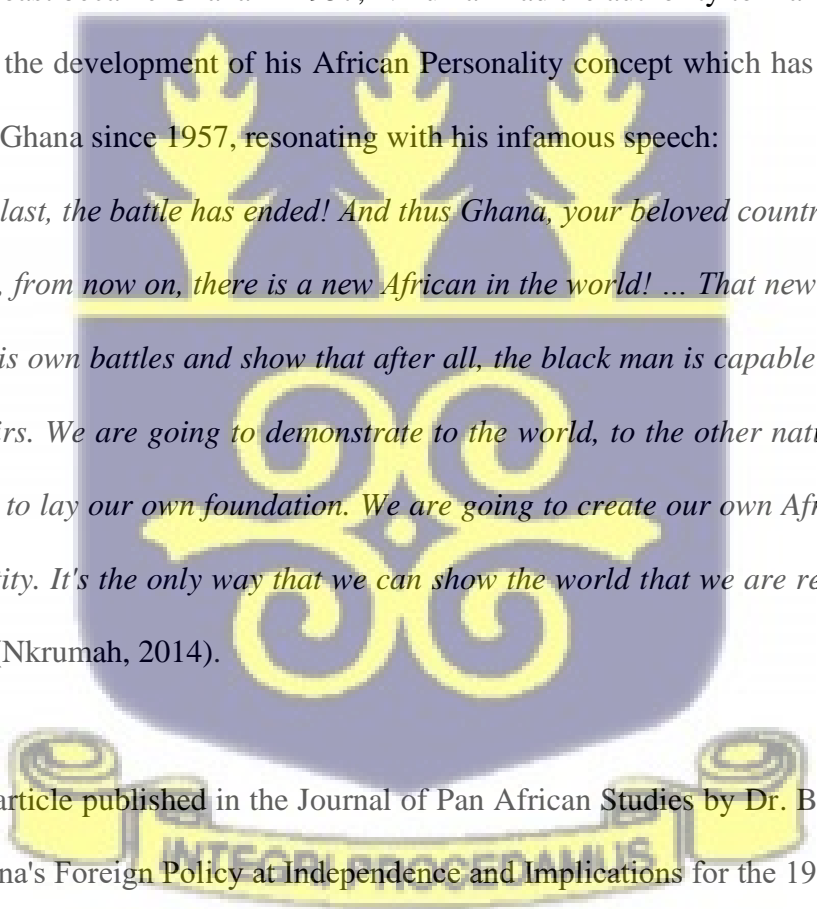
Denise Murrell (from the Department of Art History and Archaeology of the Columbia University) reminisces that it was during the early 1900s that the aesthetics of traditional African sculpture became a powerful influence among European artists, and which inspired them to form the avant-garde in the development of modern art (Muma, 2018). In France for instance, Henri Matisse, Pablo Picasso, and their School of Paris friends synchronized the highly stylized treatment

of the human figure in African sculptures with painting styles derived from the post-Impressionist works of Cézanne and Gauguin. The resulting pictorial flatness, vivid colour palette, and fragmented Cubist shapes inspired originally by African art is said to have helped define early modernism within the artistic world. Although these artists knew nothing of the original meaning and function of the West and Central African sculptures they came across, they acknowledged the spiritual aspect of its composition and absorbed these qualities to their own works. This enabled them to create art beyond the naturalism that had dominated Western art since the Renaissance (Muma, 2018). Some famous Ghanaian Sculptors include Okoh Matey, El Anatsui, Kofi Setordji, Ibrahim Mahama - whose monumental sculpture of “stacked shoeshine boxes” is a subtle wake up call to all leaders at the realm of affairs to adapt a positive culture of maintenance instead of the laissez-faire attitude that people have towards national decay and collapse that need maintenance but are completely ignored. This artistic work in particular, has been included in the 2015 Venice Biennale. Furthermore, the famous Paa Joe known as “the maker of uncanny palanquins and fantasy coffins” whose works are in the collection of many art museums worldwide, Kwame Akoto-Bamfo (whose famous installation of 1,200 concrete heads called “Faux-Redeem”) depicts Ghana’s reticent ancestral echoes which portrays the “reality of continuation, perseverance and reverberation with focus on Ghana” (Aido, 2017), where it seems independence from colonial rule and the demise of Kwame Nkrumah had further plunged the country in a complete chaos of underdevelopment), and Samuel Kumi among others. Products of clay modelling are mainly in the form of terracotta funerary heads (or figures) and sacrificial figures. Metalsmithing and casting are areas that specializes in making gold weights, jewellery, metal pots for storing gold dust, as well as forging of tools. Golden or bronze funerary masks plated in gold are also part. While sculpture

activities are practiced everywhere in Ghana, the people of Ntonso in the Ashanti Region are very well known for wood carving (Ayiku, 1998).

### 5.3 Reflections on Kwame Nkrumah's policies concerning the visual arts

Yorke et al postulate that Ghana had a lot of cultural intangibles in the form of historical benefits, traditional insignias, iconic figures and untold stories which together inspired the former President, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, in the crafting of his cultural policies which, to date, have impacted positively on the visual culture of Ghana (Yorke, Amissah, deGraft-Yankson, & Essuman, 2017). After the Gold Coast became Ghana in 1957, Nkrumah had the authority to make very important policies towards the development of his African Personality concept which has impacted on the visual culture of Ghana since 1957, resonating with his infamous speech:



*“At long last, the battle has ended! And thus Ghana, your beloved country is free forever. ... Today, from now on, there is a new African in the world! ... That new African is ready to fight his own battles and show that after all, the black man is capable of managing his own affairs. We are going to demonstrate to the world, to the other nations, that we are prepared to lay our own foundation. We are going to create our own African personality and identity. It's the only way that we can show the world that we are ready for our own battles”* (Nkrumah, 2014).

Similarly, in an article published in the Journal of Pan African Studies by Dr. Boni Yao Gebe in 2008 titled “Ghana's Foreign Policy at Independence and Implications for the 1966 Coup D'état”, he shares the view that Nkrumah's speech was explicitly clear concerning the cultural/foreign policy direction of his government. According to Dr. Gebe, a former Senior Lecturer at the

LECIAD, “Nkrumah’s radicalism and his vision of complete political emancipation and unification of Africa” was his call for a new Africa in the world (Gebe, 2008). The statements above are an illustration of Nkrumah’s desire to project the Ghanaian national cultural heritage and in the process use it to underpin national confidence building and development (Yorke, Amissah, deGraft-Yankson, & Essuman, 2017). According to Kwame Botwe-Asamoah, it was the quest for cultural liberation in Ghana that predated Nkrumah’s cultural policies. A classic example is the renowned Ephraim Amu, touted as the most cultural crusader of the time, was bent at that time on restoring the African traditions including the aesthetic of traditional African music which became his legacy, especially with the composition of Ghana’s unofficial second national anthem titled “Yen Ara Asese Ni”, meaning “This is our land.”<sup>26</sup>

Not only did Nkrumah use the visual arts, during and after the campaign for national independence, but he also initiated policies and created cultural movements and institutions in Ghana. Notable amongst them are the Ghana National Museum and the National Archives and expressed the government’s plan for the establishment and creation of a National Theater, National Art Gallery and National Theater Movement. The debate resulted in the passing of the Arts Council of Ghana Law, Act 43 on December 23, 1958, which took effect in April 1959 -NAG/Rg3/7/2:55 (Botwe-Asamoah, 2005 (b)).

Traditionally, Ghanaian ethnic cultures, over the many years of their civilizations, had used the arts and crafts to ensure their continuous existence. Through many informal systems, those arts skills and technologies have been handed down from generation to generation to this day. Nkrumah

---

<sup>26</sup> See: (Botwe-Asamoah, Kwame Nkrumah's Politico-Cultural thought and Policies: An African-Centred Paradigm for the Second Phase of the African Revolution, 2005)

pursued an agenda to identify and link the African past, present and future, all in a search of a National Identity. His cultural policies inspired visual artists to create positive socialist conceptions of the African society, stressing on the efficiency and validity of its ethnic statecraft, its purposeful energy and many more. Based on Nkrumah's African Personality concept, a visual culture was developed by artists like Kofi Antubam for the political authority of the new nation Ghana. Abbey postulates, during the last ten years of his life, from 1954, Kofi Antubam had become an inspiring nationalist and a leading advocate of Kwame Nkrumah's concept of the African Personality and was playing prominent roles in all public functions (Abbey, 2008). After Kwame Nkrumah's overthrow in 1966, Ghana's political leadership and intellectuals had generally seemed more inclined to foreign cultural concepts and ideals; probably because it seemed more prestigious to them. The seeming inclination to foreign cultural concepts and ideals, however, had created a nation with a questionable visual culture; a culture that was very much dependent on Western ideas to the detriment of Nkrumah's Pan-Africanist or home-grown ideas. As a result of Ghana's continuous over-reliance on alien cultural concepts, the Ghanaian visual culture that was carefully crafted and painstakingly pursued after independence seemed to be gradually disappearing and further threatened the originality and creativity of the Ghanaian cultural identity. York et al cautioned that "if the present situation was left unchecked, future national cultural art forms that were to form part of Ghana's visual culture could lose all traces of the Ghanaian identity and ownership" (Yorke, Amissah, deGraft-Yankson, & Essuman, 2017).

Similarly, in relation with facts surrounding Ghana's post-independence era, Esebede asserts that Nkrumah summoned some independent African heads of state to a historic meeting where he urged the African leaders to instill their own African personality and to develop their respective countries

according to their own ways of life, customs, traditions and cultures (Esebede, 1994). This was because according to Hagan, Nkrumah saw Ghana's "cultural problem as largely the outcome of colonial educational system" (Hagan, 1991). After Ghana attained political independence, it offered the Ghanaian people opportunities to rekindle, conserve and evolve their indigenous culture although not much has been done in terms of documenting the Ghanaian cultural arts for both cultural record and educational purposes. This was because most of the experts of the indigenous Ghanaian cultural custodians could not read and write in the English language. Some of those cultural experts depended mainly on an oral tradition for transmitting information about their culture which was passed on to the younger generations through stories, proverbs, and folk songs, among others. The people of Ghana have a wide range of symbolic systems in accordance with various aspects of their social and cultural life, including the practice of their arts. Indeed, Ghanaian artistic expression is mostly symbolically oriented, serving to represent communal beliefs that are deeply rooted in historical, philosophical, social, religious, economic, and political values which form the basis of all major areas of Ghanaian cultural knowledge that gave birth to their arts (Ayiku, 1998). Currently, the national call for cultural revival, as well as a new urge for cultural identity among Ghanaians has resulted in an urgent need for research to document various aspects of the Ghanaian culture for use as educational and reference material to augment the oral tradition which is becoming increasingly inadequate in meeting the educational needs of the people. Critically, for Ghana to advance in her national development both locally and on the international platform, there is the need to promote culture and other cultural activities. The enactment of a cultural policy with goals and guidelines on these activities ensures that:

- the Ghanaian cultural life is enhanced

- contribution is made to the nation's human development and material progress through heritage preservation, conservation, promotion and the use of traditional modern arts and crafts to create wealth and alleviate poverty (Ghana Policy, 2004).

The National Commission on Culture established earlier by PNDC Law 238 in 1990, was designated to spearhead administrative functions and ensure budgetary provision for the implementation of the policy. Accordingly, the commission was expected to operate through a number of cultural institutions and agencies. The Centre for National Culture (CNC) is the main institution mandated to liaise with all the District Assemblies, the Ghana Education Service, NGOS, agencies, the traditional council, individuals, various club associations and other stakeholders towards implementing the cultural policy (Alhassan, 2018). All cultural officers who run the CNCs at the district levels are to work closely with the Assemblies in carrying out cultural related programs. They are supposed to be actively involved in cultural and educational programs carried out by the assemblies, the Ghana Education Directorate and all departments. The commission and the CNCs are currently under the Ministry of Tourism, Culture and Creative Arts (Alhassan, 2018).

For the way forward, policies should be implemented in the tourism and cultural sector where all the stakeholders are brought together to ensure that the government establishes a creative fund which will serve as means of relief for financial concerns, building of theaters in the various districts to revive lost passion towards the Ghanaian arts including drama festivals and finally, ensuring that the commission is independent on its own, with little or no interference from the government.

In justifying why the researcher chose to use only the former President, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, - within a scholarly interpretation, the path dependent character of Nkrumah's impact on Ghana's history is unique. He was a great pacesetter and Ghana has come this far because of him. His ideas are timeless and are still shaping the destiny of our country.

#### **5.4 The Arts in (Para)Diplomatic Relations**

As attested by the prominence given by the UNESCO to the arts in its global initiatives, arts and culture play a vital role in the world of politics. This state of affairs reflects a long-standing tradition in history where the arts and diplomacy went together (Seo, 2019; Evans , 2011; Purdy, 1974; Casale, 2018; Seeger, 1949). Given this, art has value that extends into the realms of power with people specializing in its management and a testament to the fact that the importance of the arts can never be isolated from the quest to resolve the challenges pertaining to mankind. It is therefore important that the arts are utilized in all aspect of public life from personal to the governmental level.

The arts always create ambiance, and sometimes used by diplomats to project representations of their country. Arts and diplomacy need one another to create the high status that they share. It can therefore be said that, "if diplomats are interested in the arts, the arts are also interested in diplomats."<sup>27</sup> Iver Neumann posits that diplomacy and diplomats are objects of artistic representation and also counts among the works of art represented in popular culture, particularly within the genres of science fiction as well as fantasy with these representations having effects on

---

<sup>27</sup> Cauched by the researcher.

legitimacy, authority and acceptance (Neumann, 2013). Each society has its own peculiar history, symbols and legends and prominent politicians, diplomats and other key diplomatic corps who spend a lot of time discussing key priority matters with their counterparts. This is where the arts play a role and improve the prospects of negotiations and tactfully engages in a game of power playing. At the end of the day, the arts build bridges which foster friendship between nations (Baidu-Silverman, 2015; Gold, 2006; Lederach, 2015; Fox, 2002; Cohen, 2005). This is because the arts tend to enhance cultural interactions based on discovery, curiosity, exchange, learning, understanding and acceptance. And besides since such culture-to-culture interactions cannot be upheld in any sustainable way through overt deployment and violence, the only option and avenue through which such advances can be made is by way of pacifist engagements and interactions.

The arts in diplomacy is also about communication ( Errouane, 2017; Ryniejska – Kiełdanowicz, 1992; Flinders & Cunningham, 2013; Svašek, 1997; Herrschner, 2018). This can be found in portraits of diplomats, in novels or in being represented on stage. In the interface between diplomacy and the arts, ‘the arts’ as a term privileges a certain set of cultural artifacts with high social status. Works of art are an obvious match when diplomats meet, for diplomats also have a high social standing. It is no coincidence that persons and artifacts of high social standing crop up in the same place, for they partly owe their high social standing to their association with one another. The arts are not the only place where we find representations of diplomats, however. If arts are ‘high culture’, there must necessarily also exist a ‘low culture’ or, to use the general expression, popular culture. If arts are associated with high status and so is politically constitutive of privileged position, popular culture is also associated with low status and so is associated with authority and legitimacy. How diplomacy is represented in genres that are historically considered

to be low, such as novels with a mass readership, films, TV series, cartoons and comics, is important for the legitimacy of both diplomacy and diplomats, for popular culture normalizes phenomena (Neumann, 2013). Diplomacy does not produce the arts directly and may be associated with commissioned buildings, paintings, furniture and other artifacts commissioned for use in and around permanent or fleeting sites including writings or calligraphy that has gone into signing certain treaty documents produced by diplomatic negotiation. Ministries and individual diplomats commission portraits and biographies.

Painting is yet another genre where representations of diplomats, and in some degree diplomacy, is rife. Luke and Sylvester (Sylvester, 2009) are among the very few who have done groundbreaking research on international relations on display in museums (Luke, 2002). Perhaps due to a combination of factors such as a limited number of expertise in the study area as well as the advent of permanent diplomatic representation, this particular research has suffered at the expense mainstream diplomatic scholarship (Watkins, 2008; Charry & Gitanjali, 2009; Hampton, 2009). It is noteworthy that diplomacy uses the arts as a prop in staging contexts and easing communication especially in situations where the atmosphere may seem to be tense. If relations between two states in question are distant, this tends to be treated as a state-to-state affair, with diplomats on both sides being active. If the context is close diplomatic relations, however, the sending and the receiving museums or foundations will be the main actors, with diplomats at the respective MFAs and Embassies providing support from the wings. Furthermore, the arts are important as a context for diplomacy, in the form of architecture, decoration, music, to mention just a few, and may be used as a frequent diplomatic gift. Its presentation is a staple amongst ways of thawing frozen relations.

In terms of diplomatic communication, the arts and its returns after colonial exploits or war have sometimes been the object of heated diplomatic tiffs. A classic example is in the analysis of David Rudenstine's "Parthenon or Elgin Marbles" where the Earl of Elgin, a British ambassador to the Ottoman Empire around 1800, negotiated a deal whereby Britain took "– most Greeks would say stole – ancient Greek sculptures from the Parthenon. The ill-begotten marbles remain in the British Museum to this day and remain also a thorny issue in British-Greek diplomatic relations" (Rudenstine, 1999). Neumann posits that these marbles are the most visible case of such repatriation debates, which are ubiquitous in post-colonial settings (Neumann, 2013). Finally, another classic example is De Jaeger's "most well-known post-war parallel to post-colonialism tugs of war over stolen art - the case of Nazi Germany's looting of paintings during its occupation of a number of countries during the Second World War". After seventy (70) years later, the issue keeps cropping up on the diplomatic agenda every time a new case of theft comes to light (De Jaeger, 1981).

## 5.5 Conclusion

From the reading above, the conclusion is that the visual arts, with focus on painting, textiles/printmaking and sculpture, forms a greater part of human existence and cultural heritage, and was discovered in Ghana at places like Ntonso, Sirigu and Ahwiaa to mention just a few, long before the colonial period. Although they were labelled as primitive by those colonizers, they served as assets for her national developments through-out the years. The impact of globalization and the over-reliance on western cultural practices threatens the originality of the Ghanaian identity as well as the arts so there is a caution by some researchers that unless there is a cultural

revival and also taking a critical look at future national cultural art forms which forms part of Ghana's visual culture, all traces of the Ghanaian identity and ownership may be lost (Yorke, Amissah, deGraft-Yankson, & Essuman, 2017).



## CHAPTER SIX

### ANALYTICAL CHAPTER

#### 6.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the responses generated from interactions through interviews and focus group discussions and set out as follows: a thematic analysis of data under diplomatic corps, familiarization and organization of data to reveal the pattern of responses, word use frequency pattern identification, the coding technique of the study, construction of the over-arching themes in the data, the strategy of testing for validity and reliability, testing for emergent findings, checking for researcher effects, validation and finally feedback.

#### 6.1 Analyzing Data

Data (valid information) has no inherent use unless it tells a coherent story about the world. An important aspect of this process, to make data tell a story, is the thematic analysis of assembled data through coding. In order to facilitate this process transcripts are tagged with generated codes to enable the identification of similar or dissimilar feedbacks. This done, under appropriate organizing themes, coded responses are assigned for eventual pattern matching and the deduction of meaning.



