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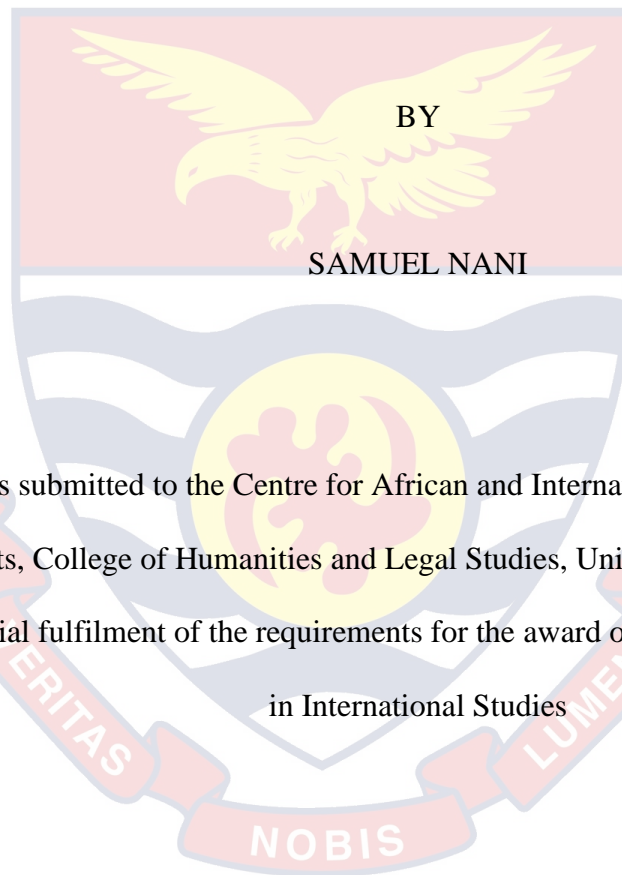
PROJECTING GHANA'S SOFT POWER THROUGH



2019

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE COAST

PROJECTING GHANA'S SOFT POWER THROUGH  
GASTRODIPLOMACY



Thesis submitted to the Centre for African and International Studies, Faculty of Arts, College of Humanities and Legal Studies, University of Cape Coast, in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of Master of Philosophy in International Studies

JULY 2019

## DECLARATION

### Candidate's Declaration

I hereby declare that this thesis is the result of my own original research and that no part of it has been presented for another degree in this University or elsewhere.

Candidate's Signature ..... Date.....

Name: .....

### Supervisors' Declaration

We hereby declare that the preparation and presentation of the thesis were supervised in accordance with the guidelines on supervision of thesis laid down by the University of Cape Coast.

Principal Supervisor's Signature..... Date.....

Name: .....

Co-Supervisor's Signature..... Date.....

Name: .....

## ABSTRACT

The acquisition and use of power in international relations has evolved since the end of the Second World War. As a result, the use of force or hard power continues to lose its legitimacy and application in some aspects of international politics. In response, many states, particularly, those in Europe, Asia and South America, have shifted their focus towards greater use of soft power resources such as local cuisines, through gastrodiplomacy, as a means of achieving certain foreign policy objectives. From the 1990s, especially in the 2000s, there has been an increase in gastrodiplomacy activities and campaigns across the world. This study, therefore, examines the extent to which the state and non-state actors are playing significant roles in promoting Ghanaian cuisines home and abroad. To achieve this aim, multiple case study design and qualitative data collection methods were employed. In-depth interviews were conducted, relevant literature was explored and content analysis methods were used to analyse the data. It was found out that, while many countries in other continents are promoting their local cuisines through gastrodiplomacy campaigns, their African counterparts are doing very little in this regard. The findings of the study reveal that though there are emerging gastrodiplomacy activities in the country, Ghana is to a very large extent underutilising this aspect of diplomacy. The study recommends a national policy to promote Ghanaian cuisines home and abroad, as well as further studies to explore gastronomic activities in the country.

## KEY WORDS

Diplomacy

Foreign policy

Gastrodiplomacy

Hard power

Power

Soft power



## ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

My foremost gratitude goes to my supervisors: Dr Tony Talburt and Mr. Mathew Q. Alidza, for their great support and mentorship since the beginning of my MPhil programme. They exercised a great deal of patience and comprehension which contributed significantly to the timely completion of this research. I am also indebted to Mr. Saeed Musah-Khaleepha for his advice, encouragement and financial support that kept me “alive” throughout the programme. I am also grateful to Mr. Loveland Sagoe and Mr. Samuel Effah for paying part of the first tranche of my fees to enable me begin this programme. My special thanks to the Samuel and Emelia Brew-Butler-SSG/GRASAG, UCC Research Grant, 2018, for the financial support which contributed immensely towards the timely completion of the study. My special thanks to the Director for the Centre for African and International Studies, Dr. Alex Wilson, and the Centre’s administrator, Madam Theresa Essel, for their advice and support throughout this study.

My profound gratitude further goes to my colleagues at the Centre for African and International Studies, University of Cape Coast, particularly Mohammed Mashkuratu, Bismark Asamoah, Dei Victor Kojo, Yaw Agyei-Gyamfi and Ekua Arhinfoa Ansah for their diverse support throughout this study. My appreciation also goes to Mary Aba Koufie for her support throughout the programme. Miss Dorothy Donkoh, through her words of encouragement, ensured that I did not lose focus on the study; I am very grateful to her. To my sister and brother, Lucy Bey and Emmanuel Nani, thank you for your support. Lastly, my profound appreciation goes to the University of Cape Coast for the opportunity to read my first and second degrees.

## DEDICATION

To my mother; Edem Motsor, thank you for your support and confidence in me



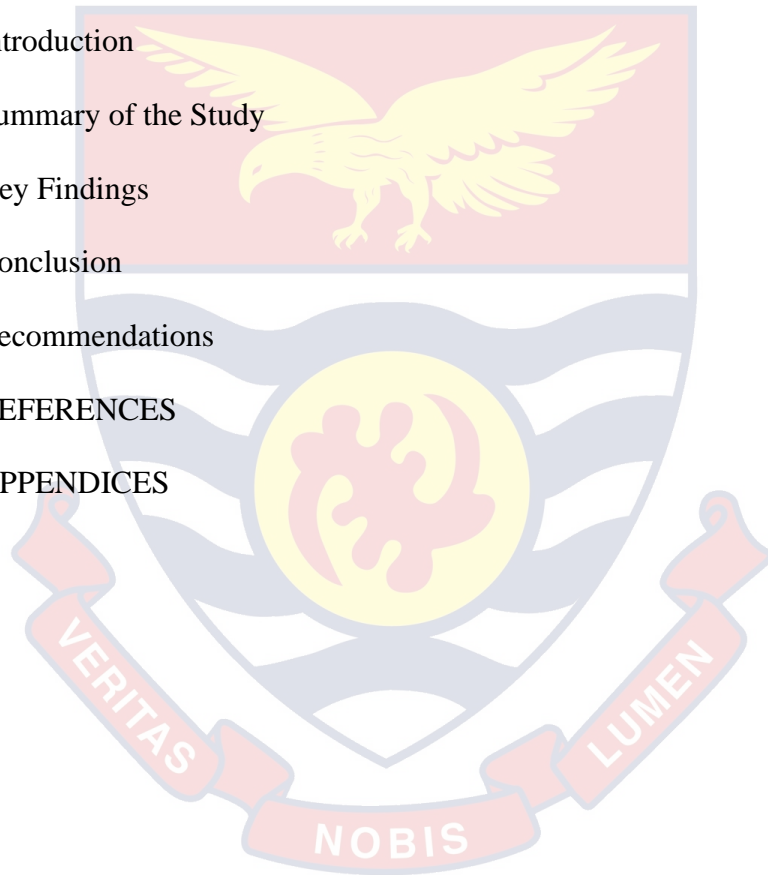
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## LIST OF ACRONYMS

<b>GTA</b>	-	Ghana Tourism Authority
<b>HOTCATT</b>	-	Hotel, Catering and Tourism Training Institute
<b>KFC</b>	-	Kentucky Fried Chicken
<b>MICZD</b>	-	Ministry of Inner City and Zongo Development
<b>MOTAC</b>	-	Ministry of Tourism, Arts and Culture
<b>USD</b>	-	United State Dollars
<b>UNESCO</b>	-	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
<b>USSR</b>	-	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics



## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

#### Background to the Study

Diplomacy is the conduct of relations between states through peaceful means (Tarte, 2014). It can also be referred to as human engagements by peaceful means, using methods of persuasion, attraction and negotiation. Diplomatic relations of states date back to the 5th century (Adesina, 2017); however, the conduct of diplomatic relations has become more open since the end of World War II as a result of the involvement of non-state actors such as the International Monetary Fund, Oxfam, International Committee of the Red Cross, Coca-Cola, among others, in global politics. These developments have opened the international political landscape and led to the diffusion of power among state and non-state actors. Unlike the era before the Second World War where military, population and economic power were used to measure a country's power and success in international affairs, the post Second World War era is witnessing the competition for global influence through the use of soft resources like culture, political values and foreign policy. Thus, one can influence the attitudes and behaviours of other people by the use of threats or coercion, inducements and payments or through persuasion and attraction (Nye, 2008).

Joseph Nye, a political science professor at Harvard University, propounded the concept of soft power in 1990. He refers to soft power as the ability to attain the desired results or achieve foreign policy objectives in international politics through persuasion and attraction (Nye, 2009:160). It can also be said to be the ability to win the hearts of people or actors and influence

their preferences positively in a way that you want. On the other hand, hard power is the use or threats or military cohesion for diplomatic purposes (Nye, 1990). State actors have been using many soft power tools or strategies to get their desired results in diplomacy. One of these is gastrodiploamacy.

Gastrodiploamacy is an aspect of cultural diplomacy (Rockower, 2012). It is the use of food to communicate or project the culture of a state to the internal and external publics. It can also be referred to as the consistent and continuous collaborative campaigns and investments by governments or states and non-state actors, to increase the popularity, attractiveness, and influence of their nation through cuisine (Rockower, 2014). Thus, gastrodiploamacy is a communication practice by states where food is used as the main tool to give understanding about culinary culture of a state to foreign publics. It includes the use of cuisine to enhance formal diplomacy in official or diplomatic functions such as visits by heads of state, ambassadors, business people and other foreign dignitaries. Rockower (2012) argues that people are likely to relate to foreign cultures when they are introduced to them through cuisine.

Mennell et al (1992) stressed that sharing of meals for either communal or diplomatic purposes is crucial in enhancing formal relations. This is especially so among diplomats who, though they have different interests, are people with socially similar values which are necessary for peaceful coexistence in international relations. Also, the sharing of a meal at a diplomatic table can evoke feelings of friendship and bonding among participating diplomats (Morgan, 2012).

Nye (2008) enumerated three pillars of soft power. They are political values, foreign policy and culture. Gastrodiploamacy falls within the domain of

culture. Culture has attraction and assimilation capabilities, which means that it has the ability to exert thoughts and values on others, so that they have the same perception or opinion (Lin and Hongtao, 2017). This assimilation feature of culture is useful for the realisation of a country's diplomatic goals. Food is an aspect of culture that gives people identity and distinguishes them from other groups of people. Across the world, food is mostly served to visitors to make them feel at home and as a sign of hospitality as well as to introduce the visitor to the cuisines of the host. However, the success of soft power resources, and in particular gastrodiplomacy, largely depends on public diplomacy.

Edmund Gullion coined the term “public diplomacy” in the 1960s (Henrikson, 2006). Since then, however, there has not been any generally accepted definition of the term (Saima and Muhammad, 2015). However, one of the definitions adopted for this study is the one employed by Gregory (2008). He referred to public diplomacy as;

a term that describes ways and means by which states, associations of states, and non-state actors understand cultures, attitudes, and behaviour, build and manage relationships, and influence opinions and actions to advance their interests and values (Gregory, 2008:276).

In summary, public diplomacy is the use of communication tools and platforms to promote a country's soft power resources in a way that will influence and attract foreign publics. States across the world use public diplomacy to promote their culture and make their country attractive to the public of other countries in order to achieve the nation's diplomatic goals.

Nye's concept of soft power, and his assertion that there has been a gradual shift from the use of hard power to soft power in international relations, make the pursuit of soft power by states, inevitable in current global politics. Moreover, the changes in world politics have made the international scene more open; therefore, it is difficult for any country to control the global political environment. Hard military threats and their use have become costly and states are hesitant to employ them today partly because of the recent growth in popular respect for universal humanitarian values as well as the liberalisation of information (Gray, 2011). As a result, many states are shifting their attention to soft power resources as a better alternative in international politics. While powerful states like the United States of America, the United Kingdom and China can afford to use hard power, which is the use of threats or coercion and smart power, which combines military force or threats and persuasive instruments of power in international politics, developing nations like Ghana with low economic development and weak military power, could possibly achieve more influence by adopting the need to rely on soft power resources for success in international relations.

### **Statement of Problem**

Since the 1970s, there has been a significant advancement of technology and liberalisation of information. These developments have not only transformed the acquisition and use of power in international politics, but also give countries the opportunity to promote their culture through food to the international community. In response, many nations such as Thailand, Taiwan, Korea and Peru have organised robust gastrodiplomacy campaigns since the turn of the 21<sup>st</sup> century to increase their cultural influence across the world



(Suntikul, 2017). In other words, projecting a country's attractive image through food has become a more realistic tool for acquiring state power in global politics.

Though gastrodiplomacy is a growing field that is attracting many international relations practitioners and researchers across the world, the field continues to be dominated by Western and Asian scholars (Rockower, 2012: Quinale, 2016: Chapple-Sokol, 2013: Wilson, 2013). Lanquaye-Tetteh (2016) and Adesina (2017) suggested ways by which Ghana and Nigeria can harness their global image by employing soft power. However, while Lanquaye-Tetteh's work focussed on the role of pan-Africanism in projecting Ghana's global image, Adesina also failed to explore ways by which state and non-state actors in Nigeria can help promote Nigerian cuisines. As a result, this study seeks to fill this gap by exploring the roles of state and non-state actors in promoting Ghanaian cuisines to harness the country's soft power across the world.

### **Research Objectives**

1. To trace the history of contemporary gastrodiplomacy campaigns.
2. To examine the trend of gastrodiplomacy in Africa
3. To assess the role of state and non-state actors in promoting Ghanaian cuisines.

### **Research Questions**

1. When did the use of food to enhance diplomatic engagements begin?
2. What are the trends of gastrodiplomacy campaigns in Africa?
3. What are the roles of state and non-state actors in promoting Ghanaian cuisines?



## Significance of the Study

This study is important for many reasons. Firstly, Ghana is blessed with many traditional cuisines such as *banku*, *akple*, *waakye*, *fufu*, *kenkey* and many others, that can be used to harness Ghana's soft power through gastrodiplomacy. Moreover, in today's world of twenty-four-hour media coverage with particular attention on every diplomatic act, state and non-state actors need to understand all aspects of the symbolism, roles and the power of their cuisines in attracting people across the world. Most importantly, African countries are not universally known for their cuisines and part of this study serves to help raise the political awareness in terms of Ghana's attempt to achieve this. Thus, investing in food promotion abroad, offers an opportunity for Ghana to market its cuisines to project its global image in order to meet the rising demand and growing international tourism market. Furthermore, Ghana has relatively weak military and economic power to employ hard power strategy in international relations. Therefore, any study that seeks to explore Ghana's soft power potential is necessary as it is crucial for the country's future relevance and success in international affairs. The aim of the study, therefore, is to examine how Ghana can use traditional Ghanaian foods through gastrodiplomacy campaigns to influence and expand the country's influence across the world. The study also identifies how Ghana can use public diplomacy avenues to project its cuisines to the international community to expand its regional influence and global reputation in international relations.

The study is timely and adds to the literature on the use of soft power in international relations, particularly on Ghana's approach to gastrodiplomacy. The findings of the study interrogate key industry players and the government,

with regard to Ghana's soft power potential in gastrodiplomacy. The study can also become a primary document for future academic research on gastrodiplomacy and possibly policy makers who might choose to organise a more successful robust gastrodiplomacy campaign to promote Ghana's influence and image across the world.

### **Limitations of the Study**

The researcher encountered a number of challenges during the study. First of all, the researcher could not meet the timeline set for the data collection largely because of the unavailability of some respondents due to their busy schedules. The researcher could not get responses from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration because the only resource person with expertise in gastrodiplomacy, had travelled abroad. Also, some of the Ghana Missions interviewed through emails, delayed in responding to the questions. Therefore, the researcher could not get access to some of the needed responses. In addition, the majority of the Ghanaian missions contacted for a scheduled interview failed to reply the emails, thereby making the gathering of critical data pertaining to their use or non-use of gastrodiplomacy in their international affairs, difficult.

However, to ensure that the above challenges did not affect the validity and the timely completion of the study, the researcher employed the following counter measures. In situations where responses from targeted individuals and institutions were not forthcoming, alternative resource persons or institutions were contacted. For example, the researcher was not able to get resourced persons(s) from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration, and therefore had to arrange for a resource person from the Ministry of Tourism,

Arts and Culture to respond to questions on Ghana's use of food in diplomacy. Also, due to the delays of some of the Ghanaian missions in responding to the questions, phone calls had to be made to remind them or to follow up previous discussions. Though the majority of Ghanaian missions did not respond to the interview request, the few who responded, gave crucial information that contributed tremendously to the study.

### **Delimitations of the Study**

There are many soft power resources. They include sports, foreign policy, slogans, domestic policy and culture. Furthermore, culture or cultural diplomacy has many aspects such as language, clothing, theatre and film, music and dance, as well local cuisines. In view of the broad scope of soft power and cultural diplomacy, the study only explores Ghana's attempts to project its cuisines to harness its global image in international affairs. This done with regards to the examination of the various roles by state and private institutions and individuals in promoting Ghanaian cuisines in and outside the country.

### **Methodology of the Study**

The study employed the qualitative research method. Astalin (2013) defines qualitative research as a systematic scientific inquiry which seeks to build a holistic, large narrative and description to inform the researcher's understanding of a social phenomenon. He explained that qualitative research method uses observations, interviews and document reviews to understand a phenomenon. The qualitative method was preferred for this study because it enabled the researcher to have a better focus on collecting rich, useful and in-depth data for the study.

Furthermore, the study employed the multiple case study design. Multiple-case design is a research methodology in which several instrumental cases are examined in order to ascertain the differences and similarities between the cases (Campbell and Ahrens, 1998). The study preferred the multiple case study method because it enabled the study to assess gastrodiploacy strategies employed by some selected countries. This enabled the study to extensively describe and explain the phenomenon of gastrodiploacy and also to compare the similarities and differences between Ghana's approach and that of other countries.

The main instrument for the data collection was the open-ended interview guide. Open ended interview guides are used by researchers to ask respondents or research participants identical questions; however, the questions are worded so that responses are open-ended (Turner, 2010). This allows for in-depth interviewing of respondents which enables them to give much detail information they desire and also for the researcher to ask follow-up questions should the need arise. In-depth interviews allowed ensured that useful and relevant detailed information data from a few respondents or participants compared to surveys, which engage higher number of respondents, were obtained. Purposive and snowball sampling techniques were employed to select ten respondents for the study. Purposive sampling is the deliberate choice of participants due to the qualities the participants possesses (Etikan et al., 2016). The research employed purposive sampling method not only because it is time effective, but also because the conduct of gastrodiploacy in Ghana is limited to a few institutions (Ministry of Tourism, Arts and culture and the Ministry for Inner Cities and Zongo Development and individuals who organise programmes

to promote Ghanaian cuisines. Therefore, only those who have knowledge about the field and practice of gastrodiplomacy in Ghana could be sampled for the study.

Furthermore, as the data collections progressed, some respondents referred the researcher to other respondents who had some expertise in gastrodiplomacy. This made the study employ the limited snowball sampling method. Snow ball sampling is a situation where a targeted respondent recommends other relevant persons and offices that the researcher can contact for useful information (Alkind, 1997). For example, the respondent from the Ministry of Tourism, Arts and Culture referred me to the Executive Chef of Kempinski Hotel, Mr. Issam Seddoq, who also contributed greatly to the study. The above sampling methods were employed because the nature of the study was such that only targeted respondents could participate or be sampled.

One on one in-depth interviews were conducted with resource persons at the Ministries of Tourism Arts and Culture, Inner City and Zongo Development, Madam Tima Klu, the producer of the “Aben Show”, Mr. Okyeame Kofi, the producer of “McBrown’s Kitchen” and Mr. Issam Seddoq, the Executive Chef of Kempinski Hotel. The study also interviewed resource persons at some Ghanaian foreign missions, through emails. These missions include Ghana High Commission in Australia, Ghana Embassy in Russia, China and Belgium. These respondents were selected because they are key players and stakeholders in the field of gastrodiplomacy in and outside Ghana. A voice or an audio recorder was used to record one-on-one interviews which were later transcribed into a word document. Respondents from the Foreign Missions who were interviewed through email on the other hand, presented their responses in

word documents which were also categorised under corresponding themes. Moreover, in exception of the four Ghanaian Foreign Missions engaged for the study who responded to the same interview guide, all the other respondents responded to a different set of interview guides. This made it easier to classify the data into relevant themes.