**6.1.1 Analysis of the Responses from the Diplomatic Corps**

	<b>CATEGORY</b> <b>DIPLOMATIC CORPS</b> <b>EMBASSIES/HIGH</b> <b>COMMISSION</b>	<b>INTERVIEW EXTRACT (ANSWERS)</b>	<b>REMARKS /</b> <b>DISCOVERIES</b>
<p>1.</p>	<p>United States of America (U.S)</p>	<p>The American public is more broadly engaged in the arts than previously understood and believes that the arts play a vital role in personal well-being and builds healthier communities, and that the arts are core to a well-rounded education. The arts are a fundamental component of a healthy society—one that provides myriad benefits to the individual, community, and the nation and in terms of identity, Arts goods, services, and experiences help define their culture.</p> <p>After randomly interviewing other respondents who have also lived in the United States of America and were not part of the initial categories, they were of the view that the arts continue to be a “positive experience in a troubled world.”</p>	<p>Ranking first in the analysis and graph shown below. Acknowledging that the arts complete a healthy society with benefits to the individual, community and the nation.</p>

2	<p>United Kingdom (U.K)</p>	<p>There is little appetite among the public for the government to increase public spending on the arts and culture. In line with the broader research conducted, frontline services are perceived to have priority over arts and culture among the public. Majority of them say when it comes to the arts and culture, they would rather urge the government to focus or send funds to libraries and museums. Some were undecided and were of the view that a national public body (Philanthropists) independent of government should be responsible for public spending on arts and culture.</p>	<p>In the analysis, it was obvious that the Britons do not rate the arts as high as the U.S. So, per the data, U.K rated second.</p>
3	<p>Brazil</p>	<p>Brazil's contemporary art scene continues to strengthen. It was given huge state support in the 1990s when corporate tax breaks were introduced for cultural investment. One supporter of the arts was mining magnate Bernardo Paz, who opened the 3,000-acre contemporary art site in Inhotim, Brazil, in 2006. Inhotim attracted a total of 770,000 visitors. According to one of the respondents</p>	<p>Brazil rated fifth per the data.</p>

		<p>narrating a scenario in connection with Brazil, “appetite for contemporary Brazilian art is remarkable”. Lots of people are interested in the arts so anytime there is an exhibition of art works, they would simply give up everything for it and attend in their numbers.</p>	
4	Egypt	<p>The visual arts are part of the Egyptian cultural heritage and civilization. Arts play a prominent role in confirming social values, organizing the surrounding environment, developing communities on the social and economic level, and showing the level of social and economic progress within a society. Visual arts also play an important role in improving the cultural identity of the society by helping people express themselves and point out societal issues that should be addressed. Artists also use visual arts to protest against systems, and to link between cultural groups, which also enhances the society’s cultural identity. Learning visual arts helps people to understand multiculturalism and integration. That’s why</p>	<p>Visual artists should be given more space to express themselves given that they contribute to the evolution of society, and they emphasize on and enhance a cultural identity. Per the interview conducted, Egypt rated fourth.</p>

		an artist is usually more mature and sensitive compared to an ordinary person.	
5	China	<p>The Chinese arts and crafts play a very important role in China's traditional culture. China is famous for its wide variety of arts and crafts with excellent workmanship. They command a big part of the country's rich heritage. Early in the ancient China, the Chinese people had developed a high regard of protecting the excellence in its arts. Today, the Chinese arts and crafts have developed their own unique styles and forms. They are regarded as an elegant combination of precious or special materials with elaborate designs. Up to this point in time, the Chinese Government has done a lot to protect Chinese traditions, so that many could have been handed down through generations. And many are sold abroad to an appreciative overseas market.</p> <p>The following items are the relative most representative of all Chinese arts and crafts. They are typical symbols of Chinese</p>	<p>China rated third. One of the outstanding characteristics of Chinese art is the extent to which it reflects the class structure that has existed at different times in Chinese history. The arts were previously produced by anonymous craftsmen during the Warring States period (475-221 BCE) for the royal and feudal courts</p>

	<p>traditional culture and reflect the lifestyle and beliefs of Chinese people. These are: <b>Painting</b></p> <p>Chinese painting is one of the oldest artistic traditions in the world. The most traditional way of Chinese painting is known as “native painting” where focus is directed towards painting still life of plants, birds, animals, landscape. Their arts and other craft work include <b>Silk, Music, Opera, Papercuts, Embroidery and Folk Toys.</b></p>	
--	--	--

Source: Field Interviews, December 2019 to April 2020.

From table 6.2, the diplomatic respondents were consistent in affirming the fact that the arts constitute a key component of their diplomatic initiatives. Irrespective of the place of a country in the global pecking order (from super-power states to mid-range powers, to emerging powers alike) the pattern of responses suggest that the arts are of strategic relevance. This means that the status of a country is not a constraint in a country opting to utilize the arts as part of its diplomatic strategy. In other words, the arts constitute an important plank in the diplomatic initiatives of all countries, size notwithstanding.



**Table 6. 1. 1 Graph Showing Analysis of the Responses from the Embassies/High Commission in Connection with the Role or Place of Arts in the Selected Countries Represented here in Ghana**



Source: Researcher's Construct

- From the above, identities of the Embassies/High Commissioner are represented using their respective flags. The U.S label rated highest with a point of 9.5 on a scale of 1-10 in the analysis of the responses from the Embassies/High Commission. All the keys are displayed below in their respective flags. The U.S have high regards for the arts and according to the field interview conducted above from December 2019 to April 2020, the arts are key to the total development of that nation. According to a survey conducted by IPSOS Public Affairs, they argue that Americans are the number one people who appreciate the arts and place utmost value on them (Arts, 2015)
- The U.K rated second with a point of 8 on a scale of 1-10. The arts are rated high, but most Britons assume it is not a top priority as compared with advocating for government to focus

on education. The Britons are most likely to select ‘providing education’ as the way in which arts and culture has contributed to their personal lives.

- China rated third with a point of 7.5 in the analysis. Indeed, the arts which are unique and outstanding reflects the class structure that has existed at different times in Chinese history.
- Egypt rated fourth with a point of 6.5 points on a scale of 1-10 according to the field interview.
- Finally, Brazil rated fifth according to how the arts are placed or regarded. Although they would take time off to see an exhibition, it is not a topmost priority since to most of the respondents, there are more important issues for them to deal with in terms of security and improvement of their lives to make life worth living.

### 6.1.2 Analysis Based on the Responses from the Embassies/High Commission

**Table 6. 1: The role of the arts in Ghana’s Diplomatic relationship with the Embassies/High Commission (U.S, U.K, Brazil, Egypt and China)**

	<b>CATEGORY – DIPLOMATIC CORPS EMBASSIES/HIGH COMMISSION</b>	<b>INTERVIEW EXTRACT (ANSWERS)</b>	<b>REMARKS / DISCOVERIES</b>
1	United States of America (U.S)	The United States and Ghana have a close and enduring friendship rooted in a mutual commitment to freedom and democratic values, especially in connection with the arts. Potentially, artistic expressions between them	Where the arts are concerned, there is mutual respect and so the two countries are strong allies. Still

		<p>comes in the form of an international transaction. While the official bilateral relationship dates back to Ghana's independence in 1957, the unofficial, personal ties go back even further. Thousands of Ghanaians have been educated in the United States through the Young African Leaders Initiative (YALI) and other exchange programs. Lots of talented Ghanaians have developed their leadership skills and are familiar with America. Meanwhile, Ghana attracts hundreds of American students each year seeking to experience the rich history and culture of West Africa. These types of cross-cultural exchanges have created long-lasting networks across the United States and Africa. Relations between Ghana and the United States of America remain strong, and they continue looking for ways to strengthen the ties between them</p>	<p>ranking first according to the final analysis.</p>
2	<p>United Kingdom (U.K)</p>	<p>With the establishment of the British Council in Ghana, the two collaborate and work with the best of creative talent to develop innovative,</p>	<p>Ghana, a former British Colony have had tremendous symbiotic</p>

		<p>high-quality events and collaborations with artists and cultural institutions around the world. According to one respondent who was recommended through chain-link, “we secure relationships with creative partners internationally to deliver exciting projects from theatre and dance to visual arts and design”, thus attesting to the above statement concerning liaising with other key institutions worldwide for one purpose. The British Council’s work in arts is delivered through their West Africa Arts Programme with activities in Ghana, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone and the UK. The programme has three main strands - Festivals programme, Creative Hubs Programme and Creative Hustle which is ongoing till the end of 2020. One could keep up to date with all projects on social media via #UKWestAfricaArts.</p> <p>The Republic of Ghana and the United Kingdom have recently signed a New Strategic Partnership agreement to deepen and strengthen their relations as well as open up new areas for cooperation between the two countries.</p>	<p>relations with each other. Annku argues that a symbiosis of the arts in Ghana and Europe, since pre-colonial era, became evident through British educational policies, economical, technological and political domination. From time immemorial, the two arts have always been linked together (Annku &amp; Adu-Agyem, 2012).</p>
--	--	---	--

		<p>The Vice President of the Republic of Ghana, His Excellency Dr. Mahamudu Bawumia, witnessed the signing of the agreement by the Minister for Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration, Hon. Shirley Ayorkor Botchwey (MP) and the United Kingdom Secretary for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, Rt. Hon. Jeremy Richard Hunt, (MP) on Tuesday, 30<sup>th</sup> April, 2019 at the Jubilee House in Accra (2019).</p>	
3	Brazil	<p>Brazil and Ghana have had diplomatic relations dating as far back as 14<sup>th</sup> May 1979. The two have also reached a new turn in their relationship where a lot more of Brazil is being seen in Ghana through the construction works to mention just a few.</p>	<p>Fighting racism has become a major problem for the Brazilians so focus has not been on the arts. According to Brazil's former ambassador to Ghana, H.E. Irene Vida Gala, they were counting on the benevolence of Ghanaians and see them</p>

			as role models since they have a track record in terms of democracy and social integration (2014). Ranked fifth.
4	Egypt	<p>Egypt is one of the first countries to have exchanged diplomatic ties with Ghana. This started from former President Kwame Nkrumah and Gamel Abdul Nassir becoming so close to the extent that both countries have monuments including streets named after the other including Nkrumah's high-profile marriage to Fathia. On May 14<sup>th</sup>, 2019, Speaker of the Ghanaian Parliament Aaron Mike Ocquaye highlighted the historic relations between Egypt and Ghana, affirming the country's keenness to develop these relations in all fields.</p>	Ranking fourth according to the analysis
5	China	<p>For the past sixty years, Ghana and China have had good relations and an enduring cooperation since signing the Friendship Treaty on August 23, 1961.</p> <p>Ghana established diplomatic relations with China shortly after becoming a Republic in July</p>	China still rates third in connection with the arts and its diplomatic relationship with Ghana.

		<p>1960. The personal friendship between President Kwame Nkrumah and Chairman Mao Zedong as well as being the mouthpiece for the oppressed, laid the deep foundation for the relations between the two countries at the time. The countries' relations and cooperation have been tested but have become more robust and diverse, touching practically on all conceivable spheres of development especially under the leadership of Ghana's President Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo and Chinese President Xi Jinping, notably on trade and investment, culture, education, politics, economics, among others (Boateng, 2020)</p>	
--	--	---	--

Source: Field Interview, December 2019 to April 2020.

## 6.2 Thematic Analysis

Thematic analysis is a method of analyzing qualitative data. It is usually applied to a set of texts, such as interview transcripts. The researcher closely examines the data to identify common themes – topics, ideas and patterns of meaning that come up repeatedly. It is important to derive some meaning when analyzing qualitative data, which are coding techniques for finding and marking

the underlying ideas in the data, that is, grouping similar kind of information together in categories and relating different ideas and themes to one another (Rubin & Rubin, 1995).

Below are some of the general steps or stages in which a researcher (there are varied ways) would conduct a thematic analysis successfully. It is also a flexible method that can easily be adapted.

- Familiarization with the data through review, reading, listening or combination of any
- Transcription of tape-recorded material
- Organization and indexing of data for easy retrieval and identification
- Anonymizing of sensitive data
- Coding
- Identification of themes
- Re-coding
- Development of provisional categories
- Exploration of relationships between categories
- Refinement of themes and categories
- Development of theory and incorporation of pre-existing knowledge
- Testing of theory against the data
- Report writing, including excerpts from original data if appropriate (e.g. quotes from interviews).

This section was applied to the study when views, opinions, knowledge and experiences were sought from respondents in connection with responses from the questionnaire guide and survey responses. Data collected from the categories were then analyzed. The risk of missing nuances in

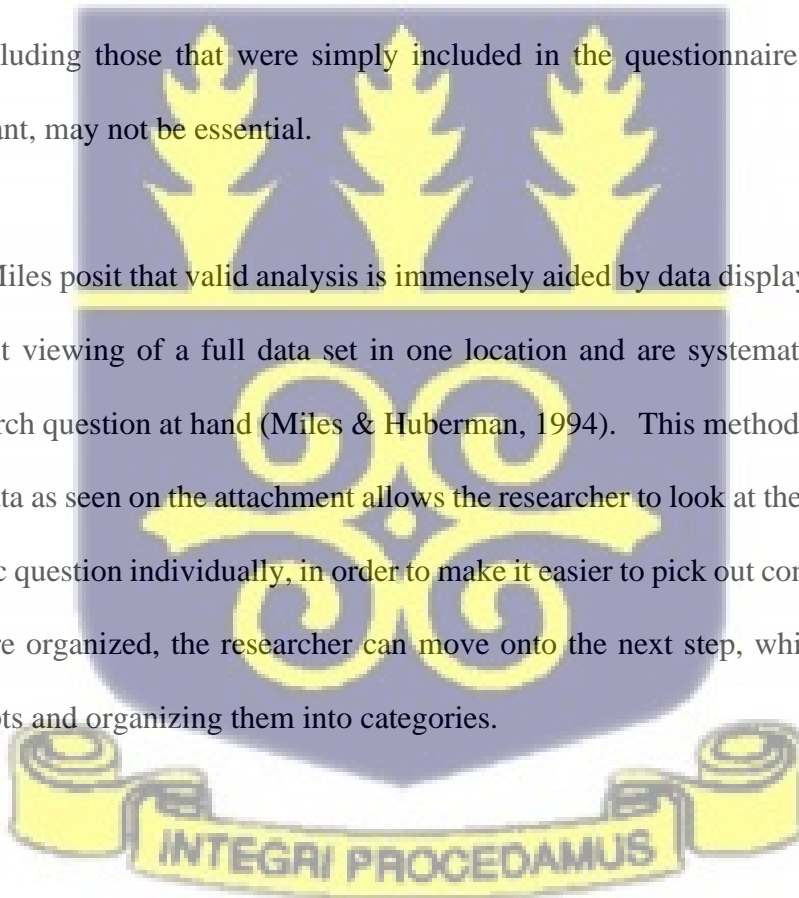
data collated is high and subjective because it also relies on researchers' judgement a lot. Based on this, there is a caution for researchers to reflect carefully on choices and interpretations made.

In Helene O'Connor and Nancy Gibson's step-by-step guide to qualitative data analysis, they outline the basic stages to achieving a good data analysis (O'Connor & Gibson, 2003). They are as follows:

### ***6.2.1 Familiarization and Organization of Data for Easy Retrieval***

In organizing data, it is essential to go back to the interview guide/questionnaire that were administered at the various location. It is key to identify and differentiate between the questions to be answered including those that were simply included in the questionnaire guide to add up, although important, may not be essential.

Huberman and Miles posit that valid analysis is immensely aided by data displays that are focused enough to permit viewing of a full data set in one location and are systematically arranged to answer the research question at hand (Miles & Huberman, 1994). This method of organizing and displaying the data as seen on the attachment allows the researcher to look at the responses to each topic and specific question individually, in order to make it easier to pick out concepts and themes. Once the data are organized, the researcher can move onto the next step, which is, picking out ideas and concepts and organizing them into categories.



### ***6.2.2 Identification and Organization of Frequently Used Words***

Usually in looking at the various responses for a particular question, specific words or ideas keep coming up and at that stage, it is important to make note of the different ideas by keeping a list as the different responses are read through.

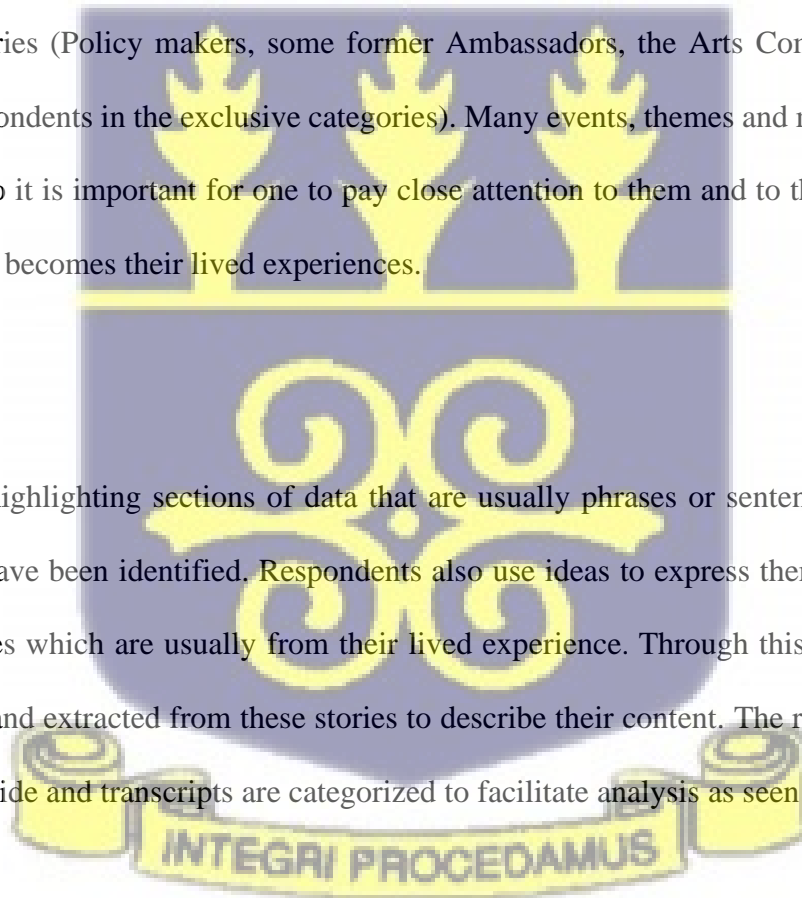
According to Marshall and Ross, “Identifying salient themes, recurring ideas or language, and patterns of belief that link people and settings together is the most intellectually challenging phase of the analysis and one that can integrate the entire endeavor.” (Marshall & Rossman, 1995). For each category as stated in the attachment (6.2), answers to questions are almost the same and they ran throughout in the breakdown with recurring word. In finding meaning in the languages used, it came to my notice that the respondents had their own way of expressing themselves, that is, in referring to specific things or events which reflected their attitudes and behaviors (especially with respondents from the arts community and the arts market). Such words and expressions used frequently by those interviewees were picked out to show the varying sound in how others would otherwise express themselves. This is particularly important while doing cross-cultural interviews. First, because the researcher needs to make sure he or she understands what is meant by certain expressions, and also because it allows the researcher to look at the meaning and underlying implications of those expressions. Every language and culture have expressions with meanings different than the obvious. Therefore, it is important during transcription and translation, not to ‘clean up’ the grammar. Translations should be as true to the original speech patterns as possible, so that transcripts would give the best reflection possible of how the conversation happened (O'Connor & Gibson, 2003). Furthermore, in analyzing data, “rich points” are the unexpected turns that occur during interviewing, making one learn new things or often taken by surprise by things

we least expect to hear. These are valuable as they help in the analysis process. A classic example with this experience was during an interview session in one of the respondent's house where snippet of insightful information was recorded from the respondent's fifth grade son. He attends the Ghana International School and had read about and been exposed to lots of other pupils coming from diverse cultural background. He concluded that indeed Ghana had an interesting rich culture, citing the beautiful Kente cloths and the Adinkra symbols.

Most of the respondents also told vivid stories of their experiences to communicate their point of ideas or symbols indirectly. This was common during interactions with all the respondents in the different categories (Policy makers, some former Ambassadors, the Arts Community, the Arts Market and respondents in the exclusive categories). Many events, themes and meanings do come out of a story, so it is important for one to pay close attention to them and to their meanings. By telling a story, it becomes their lived experiences.

### 6.3 Coding

Coding means highlighting sections of data that are usually phrases or sentences which appear frequently and have been identified. Respondents also use ideas to express themselves by telling interesting stories which are usually from their lived experience. Through this, shorthand labels are highlighted and extracted from these stories to describe their content. The responses from the questionnaire guide and transcripts are categorized to facilitate analysis as seen below:



### Coding Qualitative Data

The section below is a presentation of the details of engagement from some respondents (Data collected from series of interviews).

**Table 6. 2: Visual Arts in Ghana’s Diplomatic Relations.**

**Question:** What is the role of Visual Arts in Ghana’s Diplomatic relations?

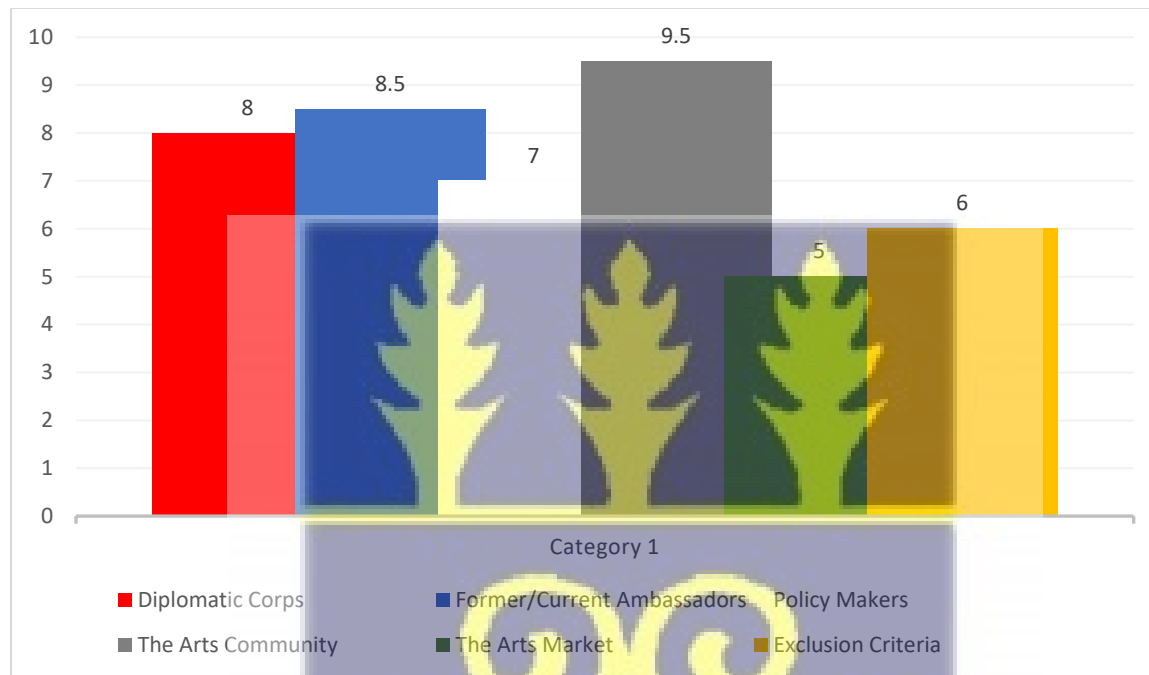
	CATEGORY	INTERVIEW EXTRACT (ANSWERS)	CODES
1.	Diplomatic Corps	<p>The arts are a platform in which communication and expression between peoples thrives. For this purpose, it can be used as means of influence on the international level between States. For centuries, through the arts some states have been able to restore their image and give them international recognition. Many states today are more recognized for their cultural influence around the world than by their names. Art plays a big role in modern diplomacy by the use of soft power.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Acknowledgement of the importance of the arts.</li> <li>• Affirming the arts have great international influence</li> <li>• Cultural influence</li> <li>• Power of the arts</li> </ul> <p>The Diplomatic Corps, former Ambassadors and current Ambassadors shared similar view in the analysis.</p>
2.	Some selected Ministries. Since 1992, the Executive branch of	<p>Visual Arts can at times represent view and ideas that words can’t adequately capture. They may express emotional sentiments, which can be galvanizing in</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Visual phenomena used as proof of the truth</li> <li>• Greatest means of representation</li> </ul>

	<p>government has dictated the tempo perspectives, ideas of parliament, business ideas etc. Therefore, given the limited time, resources and COVID-19 pandemic, all the body of parliament could not be consulted. Therefore, some Ministers were used as proxy indicators for parliament.</p>	<p>ways as witnessed when public opinion is charged with emotion. Visual art can also draw attention to problems which we find sensitive to describe in words.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Greatest site of power</li> </ul>
3.	<p>General Arts Community</p>	<p>Art and artists are the creators and innovators of culture, and they must be resourced to perform this role</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The arts and artists are very important</li> </ul>
4.	<p>The Arts Market</p>	<p>We can use our various Ghanaian clothing to promote our culture even at the international level</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Ghanaian textiles promote culture</li> </ul>
5.	<p>Exclusion Criteria (Businessmen/women, Bankers, Ordinary Ghanaian Citizen)</p>	<p>The Visual Arts can bring about understanding and appreciation of a country's history in terms of social,</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Mutual understanding</li> </ul>

		political and economic structures, and strengthen relations already existing.	
--	--	---	--

Source: (Field Interviews, August 2019 to December 2019 respectively)

**Figure 6.2.1 Perceptions of Respondents on the Role of the Visual Arts in Ghana’s Diplomatic Relations**



Source: Researcher’s Construction

The various key in a box form above explains the symbols and colours used. They are:

- The colour gray - representing the Arts Community rated first. Indicated that the arts and its players are very important and must be resourced to perform the role especially where diplomacy is concerned since they are the creators and innovators of culture.
- The colour blue – representing the diplomatic corps ranked second with 8.5 on a scale of 1-10. They reiterated that the arts play big roles in modern diplomacy by engaging in soft

power. They insist states are more recognized for their cultural influence around the world than by their names.

- The colour red – representing the active members of the diplomatic corps rated third. They also acknowledge that the arts are a platform on which communication and expression between peoples thrive. They also affirm that for centuries, through the arts, governments of states have restored their national images and gained international recognition and influence.
- The colour white representing the policy makers rated fourth according to the graph. According to that category, sometimes visual arts do express views and ideas that words cannot do. The visual arts also draw attention to problems which we find too sensitive to describe.
- The colour curry – representing the exclusion criteria rated fifth. They suggest that the visual arts bring about mutual understanding and appreciation of a country's history in terms of social, political and economic structures, and strengthen already existing relations.
- The colour olive green – representing the arts market also suggest that Ghana can use her various Ghanaian clothing to promote its culture even at the international level.

Conclusions are then drawn based on the true representation of the data. The interpretation of the data leads to a productive conclusion and results of the data analysis process is used to decide the best course of action. By the data analysis process,

- ❖ Better decisions are made to help the government. This is because the varied choices are backed by data that has been robustly collected and analyzed. As more surveys are conducted in this field, better and more informed decisions are made to run the economy, state or country more effectively.

As one interprets the results of the data, it becomes clear that:

- ❖ The data answers the questions at issue
- ❖ The data helps one to defend against any conclusion that may arise
- ❖ Through the data, limitations on the conclusion including angles that may have been overlooked are considered and addressed for a better way forward.

The excerpt below provides details of an engagement from the Arts Market:

**Table 6. 3: Responses from the Arts Market**

QUESTION/TOPIC	RESPONSES	CATEGORIES
<p><i>Projecting Ghanaian Culture Through the Arts: Local and International Dimensions</i></p>		
<p>1. As an artist, a dealer, etc., how can you sell the image of Ghana abroad using the visual arts?</p>	<p>From my view, Ghanaians are very creative, and resources are in abundance. Importation of goods should be less and exports should increase. Goods (visual arts) produced locally should be highly priced on the international market and cost of living should go down for Ghanaians to make a decent living.</p>	<p>Concern about culture and resources not being valued appropriately by Ghanaians  Concern about high cost of living and importation of foreign exorbitant goods which makes life hard for the ordinary Ghanaian</p>

<p>What can the government do to ensure that the arts become a major source of improving our national identity in the era of globalization?</p>	<p>When I look at the type of our chieftaincy today and even our culture, they do not take our values seriously at all and have politicized everything and it is a big shame. The government should get seasoned people interested in the arts to be the bosses to promote the arts. I want the government to bring back the good plans of the late Kwame Nkrumah to fix things up otherwise no one will take us seriously which will lead to our doom.</p>	<p>Emotional effects  Frustrations with the economy and high cost of living. Yet still hopeful for a better tomorrow.</p>
---	---	---

Source: (Field Interviews, 10<sup>th</sup> October 2019)

Answers to the question/topic above are given in Chapter Seven explaining how it could be achieved in the recommendations and contribution to knowledge.

#### 6.4 Construction of Over-arching Themes in the Data

According to O'Connor and Gibson, in the construction of themes in data analysis, responses from the various categories has one or more associated themes that give a deeper meaning to the data.

Different categories were brought under one main over-arching theme to make data more comprehensible (O'Connor & Gibson, 2003).

One of the themes that emerged from the arts data is that some of the respondents from the Arts Market expressed feelings of frustrations, yet hopeful that things could get better. They felt most Ghanaians were caught between two worlds, especially in connection with our cultural values and the arts. This stems from the fact that the latest crop of generations have copied and imbibed the ways of the Western culture to the extent of neglecting the true essence of being a Ghanaian, thus affecting almost everything. The theme of hope emerges from the responses discussed below.

***Observations – how the arts are perceived:***

- Generally, majority of the respondents from the Arts Market mentioned that the visual arts have been relegated to the background
- They could relate with stories they had heard or witnessed themselves in connection with the general attitude towards the Ghanaian arts
- Also, they realized that complaining does not resolve the setbacks so their only hope is that those in power would pay attention to the arts, engage all relevant stakeholders so that there will be a complete revival.
- Despite the setbacks, these respondents still go about selling their artifacts to make a living
- They agree that times have changed with globalization and technology (they are enlightened, learn a lot and update themselves with current issues through their annual durbars and periodic meetings), but are hopeful that the right change will happen one day.

- Despite the global trend, some of them keep to the old order (status-quo) to maintain the cultural values because of fears that they may be forgotten entirely. Grand loom(s) for weaving intricate designs were on display at the Arts Centre, Accra.

## 6.5 Ensuring Validity and Reliability in the Data Analysis and in the Findings

Already cited in Chapter Four, validity refers to the integrity and application of methods undertaken in research, and the precision in which the findings accurately reflect or represent data. Hamed Taherdoost posits that Validity explains how well the collected data covers the actual area of investigation and “measure what is intended to be measured” (Taherdoost H. , 2016).

This brings about data that shows or represent the actual thing on the ground – reality. When there is credibility, one is assured that the research is dependable. Appropriate strategies used in achieving this was triangulation, prolonged contact with respondents, checks on them and saturation. Kvale postulates that when findings in research are constantly consistent, then its reliability is ensured (Kvale, 1996). Ensuring reliability, requires diligent efforts and commitment to consistency throughout interviewing, transcribing and analyzing the findings.

When these are successfully carried out by the researcher, transparency is increased and the tendency to insert researcher bias is decreased. Golafshani postulates that “ability to maintain neutrality and trustworthiness is key” and important despite challenges that may occur (Golafshani, 2003).

## 6.6 Testing Emergent Findings

Reviewing all data systematically brought up some themes and patterns that came up but were not necessarily important. In accordance with Miles and Huberman, these negative instances of the patterns are sometimes called “outliers” which are often too easy to discard since they do not fit into the patterns and themes of the data, however it is just as important that these are carefully examined and that possible explanations for these are reserved for future reference and are thought out (Miles & Huberman, 1994).

Drawing from the focus group discussion, some respondents from the Arts Community made some assertions:

*Question: Do you see any positive prospects about the arts in the future?*

*Answer: Yes and no. Yes because of the potential of the arts in initiating social change. No because even our governments do not seem to see the urgency in prioritizing our cultural values. We seem to be the only people who argue about the merits and virtues of our traditions and cultures while we readily display and embrace Eurocentric values and ideals without question. For example, we frown upon our own African way of prayer such as libation. (Extract from Focus Group Discussion, January 2020).*

Another respondent from the Exclusion Criteria has this perspective to share about the arts

*Question: What about national identity? Do we have or require one as a nation?*

*Answer: I will say we do not have a clear or robust national identity in comparison to our Nigerian, Kenyan and South African contemporaries. Yes, we require and should have one as a nation. It portrays a huge sense of nationalism, belonging and pride in a good way! (Field Interview, March 2020)*

## 6.7 Checking for Researcher Effects

Miles and Huberman (1994) indicate that the dynamics of the interaction between the researcher and the respondent is liable to being influenced by the personal characteristics of both parties. This observation was very clear and obvious when the researcher was conducting the face-to-face interviews. The personalized nature of the interactions had an impact (familiarization) since the respondents, especially from the Arts Community belonged to the same socio-cultural community as the Researcher, which induced the temptation of over enthusiasm and the urge to hijack conversations (by some respondents).

## 6.8 Validating/Confirming Findings

In confirming or validating findings, Triangulation was adopted because from observations, findings are more dependable when they can be confirmed from several independent sources. Their validity is enhanced when they are confirmed by more than one “instrument” measuring the same thing. Two types of triangulations were used. These were Triangulation from different sources and Triangulation from different methods.

**Triangulation from different sources:** During the fieldtrip, interviewing different members of the community gave different perspectives on a specific question or topic. Below are some examples.



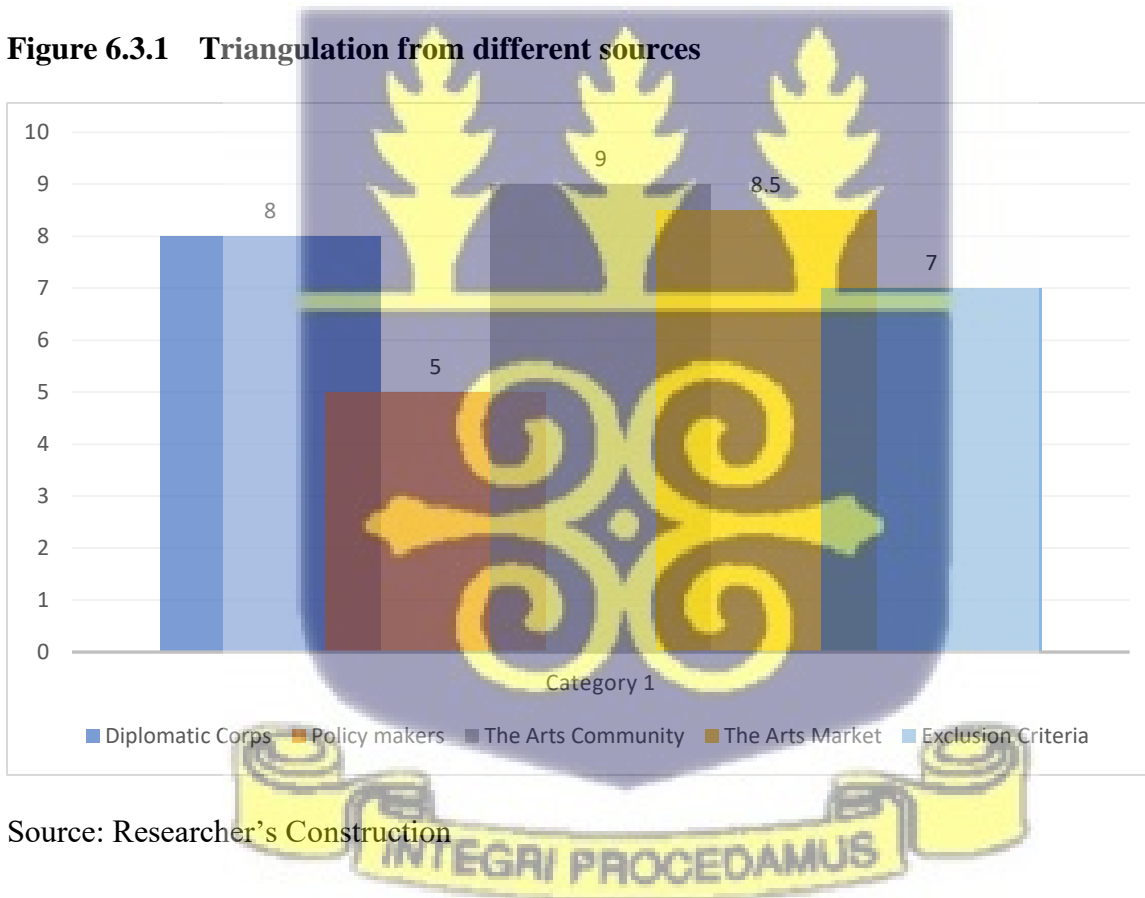
**Table 6. 4: Triangulation from Different Sources**

	<b>CATEGORIES</b>	<b>QUESTIONNAIRE/INTERVIEW GUIDE</b> <i>Q: How can the Visual Arts be used to promote international peace and understanding among peoples and societies?</i>
<b>1.</b>	Officials of foreign missions	<i>Ans: Visual arts is considered as a crucial tool for soft diplomacy. As such it plays an important role in promoting peace internationally among people and societies. If diplomacy is considered as means and ways for States to exert their influences through dialogue, visual arts would be a significant instrument to implement these influences.</i>
<b>2.</b>	Some selected Ministries (Policy Makers)	<i>Ans: By promoting tourism which will attract foreigners into the country, thus leading to opportunities to understand Ghanaian traditions and unique cultural heritage.</i>
<b>3.</b>	The Arts Community	<i>Ans: Through art exhibitions and cultural collaborations. Ghanaian artists/consultants should be part of the team (Cultural attaches) in Ghana's foreign embassies.</i>

4.	The Arts Market	<i>Ans: By exhibiting or displaying the visual arts for people to appreciate us and our unique culture</i>
5.	Exclusion Criteria (Businessmen/women Bankers Ordinary Ghanaian Citizen)	<i>Ans: By telling 'Our' story with the right facts, information and the use of our own culture and traditions</i>

Source: Field Interview

**Figure 6.3.1 Triangulation from different sources**



This is a visual representation of data in the form of bars. Using this graph, responses are displayed and measured in the survey.

- The analysis from the graph above shows the Arts Community ranking first with 9 marks on a scale of 1-10 because most of the respondents had similar views - that the visual arts could be used to promote international peace and understanding among peoples and societies “*through art exhibitions and cultural collaborations. Ghanaian artists must be featured in Ghana’s foreign embassies as cultural attaches*”.
- The Arts Market came second with the view that an appreciation of each other would ultimately lead to peace and understanding.
- The Diplomatic Corps came third with similar opinions on soft power.
- By telling our own stories so as not to be marginalized, some of the respondents in the Exclusion Criteria category felt that was the way forward to achieving peace among nations and was rated fourth with 7 marks on a scale of 1-10
- Finally, Policy Makers made the last mark of fifth with 5 marks

Triangulation from different methods: looking at the same questions/ topics but trying to answer them using different research methods, such as surveys, focus groups and individual interviews.

**Table 6. 5: Triangulation from Different Methods**

	CATEGORIES	QUESTIONNAIRE/INTERVIEW GUIDE Q: <i>What recommendations would you give to enhance the arts in Ghana?</i>
1.	Diplomatic Corps (Embassies/High Commission, Current and Past Ambassadors)	<i>The best thing for government to do is to promote arts in schools and enhance our educational system, grounding educators and</i>

	Research Method: Focus groups	<i>all pupils and students in the philosophical, aesthetic, socio-cultural, political and economic values of Ghanaian arts and artefacts.</i>
2.	Exclusion Criteria (Businessmen/women Bankers Ordinary Ghanaian Citizen)  Research Method: Focus groups	<i>It is key for the government to assemble a crop of Ghanaian professional and businesspeople to formulate clear investment strategy for promoting the arts in Ghana and supporting the production, use and export of Ghanaian artefacts. Part of the strategy would be to encourage all Ghanaians, particularly all government officials, diplomats and representatives to wear, use and promote Ghanaian artifacts and culture wherever they are.</i>

Source: (Extract from Focus Group Discussion, February 2020 and Field Interviews, April 2020)

From triangulation, corroboration of the findings makes it clear that they are both valid and reliable. Through triangulation, insights which may not have been gleaned or that were missed in the original data collection process stand a good chance of being identified and taken into account. Sometimes it means that a researcher's assumptions were off base, and that he/she needs to change the questions or do more research.