The data from secondary sources were obtained through a wide review of literature ranging from books, scholarly articles, periodicals, and speeches by government officials, government reports, to other sources from social media such as Facebook, YouTube and Instagram. Key secondary sources such as Constantinou (1996), Nye (1990) as well as Rockower (2012) were particularly invaluable to the study. The data from these documentary sources were used to lay the foundation for the study and also to do a comparative analysis to establish the avenues which other countries are using to promote their local cuisines to local and foreign publics. Pickvance (2005) argues that comparative analysis focuses on the explanation of differences and similarities between two or more cases. The study also employed comparative content analysis method to ascertain the differences and similarities between what Ghana and other countries are doing in respect to gastrodiplomacy. Babbie (2010) noted that the sources of data for content analysis include books, magazines, web pages, speeches, letters, e-mail messages, laws, and constitutions. The data from the respondents was subjected to critical analysis, based on key themes to establish similarities and differences among states. This helped to provide only the data or aspects of the data that correspond with the objectives of the study.

Ethical issues are crucial in a study of this nature. As a result, ethical considerations concerning the writing of thesis at the University of Cape Coast



were strictly followed at all levels of the study. In this regard, an introductory letter from the Centre for African and International Studies, was obtained which was presented together with my student identity card to respondents to prove my identity. Also, anonymity of respondents who asked for their identity to be hidden, was ensured. Furthermore, permissions from the owners of YouTube videos, Instagram and Facebook posts which were analysed as part of the study were sought and those sources were duly acknowledged. Most importantly, the consents of respondents were obtained before recording their responses.

### **Theoretical Framework**

The concept of acquisition and use power in international relations can be traced to Niccolo Machiavelli's book, *Prince*, published in 1532, where he attached top priority to power and the security of the state (Machiavelli, 1532). Machiavelli's argument was later theorised as realism which stressed why it is important for the state to acquire power and it does not matter how it is acquired. In order to ensure their security and achieve the intended objectives in the international system, many states have tried to develop and use their powers effectively. Political realism is a school of thought in international relations which places much emphasis and justification on why states' need to pursue power politics for their national interest (Burchill et al., 2013). The realists see the international political environment as hostile, anarchical and full of selfish individual interests. Therefore, the most important and rational thing for the state is to acquire power because nothing is more important in international politics than self-help (Kegley and Wittkopf, 2006).

However, Nye (1990) argued that the realist worldview of power, which gives priority to military power to ensure the survival of states, is changing.

While it is true that military power remains crucial to nations in their international engagements, intangible sources of power such as culture which demands greater cooperation among states has become an important source of power in global affairs.

Kegley and Wittkopf (2006) also argued that realism failed to take into account significant changes in world politics. Thus, the realist assumptions were made using military and economic power or hard power. It failed to make room for soft power which demands the cooperation and acceptance from other states or non-state actors. Realists have traditionally measured a nation's power and influence in the world in the scope of coercive sources of power. Nye (2008) explained that a nation can derive influence and power from soft resources by cooperating with other countries. Another weakness of the realist theory is its definition of international relations as the preserve of the state. Thus, the realist fails to take into account the role and the need for non-state institutions in international politics. However, despite the shortfalls of realism, the theory has been used over the years to study the acquisition and use of power in international relations and will therefore, be useful to this study.

On the other hand, liberalism, which is more situated within the broad idealism tradition, looks at international relations from different perspectives. The main argument of liberalism is the need to ensure the equality, dignity, liberty and freedom of the individual and the need to protect people from extreme governmental control (Kegley and Wittkopf, 2006). According to liberals, power can be specified as the ability of an actor to get things that others cannot do under normal circumstances done, or to have control over the results (Keohane and Nye, 1989). Liberalism supports the involvement of non-state



actors in international relations. Earlier scholars such as John Locke, David Hume, and Adam Smith laid the foundations for Norman Angell and Woodrow Wilson who became modern liberal thinkers (Kegley and Wittkopf, 2006). Kegley and Wittkopf (2006) argue that the liberals see international politics as a platform for building consensus than a struggle for power and prestige.

The assumption of the liberalists encourages a collaboration between individuals, private institution and the state to carry on activities and spread ideas that will enhance diplomatic relations between states. The conduct of gastrodiplomacy or gastrodiplomacy campaigns adopt the liberals' approach, where state and non-state actors collaborate to promote the culinary culture of a nation to other nationals. It is worthy to mention that the success and the conduct of gastrodiplomacy campaigns largely depend on the collaboration between government agencies, ministries, individuals, restaurant operators, food bloggers, writers and many other people to promote a nation's unique cuisines to the rest of the world. In this sense, therefore, this study leans more towards the liberal position which incorporates the soft power approach in international politics rather than the traditional realist hard power politics of the state.

The attractiveness of a state may arise from its foreign policy, culture and political ideals. Lin and Hongtao (2017:70) explain that;

if the universal value exists in the culture of a country whose policies are accepted by people in other countries, the possibility of achieving its goal will increase due to its attraction and trust, which is the effect of the cultural soft power.

As a theoretical concept, soft power is gaining an increasing importance and relevance in international relations. Thus, soft power is a form of national power that is based on ideational and cultural attractiveness, which is utilised by both state and non-state actors in international relations to achieve strategic national objectives.

Modern conceptualisations of both soft and hard food-power utilise food as an instrument to attract or coerce actors to change their actions through both cultural-symbolic and political-economic means. However, soft power utilises food and the act of dining as a medium in which interactions can communicate and display power. The symbolism of cuisines is socially generated which enables them to be utilised as soft power. This publicly created symbolic nature also changes how soft food power works towards changing others' values and attitudes (Reynolds, 2012). Instead of working from the government top-down approach, soft food-power works from the grass roots level up, relying on food's symbolism to gain a political following and momentum. In gastrodiploacy, individuals and private institutions collaborate with the government and relevant state institutions to promote the culinary culture in a country. According to Rockower (2014), culinary diplomacy can be defined as the use of food and cuisine as "a medium to enhance formal diplomacy in official diplomatic functions". In this sense, culinary diplomacy seeks to increase bilateral ties by strengthening relationships through the use of food and dining experiences as a means to engage visiting dignitaries. In comparison, gastrodiploacy has a broader dimension and can be conceptualised as "a public diplomacy attempt to communicate culinary culture to foreign publics in a fashion that is more

diffuse” (Rockower, 2014: 13). Thus, food is an important component of culture that states and non-state actors can use to project the soft power or international appeal of a country.

## **Literature Review**

### **The concept of soft power**

Since Nye came out with the concept of soft power in 1990, it has received a considerable scholarly attention and social commentary on its significance and applicability in global affairs (McClory, 2015; Lee, 2009; Gill and Huang, 2006). Raimzhanova (2015) refers to soft power as the capacity to impact the demeanours and inclinations of others, without the utilisation of power, pressure or viciousness, yet through soft assets like appealing culture. The post-Cold War dynamics of international relations have rendered military power less important such that power is no longer measured by only the size and the capability of one’s army, but how universally accepted one’s ideas, values, and culture are.

Nye (1990) anticipated that the wellsprings of power in world politics will perhaps experience major transitions. He insisted that power in global politics to some extent would be determined by one’s ability to change the behaviour of others through persuasion and attraction. Thus, if State A is able to develop a positive image, whether based on its actions or policies or on its inherent characteristics, other states are likely to be drawn or influenced by State A. After some number of interactions with State A, other states may develop positive views of State A’s goals and policies, as well as the way it pursues those goals. They may also grow to appreciate State A’s culture and visibly try to adopt it. This can lead to deeper relations between State A and the other states

which will enhance the soft power of State A. This process follows an idealist perspective of consensus building among states for the general good of society which Nye calls the power of “attraction”.

In light of the above, intangible or soft instruments of acquiring state power have become necessary in today’s global politics. A state’s power, for example, is measured by how appealing and acceptable its ideas and culture are, and how those ideas have the ability to change the behaviour of people in other states. Thus, soft power or power of attraction, has become much cheaper than the power of coercion (hard power) and soft power has become an important asset that needs to be nourished for success in today’s global politics (Nye, 2003). Though Nye is right in his prediction because of the increasing use of soft power by states across the world, the relevance of hard power remains crucial in international affairs. The war on terrorism cannot be won only through the application of soft power, but by the use smart power approach which involves the use of military power and public diplomacy campaigns. Furthermore, the use of economic and military power (“carrots and sticks diplomacy”) by governments to issue threats and fights are likely to produce the desired outcomes within a shorter time (Nye, 2004). However, not all threats or wars produce the desired outcome within a short time, as the length and subsequent failure of the Vietnam War proved.

Historically, power has been estimated by population, land size, topography, natural resources, military power, and the size of the economy (Raimzhanova, 2015). However, the intense international opposition to the Iraq War (Jentleson, 2006) suggests that coercive or “carrot and stick diplomacy” is rapidly losing its legitimacy in international politics. Again, these developments

do not necessarily imply that military and economic power (hard power) are no longer important in diplomacy. President Trump's use of hard power tactics, such as the trade wars with the European Union and China have achieved some intended results. The European Union and China have renegotiated aspects their trade deals with the United States.

However, despite the complexity of current international relations as a result of increasing number of actors vying for global influence, opportunities still exist for states of every size to achieve their diplomatic goals. However, success in the current global politics largely depends on one's ability to attract, persuade, and mobilise others (McClory, 2015). A critical foreign policy which prioritises soft power is the secret to achieve this success. In this transformed international system, soft power is a crucial tool in enhancing influence over international outcomes because it has become more difficult to compel nations and non-state actors through the use of hard power. Attraction often has a diffuse effect of creating general influence, rather than producing an easily observable specific action.

Ogunnubi and Amao (2016) explained that, considering the poor economic growth and weak financial power of developing nations to pursue a foreign policy to get results in diplomacy, states can achieve many of their foreign policy objectives by projecting their soft power resources. Although Ogunnubi and Amao may be right in their comparative cost analysis of the application of soft and hard power, they failed to make reference to the fact that soft power resources need much financial investment in order to achieve the intended results. For example, countries such as South Korea and Malaysia have invested considerably to sustain their public diplomacy and gastrodiplo-

campaigns (Sunanta, 2005; Lee, 2012). This means that countries with poor financial standing would not be able to effectively apply soft power in their foreign policy.

Nye (2004) also cautioned that the use of soft power to achieve diplomatic results may take a long time because many crucial resources of soft power are outside the control of governments, and their impacts depend intensely on acknowledgment by the accepting public. However, the benefits of soft power are enormous. Also, governments can influence the usage of a country's soft power through policy guidelines and directions. For example, a government can determine which of its ideas and aspects of culture can be promoted to the international audience for global influence. Thus soft power resources work indirectly by shaping the preferences of the international audience and it takes consistency for its results to be realised.

Furthermore, soft power strategies deviate from the use of traditional international politics strategy of "carrot and stick", (economic and military power) to influence by utilising systems, creating and promoting convincing ideas, thoughts and culture, building universal standards, alliances, and drawing on key resources that can be accepted by many countries (McClory, 2015). The advantage of soft power is that it is able to deliver some key international objectives without the high costs associated with the use of hard power. For example, the Vietnam War cost the United States billions of dollars but could not achieve the desired outcome.

McClory (2015) added that governments over the years, show lack of ability to build soft power into their national or foreign policy strategies. This is because they are unable to understand and identify the potentials of these soft



power resources at their disposal; therefore, they fail to deploy these resources in a planned, coordinated, and effective way. However, the United States and India have developed their soft power through the Hollywood and Bollywood industries, respectively. The United Kingdom has made itself attractive around the world through the English Premier League. Thailand, Peru, Japan and Korea have developed their soft power through gastrodiplomacy.

The Fulbright programme is another significant aspect of American educational and cultural soft power. Similarly, Nigerian Nollywood (Nigerian movies) and the Jamaican reggae Dancehall, have all found their ways into the international landscape thereby promoting the soft power of these countries respectively. Nye (1990) explained that political leaders and actors of global politics have come to understand the power of attractive ideas or the capacity to set a plan and decide the inclinations of others.

Thus, a country's soft power approach may be to project peaceful and attractive images of itself by promoting peace and security globally (Lee, 2009). Lee argued that this type of soft power strategy contains the blend of soft power assets, for example, national trademarks, policy recommendations, citizen diplomacy and sustained public diplomacy campaigns to reduce bad images while projecting the country as a peaceful destination (Lee, 2009). Another soft power approach is to promote unity across the international community by assuming the role of peace promoter in the international community (Lee, 2009).

Norway has adopted this type of soft power approach to world politics by promoting itself as a global peace promoter. Over the years, Norway has been involved in international peace-building processes in Sudan, Haiti,

Ethiopia, Nepal, and other countries (Stokke, 2010). Norway adopted this approach because it lacked the capacity to employ hard power in international affairs. Therefore, to achieve some of its foreign policy objectives, it has developed the capacity to mediate between conflicting parties and mobilise worldwide support for negotiations and settlements of disputes as well as peace building (Stokke, 2010). Stokke (2010) referred to this Norwegian approach as ‘the soft power of a small nation’.

In attempts to expand its soft power or global influence, China considers its culture as a world culture (Gill and Huang, 2006). As a result, China has designed programmes to promote its culture by setting up Confucius Institutes all around the world. One of the great successes China gained from this investment is the internationalisation of Chinese culture. Many foreigners from almost every part of the world begin to pay attention to Chinese culture, particularly its cuisines. According to Yang (2017), Chinese food is the sum of material and spiritual wealth created by the Chinese people in the long-term dietary practice activities, but also an important window for foreign guests to better understand China. Both Chinese restaurants and cuisines reflect the changing representation of the people of China as their restaurants can be found in almost every city across the world (Cheung and Wu, 2014). This may help to change people’s perception about Chinese culinary culture and also help to attract them to the country.

Furthermore, China has also improved its public diplomacy strategy by hosting the World Expo in 2010, in order to build the preferred international image and reputation. Writing on China’s growing influence in Africa, Cooke (2009) argued that China has placed special emphasis on soft-power aspects of



its engagement with African audiences where it seeks to portray itself as a non-threatening and responsible global power. Since the establishment of the first Confucius Institute in 2004, China has set up a total of 54 Confucius Institutes to teach and promote Chinese language and culture in Africa. Also, the number of Chinese restaurants on the continent doubled during the period (Aydin and Tekin, 2015).

McClory (2015) cited the rapid diffusion of power between state and non-state actors in global affairs as being responsible for the shift from the use of traditional hard military power. Multinationals and nongovernmental organisations have no military, but have become influential actors which are influencing the behaviour of people around the world. This again, suggests that in the 21st century, power is not only defined by the one with the largest number of soldiers, or the one with the most sophisticated guns, but the one who tells the most credible, appealing or attractive story. Legitimacy and credibility are, therefore essential in the pursuit of soft power. That is, at the point when a state can earnestly draw in and persuade others to acknowledge its qualities and sets instruments of practices or culture, the nation is considered to have a viable soft power.

On the other hand, one of the challenges of soft power is that it is difficult to measure. Thus, it is almost impossible to prove that other countries change their behaviours because of another country's soft power. However, gastrodiploacy or food soft power can be measured. This may be done through a survey to assess the popularity of the initiating country's cuisines in other countries and how their nationals are patronising those cuisines.

## Gastrodiplomacy and soft power

Gastrodiplomacy has become an emerging powerful diplomatic tool in international politics (Nirwandy and Awang, 2014). What gastrodiplomacy tends to do is, therefore, to create an additional emotional connection with culture by utilising cuisine as a medium for engagement (Rockower, 2012). In gastrodiplomacy, state and non-state actors promote national cuisines to project an attractive image of their country or to attract other nationals. This is achieved through policy guided public diplomacy campaigns such as media advertisements, food fairs, exhibitions and festivals. Gastrodiplomacy can, therefore, help all countries, powerful and less powerful, to project their cultural influence or soft power in global politics.

Morgan (2012) noted that, in a world of increasing sophisticated communication, media reportage which places much attention on events, particularly diplomatic events, it is important for state and non-state actors to understand all the symbolism found in hospitality. Morgan reiterates that actors of international relations need to value the power in messages their hospitality carry to foreign visitors or tourists as well as to the international community (Morgan, 2012). In 2006, the Peruvian embassy in the United States invited over 1,000 people to sample food and drink at a reception where a free trade agreement was signed to eliminate import tariffs on goods exchanged between Peru and the United States (Nicholls, 2006). This indicates the significance of food in enhancing diplomatic agreements and strengthening diplomatic ties. Gastrodiplomacy can, therefore, help countries with less military or economic power to project their soft power and get the desired outcomes in global politics. This is because, gastrodiplomacy also has the ability to shape the attitudes of

both local and foreign audiences and can also influence how a country is perceived internationally.

Food has, therefore, become an instrument or a tool for acquiring state power. States and other actors of international relations, in recent times, have begun to use gastrodiploamacy campaigns to enhance bilateral ties by strengthening relationships and to project a positive image of their countries. Spence (2016) noted that Malaysia, Thailand, Peru, and Taiwan have all come to the realisation that they will certainly increase their influence abroad by promoting their national dishes across the world. Suntikul (2017) agreed with Spence (2016) and noted that gastrodiploamacy has effectively made these countries to get the presence and influence they desired on the international stage.

Bound et al. (2007) gave an example of how food was used as a soft power tool that contributed to the victory of the capitalist bloc over the socialist during the Cold War. They noted that the popularity of the first McDonald's restaurant in the former USSR in the late 1980s sent a strong message of popular rejection of the Soviet model even in the USSR. However, Farina (2018) observed that, gastrodiploamacy does not only help to promote nations' cuisine abroad, but also helps countries to increase their attractiveness and the popularity of their food culture. Through marketing and sustained campaigns, they are able to obtain economic benefits, such as increased food export, employment and tourism.

A diplomat, head of state or international business person may want to impress a guest with a wide variety of local delicacies to expose the visitor the varieties of cuisines in the host's country (Chapple-Sokol, 2013). Quinale

(2016) explained that the use of food for diplomatic means has its origins in ancient Greece but has evolved to become more useful in international politics. State and non-state actors of international relations are now using gastrodiploamacy to enhance their engagement with international actors. As a result of the importance attached to gastrodiploamacy and culinary traditions in current global politics, Luša and Jakešević (2018) cautioned that, local foods and national dishes need to be utilised and protected in a nation's approach to international relation.

Countries in South-East Asia, South America, Europe, and the United States are the leading propagators of gastrodiploamacy campaigns (Quinale, 2016). However, Adesina (2017) stipulated ways by which Nigeria can project its soft power through Nigerian cuisines such as *eba*, pounded yam (*iyam*) and *fufu*. Parke (2016) also enumerated some African foods that can be made global through sustainable marketing via social media, local and international exhibition and food fairs. These underscore the fact that gastrodiploamacy remains an underutilised soft power resource across Africa.

Schmitt (2012) stressed that gastrodiploamacy has made it easier access or experience other cultures even from the convenience of staying in one's country. The ingredients, cooking techniques, and culinary philosophies can be marketed by chefs and restaurants and other practitioners to the foreign public. This is possible through the establishment of foreign cuisine canteens or restaurants, food fairs and exhibitions. In Accra for example, there are a number of foreign cuisine restaurants such as Chinese restaurants, Ivorian, Nigerian, and the American KFC (Kentucky Fried Chicken) which are popular restaurants in

the Ghanaian capital. Local cuisine restaurants or foods exported abroad, are instrumental resources in projecting how a country is perceived abroad.

Mahon (2018) explained that the Irish government, in its attempts to project its food to the international community, created the Irish Food Board in 1994 to oversee and to act as a link between Irish food, drink, and horticulture suppliers and customers around the world. Similarly, the United States has also developed ways to project its culinary culture to the rest of the world. In July 2012, José Andrés, a renowned chef in America, was invited to talk to, and cook for chief protocol officers from over hundred countries who met to exchange, ideas, evaluate and enhance their craft, and to strengthen the role of protocol in diplomacy (Quinale, 2016). He used the opportunity to cook and introduce some American cuisines to the officers.

Furthermore, there have been many empirical studies on the role of food in international relations (Tettner and Kalyoncu, 2016; White, 2018; Lipscomb, 2020). The study by Tettner and Kalyoncu (2016) explored different gastrodiplomacy strategies and potentials where they interviewed Mr. Sam Chapple-Sokol, who is a chef and a consultant on culinary diplomacy and one of the pioneers to explore the field of gastrodiplomacy. Mr. Sam Chapple-Sokol confirmed that food can be a powerful tool to advance culinary tourism and to attract people to a destination. This is because food has the ability or the power to emotionally attract and influence people from all nations across the world.

In addition, White (2018) also studied the role food diplomacy in the United States' foreign policy. However, although her work briefly discussed the United States' application of gastrodiplomacy, her work largely focused on food diplomacy, which include thematic areas like food security and food assistance.

It is important to note that while White (2018) studies food assistance as a soft power instrument, food assistance can also be employed as a hard power asset. This was manifested during the Cold War. When the Soviets blocked access to West Berlin by road, rail and canals, the West reacted by organising the Berlin Airlift to supply food to the people in West Berlin (Standage, 2009; Luša and Jakešević, 2018). This approach deviates from the conventional approach of gastrodiplomacy which involves the use of cuisines to attract the publics of other nations.

Furthermore, a study by Solleh (2015) established a link between gastrodiplomacy and nation branding and their possible effects on Malaysia's soft power. One of her respondents, Paul Rockower, confirmed that gastrodiplomacy would impact on raising the nation-brand recognition, creating broader tourism and more foreign- direct investment. While this may be true, the intended results of gastrodiplomacy can only be achieved through extensive policy guided investments and campaigns such as media campaigns, food festivals and advertisements. This makes it very difficult for poor countries to practice.