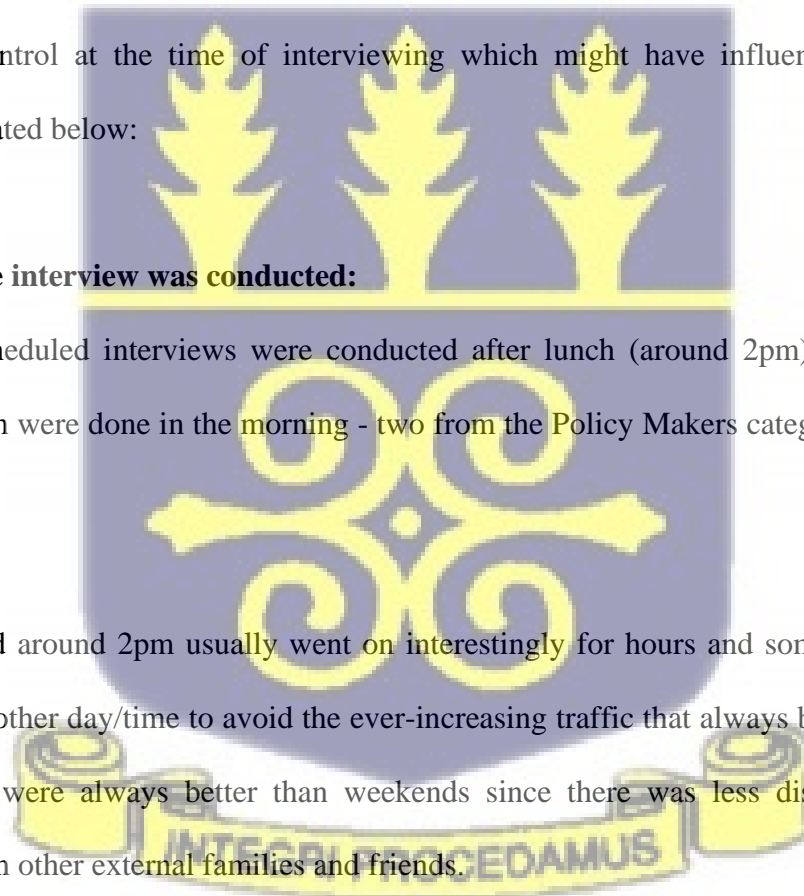
## 6.9 Obtaining Feedback from Participants

The best way of examining the validity of the research findings and of the researcher's interpretation of them was for the researcher to go back and re-engage individuals who participated in the study. This is very necessary especially when a statement was not very clear and needed to be clarified or sometimes to get additional feedback which served as a plus for the researcher. After all the interviews had been completed, a series of focus groups were conducted to obtain feedback from community members on the accuracy and on the validity and the appropriateness of the research findings. The implications of the research findings and how to go about the dissemination of information was also discussed. Some common factors beyond the researcher and respondent's control at the time of interviewing which might have influenced some of the responses are stated below:

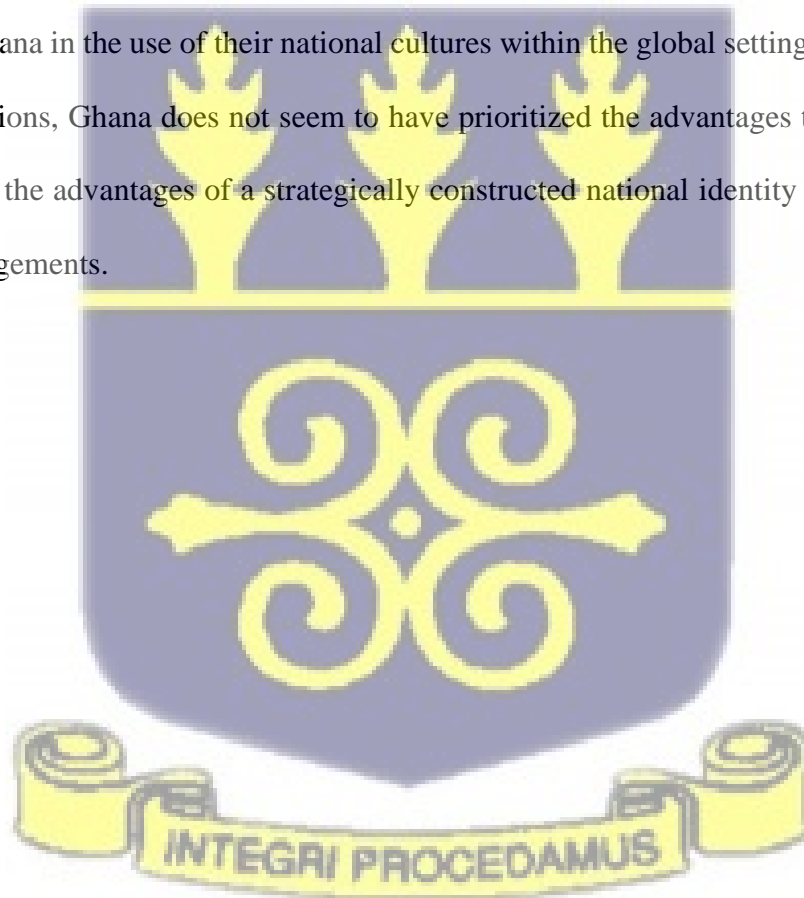
### **Time of day the interview was conducted:**

Most of the scheduled interviews were conducted after lunch (around 2pm) except for three interviews which were done in the morning - two from the Policy Makers category and one from the Arts Market.

Those scheduled around 2pm usually went on interestingly for hours and sometimes had to be postponed to another day/time to avoid the ever-increasing traffic that always build up after 4:30 pm. Weekdays were always better than weekends since there was less distraction and less interruption from other external families and friends.



**Sometimes, the presence of other acquaintances of the respondent** during the interview, took over the conversation which made it a bit frustrating because those people do not fall within the targeted group or category, which wasted time in the process as the researcher had to keep going back and forth with some questions. To curb those interruptions, the researcher had to politely ask them to leave for some minutes or offered to buy them some drinks to enjoy at a distance in order to get the full attention of the respondent. This was especially rampant with respondents (the Arts Market) at the Accra Arts Centre. The overarching responses relative to the broad tendencies in the literature review suggests that indeed political objectives can be pursued with the arts in international affairs. This is the path that seems to have been taken by China, the US, UK, Brazil and Egypt in Ghana in the use of their national cultures within the global setting. However, unlike the foreign missions, Ghana does not seem to have prioritized the advantages that can be gained from leveraging the advantages of a strategically constructed national identity as an aspect of its diplomatic engagements.



## CHAPTER SEVEN

### SUMMARY OF RESEARCH FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

#### 7.0 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to summarize the key findings and make some recommendations aimed at a future with an improved image for Ghana in terms of its identity profile on the international platform. It brings together the various strands of the study in coherent manner in order to present the entire scheme of work to set the tone for future scholarly research endeavours.

#### 7.1 Summary of Key Findings

The research was driven by the following questions set up as indicated in Chapter one:

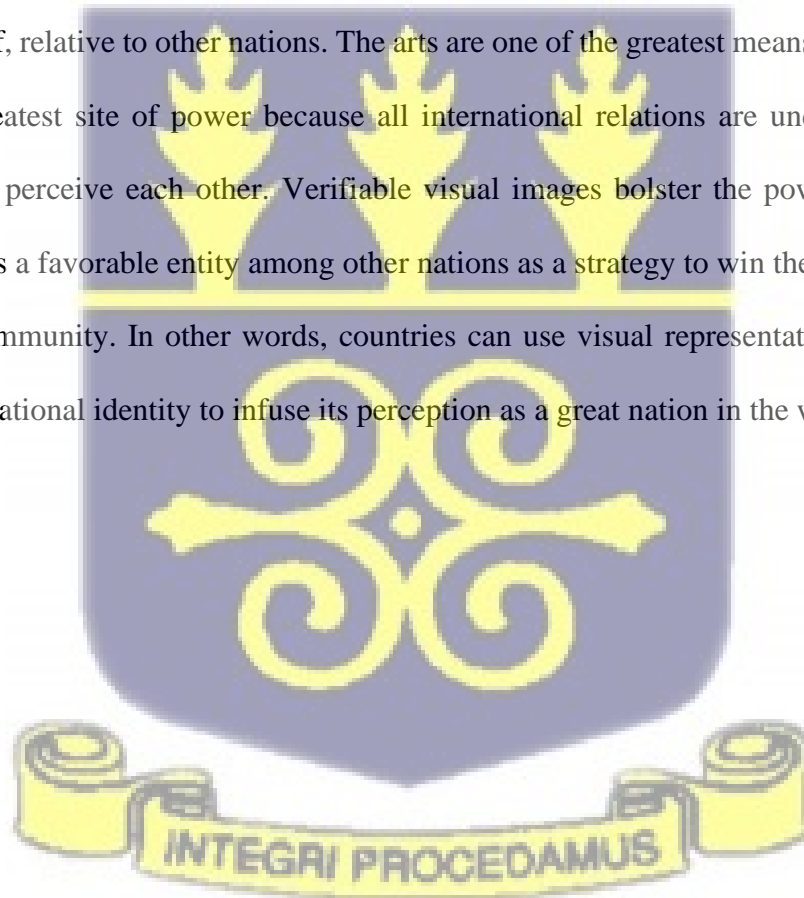
- What is the role and relevance of visual arts as a tool for international relations and foreign policy?
- How can visual arts be used to promote international peace and understanding among peoples and societies?
- How can Ghanaian culture, expressed in various art forms, constitute a vehicle for advancing the goal of constructing national identity and for diplomatic relations?

The summary of the key findings of this research is discussed in line with the research questions found above.

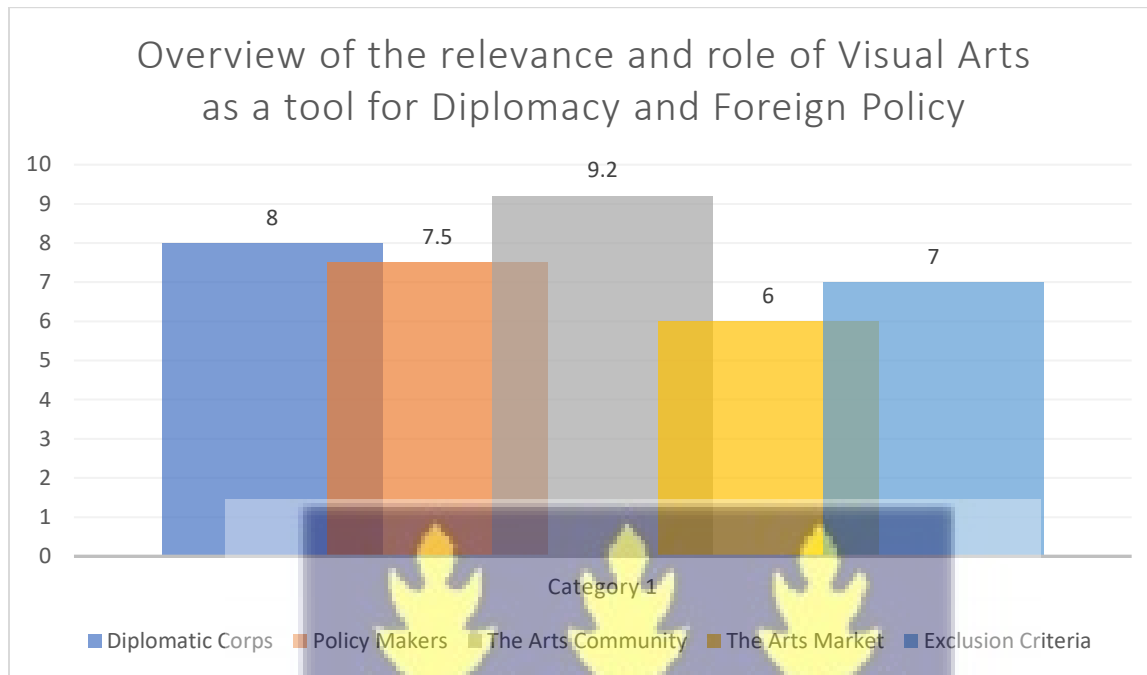


### ***7.1.1 Overview of The Relevance and Role of Visual Arts as a Tool for Diplomacy and Foreign Policy***

General review or summary of the above subject from all the categories posit that visual arts deliver images that communicate values, strengths, and culture of nations to other nations. Presented as artifacts, photos, paintings, murals, films, infographics, to mention just a few, all products of visual arts do convey pictorially, the level of sophistication of a nation's culture, civilization and development, and even its governance system. This shows that visual phenomena are often used as proof of the truth to back claims made. It is important for international relations and foreign policy that a nation be deliberate on how it presents its people, culture and civilization as a way of positioning itself, relative to other nations. The arts are one of the greatest means of representation and also the greatest site of power because all international relations are undergirded by how nations view or perceive each other. Verifiable visual images bolster the power of a nation to establish itself as a favorable entity among other nations as a strategy to win the hearts and minds of the world community. In other words, countries can use visual representations in the arts to project an international identity to infuse its perception as a great nation in the world community.



**Figure 7. 1: Overview of the Relevance and Role of Visual Arts as a Tool for Diplomacy and Foreign Policy**



Source: Researcher's Construction

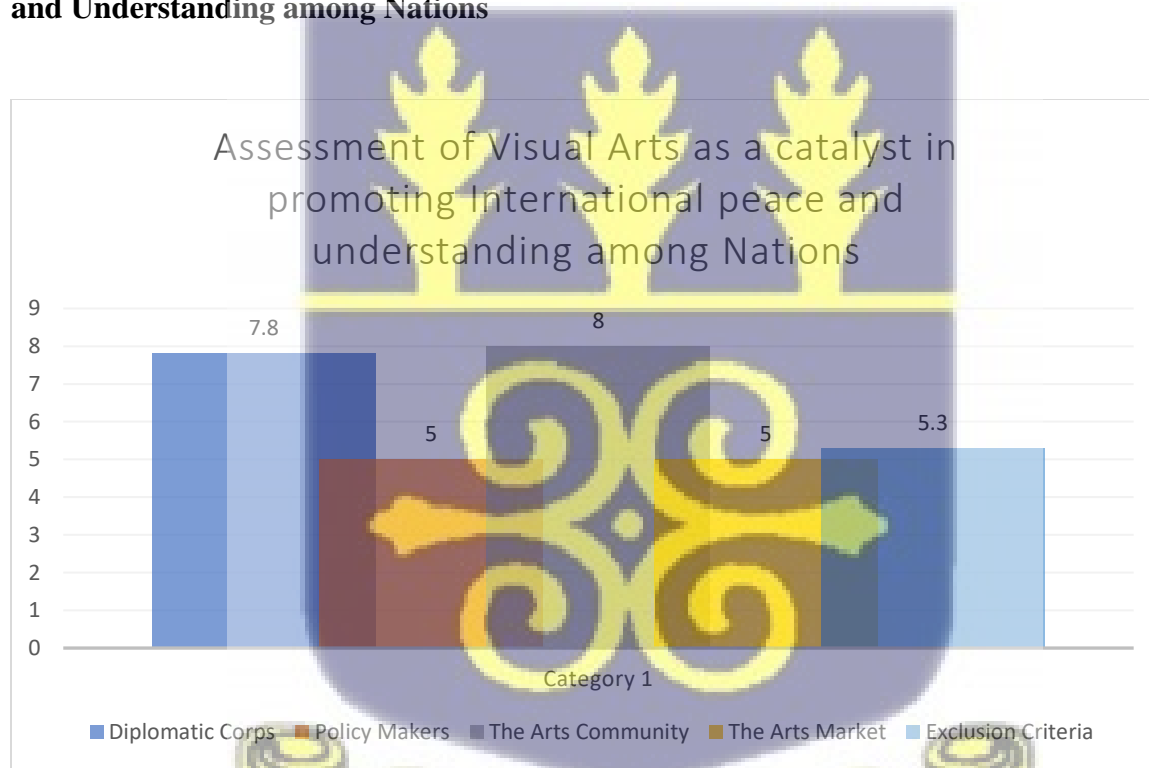
From the above, respondents from the various categories expressed their views on the importance of visual arts in all dimensions especially in relation to diplomacy and foreign policy in Ghana. On a scale of one to ten (1-10), the Arts Community rated highest, followed by the Diplomatic Corps, Policy Makers, the Exclusion Criteria and finally, the Arts Market.

### ***7.1.2 Assessment of Visual Arts as a Catalyst in Promoting International Peace and Understanding among Nations***

Through the visual arts, difficult and sometimes complex messages on conflict, peace and security, developmental needs, socio-economic successes and challenges of a people or society, and the nature and quality of relationship between societies are used as a channel to convey messages. So,

when presented or exchanged among societies as gifts, souvenirs, exhibitions, museum artefacts, or educational materials, these visual arts do open people's appreciation of different cultures and way of life which promote understanding and peace. Peace, as used in the context, connotes the acceptance of co-existence. The various gifts presented to each other must enhance commitment to get along and not to get in each other's way. It is key to also note that giving of gifts is a delicate issue and so according to some respondents, research and checks must be done before proceeding with gift presentation.

**Figure 7. 2: An Assessment of Visual Arts as a Catalyst in Promoting International Peace and Understanding among Nations**



Source: Researcher's Construction

The table above informs the reader that on a scale of 1-9, the various categories represented as the Arts Community was the highest with a mark of 8, followed by the Diplomatic Corps and then the Exclusion Criteria. The Policy makers and the Arts Market had a mark of 5 in

the assessment. The Arts Community is made up of individuals who know the healing power of art and are committed to raising awareness as to benefits which are versatile and far reaching as well as a source of significant bonding power. According to Renee Phillips, the arts constitute a catalyst for positive transformation in all areas of human development and personal growth and as such goes further in bringing peace and understanding within nations (Phillips, 2020).

### ***7.1.3 Assessment of the Ghanaian Culture Constituting a Vehicle for Advancing the Goal of Constructing National Identity and for Diplomatic Relations***

It seems, from the pattern of responses generated, that in as much as the arts are perceived by the respondents as important in terms of projecting national identity in the realm of international affairs, Ghana, unlike the USA, China, Egypt, Brazil, and the UK is yet to construct an image consciously and strategically for itself by leveraging the psychological power of the arts. Constructivism anticipates that key aspects of relational strategies through the forging of national identity to define how people are perceived in international relations can be either historically or socially constructed. And indeed, as empirically affirmed in the case of Brazil, national identity can be disrupted and reconstructed through the agency of the arts. For the past one hundred years, the government of Brazil has consistently mobilized its arts community to showcase and celebrate the unifying power of its demographic plurality by staging a week-long arts festival either in Sao Paulo, its capital or other parts of the world. The strategic intention behind this initiative is to leverage the arts to shed its image as a country built on slavery and colonialism (California Institute of the Arts, 2022). Similarly, Egypt under the auspices of its Dialogue Foundation for the Arts of Peoples' Cultures (Egypt today, 2022) stages its annual International Festival for Drums and

Traditional Arts (IFFDTA). While the event for 2021 was based on the theme “A Message of Peace, Love and Optimism”, and that of 2022 was “Drums Dialogue for Peace”, on every occasion, more than thirty (30) bands from all parts of the world (Daily News Egypt, 2022) participate in a global musical conversation (Cairo Scene, 2022; Egypt today, 2022). Given that Egypt apart from being politically unstable, is located in the geopolitically turbulent region of the Middle East (Salim, 2016; Sawaed, 2019), the IFFDTA serves as a vehicle to promote peace and harmony. In much the same way, the China Shanghai International Arts Festival staged annually since 1986 seeks to "lower the threshold of people-to-people interaction and provide a smoother channel for communication between artists worldwide and local audiences of different cultures in the name of harmony" (Art Bird, 2022). The Chinese with this initiative seek to buttress its strategically curated identity as a peaceful rising global power (Brookings, 2012).

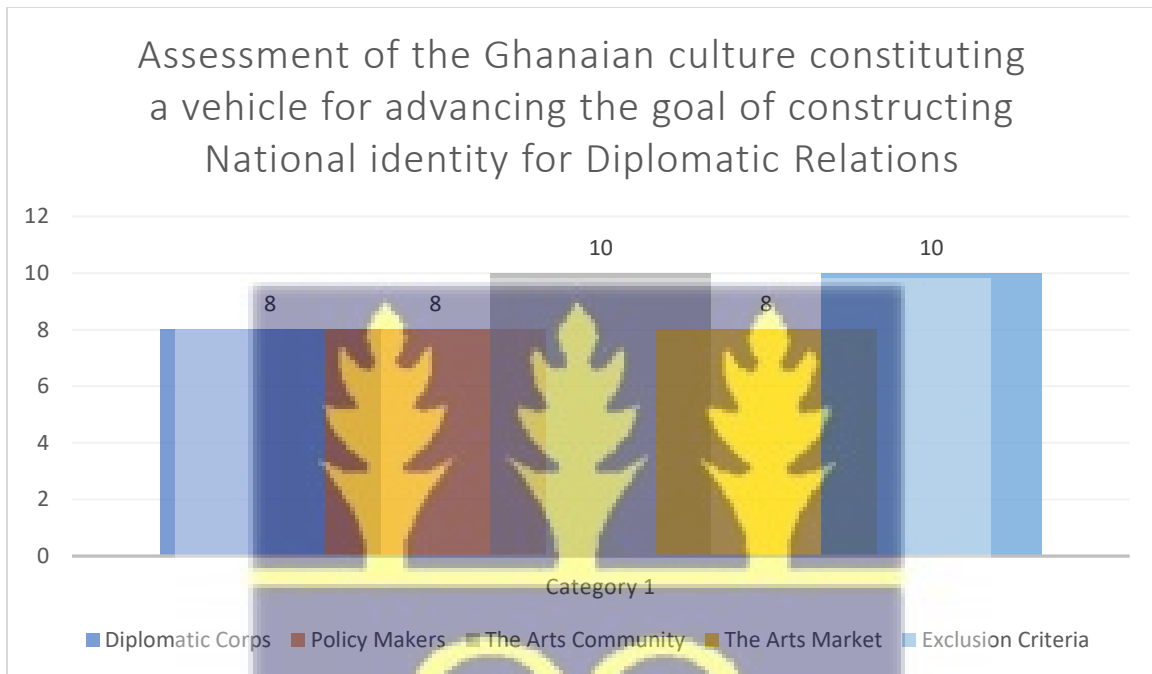
A relevant case worthy of note but which is not part of the countries selected for this study is Germany which has leveraged the Arts in a bid to shed its pre-WWI and WWII national identity as a Nazi war mongering state steeped in racial bigotry. Berlin since 1955 under its documenta has extended initiations once every five years to artists from around the world to exhibit their works in the city of Kassel (documenta gGmbH, 2022). Apart from selected works that are retained and curated in German museums, all works exhibited are not sold but returned to the exhibitors. The documenta initiative is specifically designed to shed a Nazi era ideology when all non-German works of art were considered as degenerate (Michaud, 2004). Hence with the arts Germany seeks to project a national identity of being respecting of peoples across the world. Again, worthy of note is the fact that the power of the arts in national identity formation is not only leveraged by governments. The West-Eastern Divan Orchestra, for example made up of Palestinians and Israelis

seeks to project an alternative concept of national identity based on the fact that the two arch enemies of the State of Palestine and Israel can live in peace and harmony. The orchestra tours worldwide spreading its message of peace and acceptance even in the midst of differences in nationality (The Culture Trip, 2017). The West-Eastern Orchestra initiative is similar to that of the Seagull Foundation for the Arts which seeks to transcend the religion-based conflict between Muslim-dominated Pakistan and Hindu India through its Peace Works Arts Program (Seagull Foundation for the Arts, 2022; Peace Works, 2022). Further, even though Iran and Israel are sworn enemies with the former in the process of enacting a law to destroy the latter by 2024 (Davar, 2021), some citizens of both countries has formed an award winning musical group The Israeli-Iranian Musical Initiative (I=I) made up of Iranians, Israelis and Jews in a bid to project the positive alternative that Iran and Israel can live in peace and harmony (Lemish, Lemish, Sarvestani, & Deutsch, 2017). With a similar strategic intent in mind, the African Union has in place a policy to use African Arts to prosecute its Agenda 2063 as anchored on the conviviality philosophy of Ubuntu philosophy crudely translated as I am because you are; you are because I am (African Union, 2020).

Unlike the cases cited and as implied the perspectives of the respondents in Ghana does not seem to have a systematically curated agenda to utilize the arts to define or project an image for itself. Hence it does not seem to have a paradiplomatic national identity strategy based on the arts. To be sure its Black Star identity is well known (historically) in the political sense, nevertheless no conscious linkage of the arts to amplify the Black Star identity seems to exist. State initiatives such as the PANAFEST, the Joseph Project, the Year of Return, and Beyond the Year of Return

may seem to be a form of constructing a national identity but lacks any strategy embedded in the arts to amplify the quest.

**Figure 7. 3: Assessment of the Ghanaian Culture Constituting a Vehicle for Advancing the goal of Constructing National Identity for Diplomatic Relations**



Source: Researcher's Construction

From the table above, all the categories were rated according to the assessment that through culture, Ghanaians show in their relations with other states their unique values which form part of the Ghanaian cultural identity. The Arts Community made up of artists/artistes and the Exclusion Criteria had the highest mark of 10 on the scale, followed by the Diplomatic Corps, Policy Makers and the Arts Market.

## 7.2 Conclusion

The study has established the importance of the arts, manifesting as national cultural traits in identity construction when it comes to international affairs. In this respect, the artistic space can be understood as a production site of power that nations seek to keenly utilize. The study revealed that all the trappings of state power established through the arts have the potential to enhance legitimacy within the international community. The power of the state being an abstract phenomenon can be made real through the visual arts. Representational visibility works to mobilize and consolidate allegiance as well as making the power of the state real for its people and the world at large. From the representative functions of state insignia such as the flag, coat of arms, to the symbolic representation of the person of the head of state (body politic), this function underpins state legitimacy and identity in the world.

This research has also pointed out that the reverse of this is also true and may account for instances of the erosion of both national and international goodwill and legitimacy of groups of people or states. This explains why citizens demonstrate extreme sensitivity to how others portray them in both social media and popular culture. The 4th of September 2007 issue of the Columbus Post-Dispatch in which Iranians are depicted as cockroaches spewing out of a sewer is a case in point (Dabashi, 2009). Furthermore, it has also shown that the use of artistic objects features in the tradition of gift-giving and considers it as an age-old protocol in international relations. The power of visibility in this respect is often exploited to promote subterfuge or trickery as is exemplified in the gift of a horse by the Greeks to Troy during the Trojan War (Hedreen, 2001).

The research has shown how artistic objects in the form of gifts, possess diversionary power which indicates its function as dominant feature of international relations. It further shows how heavy investments in infrastructure are often packaged as goodwill projects to mark the friendship and collaboration between nations that have often been used as “Trojan horse” gifts from nations of the north to the south. This can however be used for strategic reasons as is exemplified in the historical gift of a wooden horse from Troy during the Trojan war (Burgess, 2001). In its simplest form, the universal need to connect, collaborate, nurture, and commune with each other through the arts is what will bring better understanding of the diverse cultures and appreciation of each other. This is what underscores the notion that art is a universal language. It is a “space” that all human beings call home.

### ***7.2.1 Contribution to Knowledge***

This research is a reference point within the academia. Contribution to knowledge is two-fold.

- In the academic sense, the research has brought to the fore the important relationship between the arts as creative expressions, the quest for power and national identity construction in international affairs. Ghana – by this, the research has shown that the arts are just not for entertainment as perceived but could have political ramifications as well. A political act is not a mere expression of artistic creativity, but the encoding of national aspirations shown through the medium of art. A classic example is the Irish global activist and vocalist, Bono of U2 fame (made an honorary knight in 2007 by Queen Elizabeth II), using his celebrity status to call world leaders’ attention to issues such as global poverty and HIV/AIDS in Africa (Hall, 2017).

- In the practitioner sense, it teaches us lessons in cultural diplomacy, how to use the arts to acquire state capabilities in international settings which also form the basis of cultural diplomacy in Ghana's foreign policy. Cultural expressions like works of art are used to project the image of the country. Suggestions of thinking outside the box during presentation of Kente and stool to some high-ranking departing envoys who have left an indelible mark in Ghana is encouraged, including whipping up a "not to be forgotten event" anytime the President of Ghana makes a presentation in a global summit.

The visual arts are sites of power where power can be generated to shore up Ghana's international image. This is because countries that invest in representing themselves in the world also invariably become very strong countries in the world. For example, the power of America in the world is represented by the power of Hollywood which is a form of visual arts. This is one fundamental awareness created by this research.

The importance foreign missions attach to the strategic use of national identity construction seems not to reflect in the case of Ghana. Even though there is enormous potential to do so given the diverse and rich cultural heritage, the arts seem to be considered as important only in the cosmetic sense. In other words, Ghana, unlike the foreign missions sampled, does not seem to have realized the space of the arts as a context within which to enhance its capabilities in international affairs. The potential for this is readily available since Ghanaians collectively see themselves as the Black Star of Africa and through its visual arts representation can showcase its uniqueness in the world community. One may enquire and ask questions whether

this phenomenon was not known or have never been brought up? The answer is that Ghanaians are aware of this gap but do not know how to go about it and have left it hanging for so long. The research, therefore, has made it very clear that when we are able to develop our visual arts and project it to the world, we will be speaking for ourselves with a unique voice. It is interesting to note that all the Superpowers or great countries who have a strong identity in the world have carved out that identity through their visual arts as seen in film industries, paintings, magazines and all forms of visual representations. Images of poverty, war, famine, corruption and disease have been attached to the perception of people across the globe, especially in connection with Africa, for far too long. This research hopes to change these perceptions of Africa by portraying that Africa and for that matter, Ghana has a lot to offer, and that the potential of Ghana goes beyond such negative images. Just like Japan has carved a niche for itself in the area of technology, Ghana can project a positive image through its cultural products and the arts.

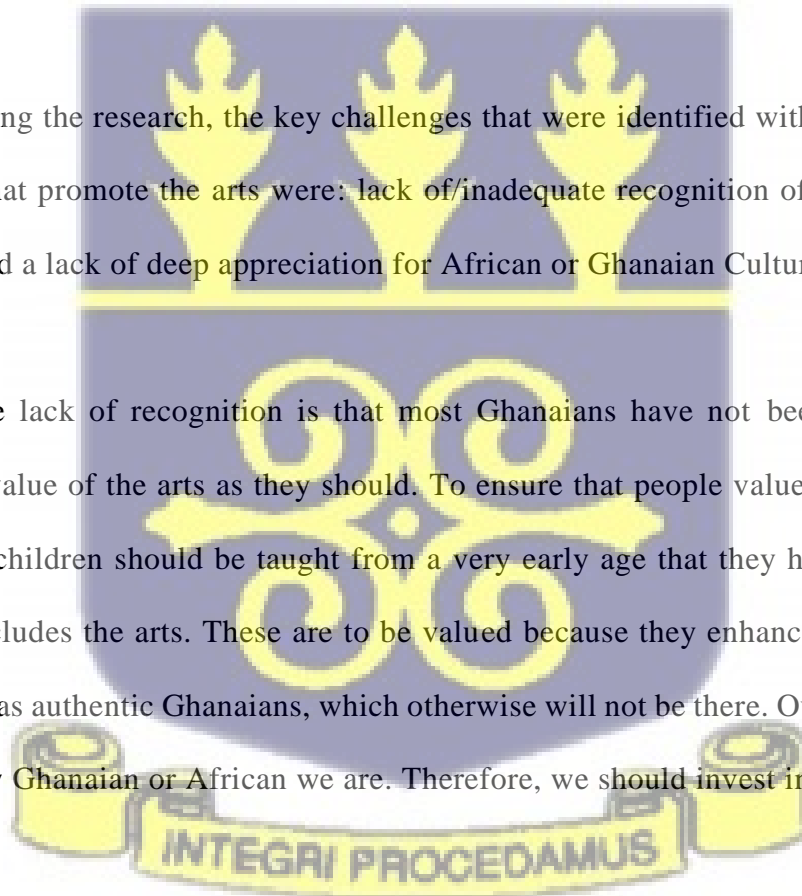
### 7.3 Recommendations

Flowing from the point made immediately above, it is worthy of note that identity construction through the use of the Arts has ontological and epistemic implications. Hence any attempt to operationalize such an initiative on national identity ought, to begin with (for instance) the ontological question 'what national identity does the Ghanaian state seek to project' in international circles?' What should be the philosophical basis of a Ghanaian national identity? The answer (s) to this question may sketch the specific steps that may be taken to operationalize the national identity ontology indicated in the answer(s) that may be generated. The said specific steps may then define the epistemic paths that may be taken to bring the ontological world view(s) encoded in the answers given to light. In this respect, a national philosophical dialogue on the ontology of

national identity in an interdependent world from a Ghanaian perspective ought to be convened. The participants of the said initiative may include the Art(s) constituency, intellectuals (for instance the Faculty of Art of the KNUST), public officials, and traditional rulers. A national league of Artists (philosophers and practitioners) may then be commissioned to render the conceptual output from the ontological dialogue into a blueprint (that may be referred to as Ghana's National Identity Ontology) that may be repurposed into a foreign policy document to be executed by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Furthermore, the blueprint may be used as the foundation for paradiplomatic research and teaching programs at specialized institutions such as the LECIAD and the Foreign Service Institute of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Whilst conducting the research, the key challenges that were identified with the respondents or the people that promote the arts were: lack of/inadequate recognition of the value of the arts, funding and a lack of deep appreciation for African or Ghanaian Culture.

Reasons for the lack of recognition is that most Ghanaians have not been brought up to appreciate the value of the arts as they should. To ensure that people value art works or the Ghanaian arts, children should be taught from a very early age that they have a heritage to value which includes the arts. These are to be valued because they enhance our well-being, image and aura as authentic Ghanaians, which otherwise will not be there. Our future stability depends on how Ghanaian or African we are. Therefore, we should invest in our culture.



Critically, for Ghana to advance in her national development both locally and on the international platform, there is the need to promote culture and other cultural activities. The enactment of a cultural policy with goals and guidelines on these activities ensures that:

- the Ghanaian cultural life is constantly reviewed and enhanced
- contribution is made to the nation's human development and material progress through heritage preservation, conservation, promotion and the use of traditional modern arts and crafts to create wealth and alleviate poverty.

There is a general assertion that Ghanaian ethics and values are lost and can only be revived through a cultural revolution, which is, creating an awareness with the creative arts. This can be done successfully through education and being schooled. The arts are indeed inter-woven into the intricate fabric of society and there is the need to take a critical look at Ghana's Constitution again and create a second chamber or forums where all the Chieftaincy and stakeholders, especially Policy Makers would converge and share ideas. Through this, the traditional governance will be brought closer to our contemporary political government which would lead to the appreciation of Ghanaian cultural values. This had always been an agenda on the mind of the Premier President of Ghana, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah (Botwe-Asamoah, Kwame Nkrumah's Politico-Cultural Thought and Policies: An African-Centered Paradigm for the Second Phase of the African Revolution, 2005). Right from the primary level, values of our cultural heritage, coupled with patriotism, should be instilled and aroused in pupils as they mature so that it becomes part and parcel of a process. It is only through this that we will be able to construct our true identity as Ghanaians and reclaim all that has been lost since our post-colonial era.

The research, upon analysis of the findings, also recommends as follows:

- That the Ghanaian cultural ethics in clothing must be encouraged in schools, churches and other social platforms or gatherings. Also, the government must regulate the importation of foreign secondhand clothes, foreign fashion magazines as well as monitor the airing of foreign television programs that negatively promote Western clothing styles which in turn, lowers patronage of the Ghanaian clothing that are carriers of the rich Ghanaian cultural values.
- National Commission on Culture in close collaboration with Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration should work together on changing mindset of Ghanaians to enhance pride and respect for self and others. Ghanaians can only do that when there is genuine appreciation of the cultural values and begin to feel proud knowing that *Made in Ghana* (MiG) is awesome and can stand the test of time competing with others on the international platform.
- Government should prioritize culturally rooted and relevant education. No nation makes meaningful progress without mainstreaming its own culture. The government could do this by promoting the arts in schools and upgrading the educational system, grounding educators and all pupils and students in the philosophical, aesthetic, socio-cultural, political and economic values of Ghanaian arts and artifacts.
- Public officials ought to be conscientized to take pride in being Ghanaian and showcase MiG everywhere. This should be made a national priority in terms of dress codes, for example. In addition, Ghanaians should always use the indigenous arts systems as a medium to promote peace, establish relationships with other countries and to attract and seek to use same to attract investors, visitors and tourists.

- There must be clear and comprehensive policies which can be translated into action at all levels.
- It is important for the government to also recognize the financial, economic, socio-cultural, political, and diplomatic values of the arts, especially the visual arts, as low-cost, but high-value products which is essential and must be enlightened accordingly so that they can be promoted in the local and international market.
- Furthermore, it is very important to assemble a crop of Ghanaian professional and businesspeople to formulate clear investment strategy for promoting the arts in Ghana and supporting the production, use and export of Ghanaian artifacts. Part of the strategy would be to encourage all Ghanaians, and particularly all government officials, diplomats and representatives to wear, use and promote Ghanaian artifacts and culture wherever they are.
- It is also important to promote Ghanaian arts through social mobilization and a dedicated program to re-conscientize the people of Ghana on our values, culture, history, achievements, and proud aspirations as a nation, using the arts to advance learning and choice of lifestyle.
- Finally, the Government must also explore trade opportunities leading to negotiations and formal agreements on a small scale first, for a period of time as a trial run. If all goes well, then the number could be expanded along with established terms and conditions.

#### 7.4 Areas for further research

This study has raised imperatives that ought to be considered if Ghana is to elevate its cultural resources to the level of a strategic national image construction agenda. To begin with, constructivist research efforts can be geared toward the search for a universally applicable

paradigm of culture which resonates with and compliments existing Ghanaian cultural systems. This require the need to ascertain the various philosophical systems which underpin cultural systems, thorough study as well as the exploration of the terms under which they can be fused into a Ghanaian whole. In the end, the cultural synthesis which will emerge should not have the overt traits of any particular cultural system, however, it should be meaningful and accepting to all. This will serve the true meaning and purpose of unity in diversity devoid of acrimony.

The result generated from the above initiatives should be fed into the arts industry to serve as the channel of transforming the abstract into the concrete. In any way, this will also form part of efforts to revive noble lost values, ethics and holistic culture which are all part and parcel of Ghana's unique identity. The following areas can feed into further research initiatives in this direction.

- Marketing strategies in the development and sale of the Ghanaian Arts at home and abroad.
- Revenue stream and value chains of the Arts industry in Ghana using the cases of paintings, sculpture and textiles.
- How the visual arts industry conceptualizes power and art from a Ghanaian perspective.
- Another important topic is to research into the consequences and effect of prioritizing foreign leagues, telenovelas, advertisement, to mention just a few, over what is purely Ghanaian on the cultural self-perceptions.

This is a crucial point because until a firm stand is taken and acknowledge the myriad problems caused by giving lots of airtime to foreign visuals at the expense of MiG productions, there will be absolutely no progress at all, and our Ghanaian cultural values will continue to be misplaced and not prioritized as is currently being witnessed. This is eroding our identity as Ghanaians, thus spiraling the confidence level of Ghanaians further into the abyss. Meanwhile it is sad and interesting to note that the same foreigners we have

been embracing and touting since the demise of the Premier President of Ghana, Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, never promote the Ghanaian arts in their respective countries the way we do and would go to every length to preserve and maintain their culture.

- The implications of dressing for Diplomacy.
- Discovering the African Diaspora beyond construction as in the case of Brazil.
- How different countries use Visual Arts products to influence Diplomacy.



## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abbey, H. N. (2008). *Kofi Antubam and the Myth around Ghana's Presidential seat*. Accra: Studio Brains Communications.
- Abbink, J. (2014). Religion and Politics in Africa: The Future of "The Secular". *Africa Spectrum*, 83-106.
- Ablade, Glover, E. (n.d.). *People II*. Ablade Glover (Ghana) - October Gallery. October Gallery, Bloomsbury, London.
- Adegbindin, O. (2015). Critical notes on Hegel's Treatment of Africa. *A New Journal of African Studies*, p. 37.
- Adler, E. (2001). *Handbook of International Relations - Chapter 5: Constructivism and International Relations*. Beverly-Hills, CA: Sage.
- African Union. (2020, September 30). Concept Note on 2021 as the Year of Arts, Culture and Heritage in Africa. Theme: Arts, Culture and Heritage: Levers for Building the Africa We Want. Retrieved from African Union Executive Council Thirty-Seventh Ordinary Session Videoconference 30 September - 14 October 2020 Addis Ababa, Ethiopia: <https://au.int/sites/default/files/documents/40121-doc-e-draft-concept-note-on-2021-as-the-year-of-arts-culture-and-heritage-in-africa.pdf>
- Åhäll, L. (2008). Images, Popular Culture, Aesthetics, Emotions and the Future of International Politics. *Political Perspectives*, 1-44.
- Aidoo, K. (2017, May 28). 10 of Ghana's Best Contemporary Artists. Retrieved from Culture Trip: [cdn.ampproject.org](http://cdn.ampproject.org)
- al, I. e. (2017). *Power in International Politics: Does the World Go Hard?* Washington DC.
- Aldecoa, F., & Keating, M. (1999). *Paradiplomacy in Action: The Foreign Relations of Subnational Governments*. London: Frank Cass.
- Alexandrov, M. (2003). The Concept of State Identity in International Relations: A Theoretical Analysis. *Journal of International Development and Cooperation*, 10(1), pp. 33-46.
- Alhassan, D. S. (2018, May 10). The Cultural Policy of Ghana: Its implementation within the Centre for National Culture. Retrieved from Business and Financial Times online: <https://thebftonline.com/2018/business/tourism/the-cultural-policy-of-ghana-its-implementation-within-the-centre-for-national-culture/>
- Almyer, M. (1960). Leo N. Tolstoy, *What is Art?* New York: MacMillan Publishing Company.
- Amineddoleh, L. A. (2014). Protecting Cultural Heritage by Strictly Scrutinizing Museum Acquisition. *Fordham Intellectual Property, Media and Entertainment Law*, (24), pp. 732-744.