In the same fashion, Lipscomb (2020) examined the practice of gastrodiplomacy in South Korea and Taiwan. He concluded that gastrodiplomacy benefits a nation's domestic economy, especially its tourism industry. Through gastrodiplomacy, prospective tourists are exposed to other nations' cuisines at restaurants in their home countries and their dining experiences can foster a positive association between the cuisine and the culture it represents, thus driving consumers' desires to visit those places.



## Public diplomacy and gastrodiplomacy

In practice, public diplomacy and gastrodiplomacy are interrelated. Gastrodiplomacy is the use of food to communicate the culture of a country to an external public (Rockower, 2014) and public diplomacy is the tools of communication or methods that are used to communicate the culture and ideas of states to audience home and abroad. Public diplomacy is an important tool, though it is overlooked by many states in promoting their national security, ideas and culture globally (Nirwandy and Awang, 2014). Public diplomacy was first introduced to scholarship of international relations in 1965 by diplomat Edmund Guillon (Gurgu and Cociuban, 2016). It is the communication aimed to promote certain ideas and resources to foreign audiences in order to appeal or attract the hearts or minds of the people (Mankiewicz and Fitz-Pegado, 1994). The above definition looks limited in scope because it fails to indicate those who control and administer public diplomacy.

Gilboa quoted Signitzer and Coombs (1992) who gave a much broader definition of public diplomacy. They defined the concept as “the way in which both government and private individuals and groups influence directly or indirectly those public attitudes and opinions which bear directly on another government’s foreign policy decisions” (Gilboa, 2008:57). Information transmission has changed in recent years mainly due to the Internet (Gurgu and Cociuban, 2016). The development of new technologies in the field of communication has led to the interconnectivity of the world and made a lesser link between domestic and international news (Gurgu and Cociuban, 2016).

Public diplomacy became an important tool during the Cold War. This was as a result of the massive destructive nuclear weapons amassed by the two

superpowers (The Soviet Union and the United States of America) during the Cold War. There were fears there could be a nuclear warfare which could cause a massive disruption in the world. Therefore, the use of public diplomacy became imperative to achieve long-term results or change the attitudes and perception of public opinion in other countries (Gilboa, 2008). The assumption of public diplomacy is that if public opinion in the target society is influenced to accept a positive image of the proposing country, it will put pressure on the government to change its attitudes and policies (Gilboa, 2008). The Cold War is over, but public diplomacy continues to be an important tool used by states to project their soft power resources home and abroad.

Public diplomacy can be looked at from the context of intercultural communication (Ryniejska-Kiełdanowicz, 2009). Gastrodiplomacy campaigns may be carried out in a particular country, abroad or using the media to reach out to both local and international community (Ryniejska-Kiełdanowicz, 2009). For example, the Italian Ministry of Food Farming and Forestry launched a media campaign in 2015 to promote Italian foods (Quinale, 2016), as a way of using public diplomacy to promote Italian soft power.

Public diplomacy must be seen as a crucial tool for preserving national security and power. This is because it shows national strength in global values using selected outlets to reach its objectives (Nirwandy and Awang, 2014). Many countries have improved their public diplomacy strategies in response to the development in the field of broadcasting and communication. Unlike the Cold War era, where public diplomatic campaigns were carried out on the television and radio, emerging news outlets such as the social media have



become important platforms for advertising and projecting one's culture and ideas to the international community.

Public diplomacy ranges from public campaigns to cultural festivals, hash tags or slogans on social media platforms such as Facebook, Instagram, Twitter, Whatsapp and YouTube. These platforms are easily accessed by people in any part of the world, making actors move away from solely relying on the use of traditional media such as the radio and television, in order to engage directly with others on these social media platforms. States and non-governmental actors in international politics have begun to use these social media platforms to market their cuisines to the world. As part of the "Malaysia Kitchen for the World" programme, actors in Malaysia have been using social media platforms, such as Facebook (Malaysia Kitchen Global) and Twitter (@Miss\_Sambal) to spread the promotion and information regarding the "Malaysian Kitchen" events and activities (Ongkowitz and Hikam, 2017).

Furthermore, attractive image and international reputation have become important in attracting foreigners to a destination or a country (Van Ham, 2008). Scholarly works on nation branding such as Huang (2011) and Nirwandu and Awang (2014) have drawn a correlation between how foods and drinks help to project positive images of countries, and also how food influences the behaviour of foreigners particularly, how the countries are perceived abroad (Zhang, 2015). Van Ham (2008) explained that countries, regions, and cities are now branded like companies and products. Just like how corporate brand is an essential part of business identity that helps and encourage customers to buy a company's products and services, branding also helps to create value in the relationship between countries and individuals (Van Ham, 2008). Therefore,

state branding through gastrodiploamacy can help change how a country is perceived in the international community positively.

On the whole, the concept of soft power, gastrodiploamacy and public diploamacy continue to expand both in terms of academic research and practice. This literature review explained the concepts and established how they are employed in gastrodiploamacy. Gastrodiploamacy is a tool for attracting people to a destination and also an instrument for projecting a country's global image and understanding this phenomenon can help both international relations practitioners and scholars to employ it more effectively.

### **Organisation of the Study**

The study has been organised into five chapters. Chapter one entails the research design. This includes the aim, background, statement of problem, objectives, research questions, rationale for the study, limitations, delimitations, theories, literature review as well as the methodology of the study. Chapter two explores the origin, development and contemporary gastrodiploamacy campaigns in other parts of the world. Chapter three examines gastrodiploamacy in Africa. In this chapter, the study examines gastrodiploamacy activities in Africa and ascertains the role of state actors in promoting Ghanaian cuisines. Chapter four assesses the role of non-state actors, prospects and Challenges of Ghana's gastrodiploamacy campaign. Chapter five summarises the findings, states the conclusion and gives recommendations of the study.

## CHAPTER TWO

### THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF GASTRODIPLOMACY CAMPAIGNS

#### **Introduction**

This chapter traces the history of gastrodiploamacy and examines successful gastrodiploamacy campaigns and their effectiveness in diplomacy. These include the Thailand: Kitchen of the World' campaign, Italy's "Feeding the Planet, Energy for Life" Project, "Peruvian Cuisines to the World" campaign, the "Malaysia Kitchen for the World" programme, the "Korean Cuisine to the World", "Try Japan's Good Food" and Taiwan's "All in Good Taste: Savour the Flavours of Taiwan". This is to identify how other countries are employing the phenomenon to project their global influence.

#### **A History of Gastrodiploamacy**

Although gastrodiploamacy is a relatively new field in international politics (Luša and Jakešević, 2018), there has always been a strong linkage between food and diplomacy (Luša and Jakešević, 2018: Spence, 2016). Historical records by Spence (2016) point out that humans have been engaging in feasting for diplomatic purposes for a very long time. Jones (2008) suggested that humans have engaged in communal dining or sharing of food for more than 12,000 years. The role of food in politics can be traced to ancient Egypt where it played key roles in diplomatic relations between ancient Egyptians and their neighbours. During the period, different kinds of foods ranging from breads made from different grains to legumes such as beans, chickpeas, and lentils as well as vegetables such as peas, lettuce, garlic, onions, and leeks were used in the preparation of different recipes that were served at public events (Mehdawy

and Hussein, 2010). Furthermore, dates, figs, grapes, pomegranates, watermelon and plums were said to be the most common fruits.

Costas Constantinou, in his book *On the Way to Diplomacy*, also explains the connection between food and diplomacy in the Bible and ancient Greece where communal meals were used to ensure communalism and togetherness among members of the society (Constantinou, 1996). He made reference to Aristotle's book, *Politics* in which he emphasised the social significance of sharing meals in a community and its ability to spark social consciousness of the people and provide unity and solidarity in the society (Constantinou, 1996). This practice was especially an important routine for ambassadors from rival cities, as public meals brought together political leaders to discuss allegiances, dissolve or conclude aggressions and conflicts, or ratify treaties in Ancient Greece (Quinale, 2016). Between 630-480 B.C., the Greeks organised programmes for entertainment and drinking, after which the main meal was served to the male participants (Luša & Jakešević, 2018). The welcoming of foreign ambassadors, as well as the return of one's own ambassadors, involved gastronomic practice such as state dinners (Luša & Jakešević, 2018).

The development of gastrodiploamacy continued through the introduction of modern diplomacy, which was very much influenced by the French gastronomic tradition. This was especially seen when Louis XIII appointed his first minister, Cardinal Richelieu, to take responsibility for the creation of a new system of diplomacy in which a resident embassy was to replace more temporary appointments (Quinale, 2016). As ambassadors took

residence in other countries, they also brought with them cooking traditions and culture from their home country.

The revolution of gastrodiplomacy was engineered by *Louis le Grand* (Wittmeier, 2010). French cuisine did not undergo any significant changes during the medieval times. Even during the Renaissance period when a progressively refined cooking was introduced, the French diet remained dominated by specific grains and vegetables for poor people and spicy, boiled meats for individuals who could afford them (Wittmeier, 2010). During the period, people generally considered vegetables to be indigestible. Also, they knew little about the health benefits attributed to them (Wittmeier, 2010). However, all these misconceptions changed during the reign of Louis XIV, as a result of the king's preference for certain delicacies, and his love for his garden, and the fruits as well as the vegetables that it produced (Wittmeier, 2010). These developments laid the foundation for the gastrodiplomacy revolution that would drive French cuisine to the pinnacle in the realm gastrodiplomacy internationally (Wittmeier, 2010).

During the reign of Louis XIV, French gastrodiplomacy saw a major development when *Le cuisinier françois* (The French cook) was published in 1651 (Wittmeier, 2010). The book was the first cookbook to link French cooking with passion, treasure and culture and also prescribed everything about the king's meals. The protocols for each meal were strict and taken very seriously (Wittmeier, 2010). Approximately, five hundred people were employed by the King to prepare and serve his meals. Due to the significance of the royal meal, everything about the meals was well rehearsed (Wittmeier, 2010).

As far as Thailand's gastrodiploamacy is concerned, its development could be traced to the Chinese influence in the 15<sup>th</sup> century when the Chinese introduced fish sauce, which is now a very popular seasoning and crucial ingredient that is added to almost every Thai dish (Sunanta, 2005). The Portuguese and the French influence in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, also saw *Kanom Thong Yip*, a Thai dessert, modified with Western gastronomic culture (Sunanta, 2005). Similarly, the Spanish, Iberian and Arab cooking influences in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, amalgamated with traditional Peruvian cooking culture to become what is now known as Peruvian food (Jacoby, 2012)

Constantinou (1996) gave an interesting example of gastrodiploamacy in the 18<sup>th</sup> century where, the Ottoman envoy to the king of France included a number of kitchen-staff and someone who prepared Turkish coffee for the King. Throughout the period, gastrodiploamacy was very important in enhancing diplomatic relations between the Ottoman Empire and other Europeans (Luša & Jakešević, 2018). Moreover, other gastrodiploamacy differences played many significant roles in exposing the elites of the two regions to each other's culture (Luša & Jakešević, 2018). In contrast to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, where court dinning in France was limited to selected people (bourgeoisie) or courtiers, under the guidance of the monarch, the 19<sup>th</sup> century court dinners included all kinds of people from different backgrounds. As such, dinning became a daily routine (Luša & Jakešević, 2018).

The introduction of state dinners in the 1900s gave a new dimension to the development of gastrodiploamacy. In the United States, state dinner, a tradition of the government, dates back to the early 19<sup>th</sup>-century where dinners were organised in honour of the president's cabinet, Congress or other high-



ranking officials (Treviño, 2018; Shim et al., 2015). However, since 1874, when the White House first hosted King David Kalakaua, of the Kingdom of Hawaii in a state dinner, the event has become a tradition in American politics. Subsequent presidents and first ladies organised the event to honour and extend hospitality and also to expose the visiting head of state or diplomats to the gastronomic culture of the United States (Treviño, 2018). Just before the Second World War started in 1939, President Franklin D. Roosevelt invited England's King George VI to the United States which marked the first time a British monarch visited the United States (Shim et al., 2015). During the visit, President Roosevelt organised a state dinner to establish the beginning of a strong political alliance between the United States and Great Britain (Shim, et al., 2015).

Again, food played a crucial role in strengthening the diplomatic relations between India and Pakistan in 1947. Morgan (2012) noted events which led to intense rivalry between President Mohammad Ayub Khan of Pakistan and Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru of India. First is the partition of India and Pakistan in 1947. Other issues include the disputed Kashmir territory, water rights, India and Pakistan's relationship with the Soviet Union and China respectively. These events affected the diplomatic relations between the two countries in the early 1960s. President Kennedy, in an attempt to ease the tension between the two nations, hosted separate diplomatic dinners for Presidents of the two nations (Morgan, 2012). This highlights François de Callières argument that "the natural effect of good eating and drinking, is the inauguration of friendships and the creation of familiarity" (Freeman, 1994: 135). Thus, sharing a meal with either friends or enemies, strengthens ties and



reduces antagonism because good meal evokes emotions of friendship among people from different background.

Furthermore, President Carter and First Lady Rosalynn Carter also held a state dinner for Prime Minister Menachem Begin of Israel and President Anwar Sadat of Egypt in 1979 (Shim et al., 2015). This dinner was organised in an attempt to end the 30-year-long state of war between Egypt and Israel. At the dinner, a historic peace agreement was signed to ease the tension between the two nations. In 2001, President George W. Bush invited Russian President Vladimir Putin to the United States to discuss the political issues unfolding in Afghanistan, as well as to discuss the Anti-Missile Treaty (Luša, & Jakešević, 2018). At the event, a barbecue dinner was organised. During the last visit of Chinese President Jiang Zemin to the United States, President Bush organised a barbecue at his ranch in Crawford for the Chinese President, to serve as a message of friendlier relations (Luša, & Jakešević, 2018).

As a result of rapid globalisation from the late 20<sup>th</sup> century, especially in the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, countries have come to realise the effectiveness of gastrodiploamacy in international relations. This realisation, coupled with the massive development in communication technology, has made many nations initiate gastrodiploamacy campaigns to market their national cuisines to the international community and also to increase their cultural influence abroad. Since the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century when the Thai government launched its 'Thailand: Kitchen of the World' gastrodiploamacy campaign in 2001 (Chapple-Sokol, 2013), many countries, especially those in Asia, have followed this initiative to develop their gastrodiploamacy (Wilson,

2011). Therefore, the next sections of the chapter explore some gastrodiplomacy campaigns around the world.

### **The “Thailand: Kitchen of the World” Campaign**

Until the 1970s, Thailand was not regarded as a significant player in international relations (Sunanta, 2005). However, the Thai government realised the diplomatic strength of its national cuisines, and therefore initiated moves to promote its cuisine to gain international influence. Since the 1990s, Thailand food industry has gone through transnational influences and developments (Sunanta, 2005). A number of Thai cuisines are a combination of indigenous foods and the influences of Indian as well as Chinese culinary traditions (Sunanta, 2005). Chapple-Sokol (2013) examines the Thai government’s initiatives to develop and market its foods, both in Thailand and the rest of the world. This saw the government of Thailand set up the ‘Thailand: Kitchen of the World’ programme in 2001 to promote the teaching of the history, cooking and the eating of Thai cuisine both in Thailand and abroad (Chapple-Sokol, 2013).

The goal of the ‘Thailand: Kitchen of the World’ project was to increase the number of Thai restaurants around the world from 6,875 in 2003 to 20,000 in 2008 and also to expand agriculture and food business by adding value to agricultural produce (Sunanta, 2005; Booth, 2010). The government, through training, information, and financial loans, encouraged Thai investors to invest in Thai restaurants and eateries across major cities in the world (Sunanta, 2005). In 2004, the Thai government approved a 500 million-baht (15 million US dollars) budget for the project and held seminars for interested individuals in the Thai restaurant industry (Sunanta, 2005).

To ensure Thai restaurants meet international standards, the Thai Foreign Office issued a special accreditation to Thai restaurants overseas that satisfy the criteria set by Thailand's Ministry of Commerce (Chapple-Sokol, 2013). The ministry created "Thai Select", an office responsible for the certification of overseas Thai restaurants. The accreditation was based on inspections and criteria such as being open for at least a year, operating at least five days a week, being certified by visa or American Express credit card companies, employing Thai chefs who have Thai cooking backgrounds, using materials and equipment from Thailand, and offering at least six Thai dishes on the menu (Zhang, 2015). Another strategy used by Thailand to promote its food abroad is the training Thai chefs to work abroad. As part of this method, the Thai government applied for special visa arrangements with other countries so chefs could get work visas. This made New Zealand for example, issue special visas to chefs from Thailand to promote Thai food in the country (Lipscomb, 2020). The "Thai Chefs Work Visa" allows Thai citizens who are also qualified, experienced Thai chefs to work in New Zealand for up to 3 years and are eligible for a one-year extension (Lipscomb, 2020).

This was to ensure effective marketing of Thai cuisines across the world. This suggests that hotels and restaurants, both home and abroad, are key to harnessing the gastronomic soft power of a country through the foods on their menu. The Thai initiative has yielded some positive results: the number of Thai restaurants across the world increased from about 5,500 in 2001 to over 13,000 in 2008 (Lipscomb, 2020), and about 10,000 food processing companies were operating in Thailand as at 2004 (Sunanta, 2005; Jamornman, 2004). These statistics suggest that Thailand's cultural influence is being felt globally through

gastrodiplomacy. The Thai ‘Thailand: Kitchen of the World’ programme being the first gastrodiplomacy campaign (Chapple-Sokol, 2013), opened the way for other some other countries to adopt similar approaches to market their foods across the world.

### **Italy’s “Feeding the Planet, Energy for Life” Project**

Italy is another country noted for implementing a successful gastrodiplomacy campaign. Many tourists who visit Italy often go there because of Italian foods which have become a national identity and pride for Italians home and abroad (Quinale, 2016). The Italian government and other actors in Italy have been promoting the globalisation of Italian cuisines. As part of Italy’s gastrodiplomacy campaign, the Italian of Agricultural Policies established “The Food Act” or an action plan aimed to promote Italian cuisines around the world (Alifood, 2015; Quinale, 2016). As part of the action plan, top Italian chefs were made ambassadors of Italian cuisine worldwide with particular focus on the United States, Russia and China. Also, new culinary schools were established while the existing ones were strengthened to train chefs and other stakeholders in the Italian food and restaurant industry in order to ensure standardisation and efficiency of the sector (Alifood, 2015). The goal of the action plan is to increase the exportation of Italian agricultural products to 50 billion euro by 2020. In addition, the project also aims to increase the popularity of Italian cuisines and restaurants across the world.

In 2015, the Italian Ministry of Food Farming and Forestry, also organised the “Expo World Fair of Milan”, in 2015, on the theme, “Feeding the Planet, Energy for Life” (Ellwood, 2016; Quinale, 2016). These brought people from different countries to come and showcase their culinary skills and culture.

This was followed by “World Wide Week of Italian Cuisine.” During the period, Italian embassies and consulates in about 105 countries organised over 1300 food-oriented events: tasting sessions, presentations from celebrity chefs, cooking shows and mini-courses, fairs and exhibits (Ellwood, 2016). In the same year, the ministry also launched a media campaign through television, radio, the Internet and on social media to promote made in Italy foods (Quinale, 2016).

These initiatives, to some extent, are producing positive results. Pizza, a traditional Italian food, is now consumed globally. Diplomats, businessmen and experts have also expressed optimism in the efforts that the Italy’s food brands and major stake stakeholders are investing in promoting the influence and fortunes of the country in the world’s wine and food markets (Ellwood, 2016). The food and wine sector contributed €37 billion to the Italian economy in 2016 and state officials projected the figure to reach \$50 billion by 2020 (Ellwood, 2016). Quinale (2016) observes that one of the first things foreigners have now associated to Italy is its excellent cuisine and its unique dishes. Italy is seen by many tourists as a country of fresh, tasty, and unique cuisines. As a result, many tourists who visit Italy go there because of their foods (Quinale, 2016).

### **The “Cocina Peruana para el Mundo” (Peruvian Cuisines to the World) Campaign**

In the beginning of the 1990s, the government of Peru regarded the country as having reached a certain level of stability for the Peruvian authorities to use their local cuisines as an important instrument for economic transformation and development (Bannister, 2017). Since then, the Peruvian

government began envisioning its cuisine as the source of Peruvian identity, influence in international relations, and as a potential sector for economic development (Fan, 2013). Peruvian authorities believe that, if Peruvian culinary culture is based on a balance between tradition and adaptation to market forces, it will bring economic growth to the country and bridge the gap of inequalities of race, class and gender in the country (Matta, 2016). These realisations laid the foundation for the birth of the “gastronomic revolution” in Peru. Wilson (2013) recounted the contribution of other influential groups of people, including chefs and celebrities who contributed tremendously toward the efforts to promote Peruvian cuisines globally. This was done through market-oriented approaches, improvement in the presentation, marketing, and selling, as well as supporting investors to establish Peruvian restaurants across major cities in the world.

To ensure a successful realisation of the above goals, several organisations in Peru, including the Peruvian Society of Gastronomy and the Ministries of Culture and of Foreign Relations, began a collaborative and concerted effort to use Peruvian cuisines as a medium to project the image and influence of the country across the world (Wilson, 2013). As a result, the government sponsored several gastrodiploacy campaigns in major cities across the world to attract global attention (Bannister, 2017). In 2006, Peru’s Export and Tourism Promotion board launched *Peru Mucho Gusto* (Peru Pleasure) campaign, which made the government fund the production of cookbooks, the organisation high-profile food festivals in Washington and the recognition of commendable Peruvian restaurants globally (Bannister, 2017).