- Annku, M. F., & Adu-Agyem, J. (2012). The Impact of Globalization on The Arts in Contemporary Ghana. *Ghana Mining Journal*, 13(1), pp. 86 - 91.
- Antwi, E., & Adi-Dako, M. (2014, September 9). Painting: Is it Indigenous to Ghanaian Culture? Retrieved from Journal of Arts and Humanities (JAH): [https://www.academia.edu/8652172/Painting\\_Is\\_It\\_Indigenous\\_to\\_Ghanaian\\_Culture](https://www.academia.edu/8652172/Painting_Is_It_Indigenous_to_Ghanaian_Culture)
- Art Bird. (2022, June 21). China Shanghai International Arts Festival. Retrieved from Art Bird: <https://www.artsbird.com/en/enaaf/enafjj/20120606/13530.html>
- Arts and Crafts Movement (c.1862-1914). (2020, November 17). Retrieved from Arts and Crafts Movement: Origins, History, Aims, Aesthetics.: <http://www.visual-arts-cork.com/history-of-art/arts-and-crafts.htm#ideals>
- Arts, A. f. (2015, December). Americans speak out about the Arts - An In-Depth look at Perceptions and Attitudes about The Arts in America. (I. P. Affairs, Interviewer)
- Asare-Kumi, A. A. (2010, June). Defining The Ghanaian Feminist Novel: A Study of Ama Ata Aidoo's *Our Sister Killjoy* and Changes and Amma Darko's *Beyond the Horizon and Not Without Flowers*. Retrieved from University of Ghana Digital Collections: <http://197.255.68.203/handle/123456789/7808>
- Austin, Z., & Sutton, J. (2015). Qualitative Research: Data Collection, Analysis, and Management. *The Canadian Journal of Hospital Pharmacy*, 226–231.
- Australian Academy of the Humanities. (2021). International Relations: Transformative Impacts of Arts, Culture, and Creativity. A New Approach: Factsheet 6 Drawn from ANA's Insight Report. Australia: Australian Academy of the Humanities.
- Axelsson, K. (2013). "Taste is not to conform to the art, but the art to the taste": aesthetic instrumentalism and the British body politic in the neoclassical age. *Journal of Aesthetics & Culture*, 1-16.
- Ayiku, R. K. (1998). *Symbolic Meanings in the Ghanaian Arts: A Step Towards Developing Cultural Literacy*. A Doctoral Thesis, Concordia University.
- Baidu-Silverman, E. (2015). *The Contribution of Art and Culture in Peace and Reconciliation Processes in Asia – A literature review and case studies from Pakistan, Nepal, Myanmar, Indonesia, Afghanistan, Sri Lanka, and Bangladesh*. Copenhagen: Danish Centre for Culture and Development.
- Bainvel, S. (2005). Sport and Politics: A Study of the Relationship between International Politics and Football. *Ekonomiska institutionen*, 1-32.
- Barnet, M., & Duval, R. (2005). Power in International Politics. *The International Organisation Foundation*, 51(1), pp. 39-75.
- Barnett, M. (2011). *The Globalization of World Politics: An introduction to international relations*, Fifth edition. New York: Oxford University Press.

- Barnett, M. (2016). *Social constructivism*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Barrett, L. F. (2006). Solving the Emotion Paradox: Categorization and the Experience of Emotion. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, 10(1), pp. 20-46.
- Bashota, B. (2016). The role of theory of international relations in explicating global political events. *Iliria International Review*, 1(1), pp. 34-46.
- Baudot, B. (2020, November 17). Art in International Relations. Retrieved from International Studies:  
<https://oxfordre.com/internationalstudies/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780190846626.001.0001/acrefore-9780190846626-e-119#:~:text=The%20most%20direct%20and%20easily,action%20against%20a%20perceived%20problem.>
- Bedenis, C. (2017, April 7). Kente: Ghana's Premiere Textile. Retrieved from [www.christinebedenis.co](http://www.christinebedenis.co) > [ghanas-textiles-african-print](http://ghanas-textiles-african-print):  
<https://www.christinebedenis.co/2017/04/07/kente-ghanas-textile/>
- Bedenis, C. (2017, September 29). Ghana's Textiles: the color of life/Christine Bedenis. Retrieved from [www.christinebedenis.co](http://www.christinebedenis.co) > [ghanas-textiles-african-print](http://ghanas-textiles-african-print):  
<https://www.christinebedenis.co/2017/09/29/ghanas-textiles-african-print/>
- Berridge, G., & James, A. (2003). *A Dictionary of Diplomacy*, Second Edition. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Beurden, S. V. (2016). Art, the "Culture Complex," and Postcolonial Cultural Politics in Sub-Saharan Africa. *Critical Interventions*, 255-260.
- Beverly, R. (2010). Analyzing Political Art to Get at Historical Fact: Guernica and the Spanish Civil War. *The Social Studies*, 168-171.
- Bleiker, R. (2009). *Aesthetics and World Politics*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Bleiker, R. (2018). *Visual Global Politics*. New York: Routledge.
- Boateng, E. (2020, July 5). 60 years of Ghana-China diplomatic relations: A journey worth celebrating. Retrieved from [news.cgtn.com>news>Ghana-China-diplomatic-relations](http://news.cgtn.com/news/Ghana-China-diplomatic-relations):  
<https://news.cgtn.com/news/2020-07-05/Ghana-China-diplomatic-relations-A-journey-worth-celebrating-RStwASQigo/index.html#:~:text=On%20August%2023%2C%201961>
- Botwe-Asamoah, K. (2005 (b)). *Kwame Nkrumah's Politico-Cultural Thought and Policies: An African-Centred Paradigm for the Second Phase of the African Revolution*. New York: Routledge.
- Brazil and Ghana: A case of good friends thinking alike. (2014, June 9). Retrieved from Business World: <http://www.businessworldghana.com/brazil-and-ghana-a-case-of-good-friends-thinking->

[alike/#:~:text=Brazil%20and%20Ghana%20have%20had,Ghana%20through%20its%20c  
onstruction%20and](#)

- Brock, W. R. (2015). *African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA): Background and Reauthorization*. New York: Congressional Research Service (CRS).
- Brookings. (2012, April 4). *China's Peaceful Rise: Speeches of Zheng Bijian 1997-2004*. Retrieved from Brookings: <https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2012/04/20050616bijianlunch.pdf>
- Buckingham, D. (2008). *Introducing Identity*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.
- Bullock, C. H. (2010). *Nature's Values: From Intrinsic to Instrumental: A review of Values and Valuation methodologies*. Leiden: National Economic Research Council.
- Burgess, J. S. (2001). *The Tradition of the Trojan War in Homer and the Epic Cycle*. Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University Press.
- Cairo Scene. (2022, June 21). *INTL FESTIVAL FOR DRUMS AND TRADITIONAL ARTS BEGINS JUNE 12TH*. Retrieved from Cairo Scene: <https://cairoscene.com/ArtsAndCulture/Intl-Festival-for-Drums-and-Traditional-Arts-Begins-June-12th>
- California Institute of the Arts. (2022, May 4). *Made in Brazil - Arts Festival*. Retrieved from California Institute of the Arts: <https://art.calarts.edu/events/made-in-brazil-arts-festival>
- Camara, B. (2005). The Falsity of Hegel's Theses on Africa. *Sage Journals: Journal of Black Studies*, pp. 82-96.
- Cantelupe, E. B. (1971). Picasso's Guernica. *Art Journal*, 31(1), 18-21.
- Casale, S. A. (2018). Iconography of the Gift: Diplomacy and Imperial Self-Fashioning at the Ottoman Court. *The Art Bulletin*, 97-123.
- Cerulo, K. A. (1997). Identity Construction: New Issues, New Directions. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 23(1), 385-409.
- Charry, B., & Gitanjali, S. (2009). *Emissaries in Early Modern Literature and Culture: Mediation, Transmission, Traffic*. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Chatham House. (2020, November 16). *Chatham House Rule*. Retrieved from Chatham House Rule: <https://www.chathamhouse.org/about-us/chatham-house-rule>
- Chatterji, R., & Saha, S. (2017). Para-diplomacy. *India Quarterly*, 375-394.
- Chen, M.-H. (2017). The Formative Role of Art: John Dewey's Art as Quotidian Experience. *Journal of Literature and Art Studies*, 1574-1579.
- Cho, I. (2007). Painters as Envoys: Korean Inspiration in Eighteenth-Century Japanese Nanga. *Journal of Korean Studies*, 161-168.

- Chorev, N., Rey, T. A., & Ciplet, D. (2011). The State of States in International Organizations: From the WHO to the Global Fund. *Jstor*, pp. 285-310.
- Coate, R. A., Griffin, J. A., & Elliot-Gower, S. (2017, 11 16). Interdependence in International Organization and Global Governance. Retrieved from Oxford: <https://oxfordre.com/internationalstudies/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780190846626.001.0001/acrefore-9780190846626-e-110>
- Coate, R. A., Griffin, J. A., & Elliott-Gower, S. (2015). "Interdependence in International Organization and Global Governance" In *Oxford Research Encyclopedias of International Studies*. Oxford: OUP.
- Cohen, C. (2005). *Recasting Reconciliation through Culture and the Arts*. Massachusetts: Waltham Brandeis University Publications.
- Conley, T. (2000). Defining and Understanding Economic. Policy, *Organisation and Society*, 19(1), 87-115.
- Copeland, D. C. (2000). *The Constructivist Challenge to Structural Realism: A Review Essay*. New York: The MIT Press.
- Crawford, A. (1997). Ideas and Objects: The Arts and Crafts Movement in Britain. *Design Issues*, 15-26.
- Crowe, S., Cresswell, K., Robertson, A., Huby, G., Avery, A., & Sheikh, A. (2011, June 27). The Case Study Approach. *BMC Medical Research Methodology*, 11(1), pp. 1-9.
- Crystal, S.-H. (2016). Coercive Diplomacy: A Theoretical and Practical Evaluation. *Glendon Journal of International Studies*, 1-29.
- Cummings, M. (2003). *Cultural Diplomacy and the United States Government: A Survey*. Washington DC: Centre for Arts and Culture.
- Cummings, T. G., & Worley, C. G. (2008). *Organization Development & Change*, 9th Edition. Boston, MA: Cengage Learning Publishing.
- Curtis, C. S. (1991). Nkrumaism as Utopianism. *Utopian Studies*, 31-36.
- Cycleback, D. R. (2014). *Art Perception*. Hamerweit Books.
- Dabashi, H. (2009). *Post-Orientalism Knowledge and Power in Time of Terror*. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers.
- Daily News Egypt (2022, June 21). 30 International Troupes take part in Egypt's 8th Festival of Drums and Traditional Arts. Retrieved from Daily News Egypt : <https://dailynewsegypt.com/2021/06/15/30-international-troupes-take-part-in-egypts-8th-festival-of-drums-and-traditional-arts/>
- Dan-Eugen, R. (2009). Cultural Policy and Values: Intrinsic versus Instrumental? The Case of Romania. *The Journal of Arts Management, Law, and Society*, 24-44.

- Davar, F. (2021, January 4). Bill to "Destroy Israel" by 2041 Put Before Iranian Parliament. Retrieved from Iran Wire: <https://iranwire.com/en/features/68483>
- de Burgh-Woodman, H. C. (2012). Homogeneity, "Glocalism" or Somewhere in Between?: A Literary Interpretation of Identity in the Era of Globalization. *European Journal of Marketing*, 288-213.
- de Froideville, G. M., & Verheul, M. (2016). *An Experts' Guide to International Protocol: Best Practices in Diplomatic and Corporate Relations*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
- De Jaeger, C. (1981). *The Linz File: Hitler's Plunder of Europe's Art*. Exeter: Webb & Bower.
- Dewey, J. (1987). *How We Think*. Mineola: Courier Corporation.
- Diop, C. A. (1974). *The African Origin of Civilization: Myth or Reality*. Westport: Lawrence Hill and Company.
- Diplomatic Missions in Ghana. (1994 - 2019). Retrieved from GhanaWeb: [https://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/foreign\\_affairs/home.php](https://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/foreign_affairs/home.php)
- documenta gGmbH. (2022, April 21). documenta gGmbH. Retrieved from documenta gGmbH: documenta gGmbH
- Doerer, J., & Nisbett, M. (2015). *The Art of Soft Power: A study of Cultural Diplomacy at the UN Office in Geneva*. Davos: King's College.
- Dowling, S. J. (2011, October 7). Constructing Identity Identity Construction. Retrieved from Scholar works @Georgia State University: [https://scholarworks.gsu.edu/art\\_design\\_theses/88/](https://scholarworks.gsu.edu/art_design_theses/88/)
- Dragan, I.-M., & Isaic-Maniu, A. (2013). Snowball Sampling Completion. *Journal of Studies in Social Sciences*, 160-177.
- Dunn, K. (2008, October 28). Kevin Dunn on Identity in International Relations, the African challenge to IR Theory, and the White -Male Bias of the Field. (P. Schouten, Interviewer)
- Duran, M. (2015). "Conceptualizations of Paradiplomacy". In M. Duran, *Mediterranean Paradiplomacies: The Dynamics of Diplomatic Reterritorialization* (pp. 20-63). Leiden: Brill Nijhof.
- Eaton, N. (2004). Between Mimesis and Alterity: Art, Gift, and Diplomacy in Colonial India, 1770-1800. *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 816-844.
- Edkins, J., & Kear, A. (2013). *International Politics and Performance: Critical Aesthetics and Creative Practice*. London/New York: Routledge.
- Egypt today. (2022, June 21). Dialogue Foundation for the Arts of Peoples Cultures. Retrieved from Egypt today: <https://www.egypttoday.com/Tag/77211/Dialogue-Foundation-for-the-Arts-of-Peoples-Cultures>

- Ekeh, P. P. (1975). Colonialism and the Two Publics in Africa: A Theoretical Statement. *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 91-112.
- Englebort, P. (2000). *State Legitimacy and Development in Africa*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publisher.
- Erin Schoneveld, & Laursen, S. (2018). Representation, Adaptation, and Preservation at the Frontiers in East Asian Art. *Studies in Global Asias*, 44-84.
- Errouane, C. (2017). Introduction to the Special Issue on Art and Politics. *International Journal for History, Culture and Modernity*, 68-73.
- Esebede, O. (1994). *Pan-Africanism: The Idea and Movement*. Washington D.C: Howard University Press.
- Evans, E. A. (2011, December). Inquiry, Art and Consummation and Consumatory Experience: A Dewey Experience: A Deweyan Account an Account. A Dissertation Presented to the Faculty of The Graduate College at the University of Nebraska In Partial Fulfillment of Requirements For the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy. Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska.
- Fearon, J. D. (1999). *What is identity (as we now use the word)*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Fearon, J. D., & Laitin, D. D. (2000). Violence and the social construction of ethnic identity. *International Organization*, 54(4), pp. 845-877.
- Feinberg, B. (1967). *The Archives of Bertrand Russel*. London: Goodwin Press Ltd.
- Fierke, K. M., & Jorgensen, K. E. (2001). *Constructing International Relations: The Next Generation*. New York: Routledge.
- Fink, A. S. (2000). The Role of the Researcher in the Qualitative Research Process. *Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, 1-15.
- Fixing fashion: clothing consumption and sustainability. (2019) London: House of Lords Publication - UK Parliament.
- Flinders, M., & Cunningham, M. (2013). Participatory Arts and Political Engagement. *Arts and Humanities Reserach Journal*, 1-35.
- Folgarait, L. (2017, July). Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Latin America. Retrieved from The Mexican Muralists and Frida Kahlo: <https://oxfordre.com/latinamericanhistory/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780199366439.001.0001/acrefore-9780199366439-e-464?print=pdf>
- Fox, M. (2002). *Creativity: Where the Divine and Human Meet*. New York: Penguin.
- Frimpong, C., & Asinyo, B. K. (2013). A Comparative Study of History, Equipment, Materials, Techniques and Marketing Approach of Traditional Weaving in Ghana. *Arts and Designs*

- Studies: International Knowledge Sharing Platform, Paper ISSN 2225-059X (online) Vol.7.
- Gaiman, N. (2018). *Art Matters*. New York: Headline Publishing Group.
- Gallarotti, G. M. (2011). *Soft Power: What it is, Why it's Important, and the Conditions Under Which it Can Be Effectively Used*. Connecticut: Division II Faculty Publications.
- Gebe, B. Y. (2008). Ghana's Foreign Policy at Independence and Implications for the 1966 Coup D'etat. Accra: *Journal of Pan African Studies*.
- Ghana and United Kingdom sign New Strategic Partnership agreement. (2019, May 3). Retrieved from [mfa.gov.gh>index.php>ghana-and-united-kingdom-:  
<https://mfa.gov.gh/index.php/ghana-and-united-kingdom-sign-new-strategic-partnership-agreement/>](http://mfa.gov.gh/index.php/ghana-and-united-kingdom-sign-new-strategic-partnership-agreement/)
- Gilbert, R. (1998). *Living with Art*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Golafshani, N. (2003). Understanding reliability and validity in qualitative research. *The Qualitative Report*, 8(4), 597-607.
- Gold, D. (2006). *The Art of Building Peace: How the Visual Arts Aid Peace-Building Initiatives in Cyprus*. Ankara: Peace and Conflict Studies Commons/SIT Graduate Institute.
- Greslé, Y. (2014). *Ablade Glover: through the process of looking* [Recorded by E. Ablade Glover]. Bloomsbury, London, United Kingdom, Britain.
- Guenther, G. J. (2012). *Magical Imaginations: Instrumental Aesthetics in the English Renaissance*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Guetzkow, J. (2002, June 6). How the Arts Impact Communities: An Introduction to the Literature on Arts Impact Studies. Retrieved from Issue Lab: <https://www.issuelab.org/resource/how-the-arts-impact-communities-an-introduction-to-the-literature-on-arts-impact-studies.html>
- Gurkan, E. (2016, January 27). US-based Ghanaian Artist takes the world by storm. Retrieved from [www.myjoyonline.com:  
<https://www.myjoyonline.com/entertainment/2016/January-27th/us-based-ghanaian-artist-takes-the-world-by-storm.php>](http://www.myjoyonline.com/entertainment/2016/January-27th/us-based-ghanaian-artist-takes-the-world-by-storm.php)
- Guzzini, S. (2000). A Reconstruction of Constructivism in International Relations. *European Journal of International Relations*, 6(2), pp. 147-182.
- Hagan, G. (1991). *Nkrumah's Leadership Style: An Assessment from a Cultural Perspective. The Life and Work of Kwame Nkrumah*, edited by Kwame Arhin. Accra: SEDCO.
- Hall, S. (2017, September 26). Retrieved from The Role of Art in Government and Politics: <http://bizfluent.com>

- Hammarberg, K., Kirkman, M., & de Lacey, S. (2016). Qualitative research methods: when to use them and how to judge them. *Human Reproduction*, 31(3), pp. 498–501.
- Hampton, T. (2009). *Fictions of Embassy: Literature and Diplomacy in Early Modern Europe*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Hedreen, G. (2001). *Capturing Troy: The Narrative Function of Landscape in Archaic and Early Classical Art*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Herrschner, I. (2018). The Role of Art in German Cultural Diplomacy: An Analysis of the Festival of German Films. *Media Transformations*, 124-141.
- Hill, M. R. (2005). Sociological Thought Experiments: Five Examples from the History of Sociology. Iowa Sociological Association Keynote Address (pp. 3-19). Indianola: Iowa Sociological Association.
- Hinderliter, B., Maimon, V., & Mansoor, J. (2009). *Communities of Sense: Rethinking Aesthetics and Politics*. Durham and London: Duke University Press.
- Hintjens, H. (2013, September). Genocide War and Peace in Rwanda. Retrieved from Research Gate: [https://www.researchgate.net/publication/283669296\\_Genocide\\_War\\_and\\_Peace\\_in\\_Rwanda/](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/283669296_Genocide_War_and_Peace_in_Rwanda/)
- Hitchcock, G., & Hughes, D. O. (1989). *Research and the Teacher: A Qualitative Introduction to School-based Research*. London: Routledge and Guilford Press.
- Holden, J. (2013). Influence and Attraction: Culture and the race for soft power in the 21st century. The British Council.
- Hoogwaerts, L. (2016). Museums, exchanges, and their contribution to Joseph Nye's concept of 'soft power'. *Museum & Society*, pp. 313-322.
- ICDBlogsphereteam. (2013, May 3). The role of museums and art institutions in the development of soft power. Retrieved from Arts as Cultural Diplomacy: <https://artsasculturaldiplomacy.wordpress.com/2013/05/03/the-role-of-museums-and-art-institutions-in-the-development-of-soft-power/>
- Ivanchenko, V., Khromakov, D., Margojev, A., Sukhoverkhov, K., & Group, H. -M. (2017). Power in International Politics: Does the World go Hard? Washington DC.
- Jackson, P. W. (1998). *John Dewey and the Lessons of Art*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Jackson, R. H., & Sørensen, G. (2007). *Introduction to International Relations: Theories and Approaches*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Jackson, R., & Georg, S. (2006). *Introduction to International Relations Theories and Approaches*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Jackson, S. J., & Haigh, S. (2008). Between and Beyond Politics: Sport and Foreign Policy in a Globalizing World. *Sport in Society*, 349–358.