The ultimate goal of the *Peru Mucho Gusto* is to have Peruvian cuisine included in UNESCO's Intangible Cultural Heritage list (Immawati, 2017). The "criollo cuisine", advertisement was used to communicate the modifications made to Peruvian cuisines by substituting ingredients in dishes in order to make the dishes less native and more European (Hinostroza, 2006). Ernesto Cabellos and Lima-based film and television production company *Guarango*, also produced a documentary to explore Peru's identity, traditions, and nationalism through Peruvian cuisine (Wilson, 2013).

The head of public diplomacy at the Embassy of Peru in the United States, Alejandro Riveros, stated during a state dinner organised by the Embassy of Peru in 2006, "we want our food to be as well-known as the Thai is in this country," (Nicholls, 2006). "We want 5,000, no, 10,000 restaurants in the United States. We want Peruvian restaurants everywhere" (Nicholls, 2006). Since then, Peruvian restaurants have become platforms to showcase Peruvian food culture to curious customers (Wilson, 2013). The restaurants serve as a place where people first encounter Peruvian dishes which are likely to attract them to other aspects of Peruvian culture (Wilson, 2013).

The efforts of the Peruvian stakeholders were not only to promote the diversity and raise awareness of traditional Peruvian food products across the world, but to also make economic differences in the lives of food producers in the country to ensure sustainable development. Singh (2015) indicated that the investments made in Peruvian cuisine over the years yielded economic results in Peru. Gastronomic tourism contributed an estimated \$1.4 million to the economy of Peru in 2015, almost double of the 2013 figure (Singh, 2015).



Wilson (2013) also noted that the staging of Peruvian cuisine for tourists has made foreigners more enthusiastic for gastronomic experiences in Peru.

Peru became the first South American country to attain world gastronomic status (Jacoby, 2012). The rapid development of Peruvian gastrodiplomacy has led to some serious economic benefits. The hotel and restaurant industries have grown from 3.9 percent of national gross domestic product in 2000 to 7.6 per cent in 2006 while employment in restaurants and bars also grew rapidly to 39% between 2001 and 2004 (Jacoby, 2012:300). Correspondingly, tourism figures have also grown exponentially where a growing number of tourists who visit Peru are now opting for gastronomic tours instead of the typical trip to the Machu Picchu ruins near Cusco and other tourist centres (Jacoby, 2012). Globally, Peruvian foods are also making big strides. Peruvian restaurants are now found in major cities like Barcelona, Madrid, San Francisco, New York, São Paulo, Mexico City and many other cities across the world (Jacoby, 2012).

### **The “Malaysia Kitchen for the World” Programme**

Over the years, the government of Malaysia has made several attempts to establish an attractive image of the country. The development of Malaysia’s gastrodiplomacy started in 2006, but only focused on *halal* foods (foods that are permissible by Islamic law) in Muslim dominated countries (Ongkowitz and Hikam, 2017). The Malaysian authorities realised the opportunities that can be derived from promoting all of its cuisines globally. Rockower (2012:7) notes that, “Malaysia is a suitable place to carry out gastrodiplomacy, given that it was the spice-trading hub of Malacca that brought itinerant traders and successive waves of hungry European colonists ranging from the Portuguese to

the Dutch and the British to the Straits of Malacca.” Building on this advantage, the Malaysia External Trade Development Corporation launched the “Malaysia Kitchen for the World” programme in 2006 to explore the cultural richness from the various ethnic groups in the country (Ongkowitz and Hikam, 2017; Nahar et al., 2018). The programme aims to educate and inform consumers about Malaysian cuisine and restaurants across the world (Ongkowitz and Hikam, 2017).

Under the programme, the Malaysia External Trade Development Corporation collaborated with other players in the gastrodiploacy industry such as chefs, celebrities, bloggers, and food writers, to embark on a global campaign of Malaysian cuisines (Ongkowitz and Hikam, 2017). As a result, the “Malaysia Night Market” event was organised at Trafalgar Square, London, in 2010. Similarly, “Malaysian restaurant week” was held in New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut in 2011 where free samples of Malaysian foods were given out to participants (Nahar, Ab Karim, Karim, Ghazali and Krauss, 2018; Ongkowitz and Hikam, 2017).

The government also sponsored the “Taste of Malaysia” festival in Melbourne, Australia, and a similar event was organised in New Zealand in the same year. In 2015, “Taste of Malaysia” was launched in China, followed by a three-week long Malaysian Food Festival in Shanghai in 2017 (Ongkowitz & Hikam, 2017). In an attempt to make information on Malaysian cuisines accessible, the country developed a website to promote different recipes and the list of the locations of Malaysian cuisine around the world (Ongkowitz & Hikam, 2017). Actors in the industry also used social media platforms, such as Facebook (Malaysia Kitchen Global) and Twitter (@Miss\_Sambal) to promote

Malaysian cuisines and share information about the “Malaysian Kitchen” events and activities (Ongkowitz and Hikam, 2017).

These campaigns have yielded successful outcomes for Malaysia. In 2014 for example, Malaysia exported a total of US\$300 million of food to Australia (Ongkowitz and Hikam, 2017:1327). Malaysian processed food products also saw a 32.7% increase in export, from US\$ 111 million in 2013 to US\$ 148 million in 2014 (Ongkowitz and Hikam, 2017:1327). The “Malaysia Kitchen for the world” programme has also increased the popularity of Malaysian food products in the United States. In 2014, Malaysian food was ranked among the top five trending flavours in the United States and is expected to grow further in the coming years (Ongkowitz and Hikam, 2017:1327). About 23.5% of the 150 million people who took part in Malaysia Kitchen campaigns in New York, London, Sydney, Melbourne, Perth, Auckland, and Wellington chose to eat Malaysian cuisines (Nahar, Ab Karim, Karim, Ghazali and Krauss, 2018).

The number of Malaysian restaurants worldwide registered under the Malaysia Kitchen Programme increased from 465 in 2010 to 647 in 2012 (Nahar, Ab Karim, Karim, Ghazali and Krauss, 2018). The restaurants registered under the programme received financial support from the Exim Bank of Malaysia, which was delegated by the Malaysian Government under the control of Ministry of Finance, to provide special assistance called ‘Malaysia Kitchen Financing Facility’, (Nahar, Ab Karim, Karim, Ghazali and Krauss, 2018).

### “Korean Cuisine to the World” Campaign

Despite South Korea’s rapid economic growth since the 1960s, where the country transitioned from a poor nation to become a high-tech industrialised economy, it has not invested in improving its international image and influence over the years (Ongkowitzjojo and Hikam, 2017). Moreover, South Korea’s international image saw a decline between 2005 and 2008. Therefore, South Korea’s former President Lee Myung Bak, started a branding programme in 2009, to increase South Korea’s soft power and attractiveness in international relations (Ongkowitzjojo and Hikam, 2017). The Korean government sees Korean foods as a powerful tool that can be used to significantly boost the country’s international image (Pham, 2013). In 2009, the Korean government, through the Ministry of Food, Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries, funded the “Korean Cuisine to the World” campaign, under the management of Korean Food Foundation (Ongkowitzjojo and Hikam, 2017).

The aims of South Korea’s gastrodiploamacy campaign is to globalise *hansik* or Korean foods by toning down traditional forms of spicy and sour flavours to attract foreign consumers (Pham, 2013). The campaign also aimed to increase the number of Korean eateries and restaurants around the world to “40,000 by the year 2017 and recognise qualified restaurants through a government- ordained certification process” (Pham, 2013: 8). The programme aims to elevate the popularity of Korean cuisines through the use of famous Koreans and celebrities to advertise the campaign so that Korean cuisines will be included in the top five national cuisines in the world (Pham, 2013). The Director of the Korean Food Foundation, Kim Hong Wu, added that the campaign also aims to create more employment opportunities in the Korean

food industry and increase exportation of Korean food and agricultural product (Ongkowitzjojo & Hikam, 2017).

*Kimchi*, a traditional Korean food, made from fermented cabbage, became the frontline food for the Korean gastrodiplomacy campaign which made the South Korean gastrodiplomacy campaign often referred to as “Kimchi Diplomacy” (Ongkowitzjojo & Hikam, 2017). In 2012, the deputy minister of Agriculture, Forestry, Fisheries and Food, Oh Jung-kyu, stated that, the Korean government had spent over \$77 million on the Korean Cuisine to the World campaign since 2009 (Lee, 2012). He insisted that in order to globalise Korean food (hansik), the government has helped restaurants to improve their taste, lower prices, provide a cleaner dining environment, improve customer services and promote their business through media outlets (Lee, 2012). The government also conducted market-oriented research in China and other major foreign markets in order to help Korean restaurant operators with the needed information (Lee, 2012).

The “Korean Kitchen to the World” campaign has yielded some positive results. In 2013 for example, United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) successfully included *Kimchi* to the UNESCO list of Intangible Cultural Heritage (Ongkowitzjojo & Hikam, 2017). The popularity of Korean foods around the world has seen a tremendous increase in the last few years (Rockower, 2012). A study conducted by the Korean Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Food also indicated that the number of New Yorkers who tasted Korean foods (hansik) increased from 9 percent in 2009 to 31 percent in 2010 and to 41 percent in 2011 (Lee, 2012). Moreover, a growing number of restaurant operators in South Korea, leveraging

the increasing popularity of Korean dishes overseas, have made inroads into foreign markets since the launch the “Korean Cuisine to the World” campaign in 2009 (Lee, 2012). This has created many employment opportunities to Koreans home and abroad.

### **“Washoku” (“Try Japan's Good Food”) Campaign**

Japanese food has been receiving global influence for over twenty years (Bestor, 2014). In 2001, the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs included Japanese cuisine among its cultural elements under the “Cool Japan” campaign, which aims to celebrate and promote Japan’s culture globally (Bestor, 2014). In a similar development, the Japanese Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries and the Japanese National Tourist Organisation also launched the “cool cuisine,” campaign to encourage Japanese agricultural and fisheries exports. It is also to promote domestic production and consumption, as well as to promote domestic tourism, in order to attract international tourists (Bestor, 2014). In February 2005, the Japan Brand Working Group, in a report titled “Promotion of Japan Brand Strategy” identified Japan’s culinary culture as one of the three most important contents that the country can project to harness its international appeal and attractiveness (Farina, 2018). Similarly, the Committee for the Promotion of Research on Food Culture also reiterated the significance of food in promoting Japan’s image abroad (Farina, 2018).

In 2006, the Japanese government launched the “Washoku” (Try Japan’s Good Food) campaign to present Japanese food and food culture to the foreign public (Farina, 2014). To increase the exportation of its food and promote its image globally, the Japanese government has been promoting sales through advertisement in the foreign media and holding Japanese-food related events,



featuring celebrated chefs and celebrities (Japanese Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries, 2016). These efforts aim to communicate the attractiveness, as well as the uniqueness of Japanese food and food culture to the rest of the world.

The success of Japan's gastrodiploacy campaign was realised in October 2013, when Japan had its national cuisine granted a heritage status by UNESCO (Demetriou, 2013). Kumakura (2014) reiterates that the registration of "Washoku" by UNESCO as an intangible cultural heritage will spark greater interest in Japanese foods in other countries. The induction of "Washoku", traditional dietary cultures of the Japanese into Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity of UNESCO in 2013, has increased the popularity of Japanese foods worldwide (Japanese Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries, 2016). A survey conducted by the Japanese External Trade Organisation indicated that Japanese dishes ranked the most "favourite foreign cuisine" and the number of Japanese restaurants operating abroad has reached about 89,000 in 2015, which is approximately 60% increase from the previous survey 2013 (Japanese Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries, 2016).

#### **"All in Good Taste: Savour the Flavours of Taiwan"**

Taiwan has identified its food as a major instrument to gain influence in the international arena. Following the footstep of other countries, especially, Thailand, the Taiwanese government launched the "All in Good Taste: Savour the Flavours of Taiwan" or the "Dim Sum Diplomacy" gastrodiploacy campaign in 2010 (Immawati, 2017). The aim of the programme is to promote Taiwan restaurants and coffee shops abroad and also to create employment opportunities for Taiwanese home and abroad (Immawati, 2017). Under the

programme, President Ma Ying-jeou encouraged all Taiwanese foreign missions to begin marketing Taiwan foods abroad through various innovative programmes and campaigns (Booth, 2010; Immawati, 2017). The Taiwanese government launched a four-year \$ 34.2 million campaign from 2010, aimed to improve twenty distinctive Taiwan foods to many countries around the world (Booth, 2010; Immawati, 2017). In the process, the Taiwanese government hosted many international food festivals in which they sent their best local chefs to show Taiwan's culinary skills to the global community (Immawati, 2017).

The government also introduced the annual "Taiwan Culinary Exhibition" programme, which was held between August 10 and 13, 2018 at the Taipei World Trade Centre (Ferrerias, 2018). The exhibition was used to market and promote Taiwan's catering and culinary traditions (Gaya Travel, 2018). At the event, visitors were given the opportunity to know more about Taiwanese cuisine and different kinds of Taiwan foods had been openly displayed for all participants to taste (Ferrerias, 2018). The government introduced an innovative concept during the 2018 exhibition where culinary tours were organised for visitors in Chinese, English, Japanese, and Korean (Ferrerias, 2018). This was to help all participants to understand and appreciate Taiwanese food culture, irrespective of the linguistic background of the visitors.

Taiwan's gastrodiplomacy campaign has also yielded a number of positive results. In 2015, the exportation of Taiwan's agricultural products increased from around USD 749.8 million in 2010 to USD 903.9 million in 2014 while processed agricultural products also witnessed an increase from around USD 2.2 million in 2010 to USD 316.7 million in 2014 (Defrancq, 2018: 71). Moreover, Taiwan's food and catering industry continues to expand and as a

result, employment in the sector has increased from 725 thousand in 2010 to 785 thousand in 2014 (Defrancq, 2018: 73). Food tourism has also seen a steady growth.

To sum up, there are some common elements of all the gastrodiplomacy campaigns explored in this chapter. All the gastrodiplomacy campaigns were initiated by the governments or state institutions in collaboration with individuals and other non-state actors. It was also established that the governments of the initiating countries support their gastrodiplomacy campaigns with financial commitments. This comes in the form of training and granting of financial loans to investors in the food sector. This presupposes that even though gastrodiplomacy campaigns follows idealistic approach of international relations where state and non-state actors collaborate to project the culinary cultural influence of a nation across the world, the campaigns have much government involvement and control. Governments initiate, finance, and coordinate gastrodiplomacy campaigns through policy directions and conduct market-oriented researches for the successful implementation of the gastrodiplomacy campaigns. However, private individuals such as food bloggers, chefs, celebrities and influential people, restaurant operators and the social media were also used to reach out to publics in other countries. On the other hand, countries like Italy, Peru Taiwan, and Malaysia added innovative programmes such as the organisation of food festivals in some major cities in Europe, Asia and Australia. In the case of Peru, the government went further to sponsor the production of cookbooks in order to help foreigners to relate with Peruvian cuisines.

## Conclusion

This chapter has outlined the history of gastrodiploacy and how it has grown to become a crucial aspect of many countries' foreign policy. Gastrodiploacy campaigns do not only help to boost countries' international image, but also provide many economic benefits to the nations. Thus, it can help in fostering diplomatic initiatives to promote local cuisines abroad create employment and increase tourism as well as food export of a country. However, a successful gastrodiploacy programme rests upon the collaboration between the state or state institutions, private organisations and individuals such as celebrities, food bloggers and chefs. While many countries in Europe, South America and Asia have developed sophisticated foreign policies to use their local cuisines as a source of soft power, it looks as if African countries are yet to fully recognise the diplomatic strengths and benefits of promoting their local cuisines internationally. In this regard, the next chapter of the work explores gastrodiploacy initiatives in a few selected African societies as well as the role of Ghanaian state actors in promoting Ghanaian cuisines globally.

## CHAPTER THREE

### AFRICAN GOVERNMENTS AND GASTRODIPLOMACY

#### Introduction

This chapter explores gastrodiploamacy activities in selected African countries with particular focus on Ghana. These include statements of government officials, the “Zongo Cuisines” programme and also the Ghana Tourism Authority’s participation in local and international food fairs and exhibitions. Furthermore, the chapter also examines the efforts by Ghanaian foreign missions to promote Ghanaian cuisines abroad, as well as the role of formal diplomatic dinners in Ghana’s efforts to promote its local cuisines. The chapter argues that while other governments, especially those in Asia, are projecting their international image through food, the government of Ghana is doing very little in this regard.

#### Gastrodiploamacy Trends in Africa

African cuisines, just like those in other continents such as Asia and South America, have been influenced by the gastronomic culture of other regions. This was as a result of the developments in agricultural activities and trade networks since the 15<sup>th</sup> century which brought major foods like maize, cassava, tomatoes, and potatoes to Africa (McCann, 2009). For example, many recipes of rice, bread, banana and plantain, which are of South Asian and Indian origins, are believed to have been brought and spread across Africa by early traders from these regions (Cusack, 2000). Today, these foods are among the most widely consumed across the African continent. Furthermore, Africa’s contact with Europeans during the colonial era, also exposed Europeans to African foods and various techniques of cooking them. However, African

cuisines were and are not entirely the result of what outsiders brought, but also the collective empirical experiences of political history in Malian Empire, Ethiopia and Asante (McCann, 2009). Thus, African cooking methods and ingredients were mostly based on intra-African sharing of ideas than European colonial and cultural influences.

African countries, unlike European, Asian and South American countries are not universally known for their cuisines. Nevertheless, Bakunda and Otengei (2013) noted that Ethiopian cuisine seems to be the most widely known and internationalised cuisine of Africa, because their popularity goes beyond Ethiopia and Africa. However, the Ethiopian government played a very little role in the globalisation of these Ethiopian foods. Kifleyesus (2004) observed that Ethiopian cuisine got international presence and acceptance through Ethiopian immigrants to Europe and North America and, also through European and North American tourists who visited the country.

As tourists visit Ethiopia and experience the culture, they leave with the culinary experiences of the country and take this back to their home countries. Today, Ethiopian cuisines are served in Ethiopian restaurants in major cities across the world, particularly, in the United States of America and in Africa (Bakunda and Otengei, 2013). Ethiopia is making some gains from internationalisation of its cuisines. As of 2004, there were about 50 Ethiopian restaurants in Europe and 80 in North America (Kifleyesus, 2004).

In similar manner, South African cuisines play key roles in attracting foreigners to South Africa (Rand et al., 2003). Since the year 2000, stakeholders in South Africa have initiated efforts to promote and use local cuisines to highlight South Africa's image globally (Tamar et al., 2001). However,



Bakunda and Otengi (2013) observed that these efforts seem to have remained at a minimal scale. In South Africa, 8% tourism spending by foreign tourists was on food and dining, while domestic tourists' spending was around 24% in 2003 (Rand et al., 2003). This is an indication that a more systematic and aggressive gastrodiploacy campaign to promote South African cuisines is needed in order to yield positive results.

The Kenyan government, in an attempt to promote its cuisines, collaborated with the Food and Agriculture Organisation to publish the *Kenyan Food Recipes* (2018). The book gives detailed accounts of commonly consumed cuisines, featuring a diversity of mixed ingredients and recipes from across Kenyan communities (FAO and Government of Kenya, 2018). The book explores the ingredients as well as the preparation procedures of a variety of most common Kenyan recipes such as *qita* (maize & wheat flour pancake), *uji wa mahindi* (maize porridge), *wseto wa maharagwe* (rice with beans) and *mseto wa ndengu* (rice with green grams) were some of the Kenyan recipes explored in the book (FAO and Government of Kenya, 2018). Others include *mukimo* (maize, beans, potatoes and pumpkin leaves cooked together), *kimanga cha mihogo* (mashed cassava and pigeon peas) and *githeri* (beans and maize cooked together).

Obonyo et al. (2012) pointed out gastronomic activities taking place in the western part of Kenya. These activities, they argue, are characterised by traditional Kenyan cuisines that are cooked and served in restaurants, hotels, sustenance stands and at different functions, expositions, fairs, festivals and other district and national events. Also, some non-state actors have been organising the annual Nairobi Restaurant Week, where the best of Kenyan

meals are prepared and served to people at lower prices (Johnson, 2018). Indeed, Obonyo, Ayieko and Kambona (2012) argue that there is the need for constant authentic policy-driven gastrodiploamacy campaigns to expose foreigners to the culinary experiences of the region and the country as a whole.

The Nigerian government, like many other African governments, is yet to streamline gastrodiploamacy campaigns, or come up with a systematic policy to fully integrate its cuisines as a source of soft power in international relations. Ogunnubi and Isike (2018) and Tella (2018) call for ways to promote Nigeria's soft power through cultural diplomacy. Over the last 15 to 20 years, Nigeria has used the Nollywood (Nigerian movie industry) to project its influence, not only in West Africa, but in the whole of sub-Saharan Africa. Adesina (2017) notes that Nigeria can harness its influence in the world by projecting its local cuisines. He argues that Nigerian cuisines such as *eba* (*garri* cooked in boiled water) with bitter leaves soup, pounded yam, *fufu* and jollof rice, can be projected through food festivals and other food related events to harness Nigeria's global image. In this regard, states and non-state actors in Nigeria have been organising programmes to project Nigerian cuisines and culinary culture. For example, the "Lagos State Food Festival" (*Taste Lagos*), was introduced in 2015 to showcase and celebrate the diversity of Nigerian cuisines and to project Nigeria's rich food culture.