- Jung, H. (2019). The Evolution of Social Constructivism in Political Science: Past to Present. *Sage Journals*, 9(1), 2158244019832703.
- Kalaycioglu, E. (2020, November 17). Cultural Diversity and World Politics. Retrieved from International Studies: <https://oxfordre.com/internationalstudies/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780190846626.001.0001/acrefore-9780190846626-e-541>
- Kalberg, S. (1980). Max Weber's types of rationality: Cornerstones for the analysis of rationalization processes in history. *American Journal of Sociology*, 85(5), pp. 1145-1179.
- Kaplan, R. D. (1994, February). The Coming Anarchy. Retrieved from The Atlantic: <https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/1994/02/the-coming-anarchy/304670/>
- Kellner, D. (1995). *Cultural Studies, identity and Politics between the modern and the postmodern*. London: Routledge.
- Keohane, R. O. (1988). International Institutions: Two Approaches. *International Studies Quarterly*, 32(4), pp. 379-96.
- Keohane, R. O., & Nye, J. S. (1977). *Power and Interdependence*. Evanston: Northwestern University Press.
- Khan, A., Bibi, S., Lorenzo, A., Lyu, J., & Babar, Z. U. (2020). Tourism and Development in Developing Economies: A Policy Implication Perspective. *Sustainability*, 2-19.
- Kiff, J. (2008, March 28). Psychology Wiki. Retrieved from Constructivism in international relations: [https://psychology.wikia.org/wiki/Constructivism\\_in\\_international\\_relations](https://psychology.wikia.org/wiki/Constructivism_in_international_relations)
- Kofi Setordji. (2015, 01 29). Retrieved from Africah.org: <https://africanah.org/kofi-setordji/>
- Krasner, S. D. (1995-1996). *Compromising Westphalia*. Winter: The MIT Press.
- Kvale, S. (1996). *Interviews*. Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications.
- Lacey, A., & Luff, D. (2007). *Qualitative Data Analysis*. The NIHR RDS for the East Midlands / Yorkshire & the Humber, pp. 5-24.
- Leary, M. R., & Tangne, J. P. (2012). *Handbook of Self and Identity*. New York: Guilford Press.
- Lederach, J. P. (2015). *The Moral Imagination: The Art and Soul of Building Peace*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Lemenkova, P., Phonesaly, S., Sommali, P., Xin, F., & Shwe, H. (2017). Three Treasures of Chinese Culture: Chinese Painting; Chinese Opera; Chinese Medicine. Retrieved from Traditional Chinese Painting: [https://hal.archives-ouvertes.fr/cel-01999948/file/Lemenkova\\_etal\\_Chinese-Culture.pdf](https://hal.archives-ouvertes.fr/cel-01999948/file/Lemenkova_etal_Chinese-Culture.pdf)
- Lemish, N., Lemish, P., Sarvestani, P. S., & Deutsch, D. (2017). "In Toronto, Iranians and Israelis Make Music, Not War": Political Communication via Engaged Musicking. In U. T.

- Onyebadi, Music as a Platform for Political Communication (pp. 127-148). Hershey: IGI Global.
- Levermore, R. (2008). Sport in International Development: Time to Treat it Seriously? *The Brown Journal of World Affairs*, 55-66.
- Lockhart, C. (2018). Sovereignty Strategies: Enhancing Core Governance Functions as a Postconflict & Conflict-Prevention Measure. Retrieved from MIT:  
[https://watermark.silverchair.com/daed\\_a\\_00476.pdf?token=AQECAHi208BE49Ooan9k khW\\_Erey7Dm3ZL\\_9Cf3qfKAc485ysgAAAp8wggKbBgkqhkiG9w0BBwagggKMMIIC iAIBADCCAoEGCSqGSib3DQEHATAeBgIghkgBZQMEAS4wEQQMbUFoYtYU5sA 93QupAgEQgIICUtajZ0LBx6jeMJBd9If\\_dVnyv5aA9G08--V7j4\\_wkU](https://watermark.silverchair.com/daed_a_00476.pdf?token=AQECAHi208BE49Ooan9k khW_Erey7Dm3ZL_9Cf3qfKAc485ysgAAAp8wggKbBgkqhkiG9w0BBwagggKMMIIC iAIBADCCAoEGCSqGSib3DQEHATAeBgIghkgBZQMEAS4wEQQMbUFoYtYU5sA 93QupAgEQgIICUtajZ0LBx6jeMJBd9If_dVnyv5aA9G08--V7j4_wkU)
- Lonely Planet. (2020, November 16). Accra Arts, Crafts and Industry Cultural Walking Tour: Cultural and Theme Tours in Accra. Retrieved from Lonely Planet:  
<https://www.lonelyplanet.com/ghana/accra/activities/accra-arts-crafts-and-industry-cultural-walking-tour/a/pa-act/v-6501GHUF/355309>
- Luke, T. W. (2002). *Museum Politics: Power plays at the Exhibition*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.
- Manstead, A. S. (2018). The psychology of social class: How socioeconomic status impacts thought, feelings, and behaviour. *The British Journal of Social Psychology*, 57(20), 267-291.
- Marshall, C., & Rossman, G. (1995). *Designing Qualitative Research*. Sage Publications, p. 114.
- Masuda, T., Gonzalez, R., Kwan, L., & Nisbett, R. E. (2008). Culture and Aesthetic Preference: Comparing the Attention to Context of East Asians and Americans. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 1260-1275.
- Matereke, K., & Mungwini, P. (2010). The Occult, politics and African modernities: the case of Zimbabwe's 'Diesel N'anga'. *African Identities*, 423-438 . Retrieved from  
<https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/africa/article/spirits-power-and-the-political-imagination-in-latecolonial-gabon/51C136E4EEB332571E60C16B1F1C22CA/core-reader>
- McCaslin, M. L., & Scott, K. W. (2003). The Five-Question Method for Framing A Qualitative Research Study. *The Qualitative Report*, 447-461.
- McClelland, K. A. (2005). John Dewey: Aesthetic Experience and Artful Conduct. *Education and Culture*, 44-62.
- McClory, J. (2018). *The Soft Power 30: A Global ranking of Soft Power 2018*. Portland, CA: Portland Communications and the USC Center on Public Diplomacy for 2018.
- McCormick, M. J. (2009). The Renaissance Art Academies: Implications for Leadership Education Practices and Research. *Journal of Leadership Education*, 1-10.

- Mearshiemer, J. J. (2001). *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics*. New York: Norton & Company.
- Melissen, J. (2005). *The new public diplomacy: Soft power in international relations*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Menon, A. (2013, January). Defence Policy and the Logic of 'High Politics'. Retrieved from Oxford Scholarship Online : 10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199662821.001.0001
- Meyer, A. (2019, December 29). A Brief History of British Fashion - from Queen Victoria to Britpop. Retrieved from Englandforever.org: <https://www.englandforever.org/england-fashion.php>
- Michaud, E. (2004). *The Cult of Art in Nazi Germany*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Miles, H., & Huberman, A. (1994). *Qualitative Data Analysis*. Sage Publication.
- Močnik, R. (2015). Identity and the Arts. Retrieved from Microsoft Word - Rastko Močnik, Identity and the Arts.doc: <https://www.moma.org/interactives/exhibitions/2011/sanjaivekovic/essays/RM%20Identity%20and%20the%20Arts.pdf>
- Morelli, A. O. (1995-2019). James Marcia and Self-Identity. Retrieved from Northern Wyoming Mental Health Centre, Inc.: [http://wyomentalhealth.org/poc/view\\_doc.php?type=doc&id=41164&cn=1310](http://wyomentalhealth.org/poc/view_doc.php?type=doc&id=41164&cn=1310)
- Morgenthau, H. J. (1967). *Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.
- Muma, I. (2018, March 19). Samuel Kumi: Sculpture made in Ghana. Retrieved from inspireafrika.com>samuel-kumi-sculpture-made-in-gh...: <https://inspireafrika.com/en/samuel-kumi-sculpture-made-in-ghana/>
- Mwangi, E. (2010). The Incomplete Rebellion: Mau Mau Movement in Twenty-First-Century Kenyan Popular Culture. *Africa Today*, 86-113.
- Naderifar, M., Goli, H., & Ghaljaie, F. (2017). Snowball Sampling: A Purposeful Method of Sampling in Qualitative. *Strides in Development of Medical Education*, 1-6.
- Naidu-Silverman, E. (2015). *The Contribution of Art and Culture in Peace and Reconciliation Processes in Asia*. Copenhagen: Centre for Culture and Development.
- Nau, H. R. (2017). *Perspectives on International Relations: Power, Institutions and Ideas*. Los Angeles: CQ Press.
- Neumann, I. B. (2013). *Diplomatic sites: A Critical Enquiry*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Neyestani, M. R., & McInturf, P. (2006). Cultural and Religious Identities in an Era of Information and Communications Globalization. *Communications of the IIMA*, 6(4), Article 8.

- Nieuwenhuis, A. J. (2012). State and religion, a multidimensional relationship: Some comparative law remarks. *International Journal of Constitutional Law*, 153–174.
- Niro, B. (2003). *Modernity, Orientalism, Négritude, and the Phenomenology of Race*. In B. Niro, *Race* London: Palgrave.
- Nitsan, N., Rey, T. A., & Ciptet, D. (2011). The State of States in International Organizations: From the WHO to the Global Fund. *Jstor*, 285-310.
- Nkrumah, K. (2014, September 19). Speech On Independence Day: 6th March 1957. Retrieved from BBC: <http://kwabena.me/post/193427005/kwame-nkrumahs-speechon-independence-6th-march-1957>
- Nuechterlein, D. E. (1976). National Interests and Foreign Policy: A Conceptual Framework for Analysis and Decision-making. *Review of International Studies*, 246 - 266.
- Nye, J. (2004). *Soft Power: The Means To Success In World Politics*. New York: Public Affairs.
- Nye, J. S. (1990). *Bound to Lead: The Changing Nature of American Power*. New York: Basic Books.
- O'Connor, H., & Gibson, N. (2003). A Step-by-Step Guide to Qualitative Data Analysis. *A Journal of Aboriginal and Indigenous Community Health* 1(1), pp. 65-78.
- Oguejiofor, J. (2007). “How African is Communalism?” In I. Odimegwu, *Perspectives on African Communalism* Victoria: Trafford Publishing.
- Okeke-Agulu, C., & Picton, J. (2006). Nationalism and the Rhetoric of Modernism in Nigeria: The Art of Uche Okeke and Demas Nwoko, 1960-1968. *African Arts*, 26-93.
- Opondo., A. (2018). Ethnicity: A Cause of Political Instability in Africa? Retrieved from University of Texas: <https://repositories.lib.utexas.edu/bitstream/handle/2152/5438/2731.pdf>
- Owen, L., Kurt, L., Cahir, R., Davies, N., Grant, L., Scott, L., . Horswell, S. (2019). *Fixing fashion: clothing consumption and sustainability*. London: House of Lords Publications - UK Parliament.
- Palmer, T. G. (2014). Globalization and Culture: Homogeneity, Diversity, Identity, Liberty. *Die Stiftung für liberale Politik*, 1-30.
- Paquin, S. (2019). “Paradiplomacy”. In T. Balzacq, F. Charillon, & F. Ramel, *Global Diplomacy: An Introduction to Theory and Practice* London: Palgrave.
- Paul, D. E. (1999). Sovereignty, Survival and the Westphalian Blind Alley in International Relations. *Review of International Studies*, 217–231.
- PeaceWorks. (2022, June 22). Dialogue for Peace. Retrieved from PeaceWorks: [https://0318da2.netsolhost.com/pwarchive/?page\\_id=655](https://0318da2.netsolhost.com/pwarchive/?page_id=655)

- Peltonen, H. (2017). A Tale of Two Cognitions: The Evolution of Social Constructivism in International Relations. *Revista Brasileira de Política Internacional*, 60(1).
- Philips, R. (2020, March 18). The Healing Power of Art and Artists. Retrieved from The Healing Power of Art Website: <http://www.healing-power-of-art.org/karen-johnston/>
- Porter, M. E. (1990, March-April). The Competitive Advantage of Nations . Retrieved from Harvard Business Review: <https://hbr.org/1990/03/the-competitive-advantage-of-nations>
- Purdy, V. C. (1974, February). As Well As The Art Of Diplomacy, There Are Also The Arts Of Diplomacy. Retrieved from American Heritage: <https://www.americanheritage.com/well-art-diplomacy-there-are-also-arts-diplomacy>
- Ramel, F. (2018). Teaching International Relations through Arts: Some Lessons Learned. *International Studies Perspectives*, 360–374.
- Redford, R., & Lynch, L. R. (2009). The role of the Arts in strenghtening and inspiring the 21st century global community. A Report on the 2009 Proceedings, September 24-26, The Reddford Center, Utah.
- Roger, K., Bone, T. A., Heinonen , T., Schwartz , K., Slater , J., & Thakrar, S. (2018). Exploring Identity: What We Do as Qualitative Researchers. *The Qualitative Report*, 532-546.
- Rubin, H. J., & Rubin, I. S. (2005). *Qualitative interviewing: the art of hearing data*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Rudensine, D. (1999). The Legality of Elgin's Taking: A Review Essay of Four Books on the Parthenon Marbles. *International Journal of Cultural Property*, 8, pp. 356-376.
- Ryniejska-Kiełdanowicz, M. (1992). Cultural Diplomacy as a Form of International Communication. *Cultural Diplomacy*, 13-32.
- Salim, A.-R. M. (2016). Scenarios of Strategic balance and instability in the Middle East. *International Journal of Humanities & Social Science Studies*, 56-76.
- Sawaed, K. (2019). Egypt's Challenge of Stateness After the Arab Spring. In C. Padan, & V. Michlin-Shapir, National Security in a "Liquid" World (pp. 47-74). Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University.
- Schmidt, B. C. (2019). The Need for Theory: International Relations and the Council on Foreign Relations Study Group on the Theory of International Relations, 1953–1954. *The International History Review*, DOI: 10.1080/07075332.2019.1646780.
- Sculpture. (2019, November 29). Retrieved from Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia: <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sculpture>
- Seagull Foundation for the Arts. (2022, June 22). Seagull Foundation for the Arts . Retrieved from Seagull Foundation for the Arts: <http://www.seagullindia.com/wordpress1/>

- Seeger, C. (1949). The Arts in International Relations. *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, P. 36-43.
- Seo, Y. (2019). The Art of Diplomacy: Material Culture and the Practice of Gift Exchanges in the Late Joseon Dynasty. Berlin: Museum für Asiatische Kunst, Staatliche Museen zu .
- Šešić, M. D., & Mijatović, L. R. (2017). Cultural Diplomacy: Arts, Festivals and Geopolitics. Belgrade: Creative Europe Desk Serbia.
- Sharma, A., & Thapar, M. (2016). Development of Tourism in the Third World Nations: A Comparative Analysis. *WIT Transactions on Ecology and The Environment*, 155-166.
- Sklair, L. (2006). Iconic Architecture and Capitalist Globalization. *City*, 21-47
- Snyder, S. (2010). *Arthur Danto's Andy Warhol: The Embodiment of Theory in Art and the Pragmatic Turn*. New York: The Berkeley Publishing Group.
- Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy. (2006, February 29). Dewey's Aesthetics. Retrieved from Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy: <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/dewey-aesthetics/>
- Stangor, D. (2014). Principles of Social Psychology – 1st International Edition. Victoria: B. C. Campus.
- Stecker, R., & Gracyk, T. (1941). The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism. *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* - Wiley Online Library, pp. 237-356.
- Stroud, S. R. (2007). Dewey on Art as Evocative Communication. *Education and Culture*, 6-26.
- Svašek, M. (1997). Identity and Style in Ghanaian Artistic Discourse. In J. MacClancy, "Contesting Art", *Art, Politics, and Identity in the Modern World*. (pp. 27-62). Oxford: Berg Publishers.
- Sylvester, C. (2009). *Art/Museum: International Relations where we least Expect It*. Boulder, CO: Paradigm
- Taherdoost, H. (2016). Validity and Reliability of the Research Instrument: How to test the Validation of a Questionnaire/Survey in a Research.
- Teo, P. (2010). Chinese and Other Asian Modernisms: A Comparative View of Art-Historical Contexts in the Twentieth Century. *Asian Culture and History*, 3-14.
- The Culture Trip. (2017, April 13). The Orchestra Bridging the Israeli-Palestinian Divide. Retrieved from The Culture Trip: <https://theculturetrip.com/middle-east/israel/articles/daniel-barenboim-and-edward-said-s-west-eastern-divan-orchestra/>
- Theys, S. (2018, February 23). Introducing Constructivism in International Relations Theory. Retrieved from <https://www.e-ir.info/2018/02/23/introducing-constructivism-in-international-relations-theory>.

- Tidy, J., & Turner, J. (2020). The Intimate International Relations of Museums: A Method. *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, 117-142.
- Tomlinson, J. (1995). Homogenisation and Globalisation. *History of European Ideas*, 891-897.
- Tourism Authority. (2020, November 16). Arts Center. Retrieved from Visit Ghana: [https://visitghana.com/shopping\\_location/centre-for-national-culture/](https://visitghana.com/shopping_location/centre-for-national-culture/)
- Trading Economics. (2020, September). Retrieved from Ghana imports from China: <https://tradingeconomics.com/ghana/imports/china>
- Tsai, Y.-T. (2009). The Emergence of Human Security: A Constructivist View. *International Journal of Peace Studies*, 14(2), pp. 19-33.
- Väkevä, L. (2007). Art Education, The Art of Education and the Art of Life: Considering the Implications of Dewey's Later Philosophy to Art and Music Education. *Action, Criticism, and Theory for Music Education*, 1-15.
- Van Der Bly, M. C. (2007). Globalization and the Rise of One Heterogeneous World Culture: A Microperspective of a Global Village. *International Journal of Comparative Sociology*, 234 – 256.
- Villaseñor, G. (2018). Is Political Art just another form of propaganda? Retrieved from [https://www.academia.edu/41177186/IS\\_POLITICAL\\_ART\\_JUST\\_ANOTHER\\_FORM\\_OF\\_PROPAGANDA](https://www.academia.edu/41177186/IS_POLITICAL_ART_JUST_ANOTHER_FORM_OF_PROPAGANDA)
- Visual Arts. (2019, December 4). Retrieved from Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia: [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Visual\\_arts](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Visual_arts)
- Waldorf, D., & Biernacki, P. (1981). Snowball Sampling: Problems and Techniques of Chain Referral Sampling. *Sociological Methods and Research*, 141-163.
- Walt, S. M. (1998). International Relations: One World, Many Theories. *Foreign Policy*, Special Edition, pp. 29-46.
- Walton, K. (1997). Review of Art and the Aesthetic. *Philosophical Review*, pp. 97-101.
- Waltz, K. N. (1979). *Theory of International Politics*. Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company.
- Watkins, J. (2008). Toward a New Diplomatic History of Medieval and Early Modern Europe. *Journal of Medieval and Early Studies*, 38(1), pp. 1-14.
- Welzel, M. (2003). The Art of Combining Force and Diplomacy: A Study of the Balance of Motivation in Coercive Diplomacy. *Århus*, 19-46.
- Wendt, A. (1992). Anarchy is What States Make of It: The Social Construction of Power Politics. *International Organization*, 46(2), pp. 391-425.

- Wendt, A. (1999). *Social Theory of International Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Whyte, M. (2010, October 1). El Anatsui: finding the meaning of junk. Retrieved from The Star Edition: [https://www.thestar.com/entertainment/2010/10/01/el\\_anatsui\\_finding\\_the\\_meaning\\_of\\_junk.html](https://www.thestar.com/entertainment/2010/10/01/el_anatsui_finding_the_meaning_of_junk.html)
- Wijnberg, N. (1997). Art and Appropriability in Renaissance Italy and the Netherlands in the Seventeenth Century: The Role of the Academy. *De Economist*, 139-158.
- Wilcot, J. M. (2013). *Wartime Art: A Study of Political Propaganda and Individual Expression in American Commercial and Combat Art during World War II. A Thesis in History with a Concentration in Museum Studies*. New York, New York: State University of New York.
- William, B. R. (2015). *African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA): Background and Reauthorization*. New York: Congressional Research Service 9CRS).
- Wishnick, E. (2004). Dieter Heintz, The Soviet Union and Communist China 1945-1950. *China Perspectives*.
- Wong, L. P. (2008). *Data Analysis in Qualitative Research: A Brief Guide to Using Nvivo*. Malaysian family physician: *the official Journal of the Academy of Family Physicians of Malaysia*, 3(1) pp. 14-20.
- World Tourism Organization. (2015). *Affiliate Members Regional Reports: Volume four – Tourism in Africa: A Tool for Development*. Madrid: World Tourism Organization.
- Yorke, J. O., Amissah, E. K., deGraft-Yankson, P., & Essuman, J. (2017). An Overview of Kwame Nkrumah's Cultural Policies on Ghana's Visual Culture. *Research Journal of Humanities and Cultural Studies* 3(3), pp. 23-24.
- Zappone, K. (2003). "Conclusion: The challenge of Diversity" In *Re-thinking Identity*. Dublin, Ireland: Joint Equality and Human Rights Forum, Equality Authority.
- Zehfuss, M. (2002). *Constructivism in International Relations: The Politics of Reality*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Zhang, X. (2004). Multiplicity or Homogeneity? The Cultural-Political Paradox. *Cultural Critique*, 30-55.