Mahachi-Chatibura and Saayman (2015) reported on the low patronage of Botswana cuisine by both locals and foreign visitors. As such, Botswana cuisines are not globally known. In response to this gap, the Botswana Craft Marketing and Botswana Tourism Organisation have come out with efforts to increase the patronage of Botswana cuisines amongst locals and foreign visitors

through the Letlhafula Food Festival and also through the organisation of cooking competitions across the country (Mahachi-Chatibura and Saayman, 2015).

On the other hand, North African cuisines, unlike those of sub Saharan African countries, are better known globally. Moroccan foods, like others in North Africa, are known for their abundant use of spices. For example, a hot chili sauce called *harissa* (*hah-riss-ah*) is a popular spice that is used across Morocco (Saskatchewan Council, 2013). Other spices like hot chili peppers, together with other ingredients like garlic, coriander, caraway and cumin are added to their dishes which makes them unique and tasty (Saskatchewan Council, 2013). However, despite all these advantages, governments across the North Africa region are yet to streamline policies to promote their cuisines globally.

According to McClory (2015), many governments across the world show lack of ability to build soft power into their national strategies because both state and non-state actors are unable to understand and identify the potentials of these soft power resources at their disposal. The general lack of gastrodiplomacy activities across Africa underscores MacClory's argument because governments across the continent have failed to include gastrodiplomacy in their foreign policy.

### **Ghanaian Cuisines**

Ghana is a land of tasty, spicy and unique cuisines. There are many types of traditional foods unique to every ethnic group across Ghana. Ghanaian cuisines also vary according to spice and flavour. However, one unique feature of Ghanaian dishes, is that they are either eaten with sauces, soups or stews

(Ofori-Boadu, 2003). Some of the most popular Ghanaian cuisines include cooked plantain with stew, rice with different kinds of stew, Jollof rice (rice cooked in tomatoes sauce), *red red* (cooked beans with palm oil, fried plantain and gari), and *waakye* (rice and beans cooked together). Others include *fufu* (pounded yam or cassava), *banku* (cooked fermented corn dough and cassava dough), *kenkey* (fermented corn dough, wrapped in corn husk and cooked into solid balls) and *akple* (corn powder with boiled water). Groundnut soup, light soup, and palm-nut soup, okra soup and stew are among the most popular and the most widely eaten soups in Ghana (Ofori-Boadu, 2003). *Kenkey*, for instance, is served with fried or grilled fish and hot pepper. *Akple*, *banku* and *fufu* are often served with a variety of soups. Despite such an abundance spicy, tasty and unique cuisines that can be used to harness Ghana's soft power, the state is yet to fully design mechanisms to project them globally.

### **Speeches of Government Officials that Aimed to Promote Ghanaian Cuisines**

The importance of food in hospitality cannot be over emphasised because food is one of the most important means to appeal to people. In 2005, the government of Ghana, through the Ministry of Tourism, initiated efforts to internationalise Ghanaian cuisines. This saw the Ministry of Tourism and Modernisation of the Capital City (now Ministry of Tourism, Arts and Culture) collaborate with some non-state actors in an attempt to embark on an aggressive programme to promote Ghanaian cuisine worldwide (GhanaWeb, 2005). Mr. Ferdinand Ayim, Special Assistant to the then sector Minister, Mr. Jake Obetsebi-Lamprey, noted during a press briefing that:

Local dishes are rich and sumptuous; and empirical evidence clearly shows that, whenever and wherever they are served, they are eaten before the foreign and continental dishes; therefore, attempts to promote local dishes, not only promote tourism, but will also create jobs and wealth for Ghanaians (GhanaWeb, 2005).

Findings from the study suggest that the initiative seems to be a mere rhetoric as it was not backed by any policy document or action plan or significant financial commitment. However, in his 2019 state of the nation's address to parliament, President Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo Addo tasked all Ghanaians to project Ghanaian foods to foreigners who will be visiting Ghana in 2019 to mark the "Year of Return." He noted;

In this "Year of Return", when we have invited the world to visit, I would urge each one of us to make a special effort to make a visit to our country a memorable one. Our music, our foods, our clothes and the quintessential *akwaaba* smile will make a visitor to our country come back again and again (Government of Ghana, 2019).

In a similar manner, the vice President of the Republic, Dr Mahamudu Bawumia, in a speech delivered at the 2018 World Tourism Forum Africa Summit in Accra, invited visitors to try various Ghanaian cuisines. He said;

As special guests of our country, ladies and gentlemen, I trust you will enjoy the hospitality and the rich culture of the people. As you visit selected tourist sites during your stay, I will entreat you to try our local dishes as well. You have *fufu*, *kenkey*, *akple*,

*banku, tuozaafi, wakye* and yes our well famous jollof rice. It will be our utmost pleasure to make your dreams come true here in Ghana by tasting some of the world best cuisines. Ghana is ever ready to receive you and any other nationals of various countries who want to visit and enjoy the Ghanaian culture (GhanaWeb TV, 2017).

During the summit, several Ghanaian cuisines such as *fufu, banku* and *sobolo* (local drink) were prepared by local chefs for foreign guests to see how these meals are prepared. Smith and Fink (2015) indicates that there is the power of compliance in advocacy messages given by influential people. Therefore, such pronouncements from influential people like the President and the Vice President of the country have the power to shape the preferences of foreigners for Ghanaian cuisines. In 2006, the head of public diplomacy at the Embassy of Peru in the United States, Alejandro Riveros, made a similar pronouncement about Peruvian cuisines during a state dinner organised by the Embassy of Peru. He said, “We want our food to be as well-known as the Thai is in this country” (Nicholls, 2006).

#### **The “Zongo Cuisines Programme”**

The government of Ghana, introduced a number of social development policies and programmes in 2017 to create fair and inclusive opportunities for all Ghanaians, with strategies to be implemented for large-scale job creation. One of the key areas the government is prioritising to achieve the above goal, is heritage promotion through cuisines. In March 2018, the Ministry of Inner City and Zongo Development (MICZD) and the National Board for Small Scale Industries (NBSSI) launched the “Zongo Cuisines Programme” in 2018. The



programme seeks, not only to enhance, but add value to the various cuisines and foods, as well as the cooking skills of women in the Zongo communities (Mohammed, 2019).

Zongo communities are settlements with Muslim dominated settlers, where most of the populace migrated from the northern territories either for trading purposes or as hired workers in the southern part of Ghana (Williamson, 2017). Zongo cuisines such as *waakye* (rice and beans), *faduka* or *kuenkuen* (Zongo versions of jollof rice), *tuozafi* (made out of millet flour) (Ghana Tourism Authority, 2019); especially *brukina* and *sobolo* which were not known to many people until the last decade, have all come to national prominence and consumed nationwide. As a result, the MICZD introduced the “Zongo Cuisines Programme” to promote the original version of these Zongo dishes. This is to create jobs and prosperity so that the incomes go directly to the people in the Zongo communities. A resource person at the MICZD recounted;

The scope of the “Zongo Cuisines” campaign includes a compilation of an exhaustive list of all Zongo cuisines and identifiable pattern or category of these foods. Under the programme, the partners of the MICZD are to conduct researches and interview people who are very good at cooking and marketing these Zongo cuisines, elders and opinion leaders to ascertain the list of all these cuisines (Interview with Mohammad, 5-02-2019).

The respondent added that there will be some basic attributes or information to every cuisine. That is, its name, origin, ingredients and a picture of the food.

These will be compiled into a magazine which will ultimately help in the promotion of these cuisines. One of the initiatives of the Peruvian authorities at the beginning of their gastrodiplomacy campaign, *Peru Mucho Gusto* (Peru Pleasure), was to fund the production of Peruvian cookbooks and food magazines (Bannister, 2017). This was to enable foreigners to read about the history, ingredients and the health benefits of these cuisines which will make them attractive. The resource person at the MICZD further noted;

The other aspect of the programme is to provide training for a selected number of people who are in the field of these Zongo cuisines, to improve food quality, standardisation as well as other business-related training in order to increase the market access of the producers of these cuisines (Interview with Mohammad, 5-02-2019).

He further explained that candidates would be trained to provide a cleaner dining environment, proper packaging and improved customer services. After the training, successful candidates are expected to be assisted with money and equipment to properly package and market these cuisines to consumers. The MICZD would also conduct feasibility studies of foreign markets to enable producers to have knowledge about the demand of these Zongo cuisines in foreign markets in order to meet the necessary supply.

It is worthy to mention that Malaysia's gastrodiplomacy campaign, "Malaysia Kitchen for the World", started with a focus on only some of its cuisines, *halal* foods, (foods that are permissible by Islamic law) (Ongkowitz and Hikam, 2017). However, as time wore on, Malaysian authorities realised the roles that local cuisines can play in harnessing the country's attraction across

the world, and therefore, expanded the “Malaysia Kitchen for the World” to cover all local cuisines. The “Zongo Cuisines Programme”, even though focusing only on the promotion of Zongo foods, may form the basis or the foundation on which much larger or robust gastrodiplomacy campaigns in Ghana can be grounded.

### **Local and International Fairs, Exhibitions**

Exhibitions are highly communicative events. They act as important sources of information and networking between visitors, exhibitors and businesses. The exhibitors use the opportunity to provide enough and accurate information about tourist attractions in their home country in order to attract tourists to the country. In Ghana, the state institutions charged with the responsibility to promote tourism in the country, is the Ghana Tourism Authority (GTA). The main strategic objective of the Ghana Tourism Authority is to project Ghana as a best tourism destination through participation in local and international fairs and events to enhance the export market of the tourism, arts and culture industry (Ghana Tourism Authority, 2017). The GTA, in collaboration with the Ministry of Tourism, Arts and Culture and other private organisations, has been participating in international fairs and exhibitions. In 2017, the Authority participated in a number of international fairs and exhibitions in Berlin, Cape Town, South Africa, China, London Madrid, Netherlands, Utrecht and Zimbabwe (Ghana Tourism Authority, 2017). During the fairs and exhibitions, bars of Chocolates, *ahomka ginger*, groundnut cake, plantain chips, *kasapreko* and *totapak* dry gin as well as cashew nuts, were displayed for people to sample (Ghana Tourism Authority, 2017).

International food fairs and exhibitions present countries with the opportunity to promote their countries through tourism marketing. Most countries with successful gastrodiplomacy campaigns make use of international fairs and exhibitions as platforms to promote their cuisines to the international community. For example, the Expo World Fair of Milan, in 2015 presented participating countries with the opportunity to showcase their cuisines for other foreigners to taste in order to attract them to their various countries.

However, based on the items displayed by GTA during these international fairs and exhibition, it looks as if GTA is underutilising the platform provided by these fairs to promote, market or project Ghanaian cuisines to other nationals. Chocolate, unlike banku, fufu, waakye and Ghanaian recipes of jollof rice, *ahomka ginger*, plantain chips, *kasapreko*, and *totapak* dry gin, is not uniquely Ghanaian as it is produced in many countries across the world.

In another development, GTA in collaboration with the Ministry of Tourism, Arts and Culture, initiated the “Jollof rice Festivals” as part of their mission to help people patronise Ghanaian cuisines (Ghana Tourism Authority, 2017). The launch of this festival took place on 26<sup>th</sup> August 2018 as part of the Ghana Tourism Authority’s “Eat Ghana” Campaign. Speaking at the launch of the festival, the Chief Executive Officer of the GTA, Mr. Akwasi Agyemang, noted that the aim of the festival was to re-orient Ghanaians on a new sense of national pride and way of life to encourage them to patronise made-in-Ghana products (Boateng, 2017). Mr. Akwasi Agyemang further explained:

There will be some jollof rice prepared by chefs from various African countries. There will be a variety of local dishes,

including *fufu*, *waakye*, *banku*, *ampesi* (boiled plantain), among others, to promote Ghanaian cuisine, as well as other competitions, since they play a key role in promoting domestic tourism (Boateng, 2017).

Some neighbouring West African countries that participated in the jollof rice festival included Nigeria, The Gambia, and Senegal. The festival came at a time when the meal was gradually receiving international popularity because migrants from West Africa, living in North America, Europe, and other parts, have introduced it to those places (Boateng, 2017). Furthermore, the Ministry of Tourism, Arts and Culture in December 2018, also organised a food festival at the Oxford Street, Osu. At the festival, an array of Ghanaian cuisines was advertised for indigenes and foreigners in Ghana to have a taste.

While there seems to be lack of activity or efforts by the government to promote Ghanaian cuisines, a study by Adanse et al. (2015) shows that the majority of tourists who visit Ghana prefer Ghanaian or local foods to intercontinental ones. Out of the 50 foreign tourists that they interviewed for their study, 68% (34) of them confirmed their preference for Ghanaian foods (Adanse et al, 2015:1609). Also, 48% of the tourists engaged for the study insisted they preferred *banku* and *okro* soup, while 32% says they enjoy eating *fufu* with varieties of local soups (Adanse et al., 2015:1609).

Some of the tourists also indicated that they ate *banku* and *okro* soup because of the unique characteristics they possess, as well as the methods of preparation, taste, sliminess of the soup and also the presentation. In another study, Amuquandoh and Asafo-Adjei (2013), sampled the views of 675 foreign tourists on their preference for Ghanaian cuisines. They found out that most

tourists who were interviewed or surveyed preferred *red red* (55.1%), 54.6% preferred *fufu* and soup, 46.4% chose *banku* and stew, 21.7% opted for boiled plantain, 18.4% said they preferred yam, 11.4% *kenkey*, *kelewele* (11.1%), *waakye* (10.6%) (Amuquandoh and Asafo-Adjei, 2013: 994). Indeed, Professor Bodomo of the University of Vienna, who is an expert in African Diaspora in China, was enthused about the increasing number of Chinese who are patronising African restaurants and eateries in Guangzhou (Bolongaro and Li, 2016). It is clear that, although gastrodiplomacy activities by the government remained on a low scale, the above studies suggest that Ghanaian cuisines are attracting foreigners or tourists. Therefore, a robust gastrodiplomacy campaign would help to push it further. In this regard, the next section of the chapter explores the various programmes by Ghanaian Missions to promote Ghanaian cuisines in their countries of jurisdiction.

### **The Role of Ghanaian Foreign Missions in Promoting Ghanaian Cuisines**

Throughout the history of gastrodiplomacy, embassies, high commissions, and consulates have played significant roles in projecting their countries' culinary culture abroad (Luša and Jakešević, 2018). Luša and Jakešević (2018) stressed that embassies have been using their national food and cuisine to promote their countries and to communicate basic ideas they want to attract foreigners to their countries. As established earlier, the Taiwanese President, Ma Ying-jeou, as part of the "All in Good Taste: Savour the Flavours of Taiwan" programme, encouraged all Taiwanese envoys to market Taiwan cuisines abroad through various innovative programmes and campaigns (Booth, 2010; Immawati, 2017). Also, Italian embassies and consulates across the world played key roles in Italy's gastrodiplomacy campaign by organising food-



oriented events: tasting sessions, presentations from celebrity chefs, cooking shows and mini-courses, fairs and exhibitions (Ellwood, 2016). In this regard, Ghanaian embassies and high commissions are crucial in the efforts to promote Ghanaian culture particularly, Ghanaian cuisines abroad.

Some Ghanaian High Commissions and Embassies have been organising programmes to promote Ghanaian cuisines abroad. The four Ghanaian missions (Ghana High Commission, Australia; Ghana Embassy, Russia, Ghana Embassy China and Ghana Embassy, Belgium) engaged for this study, pointed out that they organise various programmes to promote local cuisines. Indeed, a resource person at the Ministry of Tourism, Arts and Culture, confirmed that Ghanaian foreign missions organise the annual “Ghana Day” programme where Ghanaians in the diaspora are encouraged to cook varieties of Ghanaian cuisines, which they showcase for other nationals to taste or enjoy. Commenting on the roles played by Ghanaian mission in Russia to promote Ghanaian cuisines, a resource person at the Embassy of Ghana in Russia noted;

The Mission on the National day celebrations, serve Ghanaian cuisine to the Diplomatic corps and the general public. Likewise, the commemoration of the Africa Union Day is an opportunity seized by the Mission to promote our cuisine to visiting guests amidst background stories of how food items were adopted and the mode of preparations. The Mission on any official assignments in the host country and countries of concurrent accreditation presents food and beverages of Ghanaian origin to

the receiving state (Interview with senior official at Embassy of Ghana, Russia, 25-03-2019).

The other three embassies, contacted as part of the study also confirmed that they serve Ghanaian dishes on national and international day celebrations. Japan's gastrodiploamacy campaign, as discussed in the chapter two of the study, saw Japanese embassies organised specific programmes to exhibit the unique culinary culture, beauty and aesthetic appeal of traditional Japanese cuisine and keep records of Japanese restaurants operating in their countries of jurisdiction (Zhang, 2015). In this regard, the Ghanaian Mission in Moscow has no record of Ghanaian restaurants operating in Russia, but the respondent insists that the Mission has some recognised African restaurants that serve Ghanaian dishes. These include Addis Abeba Restaurant, the Bungalo bar and See the Sea restaurant (all in Moscow). Similarly, the Ghana Embassy in China has no records of Ghanaian eateries operating in the country but have a number of recommended restaurants that serve Ghanaian cuisines. These include African Pot Restaurant and the Efie ne fie Ghana Restaurant in Guangzhou, China.

The Ghana High Commission in Australia and Ghana Embassy, Belgium, also make it a point to serve only Ghanaian cuisine during national and international events. Apart from the organisation of food exhibitions and festivals, it is imperative that Ghanaian missions provide information on Ghanaian cuisine for potential visitors to Ghana. While it is true that Ghanaian restaurants are yet to gain global prominence, a respondent at the Ghana High Commission in Australia contended:

It is always gratifying to observe that all invitees, across race, savour the Ghanaian cuisines served. These include *kenkey*,

*waakye*, *Jollof*, yam, and *kaklo*. The Mission also makes information on Ghanaian cuisine available to foreigners applying for visas to visit Ghana be it for business, pleasure or any other reasons (Interview with senior official at Ghana High Commission, Australia, 18-03-2019).

Indeed, the findings by Amuquandoh and Asafo-Adjei (2013) where many foreign visitors to Ghana preferred Ghanaian cuisines than the continental ones, confirmed the above statement by the respondent. Cultural differences fascinate people; and since people would want to see, feel and taste the differences and perhaps the similarities between their culture and the Ghanaian, they will be encouraged to travel to Ghana and explore. This can lead to growth in our tourism sector.

One other role that foreign missions play in gastrodiplomacy campaigns is to keep track of their local eateries and restaurants. Foreign missions of Malaysia, Thailand, Japan, and Italy continue to play this active role in their quest to globalise their cuisines. However, investigation into the four Ghanaian missions, conducted as part of this study, found conflicting views. While Ghanaian missions in Australia and Russia have no records of Ghanaian eateries and restaurants operating in the country, the Ghana mission in Belgium have records of Ghanaian restaurants there. These include Adom Restaurant in Brussels and the Snack Black Star in Antwerp.

However, a respondent at the Ghana Embassy in Russia insisted that though the Mission does not have any official record of Ghanaian restaurants in Russia, there are a number of African restaurants serving Ghanaian dishes such

as light soup, beans stew and fried plantain in the Russian Federation and in some of the countries in the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS).

Other countries such as Thailand, Peru and Korea are promoting their local restaurants abroad to attract foreigners, in order to enhance their international appeal and attraction. As part of Thailand and Peru's gastrodiplomacy campaigns, their respective governments encouraged citizens to invest in their local restaurants overseas. The governments kept tracks and records of all local restaurants operating overseas and also conducted market-oriented researches around major cities across the world to assess the performance of their local cuisines in order to inform investors. However, findings from the Ministry of Tourism, Arts and Culture and four Ghanaian foreign missions, engaged for this study, found that Ghana is doing very little in promoting its cuisines.

### **State or Diplomatic Dinners**

The role of state dinners in international relations cannot be over emphasised. Formerly, state dinners used to enhance formal diplomacy or friendly relations among diplomats and was also used to honour some distinguished personalities (Shim et al., 2015). However, since the inception of gastrodiplomacy campaigns, countries have continued to use state dinners to project their cuisines to foreign diplomats. As a result, many states attach much importance to the organisation of the event and Ghanaian officials are of no exception. Therefore, diplomatic dinners present good opportunities for Ghana to sell or project their cuisines to foreigners. Mr. Issam, the Executive Chef of Kempinski Hotel, notes:

When we host international conferences or dinners, we try to select the food we serve based on nationality. However, we make sure most of the cuisines are of Ghanaian heritage simply because we want the visitors to explore and experience Ghanaian cuisines. In most cases, we serve jollof rice, since foreigners are able to easily relate to it (Interview with Mr Issam, 21-05-2019).

He added that *fufu*, *banku* and rice with *palava* sauce (cocoyam leaves stew) are also often served. Plantain, *waakye*, *banku* and some other Ghanaian foods are eaten with much pepper. However, to be able to meet the taste of some foreign guests, Mr. Issam contended that they try to reduce the spices to the level that can be accepted by them. For example, *palava* sauce (cocoyam leaves stew) is made a bit creamy in order to reduce the flavor of the pepper, smoked fish or the *momoni* (salted fish). Sometimes, the smoked fish or the *momoni* is blended because some foreigners do not like the sight of these condiments in the stew.

Mr. Issam further noted that they sometimes prepare Ghanaian cuisines and fuse them with some foreign cuisines in order to arrive at recipes that are familiar to the foreign guests. He gave an example where diplomats from Belgium were served light soup with bread. The light soup represents Ghanaian culture and the bread gives it a more intercontinental facelift. Chefs and other actors in Peru made some modifications to Peruvian cuisines by toning down ingredients in their local cuisines to make them to have international appeal and acceptance (Hinostroza, 2006).

Sometimes, the serving of the foods is also modified. Traditionally, *fufu* and *banku* are eaten with the hand but in some foreign jurisdictions, that would be a culture shock. To avoid that, *fufu* and *banku* are sometimes served together with spoon so that those who cannot eat with their hands can do so with the spoon. However, there are some foreigners who also insist on eating with their hands since it presents an opportunity for them to explore new cultural experiences associated with Ghanaian cuisines (*fufu* and *banku*). It is important to note that, though the serving of *fufu* together with spoon is a good innovation that will help some foreigners to relate well with the eating of the food, it also negates some cultural elements of how the food is eaten. This is because the cultural makeup of cuisines does not include only the ingredients and the methods of cooking, but also how they are served and eaten. Therefore, there is the need for chefs and restaurant operators to educate those who are eating *fufu* for the first time to eat with their hands.

While the turn of the 21<sup>st</sup> century saw many countries in Europe, South America and Asia begin to prioritise national cuisines in their foreign policies to harness their national image in global affairs, the situation in African countries paints a different picture. As a consequence, aggressive gastrodiplomacy efforts or campaigns are not reported significantly on the continent (Bakunda and Otengei, 2013). Part of this is as a result of limited publication and proper advertisement of traditional African cuisines as well as inadequate efforts or campaigns as well as gastrodiplomacy activities by governments across Africa.

Despite the general lack of gastrodiplomacy activities by African governments, there are limited attempts by some African nations to promote



their cuisines globally. Developments in public diplomacy, public engagements and communication technology, present fertile opportunities for African countries to begin to consider promoting their cuisines in order to attain global influence.

In general terms, the Ghanaian government is not making the best use of the opportunities of gastrodiplomacy to harness its image or to attract others. First of all, there is no national policy aimed at promoting Ghanaian cuisines abroad. As a result, the Ministry of Tourism, Arts and Culture and the Ghana Tourism Authority are doing less to sell Ghana through food. Also, the findings from this study suggest that Ghanaian missions are not doing much to promote Ghanaian cuisines abroad, as not all Ghanaian missions have records of local Ghanaian restaurants and eateries operating in their countries of jurisdiction. Though there is a general inactivity by the government to promote Ghanaian foods, there are a few emerging signs of improvement or possibilities for the future.

### **Conclusion**

This chapter has explored the gastrodiplomacy activities in a few selected African countries with much focus on Ghana government's attempts to project Ghanaian cuisines internationally. These efforts include speeches, the Zongo cuisine programme, local and international fairs and diplomatic dinners. Generally, attempts to internationalise African cuisines remain on a small scale. Also, just like other African countries, Ghana's gastrodiplomacy campaigns are not backed any national policy document or financial commitments. However, while the Ghana government seems not to be doing much to promote Ghanaian cuisines, some non-state actors and other individuals are putting in much effort

to project Ghanaian cuisines. Therefore, the next chapter discusses the roles played by private institutions and individuals in Ghana's gastrodiplomacy efforts.



## CHAPTER FOUR

### THE ROLE OF NON-STATE ACTORS IN PROMOTING GHANAIAN CUISINES: PROSPECTS AND CHALLENGES

#### Introduction

This chapter explores the roles of non-state actors in promoting Ghanaian cuisines. This includes celebrity television cooking programmes, International *Kenkey* Festival, the role of restaurants and eateries, the internet and social media, the West African Jollof rice “war” as well as the roles of cookbooks and recipe books. The chapter also assesses potential benefits of Ghana’s gastrodiplomacy campaign as well as the challenges.

#### The Role of Celebrities in Promoting Ghanaian Cuisines

Gastrodiplomacy campaigns adopt idealistic approaches of international relations, where both state and non-state actors collaborate to promote culinary culture of a nation to foreigners. Thus, gastrodiplomacy campaigns are driven by government policies and programmes and supported by individuals, groups and other private institutions. Case studies from countries with successful gastrodiplomacy campaigns indicate the diverse roles played by individuals, groups and other non-state institutions. The governments of Thailand, Peru, Malaysia and South Korea all included individuals and private institutions, as well as restaurant operators, in their gastrodiplomacy campaigns.

Though Ghana has not yet designed a national policy to embark on a robust gastrodiplomacy campaign, some celebrities, individuals and groups have been organising programmes to project Ghanaian cuisines and culinary culture. One such programme is the “Aben Show” on Adom TV. The “Aben Show” was launched in 2015, with the aim to bring celebrities and influential

people in Ghana to come and exhibit their cooking skills, and also to prepare their favourite Ghanaian dishes. The programme also aims to market Ghanaian cuisines to locals and foreigners in and outside the country. Since its inception, a number of known personalities like John Dumelo (Ghanaian movie star) and Emmanuel Andrews Samini (celebrated Ghanaian musician) have all appeared on the programme to prepare their favourite recipes of popular Ghanaian cuisines. In a similar development, the South Korean gastrodiplomacy campaign, used famous Koreans and celebrities to advertise and project Korean cuisines to foreigners (Pham, 2013). Indeed, the producer of the “Aben Show,” Tima Klu, notes that:

The “Aben Show” serves as a good platform to promote Ghanaian cuisines because celebrities and public figures who appear on the show are only allowed to prepare Ghanaian dishes. In some cases, they are allowed to modify and add some touches to an already existing cuisine to arrive at a new recipe (Interview with Tima Klu, 18-02- 2019).

Adom TV is on DStv (Digital Satellite Television) channel 280. DStv is a Sub-Saharan African direct broadcast satellite service that is owned by Multi-Choice. It is broadcasted across watched across 49 countries in Africa (Multi-Choice Africa, 2019). As a result, the “Aben Show” can be watched almost in any African country, therefore, it is not farfetched that the programme is a good platform to market Ghanaian cuisines. Moreover, there are social media pages where the programme is broadcasted social media users across the world, making its global reach unlimited.

Furthermore, “McBrown’s Kitchen” programme was launched in December, 2017 and it is currently one of the most watched television cooking shows in Ghana. The programme is aired on United Television (UTV Ghana) at 5pm, every Sunday. From the onset, the producers of the programme aimed to promote certain Ghanaian recipes that are being forgotten partly because of the influx of foreign cuisines into the country. The producer of the “McBrown’s Kitchen” programme, Mr. Okyeame Kofi noted that:

It is against the influx of these foreign cuisines that we introduced the programme to revive the cooking and eating of local cuisines, and also educate the public about the nutritional benefits of these local foods. The programme also aims at selling these Ghanaian dishes and Ghanaian food culture to the foreign public (Interview with Mr Okyeame Kofi, 18-02- 2019).

As part of the programme, celebrities and public figures such as former Minister of Tourism, Arts and Culture, Dzifa Gomashie, Yvonne Okoro and Yvonne Nelson (movie stars) as well as many other Ghanaian celebrities, appeared on the show to prepare some of the most widely eaten, and unknown Ghanaian cuisines. Another television programme that aims to project Ghanaian cuisines is the “Dining with Cooks and Braggarts.” The programme, which was hosted by actress and producer, Yvonne Okoro, featured many influential personalities in Ghana, including former president Jerry John Rawlings (Vlogs, 2017), who appeared on the programme to prepare *akple*, one of Ghana’s famous cuisines. Though, these television cooking programmes rather focus more on advertisement and selling of products by sponsors, they also serve as good platforms to promote Ghanaian cuisines because people who appear on

these programmes prepare varieties of Ghanaian cuisines. Studies have assessed the role of celebrities and public figures in advertisement and marketing (Zipporah and Mberia, 2014; Priyankara et al., 2017). Many people have high regards for influential people and celebrities, therefore, any advertisement they do to promote a product immediately expands the measure of trust buyers have in the brand or the product (Zipporah and Mberia, 2014). Therefore, having celebrities and influential personalities, like former president Jerry John Rawlings, appearing on television shows and cook particular Ghanaian cuisine, can help to appeal to attract other people to try Ghanaian cuisines. Another avenue by which local cuisines are promoted to both locals and foreigners is through food festivals. In effect, the next section of the chapter explores how the “International Kenkey Festival” is contributing the marketing of *kenkey* to other nationals.

### **International *Kenkey* Festival”**

Food festivals are important platforms used in gastrodiplomacy campaigns to attract food tourists and other foreigners. They present locals and foreigners with the opportunity to explore the culinary culture and experience of other countries or places. Getz et al. (2014) noted that food festivals have global appeal among tourists and food lovers. Across the world, food festivals play significant roles in attracting tourists to places. This is because people attend many food festivals and food events in order to feel and explore the food culture of those places. In the United States alone, there are more than 1,000 food and wine festivals including; food fairs, shows and cooking competitions (Getz et al., 2014) held annually by state and non-state actors to sell the culinary culture of their respective nations to other people.



Over the past few years, individuals and private organisations have established or organised food festivals and events to promote various Ghanaian cuisines. One of these festivals is the “International *Kenkey* Festival”. One unique feature of *kenkey* is that it can be eaten with pepper, stew, soup and many kinds of sauces. For that matter, *kenkey* is one of the most widely eaten foods not only in Ghana but across many West African countries.

The idea to promote *kenkey* through the “International *Kenkey* Festival” was born by a group of social media friends, made up of five young ladies and four young men, on 3rd February 2016. However, the first launch was held on 7<sup>th</sup> March 2016. Since then, the event is held once every year at James Town, Accra (British Accra). James Town is not only a community that has *kenkey* as one of the most eaten cuisines, but also a community that receives a lot of tourists all year round. Therefore, the organisers of the festival saw the community as the best place to host the festival. One of the organisers of the “International *Kenkey* Festival,” Mr Manuel, explained:

The aim of the “International *Kenkey* Festival” at the beginning was not to promote *Kenkey*, but to enable some social media friends to meet; eat *kenkey* and have fun. The first launch received little publicity, yet, the festival received massive public participation. Also, a number of foreigners attended the festival and actually tasted *kenkey* (Interview with Mr Manuel, 21-03-2019).

As a result, the organisers realised that the festival could serve as a good platform to promote the eating of varieties of *kenkey* (Fante *kenkey* and Ga *kenkey*) among both Ghanaians and foreigners. In 2016, the then Deputy

Minister of Tourism, Arts and Culture, Dzifa Gomashie, and other individuals, sponsored the festival with an undisclosed amount of money and equipment. According to the organisers, advertising the festival through traditional media is considerably expensive, therefore, much of the publicity for the festival is carried out on social media. Since the first launch in 2016, the subsequent events of the festival saw an increased publicity and media coverage, as well as increased participation of foreigners.

At the festival, chefs are encouraged to come up with different varieties of *kenkey* recipes, packaged, served and garnished in a way that will attract first-timers or make them develop an appetite for *kenkey*. Indeed, Mr Manuel, noted; The 2018 “International *Kenkey* Festival” recorded over 2000 participants, including foreigners. We have nationals from neighbouring countries like Ivory Coast, Togo, Nigeria, Liberia and people from other parts of the world in attendance (Interview with Mr Manuel, 21-03-2019).

Mr Manuel expounds that, the 2018 festival received very little or no support from the government or state agencies. However, the publicity was a major improvement on the previous years. He reiterated that, though the organisers of the programme have no immediate plan to organise the festival abroad, there are plans to invite Jamaicans in the near future to come and showcase the Jamaican recipe of *kenkey*, which they trace to West Africa, particularly, Ghana. After this, the festival will be held in Jamaica. This will not only help to internationalise the eating of *kenkey*, but also deepen the cultural diplomacy or cultural relations between Ghana and Jamaica. Mr Manuel, admitted that, there are calls by Ghanaians living in Europe, for the festival to be organised across

major European cities. However, he bemoans that, at the moment, they lack the financial capacity to hold the festival outside Ghana.

One positive development recorded from the “International *Kenkey* Festival” is that people have brought a lot of innovations to the *kenkey* business. The packaging has been improved upon and new recipes are being added. For Ghana to internationalise *kenkey*, there is the need for Ghanaians, home and abroad to accept it, and get involved in the campaigns to promote it among other nationals. However, while there are attempts to promote *kenkey* to other nationals, there is the need to improve the hygienic environment in which *kenkey* is prepared and eaten.

Other annual food events include the “Accra Food Festival”, organised by Accra Premium, in partnership with other private institutions such as Greenmile Resources and Emerge Ghana as well as the “West African Food Festival”, organised by the Chefs Association of Ghana, in collaboration with the Ghana Tourism Authority. The “Accra Food Festival” presents opportunities to food vendors, restaurants, hotels, embassies and the general public to showcase and share their cuisines with the public. The “West African Food Festival” seeks to showcase the diversity of West African cuisine and culinary cultures.

The festivals also aimed to project West Africa as the best destination for culinary tourism (Voyages Afriq, 2018). During the launch of the 2018 edition of the festival, the President of Chefs Association of Ghana, Isaac Sackey noted that:

The festival will strategically project local dishes and ingredients and other sectors within the tourism value chain. It

will primarily promote the traditional food segment of tourism among chefs and traditional caterers in West Africa, highlighting how their work can lead to a reduction in imports of the industry commodities, while increasing the value of local produce through placement of local dishes on institutional menus and other things we seek to achieve (Voyages Afriq, 2018).

Food festivals are one of the key strategies employed in gastrodiplomacy campaigns. For example, as part of the “Malaysia Kitchen for the World” campaign, the Malaysian government, sponsored the “Taste of Malaysia” food festival in Australia, New Zealand and London in 2010 (Ongkowitz and Hikam, 2017). In 2015, the government organised the same event in China, followed by a three-week long Malaysian Food Festival in Shanghai in 2017 (Ongkowitz and Hikam, 2017). Also, the Taiwanese government and other non-state actors, hosted many local food festivals in which they sent their best local chefs to showcase Taiwan’s culinary skills to indigenes and foreigners living in Taiwan (Immawati, 2017).

Moreover, the Thai government also sponsored other food related events and festivals across a number of major cities in Asia and Europe to expose more foreigners to the culinary skills of Taiwan, in order to attract them to the country. The various Ghanaian food festivals are good indications of gastrodiplomacy activities in the country. However, the lack of international outreach of these festivals as they are concentrated in Ghana, suggests that they are not likely to achieve extensive gastrodiplomacy results. This notwithstanding, local festivals are crucial in Ghana’s gastrodiplomacy efforts.

Therefore, there is the need for both state and non-state actors in Ghana to put resources together and organise these food related events overseas in order to achieve the intended results.

### **The Role of Restaurants and Eateries**

Restaurants and eateries are places where local cuisines are served to tourists. They (restaurants and eateries) play significant and vital roles in tourism not only because of the food they serve tourists, but because they also serve as the first place where tourists physically experience or taste the culture of a place. Björk and Kauppinen-Räsänen (2016) stressed that, to some extent, food influences tourists' choice to visit a particular place. Thus, for some travellers, local foods enable them to understand a destination's culture and tradition. Over the last two decades, the Ghanaian restaurant industry has undergone gradual structural changes. Previously, when Ghanaian cuisine, remained closely tied to home cooking and mostly sold on the streets, the past few years have seen major increment in restaurants and fast-food joints, which now have different recipes of Ghanaian foods on their menus. Examples are the Las Palmas restaurants, and a host of eateries at Oxford Street, Osu, Accra, and African restaurants at major shopping malls such as the Accra Mall.

Globalisation, education and contact with other cultures have also exposed Ghanaian chefs to better eating practices from cities across the developed world (Taylor, 2018). These developments have positively impacted the restaurant industry. This new generation of chefs employ new techniques and design elements that improve and honour local flavours and tastes (Taylor, 2018). In addition, chefs have also come up with new recipes of Ghanaian dishes to add to the existing ones. For example, Mr. Issam Seddeq, the Executive Chef

of Kempinski Hotel, noted that there are many recipes that can be developed from plantain. He added that one can blend ripe plantain; mixed it with flower, egg, sugar and water, and bake it to have plantain cake.

As part of the efforts to revamp and standardise the Ghanaian hospitality industry, including the restaurant sector, the Ministry of Tourism, Arts and Culture (MOTAC), has reopened the Hotel, Catering and Tourism Training Institute (HOTCATT) which had been neglected for years (HOTCATT, 2018). Also, to ensure quality and proper regulation of the sector, the Ministry of Tourism, Arts and Culture has started moves to register all hotels and restaurants. Also, restaurants are to meet certain operational standards set by the ministry to be able to operate. A resource person at the Ministry of Tourism, Arts and culture identified that:

For us to be able to market our foods to other nationals, restaurants and other eateries must improve on hygienic conditions around the cooking and the eating environment and adhere to internationally accepted hygienic standards. There is also the need for us educate people in the food industry about the need to ensure proper hygiene (Interview with Madam Cudjoe, 29-01- 2019).

Indeed, the presentation and the preparation of foods based on international standards is key. This is because, in as much as tourists may want to explore and taste Ghanaian cuisines, they would like to ensure, or be guaranteed, that whatever they eat is prepared under proper hygienic conditions. Mr. Issam Seddeq, the Executive Chef of Kempinski Hotel, bemoaned that some Ghanaian chefs lack education on culinary arts and, therefore, fail to



adhere to safety standards of gastronomy. Some chefs and street food vendors do not adhere to accepted standards and do not know the nutrients level of some of the ingredients they use in cooking their meals.

Furthermore, one important target set by countries with successful gastrodiplomacy campaigns, is to increase their local restaurants abroad. Peru is projected to have 10,000 Peruvian restaurants in the United States alone (Nicholls, 2006). The 'Thailand: Kitchen of the World' programme projected to increase Thai restaurants from 6,875 in 2003 to 20,000 in 2008 (Sunanta, 2005). Malaysia, Korea, Japan and Taiwan have also set their respective targets.

However, since Ghana has no national policy to embark on a vigorous gastrodiplomacy campaign, it looks as if the state has no immediate target or plans to promote local Ghanaian restaurants abroad. Interviews with officials at the Ministry of Tourism, Arts and Culture, corroborate the above assertion. As a resource person at the Ministry of Tourism, Arts and Culture confirmed that, even though the ministry has a set of regulations guiding the operation of the hotel and restaurant industry in Ghana, it does not have any licence to issue to people who intend to operate Ghanaian restaurants abroad. Also, the Ministry does not have a registry or records of the number of Ghanaian restaurants operating abroad. In the next section, the study examined the role of the internet and social media in promoting local cuisines to other nationals.

### **The Role of the Internet and Social Media in Promoting Ghanaian Cuisines**

The explosion of the use of the Internet, particularly, social media (Facebook, YouTube, Twitter, Instagram) at the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, has further opened up the conduct of international relations in hitherto different

ways. In day to day conversations on social media, international issues ranging from conflicts and wars, international business to topics of the best tourist destinations are discussed by individuals (Barnett et al., 2017). Today, individuals and tourism organisations are taking advantage of these social media platforms to increase their promotions of destinations and the travel experiences available for local and foreign visitors (Hajli, 2014; Mukherjee and Nagabhushanam, 2015). Indeed, social media features prominently in gastrodiplomacy campaigns across the world. As noted by Zhang (2015), the conduct of gastrodiplomacy is no longer limited to government officials and their culinary experts or chefs, but has incorporated food companies, tourism experts and agencies, advertising firms, public diplomacy professionals, TV cooking programmes as well as the social media.

Both within and outside Ghana, individuals and groups have been using various social media platforms especially, Facebook, YouTube and Instagram to project Ghanaian cuisines. For example, “Hajia’s Ghanaian Cuisine”, “Ghanaian Food Recipes” (@Ghanaianfoodrecipes) and “Mr Kenkey” as well as a host of other Facebook and Instagram pages, were created by some Ghanaians to promote different recipes of Ghanaian cuisines. Some of these social media pages do not only showcase Ghanaian cuisines through pictorial presentations, but also give preparation procedures. In some cases, they give locations and directions to some Ghanaian eateries and local restaurants. Food bloggers like Wode Maya Nududu Fafa, also produced a number of YouTube videos she uses to project various Ghanaian recipes. In her YouTube video, “10 must Try Ghanaian Dishes (Part 1)”, for example she listed 10 Ghanaian cuisines that all people must try. She listed the ingredients and methods for

procedures for cooking *omo tuo* with *nkatankwan* (rice balls with groundnut soup), *fufu* with *abenkwan*, *waakye*, *tuozaafi* and jollof rice. As at 24<sup>th</sup> March 2020, the video recorded 18,859 views and the number is expected to continue to increase as time goes on. Similarly, Thailand based American author and food blogger, Mark Wiens, has also produced documentaries to celebrate and project many recipes of Ghanaian cuisines. In his video titled “Street Food in Ghana - Giant Chop-Bar Lunch and West African Food Tour in Accra”, he listed the ingredients and procedures for preparing some popular Ghanaian recipes ranging from snacks such as *ayigbe* toffee (coconut toffee), *kose* (beans cake) and *bofrot* (buffloaf) to soups like light soup, palmnut soup, groundnut soup as well okro soup (Wiens, 2018). Mark Wiens’ video has 4,582,625 views as at 14<sup>th</sup> March 2020 and as expected, the viewership will continue to increase.