**APPENDICES**

**APPENDIX I**

**LEGON CENTRE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS AND DIPLOMACY (LECIAD)**

**UNIVERSITY OF GHANA**

**QUESTIONNAIRE/INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR POLICY MAKERS**

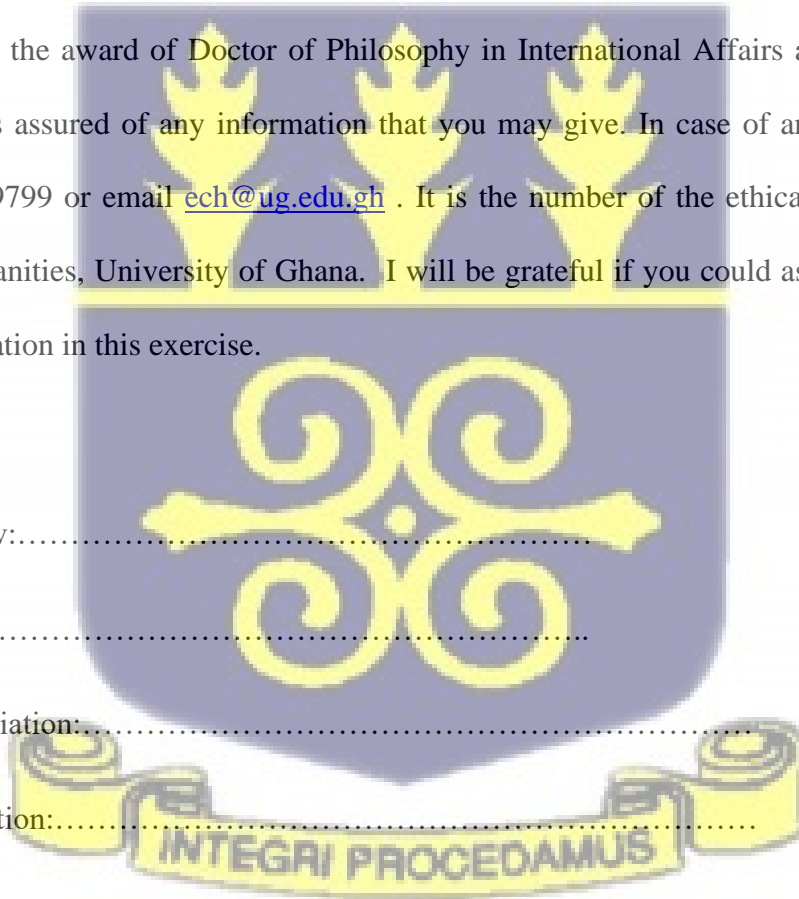
This questionnaire is aimed at accessing data on “Identity Construction in an Interdependent World: The Case of Arts in Ghana’s Diplomatic Relations”. It is an academic exercise to fulfil the requirements for the award of Doctor of Philosophy in International Affairs at LECIAD. Your confidentiality is assured of any information that you may give. In case of any doubts call the number 0548199799 or email [ech@ug.edu.gh](mailto:ech@ug.edu.gh) . It is the number of the ethical clearance of the College of Humanities, University of Ghana. I will be grateful if you could assist by giving me your full cooperation in this exercise.

Date of interview:.....

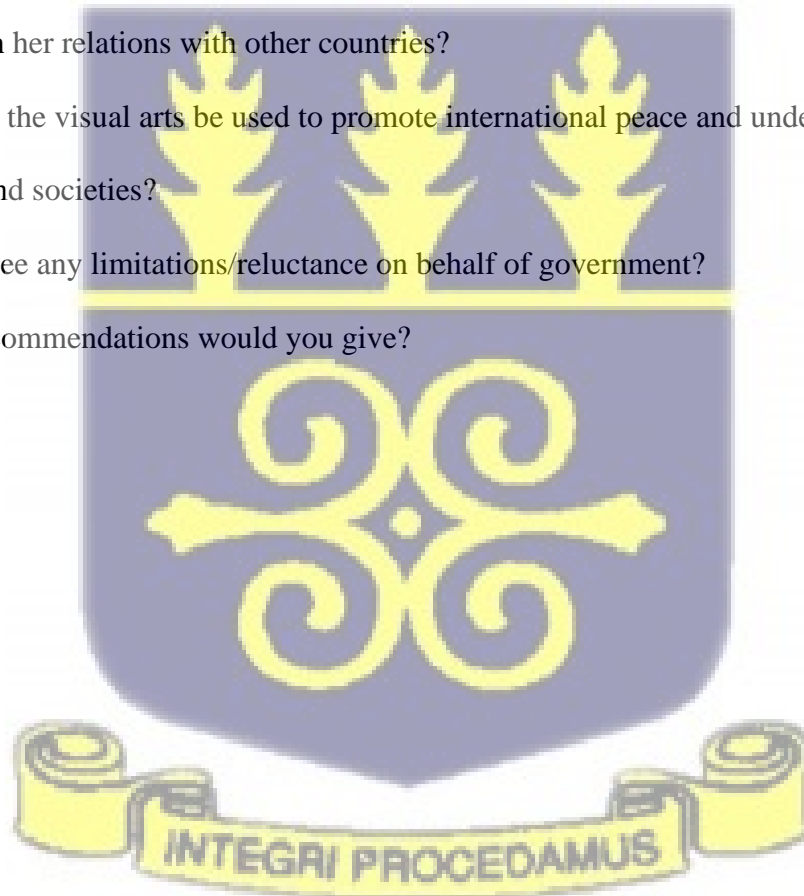
Name:.....

Institutional affiliation:.....

Occupation/Position:.....



1. Do you consider the Arts industry to be important in diplomacy? Kindly explain your answer.
2. What about national identity? Do we have or require one as a nation?
3. As representative of government, what are the steps you would suggest government takes to ensure that the arts industry become a great source of improving our national identity in the era of globalization?
4. How can we use/construct our identity as Ghanaians to promote peace?
5. Is there anything that can be called “Ghanaian painting, sculpture and printmaking”?
6. If there is, how can Ghana reorient its policy by the use of the visual arts to create a big impact in her relations with other countries?
7. How can the visual arts be used to promote international peace and understanding among people and societies?
8. Do you see any limitations/reluctance on behalf of government?
9. What recommendations would you give?



**APPENDIX II**

**LEGON CENTRE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS AND DIPLOMACY (LECIAD)**

**UNIVERSITY OF GHANA**

**QUESTIONNAIRE/INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR DIPLOMATIC CORPS**

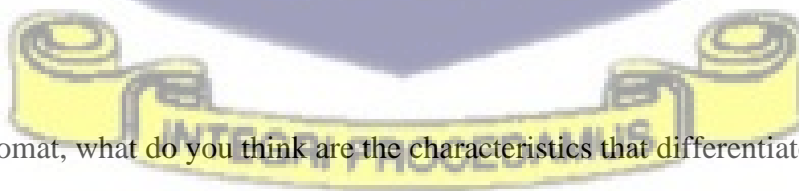
This questionnaire is aimed at accessing data on “Identity Construction in an Interdependent World: The Case of Arts in Ghana’s Diplomatic Relations”. It is an academic exercise to fulfil the requirements for the award of Doctor of Philosophy in International Affairs at LECIAD. Your confidentiality is assured of any information that you may give. In case of any doubts call the number 0548199799 or email [ech@ug.edu.gh](mailto:ech@ug.edu.gh) . It is the number of the ethical clearance of the College of Humanities, University of Ghana. I will be grateful if you could assist by giving me your full cooperation in this exercise.

Date of interview:.....

Name:.....

Institution:.....

Position:.....



1. As a diplomat, what do you think are the characteristics that differentiate a Ghanaian from other people?

2. What are the (potential) roles and relevance of visual arts as a tool for international relations and foreign policy?
3. How can the visual arts be used to promote international peace and understanding among peoples and societies?
4. In your view, how can the Ghanaian identity, expressed in various arts like painting, sculpture and printmaking constitute, a vehicle for advancing the goal of constructing national identity and for her diplomatic relations with you?
5. What is it that your country does that Ghana does not do when it comes to the Arts and Diplomacy?
6. What are some of the recommendations you will give?



**APPENDIX III**

**LEGON CENTRE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS AND DIPLOMACY (LECIAD)**

**UNIVERSITY OF GHANA**

**QUESTIONNAIRE/INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR THE ARTS COMMUNITY**

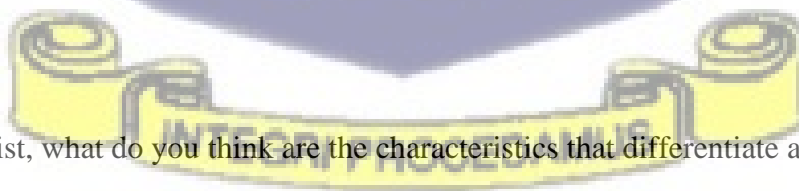
This questionnaire is aimed at accessing data on “Identity Construction in an Interdependent World: The Case of Arts in Ghana’s Diplomatic Relations”. It is an academic exercise to fulfil the requirements for the award of Doctor of Philosophy in International Affairs at LECIAD. Your confidentiality is assured of any information that you may give. In case of any doubts call the number 0548199799 or email [ech@ug.edu.gh](mailto:ech@ug.edu.gh) . It is the number of the ethical clearance of the College of Humanities, University of Ghana. I will be grateful if you could assist by giving me your full cooperation in this exercise.

Date of interview:.....

Name:.....

Institution:.....

Position:.....



1. As an artist, what do you think are the characteristics that differentiate a Ghanaian from other people?

2. In what ways have the Ghanaian arts impacted positively on the international platform? If any?
3. How can we use our identity as Ghanaians to promote peace from the point of view of an artist?
4. In what ways have we preserved/projected our identity as Ghanaians through the use of arts (that is, painting, sculpture and printmaking)?
5. As an artist, what are the steps you would suggest government take to ensure that the arts become a great source of improving our national identity in the era of globalization?
6. What is the role and relevance of the visual arts as a tool for international relations and foreign policy?
7. In what ways can the visual arts be used to promote international peace and understanding among people and societies?
8. How can the Ghanaian identity expressed in various forms like painting, sculpture, printmaking, constitute a vehicle for advancing the goal of constructing national identity?
9. As an artist, how can we impact the international platform by the use of the visual arts?



10. Do you see any positive prospects going into the future?

11. What recommendations would you suggest to our policymakers or the government?



**APPENDIX IV**

**LEGON CENTRE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS AND DIPLOMACY (LECIAD)**

**UNIVERSITY OF GHANA**

**QUESTIONNAIRE/INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR CURRENT / FORMER AMBASSADORS  
FROM GHANA TO THE FIVE COUNTRIES**

This questionnaire is aimed at accessing data on “Identity Construction in an Interdependent World: The Case of Arts in Ghana’s Diplomatic Relations”. It is an academic exercise to fulfil the requirements for the award of Doctor of Philosophy in International Affairs at LECIAD.

Your confidentiality is assured of any information that you may give. In case of any doubts call the number 0548199799 or email [ech@ug.edu.gh](mailto:ech@ug.edu.gh) . It is the number of the ethical clearance of the College of Humanities, University of Ghana. I will be grateful if you could assist by giving me your full cooperation in this exercise.

Date of interview:.....

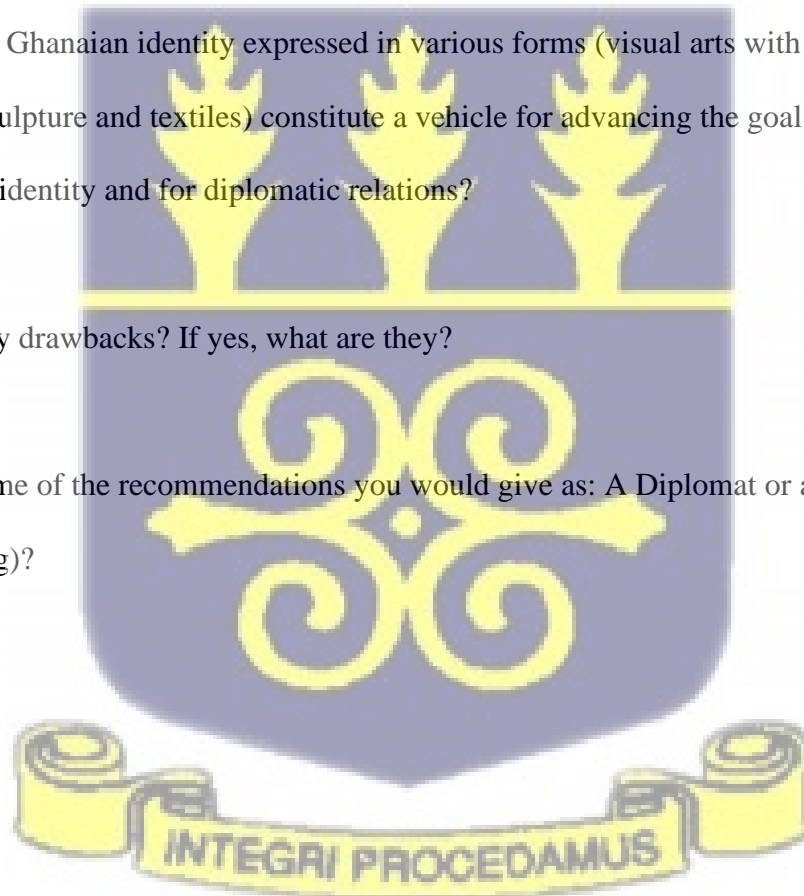
Name:.....

Position:.....

1) What do you think are the characteristics that differentiate a Ghanaian from other people on the international platform? What were your experiences when you were active?

2) Have the visual arts projected Ghana’s image internationally?

- 3) Could you please outline that?
- 4) What is the role/relevance of the visual arts as a tool for international relations and foreign policy?
- 5) How can the visual arts be used to promote international peace and understanding among people and societies?
- 6) How can the Ghanaian identity expressed in various forms (visual arts with focus on paintings, sculpture and textiles) constitute a vehicle for advancing the goal of constructing our national identity and for diplomatic relations?
- 7) Are there any drawbacks? If yes, what are they?
- 8) What are some of the recommendations you would give as: A Diplomat or an Ambassador (Past/Serving)?



**APPENDIX V**

**LEGON CENTRE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS AND DIPLOMACY (LECIAD)**

**UNIVERSITY OF GHANA**

**QUESTIONNAIRE/INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR THE ARTS MARKET**

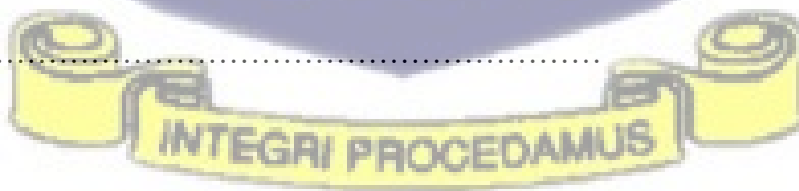
This questionnaire is aimed at accessing data on “Identity Construction in an Interdependent World: The Case of Arts in Ghana’s Diplomatic Relations”. It is an academic exercise to fulfil the requirements for the award of Doctor of Philosophy in International Affairs at LECIAD. Your confidentiality is assured of any information that you may give. In case of any doubts call the number 0548199799 or email [ech@ug.edu.gh](mailto:ech@ug.edu.gh) . It is the number of the ethical clearance of the College of Humanities, University of Ghana. I will be grateful if you could assist by giving me your full cooperation in this exercise.

Date of interview:.....

Name:.....

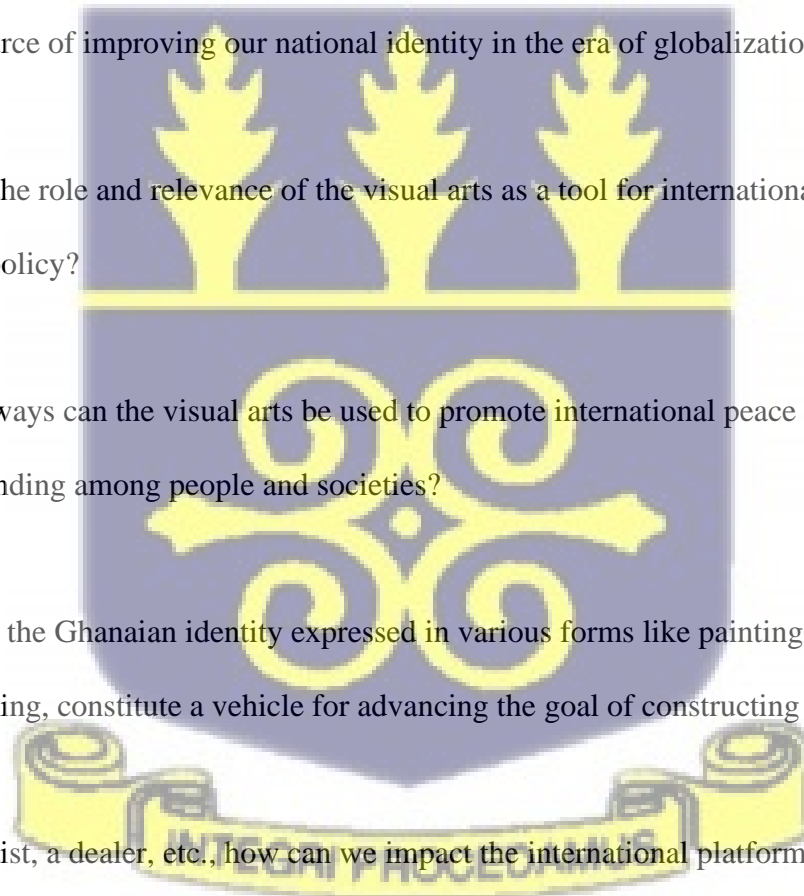
Institution:.....

Position:.....



1. What do you think are the characteristics that differentiate a Ghanaian from other people?

2. In what ways have the Ghanaian arts impacted positively on the international platform? If any?
3. How can we use our identity as Ghanaians to promote peace from your point of view?
4. In what ways have we preserved/projected our identity as Ghanaians through the use of arts (that is, painting, sculpture and printmaking)?
5. What are the steps you would suggest government take to ensure that the arts become a great source of improving our national identity in the era of globalization?
6. What is the role and relevance of the visual arts as a tool for international relations and foreign policy?
7. In what ways can the visual arts be used to promote international peace and understanding among people and societies?
8. How can the Ghanaian identity expressed in various forms like painting, sculpture, printmaking, constitute a vehicle for advancing the goal of constructing national identity?
9. As an artist, a dealer, etc., how can we impact the international platform by the use of the visual arts?



10. Do you see any positive prospects going into the future?

11. What recommendations would you suggest to our policymakers or the government?



APPENDIX VI

ETHICS DOCUMENTS



UNIVERSITY OF GHANA  
LEGON CENTRE FOR  
INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS AND DIPLOMACY



COH/LECIAD/AC/5/01

Ref. No.: .....

March 18, 2019

The Chairperson  
Ethics Committee for Humanities  
College of Humanities  
University of Ghana  
Legon

**Request for Ethical Approval: Ms. Bernice Cooper - 10174362**

I write to introduce Ms. Bernice Cooper, a Third Year Ph.D. International Affairs student at the Legon Centre for International Affairs and Diplomacy (LECIAD) to you for assistance.

Ms. Cooper is conducting research on the topic: "*Identity Construction in an Interdependent World: The Case of Arts in Ghana's Diplomatic Relations.*"

I would be grateful if you could grant her ethical clearance to enable her undertake the study.

I count on your usual co-operation.

Yours sincerely,

Professor Emmanuel Debrah  
Acting Director



P. O. Box LG 25, Legon, Accra, Ghana.

• Telephone: +233 (0) 302 501 025

• Email: [leciad@ug.edu.gh](mailto:leciad@ug.edu.gh)

• Website: [www.ug.edu.gh](http://www.ug.edu.gh)



**UNIVERSITY OF GHANA**  
**ETHICS COMMITTEE FOR THE HUMANITIES (ECH)**

**ECH 133/18-19**

Ref. No.:.....

August 6<sup>th</sup> 2019

Ms. Bernice Cooper  
Legon Centre for International Affairs and Diplomacy  
University of Ghana  
Legon

Dear Ms. Cooper,

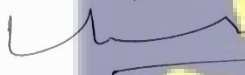
**ECH 133/18-19: IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION IN AN INTERDEPENDENT WORLD: THE CASE OF ARTS IN GHANA'S DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS.**

This is to advise you that the above reference study has been presented to the Ethics Committee for the Humanities for a full board review and the following actions taken subject to the conditions and explanation provided below:

Expiry Date: 02/08/2020  
On Agenda for: Initial submission  
Date of Submission: 10/05/2019  
ECH Action: Approved  
Reporting: Annually

Please accept my congratulations.

Yours Sincerely,

  
Prof. C. Charles Mate-Kole,  
ECH Vice Chair

Cc: Dr. Boniface Y. D. Gebe, Legon Centre for International Affairs and Diplomacy, UG.