It is important to note that the use of social media in gastrodiplomacy campaigns is not unique to Ghana. For instance, during the “Malaysia Kitchen for the World” campaign, actors in Malaysian gastronomy industry used social media platforms, such as Facebook (Malaysia Kitchen Global) and Twitter (@Miss\_Sambal) to spread the promotion and information regarding the “Malaysian Kitchen” events and activities (Ongkowitz and Hikam, 2017). In the case of Ghana, however, the government has no national policy to direct or embark on any social media campaign to promote Ghanaian cuisines. Nevertheless, the above-mentioned social media campaigns by individuals and groups are positive developments which are likely to attract other people to try these Ghanaian cuisines.

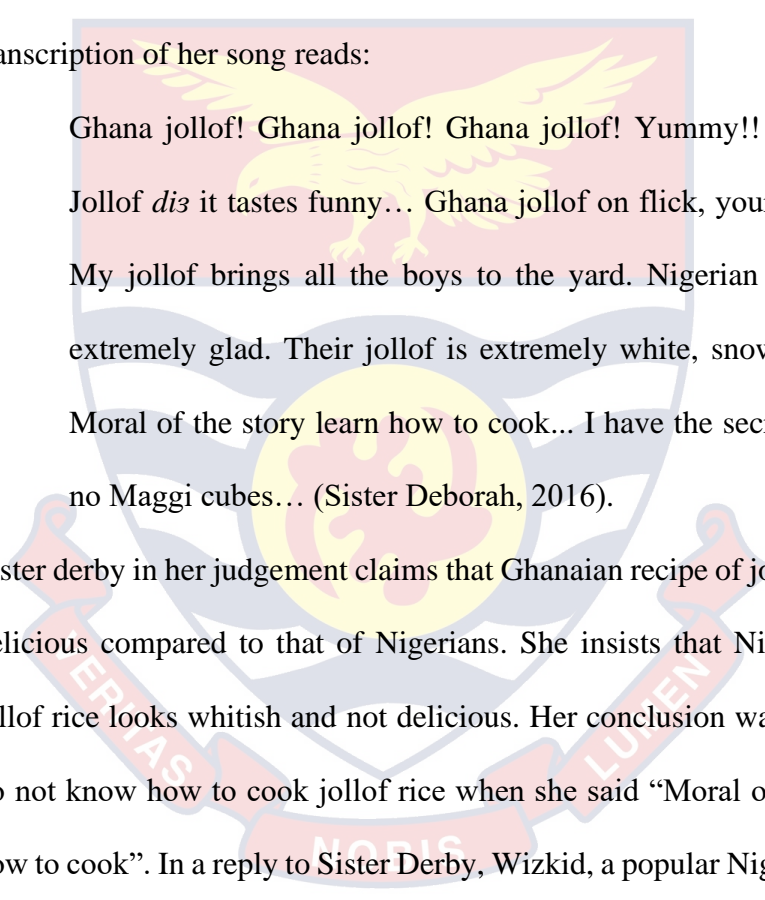
### **The West African Social Media “Jollof Rice War”**

Jollof rice is an aromatic dish, with exclusive palatable taste and spiciness that is eaten across the West African sub-region. Jollof rice is popular in countries such as Gambia, Ghana, Nigeria, Senegal Sierra Leone and Liberia (Oniang’o et al., 2003; Subedar and Ahmed, 2017). In addition to it being one of the most favourite cuisines among cultures in the sub region, it is also the source of periodic heated online debates (“wars”), especially, among Ghanaians, Nigerians, Senegalese and Liberians, as to which of these countries prepares it best. “Jollof rice war” is conceptually or metaphorically used here to mean social media debates and arguments as well as jollof rice cooking competitions among individuals and groups from West African countries. In a war-of-conquest, opposing forces employ many military strategies to overcome or defeat their rival. Thus, war in its real sense falls under the realist concept of hard power in international relations. However, “jollof rice war” is a soft power strategy employed by some West African countries to project their jollof rice recipe ahead of those of other neighbouring countries. During the “jollof rice war”, pictorial presentations of jollof rice, projecting of one’s country’s jollof rice recipes through songs, preparing the most delicious jollof rice during jollof rice cooking competitions as well as the ability to get public officials and top diplomats from other countries to endorse one’s recipe, are among some of the strategies to win the “war”.

Despite this “war”, there seems to be a general agreement about the origin of the dish. Historically, jollof rice originated from the Senegambia region of West Africa particularly among the Wolof ethnic group, where it is known as *benachin* (Quist- Arcton, 2016; Adams, 2017). However, as a result

of its unique taste and frequent cultural exchange between the Wolof and other nearby cultures, jollof rice has spread across the sub-region and has evolved into several national varieties and recipes (Adams, 2017).

In early 2017, Nigeria's Information Minister, Lai Mohammed, sparked a "war" and widespread criticism from Nigerians home and abroad when he alluded that Senegal makes the best jollof rice. In the process, Sister Deborah, a Ghanaian musician composed a song to downplay Nigerian jollof rice. The transcription of her song reads:



Ghana jollof! Ghana jollof! Ghana jollof! Yummy!! Nigerian  
Jollof *diz* it tastes funny... Ghana jollof on flick, yours isn't...  
My jollof brings all the boys to the yard. Nigerian boys are  
extremely glad. Their jollof is extremely white, snow white...  
Moral of the story learn how to cook... I have the secret recipe  
no Maggi cubes... (Sister Deborah, 2016).

Sister Derby in her judgement claims that Ghanaian recipe of jollof rice is more delicious compared to that of Nigerians. She insists that Nigerian recipe of jollof rice looks whitish and not delicious. Her conclusion was that Nigerians do not know how to cook jollof rice when she said "Moral of the story learn how to cook". In a reply to Sister Derby, Wizkid, a popular Nigerian music star responded:

I love Nigerian Jollof 100 percent, but when I go to New York  
or I am in Ghana, my friend's wife makes this crazy Ghana Jollof  
with some goat meat...it is bad (Ibrahim, 2017).

To Wizkid, the Ghanaian recipe comes nowhere close to that of Nigeria. Interestingly, the controversy was not limited to only West Africans as other top

diplomats joined the debate. Jon Benjamin, a former British High Commissioner to Ghana, recently tweeted; “Ghanaian jollof rice. Which I especially enjoy telling Nigerian friends, the Ghanaian version is of course the superior one” (Torny, 2017; Mubarak, 2017). Jon Benjamin lived in Ghana for many years therefore, it is not surprising that he chooses Ghanaian jollof rice over Nigeria’s.

Unlike Jon Benjamin, Mark Zuckerberg, the CEO of Facebook, was a bit careful or diplomatic in his judgment about which country prepares the best jollof rice in the sub-region when he visited Nigeria in 2016. He noted that “I had jollof rice and shrimps. It was delicious and fantastic” (Subedar and Ahmed, 2017). However, he insisted that he was told not to compare Nigeria’s jollof rice to that of any other West African countries. The social media jollof rice “wars” continue to give the dish international mileage; therefore, diplomats and foreigners who visit the region are eager to taste the much adorable cuisine. Indeed, when Prince Charles visited The Gambia, Ghana and Nigeria in 2018, he remarked:

Having also visited The Gambia and Ghana over the past week, our visit to Nigeria may perhaps, provide an invaluable opportunity to compare -if one ever dares do such a thing! -the relative merits of each country’s Jollof rice. However, for the fear of sparking a diplomatic incident, I suspect I shall have to let you draw your own conclusions about which country’s jollof we found to be the most delicious (The BBC, 2018).

His comment was met with another week-long social media debates and arguments. As a result of these social media “wars”, the first ever annual “jollof



rice war” (festival) was organised in July 2017, in Washington DC and London. The Washington DC festival, brought together around 600 participants from some West African countries who competed to prepare the best jollof rice recipe (Subedar and Ahmed, 2017). At the end of the festival, Nigeria’s Atinuke Ogunsalu was declared the winner of the competition. In 2018, the second annual jollof rice festival (“jollof war”) was held by Afropolitan Insights at the historic Union Market in Washington, DC, where Ghana, Nigeria, Senegal, Liberia, Guinea and Sierra Leone competed.

The event brought together thousands of people from different nationalities to explore and share ideas on West African culinary culture. At the end of the festival, Liberia was declared by a team of culinary experts, including US-based Chef Dadisi Olutosin of Plated Food Groupe and Executive Chef Francis Otoo of the Embassy of Ghana in Washington DC, as the winner of the 2018 “jollof war” (Ofori, 2018). By default, the “jollof rice war” is contributing to the popularity of jollof rice. While there are indications that the “jollof rice war” may not end anytime soon, it however, continues to give awareness and popularity to the dish. Therefore, this presents Ghana a very good opportunity to promote the Ghanaian recipes of jollof rice to attract foreigners across the world.

### **Cookbooks or Recipe Books**

Cookbooks or recipe books are important tools used by individuals, communities or states, to market their cuisines to other people across the world. Cookbooks give information and educate people about the ingredients, methods and the nutritional benefits of a particular or a set of cuisines. In addition, cookbooks give foreigners and local consumers, the ability to easily identify

food grown, produced in a community or a country. Since the turn of the 21<sup>st</sup> century when gastronomy became an integrated feature of international relations, states and non-state actors have been using cookbooks to sell their countries' recipes globally. As a result, people can now find the science and methods of cooking a set of meals in magazines, books, articles and newspapers. Another fascinating development is that a number of schools, particularly, culinary schools, now offer courses on the science and methods of cooking, which is contributing to the necessity for cookbooks.

Over the years, especially since the beginning of the 1990s, a number of individuals and groups have published many cookbooks or recipe books aimed at documenting and promoting different recipes of Ghanaian cuisines. In *Traditional Recipes from the Northern Region of Ghana*, Gamor et al. (2015) elaborated on the ingredients and procedures for preparing 12 cuisines from the northern regions of Ghana. These recipes include *Tubaani* (steamed cowpea pudding), Yam pottage, *Tuo Zaafi* and *waakye* (Gamor et al., 2015). Similarly, Ofori-Boadu's (1995) *The Dawn of Cooking* gave a more comprehensive compilation of some favourite cuisines across all regions of Ghana. The book provides not only the procedures and the names of ingredients used in the preparation of these Ghanaian cuisines, but also the right amount of every ingredient that is needed in the preparation of these Ghanaian dishes. Since the publication of *Le cuisinier français (The French cook)* in 1651 (Wittmeier, 2010), cookbooks have grown to become prominent features in gastrodiplomacy campaigns. In Peru's *Peru Mucho Gusto* ("Peru Pleasure") campaign, Peruvian cookbooks were published to promote Peruvian recipes to food lovers worldwide (Bannister, 2017). Also, Thai cookbooks were

published, especially, in the United States to showcase the Thai cuisines to foreigners (Sunanta, 2005). Though, the compilation of Ghanaian cuisines into cookbooks remains at a minimal scale, the very few that have been published over the years such as *Traditional Recipes from the Northern Region of Ghana* and *The Dawn of Cooking*, may go a long way to contribute substantially to the promotion of Ghanaian dishes to the public, home and abroad.

### **Prospects of Ghana's Gastrodiplomacy Campaign**

Food is one of the basic things that distinguish a group of people from other groups. Thus, food reveals the cultural background of a group of people because food is intricately linked to cultural identity. For instance, the mention of "Italian" brings to mind pasta and pizza; Japanese evokes images of sushi while Ghana induces jollof rice. Though not originally from Ghana, it has been appropriated and adapted to Ghanaian cuisine. *Kenkey*, *fufu*, beans and fried plantain with *red red* are all Ghanaian cuisines that show Ghanaian identity. However, beside food being a basic necessity of life, it also creates extra connection between people, and also gives foreigners the chance to physically feel or taste Ghanaian culture anywhere around the world without necessarily coming to the country.

One important benefit that Ghana can derive from promoting its cuisines abroad is the internationalisation of Ghanaian Culture. Traditional Ghanaian foods are part of Ghanaian tangible cultural heritage. Foreign nationals in and outside Ghana get the chance to taste or learn how to prepare Ghanaian cuisines. This will eventually attract them to Ghana and enable them to form positive opinion of the country. Cultural differences fascinate people and since people would want to see, feel and taste the differences and perhaps the similarities

between their culture and Ghanaian culture, they will be encouraged to travel to Ghana and explore. Indeed, Youqin Chang, a Chinese lady who after eating fufu in one of the African restaurants in China had this to say “The dining experience was good and very new for me. I wish I could visit Africa one day, when I save enough money” (Bolongaro and Li, 2016). Therefore, aggressive gastrodiplomacy campaigns would lead to an increase in tourist visits to Ghana which will eventually boost food tourism in the country.

Furthermore, internationalisation of Ghanaian cuisines could lead to increases in the number of Ghanaian restaurants abroad which would create a number of employment opportunities for Ghanaians. Also, marketing Ghanaian foods abroad will help to sell Ghana’s history and cultural heritage through local Ghanaian cuisines. It will increase the exportation of Ghanaian food products and boost Ghana’s image globally. Already, some Ghanaian foods are finding their way into other countries; *Neat fufu* (processed *fufu*), neat Hausa *koko* (processed porridge), neat *aben nkwan* (processed palm nut soup) and other processed Ghanaian foods have found their ways into other countries.

### **Challenges of Ghana’s Gastrodiplomacy Campaign**

Though Ghanaian cuisines are finding their way into other countries, one of the challenges that confront Ghana’s gastrodiplomacy activities is how foods are handled and packaged. The hygienic conditions under which some Ghanaian cuisines are prepared falls below internationally accepted standards. In Ghana, a number of street food vendors do not comply with the existing laws or the authorisations they need for food vending, therefore, they fail to adhere to the health and safety measures. Also, many Ghanaian dishes are spicy; with a lot of pepper content. Condiments such as *mononi*, *kako* and *kobi* (varieties of

salted fish) are highly used in *palava sauce*, garden egg stews and other sauces. These, according to Mr Issam Seddoq, the executive chef of Kempinski Hotel, make it a bit difficult for foreigners enjoy these foods.

Furthermore, some other platforms that other countries are using to promote their cuisines are international exhibitions and food festivals. Even though international exhibitions and food festivals provide fertile opportunities to promote local cuisines, a resource person at the Ministry of Tourism, Arts and Culture, noted that international exhibitions and food festivals are expensive to participate in. Thus, the air ticket of the personnel who go to organise the fair, hiring of platforms and panels, space as well as transportation of the items, make the participation in the fairs very expensive.

Another obstacle to Ghana's gastrodiplomacy campaign is the taste for foreign cuisines. There is a huge presence of foreign dishes and restaurants across Ghana and people tend to patronise them at the expense of Ghanaian cuisines. This is as a result of taste for foreign cuisines, poor packaging and presentation as well as the lack of awareness of Ghanaian cuisines.

### **Conclusion**

This chapter explored six areas in which non-state actors are actively projecting Ghanaian cuisines. Celebrity television cooking programmes such as the "Aben Show" and "McBrown's Kitchen" bring influential people and celebrities to cook and showcase some popular recipes of Ghanaian dishes. Over the past three years, the "International *Kenkey* Festival" has not only grown to become one of the most attended food festivals in Ghana, but also a major event for promoting *kenkey*. Furthermore, restaurants and eateries are improving on their dining environments and also coming out with new recipes of Ghanaian

dishes. Again, individuals and private institutions have been using the Internet and social media outlets including Facebook, YouTube and Instagram to promote local foods. The West African “Jollof rice war” and cookbooks have also continued to give Ghanaian cuisines international recognition. However, unlike the government, non-state actors are playing major roles to promote Ghanaian cuisines.

Promoting Ghanaian cuisines abroad will help to sell Ghana’s culture and influence, thereby harnessing Ghana’s global appeal (soft power). It will increase tourism and create employment for Ghanaians, home and abroad. However, Ghana is faced with a number of challenges, in her attempt to promote local cuisines. These include the poor hygienic conditions at Ghanaian restaurants and food joints and the spicy nature of some Ghanaian cuisines. Also, international food fairs, exhibitions and festivals are expensive to organise. Finally, the influx of foreign cuisines into the country is another challenge that confronts Ghana’s gastrodiploamacy campaign.





## CHAPTER FIVE

### SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

#### Introduction

The aim of the study has been to explore the extent to which state and non-state actors have been promoting Ghanaian cuisines in order to expand its influence and harness its soft power globally. This chapter summarises the study and give the main conclusions of the study. It also offers recommendations for the consideration of the academia and industry players in Ghana for a successful promotion of Ghanaian cuisines across the world.

#### Summary of the Study

To achieve the main aim, the study set three objectives at the beginning of the work. The first was to explore the history and development of contemporary gastrodiplomacy campaigns. The second was to examine the trend of gastrodiplomacy in Africa and finally to ascertain the role of state and non-state actors in Ghana's gastrodiplomacy campaign. In examining the above objectives, the study examined relevant literature on soft power, gastrodiplomacy and public diplomacy. Secondary data for the study was collected from key secondary texts such as Nye (1990), Constantinou (1996) and Rockower (2012: 2014). Other secondary sources include scholarly articles, periodicals, speeches by government officials, government reports, as well as other online sources such as Facebook, YouTube and Instagram.

The study also incorporated data based on one-on-one interviews with a total of ten respondents. These included resource persons at the Ministry of Tourism, Arts and Culture and the Ministry of Inner City and Zongo Development. Furthermore, the study also drew upon interviews of key resource

persons at the Ghana High Commission in Australia, Embassy of Ghana in Russia, China and Belgium through emails. The study also had one on-one-one interviews with Mr. Issam Seddoq, the Executive Chef of Kempinski Hotel; Mr Manuel, one of the organisers of the “International *Kenkey* Festival” as well as the producers of the “Aben Show,” and “McBrown’s Kitchen” programme, Madam Tima Klu and Mr. Okyeame Kofi respectively. These respondents were selected because they are key players and stakeholders with expert knowledge on different aspects within the broad field of gastrodiploacy in Ghana.

The study employed the multiple case study design where purposive and snowball sampling techniques were used to select the respondents. These sampling methods were necessary because they enabled the study to sample respondents based on their qualities, contributions, knowledge and expertise in the area of gastrodiploacy. Content and comparative analysis approach was used to analyse the data from the respondents. This approach allowed the study to examine or analyse the data with regard to the established conventional activities associated with gastrodiploacy campaigns elsewhere around the world. The main data collected, was analysed around key themes based on the three research objectives of the study.

The study revealed that though the use of soft power is relatively a new concept in international relations, countries have come to realise its potentials and therefore, have designed ways to include it in their foreign policies. Thus, it was demonstrated that developments in communication technology and the increasing involvement of non-state actors in international politics, have opened the international space. These developments, therefore, enabled many countries to promote their cuisines to harness their global image or soft power base. As a

result, the study highlighted the extent to which gastrodiploacy campaigns have become a prominent aspect of many countries' foreign policy initiatives.

The examination of the literature reveals that throughout history, food has played important roles in diplomacy. In ancient Greece, communal commensality was crucial in uniting and ensuring togetherness among members of the society. The development of gastrodiploacy received a major facelift during the reign of Louis XIV, when *Le cuisinier franois* (*The French cook*) was published in 1651. From that period, gastrodiploacy underwent major developments as a result of interactions between nations. However, the introduction of state dinners in the 1900s gave a new dimension to the development of gastrodiploacy where states served some of their best cuisines to top diplomats from other states to enhance diplomatic relations and to introduce them to the culinary culture of their hosts.

Subsequently, the development of communication technology, especially the introduction of social media since the beginning of the 2000s have enabled countries to initiate campaigns to promote their cuisines to locals and foreigners. This has seen countries like: Italy, Japan, Korea, Peru, Thailand and Taiwan develop comprehensive foreign policies to promote their local cuisines. The study emphasised that these gastrodiploacy campaigns have not only helped to harness the international image of these countries, but also led to the creation of job opportunities and exportation of their food products.

In regards to the second research objective of the study, the study examined the literature on the trends of gastrodiploacy in Africa with particular focus on the role of state actors in promoting Ghanaian cousins. These activities include speeches of government officials, “Zongo Cuisines

Programme” which was launched by the Ministry for Inner City and Zongo Development (MICZD) and National Board for Small Scale Industries (NBSSI), the Ghana Tourism Authority’s (GTA) participation in local and international fairs and exhibitions, food programmes by Ghanaian Missions abroad as well as official state dinners.

The findings showed that non-state actors in Ghana are also employing many strategies and programmes to promote Ghanaian cuisines. These programmes and strategies include the “Aben Show” and “McBrown’s Kitchen”, “International *Kenkey* Festival”, innovations in the restaurant industry, the promotion of Ghanaian cuisines on social media platforms by individuals and groups, the West African “Jollof Rice War” and the publication of cookbooks.

### **Key Findings**

The following are the key findings of the study:

1. The findings revealed that even though there are emerging gastrodiplomacy activities on the continent, there are no reports of robust gastrodiplomacy campaigns in any African country.
2. The study found that there are no national policies to promote Ghanaian cuisines across the world. This impedes the efforts of stakeholders and other industry players in their efforts to promote Ghanaian cuisines as there are no policy directions to regulate their gastrodiplomacy activities.
3. Furthermore, the study found that unlike other countries explored as part of the study, the GTA and other relevant institution have not been making the best use of international fairs and exhibitions to promote

Ghanaian cuisines. This could be seen with regard to the items the GTA exhibited during international exhibitions. Again, this can be linked to the lack of national policy to coordinate Ghana's gastrodiplomacy activities.

4. It was again realised from the study that even though the Ministry of Tourism, Arts and Culture, Ghanaian High Commissions and Embassies organise food related activities, they have no record of Ghanaian restaurants operating outside the country. This is in contrast with the roles played by related institutions in the gastrodiplomacy campaigns of other countries explored in the study.
5. The study found that the various Ghanaian food festivals are concentrated in the country. This limits the international reach of the festivals therefore, intended gastrodiplomacy results may not be achieved.
6. In addition to the above, the findings of the study show that though the "Zongo Cuisines Programme" is a laudable gastrodiplomacy programme, its focus on economic empowerment of producers of these cuisines means that the programme may not achieve the desired gastrodiplomacy results. Moreover, the programme is targeted more at the internal or local public but not to a global audience. .
7. It was also observed from the study that though there are a few Ghanaian cookbooks, they are not comprehensive enough as only a small number of Ghanaian cuisines that are explored in these cookbooks.

## Conclusion

The involvement of non-state actors and the introduction of social media, as well as the developments in communication technology has opened the international arena. This engineered the gradual shift from the use of traditional “carrot and stick” diplomacy to the use of soft power or subtle diplomacy, which has culture as one of its pillars. Thus, promotion of local foods to attract others has become an important tool that countries are employing to popularise their local foods to foreign visitors. Italy, Japan, Korea, Peru, Thailand and Taiwan have all developed foreign policies to promote their cuisines to other nationals in order to attract them.

In general terms, African countries, particularly Ghana, are not making good use of the opportunities of gastrodiplomacy to harness their image or to attract others. First of all, there is no national policy for an extensive gastrodiplomacy campaign or to promote Ghanaian cuisines abroad. The findings of the study suggest that though there are emerging gastrodiplomacy activities in the country, Ghana is to a very large extent underutilising or not doing enough to promote Ghanaian cuisines across the world. However, there are a few emerging signs of improvement or possibilities for a robust gastrodiplomacy campaign in the future.

## Recommendations

From the findings and conclusion drawn, the following recommendations are made for academia and other stakeholders.

1. First of all, there is the need for further research into food related activities in the country and their ability to attract tourists to the country. Also, feasibility studies should be conducted in cities across Europe,



America and Asia to test the acceptability of Ghanaian cuisines and restaurants in the countries. Universities and polytechnics should also introduce programmes and courses on culinary art and gastrodiplomacy to train and educate students and other people in the restaurant and food sector.

2. Furthermore, the government should design an extensive foreign policy to projecting Ghana's global influence through food. Furthermore, the government and relevant stakeholders should sponsor the compilation of popular Ghanaian cuisines into magazines and cookbooks; including the ingredients and methods of preparation.
3. The study also recommends annual Ghanaian cuisines week where Ghanaian missions should organise food related events and sampling for other nationals in order to attract them to the country. Moreover, it is recommended that the government expands the "Zongo Cuisines Programme" to include other Ghanaian cuisines. The Ministries of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration, Tourism, Arts and Culture together with the Ministry of Trade and Industry, should partner with Ghanaian Missions to organise food fairs and Ghanaian festivals across major cities in North America, Asia and Europe for the pleasure of the public. This should be followed by state sponsored market-oriented researches in the major cities to ascertain the perception of the public about Ghanaian cuisines in those cities. Stakeholders must begin to register and keep track of Ghanaian eateries and restaurants operating overseas. Ghanaian students abroad, with the support of their missions,

should also be encouraged to showcase Ghanaian cuisine during quarterly and annual events held by the Universities.

4. Apart from hosting official receptions on important occasions such as national days, Ghanaian Missions can organise open house events and food bazaars, during which varieties of Ghanaian foods would be made available to participants to have a taste. Ghanaian cuisines should also be prepared by renowned chefs, and showcased at international events and exhibitions. For instance, a resource person at the Ghana High Commission in Canberra, Australia, noted that there is a National Multicultural Festival held once a year at Canberra that brings together up to 200,000 people of different nationalities. This festival provides a unique opportunity for the Mission and other state actors to promote Ghanaian cuisines. Other Ghanaian Missions must also make use of similar platforms in their various countries or areas of jurisdiction.

5. Ghanaian communities abroad, must also be encouraged to help in the efforts to promote Ghanaian cuisines. They need to engage in the food business abroad bearing in mind the nature of the business environment in order to make the necessary adaptations regarding the level of spicing or chili contents of the food. As it has been established, some people have little tolerance for high spice and chili content food, for which most Ghanaian dishes are noted, hence some adaptation might be needed. Also, for Ghana to embark on a successful gastrodiplomacy campaign, there is the need to improve on the hygienic conditions in which the foods are prepared and served, both locally within the country as well as abroad.

6. Restaurants should increase the awareness of Ghanaian cuisines to both local and foreign tourists. There should be an annual “Restaurants Week”, where the public should be sensitised to patronise Ghanaian cuisines or prepare any of their favourite recipe of Ghanaian dishes and share the picture of it on social media platforms. For Ghana to have a successful gastrodiplomacy campaign, the whole citizenry must be encouraged to accept and patronise local cuisines.
7. Stakeholders of the hospitality industry in Ghana, in collaboration with Chefs Association of Ghana, should conduct periodic training for their personnel. Chefs must be educated or encouraged to create new recipes of local dishes and how to garnish the existing recipes to make them attractive and presentable. Restaurant managers and chefs should design flexible menus that display ingredients of the meals they serve, so that buyers will know their nutritional benefits.
8. The Ghanaian media should also be encouraged to use their media to promote Ghanaian cuisines through advertisement and media campaigns. A publication of the country’s main foods could also be published and made available at the country’s main international and local airports.
9. The Ministry of Tourism, Arts and Culture should collaborate with the District Assemblies and other stakeholders to license food vendors and chop bars to ensure some degree of standardisation in terms of hygiene. This will help to regulate the local food industry in order to ensure food safety.

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## APPENDICES

### Appendix A

#### **Introductory Email to Ghana High Commission/Embassy, Australia, Belgium, China and Russia**

Dear Sir/Madam,

My name is Nani Samuel, a second year MPhil. International Studies student at the University of Cape Coast, Ghana. I am conducting a research on the projection of Ghanaian cuisines to harness Ghana's international image.

Therefore, I would be very grateful to have any resource person from the High Commission/ Embassy to respond to a few questions about what the High Commission/ Embassy is doing to promote Ghanaian cuisines in (\*countries listed above).

The responses can be presented to me in a word document via email. I am also available for a Skype interview if there is the need. I have also attached my Introductory Letter and the open-ended questions. I would be grateful for any other information that would aid my research.

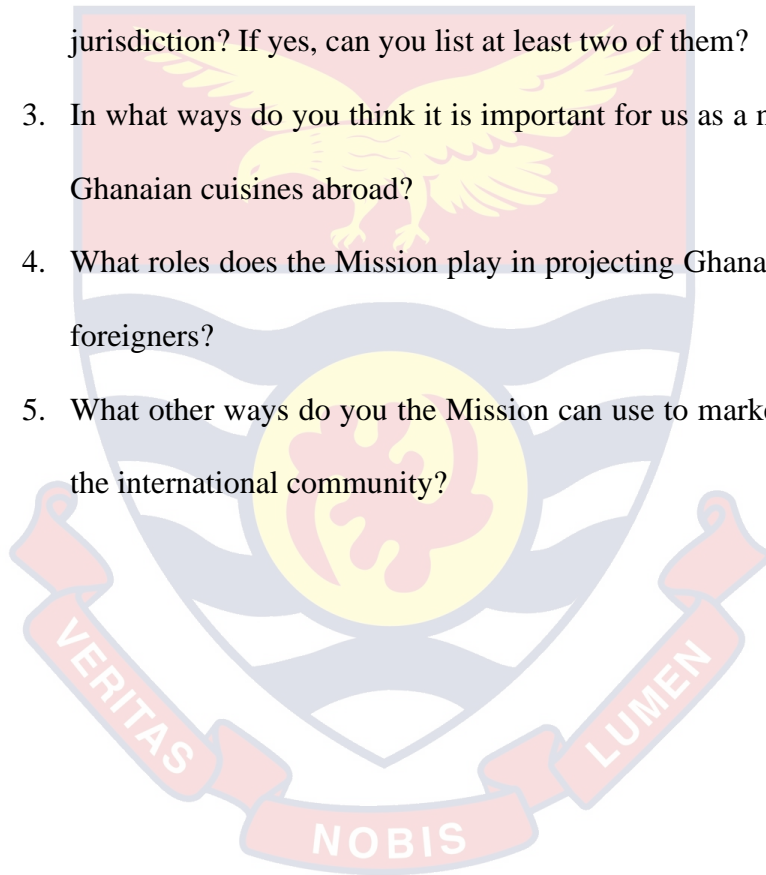
I look forward to hearing from you soon. Thank you in anticipation.

\*(The same email content was sent to the countries listed in the heading)

## Appendix B

### Interview Guide for Ghanaian Foreign Missions in Australia, Belgium, China and Russia

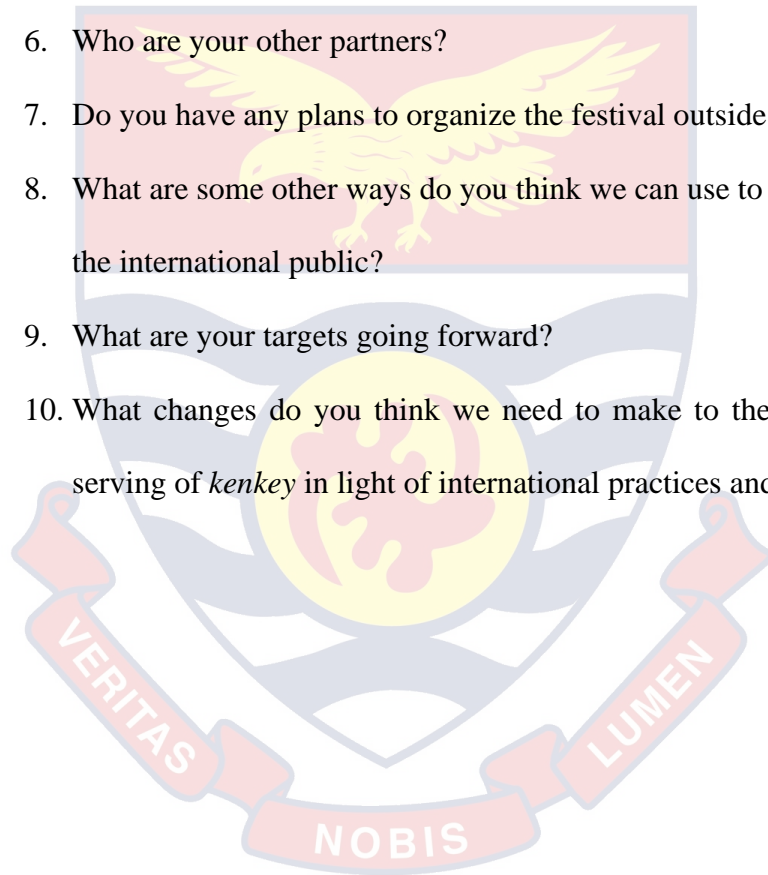
1. Does the Ghana Mission have a record of Ghanaian restaurants operating in your country of jurisdiction?
2. Does the Mission have any recommended Ghanaian restaurants for people who wish to have Ghanaian cuisines in your country of jurisdiction? If yes, can you list at least two of them?
3. In what ways do you think it is important for us as a nation to promote Ghanaian cuisines abroad?
4. What roles does the Mission play in projecting Ghanaian cuisines in to foreigners?
5. What other ways do you the Mission can use to market our cuisines to the international community?



## Appendix C

### Interview Guide for Mr Manuel of International *Kenkey* Festival

1. When you did first launch the International *Kenkey* Festival?
2. What motivated you to launch the campaign?
3. What does the International *Kenkey* Festival tend to achieve? Aim
4. How will you rate the participation of people since it its inception?
5. Do you have other nationals participating in the Festival?
6. Who are your other partners?
7. Do you have any plans to organize the festival outside Ghana?
8. What are some other ways do you think we can use to market *kenkey* to the international public?
9. What are your targets going forward?
10. What changes do you think we need to make to the preparation and serving of *kenkey* in light of international practices and standards?

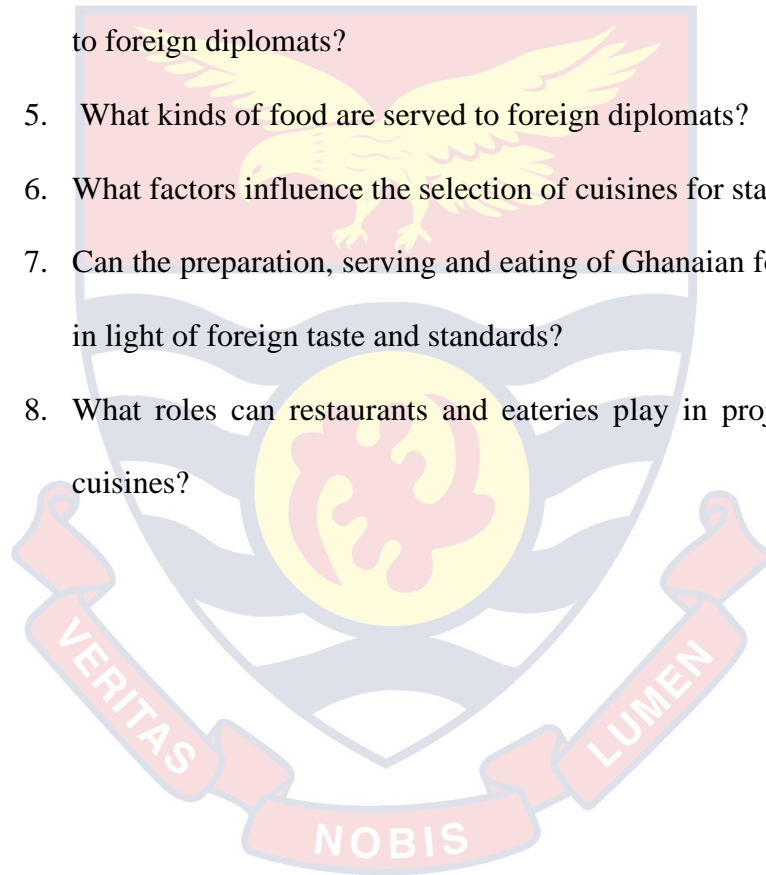




## Appendix D

### Interview Guide for Mr. Issam Seddeq, the Executive Chef of Kempinski Hotel

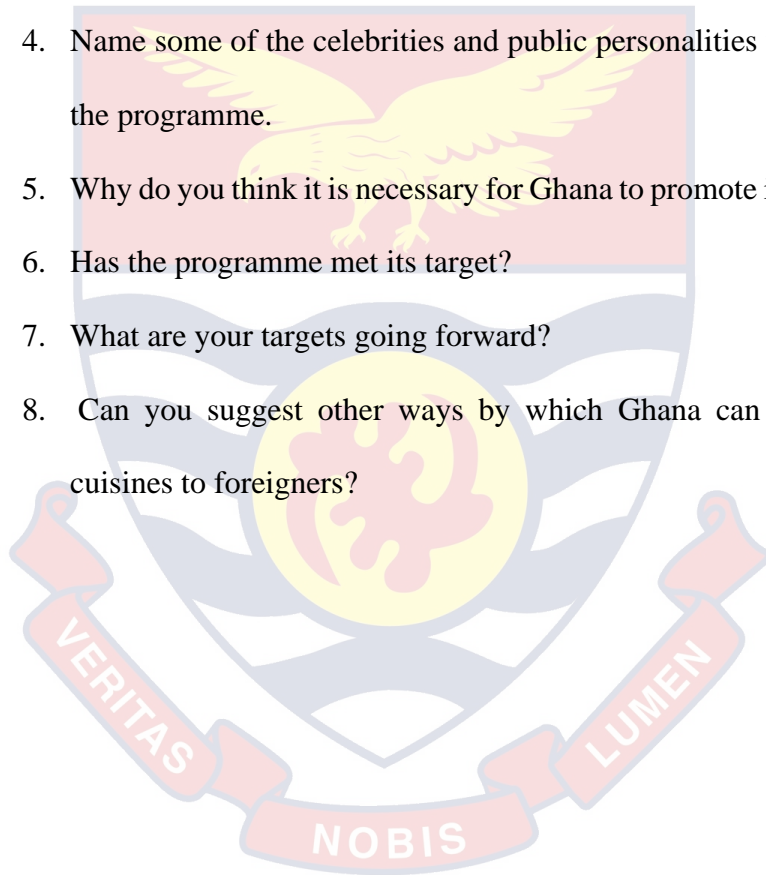
1. Can Ghana use its food and food culture to enhance its foreign relations?
2. How important are state dinners in enhancing Ghana's foreign relations?
3. What is the purpose for organising a state dinner?
4. How significant are Ghanaian cuisines in projecting the country's image to foreign diplomats?
5. What kinds of food are served to foreign diplomats?
6. What factors influence the selection of cuisines for state dinners?
7. Can the preparation, serving and eating of Ghanaian foods be modified in light of foreign taste and standards?
8. What roles can restaurants and eateries play in projecting Ghanaian cuisines?



## Appendix E

### Interview Guide for Madam Tima Klu and Mr Okyeame Kofi, Producers of “Aben Show” and “McBrown’s Kitchen” respectively

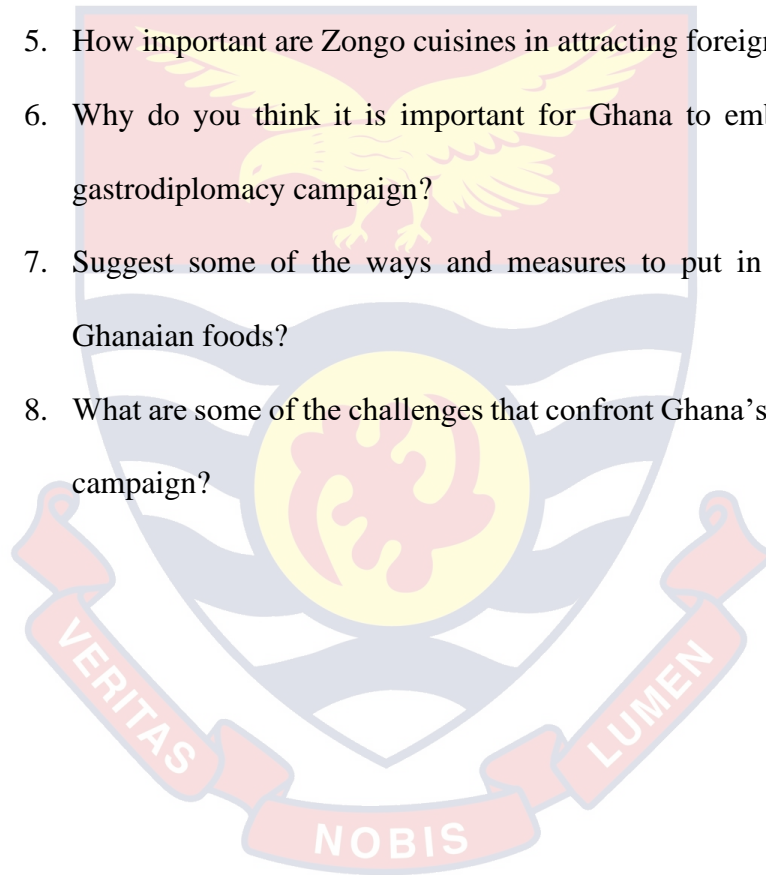
1. When did you launch the “McBrown’s Kitchen” programme?
2. What does the programme seek to achieve?
3. Do you think your programme has been a good platform for projecting Ghanaian Cuisines?
4. Name some of the celebrities and public personalities who appeared on the programme.
5. Why do you think it is necessary for Ghana to promote its local cuisines?
6. Has the programme met its target?
7. What are your targets going forward?
8. Can you suggest other ways by which Ghana can project its local cuisines to foreigners?



## Appendix F

### Interview Guide for Mr Mohammad Alhassan of the Ministry for Inner City and Zongo

1. Tell me about the Zongo Cuisines programme.
2. What does the programme seek to achieve?
3. Who are your partners?
4. Why do you think it is necessary to promote Zongo cuisines?
5. How important are Zongo cuisines in attracting foreigners to Ghana?
6. Why do you think it is important for Ghana to embark on a robust gastrodiplomacy campaign?
7. Suggest some of the ways and measures to put in place to project Ghanaian foods?
8. What are some of the challenges that confront Ghana's gastrodiplomacy campaign?



## Appendix G

### Interview with Mrs. Mabel Cudjoe of the Ministry of Tourism, Arts and Culture

1. How important is diplomacy in Ghana's relations with other nations?
2. What is the importance of subtle or soft diplomacy in Ghana's approach to international relations?
3. Do you think Ghana uses subtle diplomacy effectively in its engagement with other nations?
4. Are there any forms of soft power resources that can attract people to Ghana?
5. Does Ghana consider food as an important tool for diplomacy?
6. What is Ghana's approach to the use of food as soft power in international relations?
7. Are there any criteria for operating a Ghanaian restaurant abroad?
8. Does the Ministry of Tourism have records of Ghanaian Restaurants operating abroad?
9. To what extent is Ghanaian foods marketed and popularized abroad?
10. Do Ghanaian embassies abroad play any specific role in marketing Ghanaian foods?
11. Is it important for the Ghanaian Government to advertise Ghanaian foods abroad?
12. Has there been any national advertisement, media campaigns or food festival aimed at projecting Ghanaian foods to the foreign public?
13. What are some of the avenues Ghana can use to market local cuisines to the international community?

14. What are some of the opportunities Ghana stand to derive from projecting local cuisines?
15. Are there any challenges?
16. Can the preparation, serving and eating of Ghanaian foods be modified in light of foreign taste and standards?

