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**Cultural Diplomacy as an Instrument of Communication in
Image Building: *the Case of Ethiopia***

*A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirement for the Degree of Master's of Art
in Journalism and Communication*

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Abstract

Cultural diplomacy plays an indispensable role in image building. These days, countries are using cultural diplomacy as an integral part of their diplomatic activities ever than before. It is being considered as an important aspect to cooperate, to create mutual understanding, to build trust, and ultimately to bring change in the economic, social, and political aspects.

The ministry of foreign affairs and the ministry of culture and tourism are selected for the study .A qualitative approach is used. Content analysis and interview method are employed in the study. Three directorates are selected because they qualify better for the study. Three directors and four directors are the interviewees of the study.

Efforts are being made by the Ethiopian government to build the image of the country abroad by using cultural diplomacy. Compared to the rich cultural potential of the country, the Ethiopian government does not fully use this cultural wealth to promote the image of the country abroad. The country does not get what it ought to get from its cultural wealth.

There seems to be a lack of coordination among different stakeholders of cultural diplomacy. There is a lack of an integrated policy direction which coordinates different stakeholders to make cultural diplomacy fruitful in building the image of the country abroad.

To make cultural diplomacy programs successful, trained manpower is needed. There is a lack of experts who are trained in cultural diplomacy. This has brought its own negative influence in using cultural diplomacy to build the image of the country abroad.

There is a lack of general integrated institutional framework which supervises the implementation of cultural diplomacy to build the image of the country abroad. There is no strong central authority which leads the progress and success of cultural diplomacy.

There is somewhat a financial constraint to conduct cultural diplomacy programs .In fact as a country which is struggling to reduce poverty; finance limits the success of cultural diplomacy programs.

Key Words

- Diplomacy
- Foreign Policy
- Culture
- Cultural Policy
- Cultural Diplomacy
- National Image
- Image Building

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Acronyms

UNESCO-The United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization

FDRE-The Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia

GERD-The Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam

Chapter One

1. Introduction

1.1. Background of the Study

1.1.1. Diplomacy and its Historical Background

Diplomacy is the process of conducting communication through officially recognized representatives. It is a tool of communication to achieve a set of foreign policy goals through diplomatic agents via the accredited diplomatists (Henderson, 1998: 201). For many years, state had been the role player of diplomacy as the highest political body with the authority to conduct diplomacy, and promote the image of the country in international relations (Henderson, 1998: 227). In fact, state is still the highest body in conducting the traditional or conventional diplomacy.

Crude diplomacy can be found far back in human history, whenever monarchs had contact with each other. At first this involved personal visits, such as Queen of Sheba's journey to Solomon, probably to arrange trade (Roskin and Berry, 1999:338). This shows the early practice of diplomacy.

Nowadays, the tune of diplomacy has changed. Diplomacy can no longer be considered only in terms of relations centered on governments or foreign ministries. It must incorporate much wider and complicated set of relations (Mark, 2008:4). There are several non – state actors involving in diplomacy. There are several ways through which diplomacy is conducted. Culture is one of the important ways through which diplomacy is performed.

Culture has no one agreed definition. The UNESCO declaration on cultural diversity (2001) defines culture as the set of distinctive, spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features of society or a social group, and that it encompasses art, literature, lifestyles, ways of living together, systems, traditions and beliefs. This definition is more comprehensive.

Cultural diplomacy is a term which is relatively little known compared to traditional diplomacy. There is considerable confusion about what constitutes cultural diplomacy: a range of meanings, the interchanging use of terms, and overlapping concepts (Mark, 2008:2). Exchange of ideas, values, systems, traditions, beliefs and other aspects of culture, with the intention of fostering understanding is said to be cultural diplomacy (Cummings, 2003:1). Cummings's definition about cultural diplomacy is more comprehensive.

Cultural diplomacy has a range of benefits. It creates forums for interaction between people of different countries, and builds trust and image on other peoples (Appel *et.al*, 2008 p: 101). Civil society to civil society relationship plays an indispensable role.

Cultural diplomacy is also used to raise a State's profile and counter negative impacts of contentious issues (Mark, 2008:3). Ethiopia is constructing a grand dam, the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam. The construction of the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam is currently under way. Ethiopia and Egypt have longstanding diplomatic relationship. Religious diplomacy can be a good instrument to counter the contentious issue, the Nile.

When we see Ethiopia's cultural diplomacy, it dates back to Queen Sheba's visit to King Solomon of Israel. The Queen went to Israel to wonder the wisdom of King Solomon and probably to arrange trade, she presented gift to the King. This can be taken as an early diplomatic practice.

During the ancient, medieval, and modern periods of Ethiopian regimes, there were trade relations with the outside world. It is true that people to people relation in general and even individual to individual relation in particular will have a cultural aspect. These relations can be taken as cultural diplomacy. Indeed, the focus of the study is to review Ethiopia's cultural diplomacy with respect to its image building goal, and thereby identify its challenges and constraints.

1.2. Statement of the problem

Cultural diplomacy plays an essential role in national image building. According to Nye (2011), national image is gained through a country's culture, political ideas, and policies (Gilboa, 2008), on his part, says a favorable national image is more valuable than raw materials. On the other hand, a negative national image has the potential to cause future crisis or even military conflict.

This function of national image is becoming more crucial today as nations desire to participate more actively in global affairs – and enhance their status on the global stage (Lie and Naren, 2009). National image explains why responsible governments put in or easing efforts and resources into discovering how international audiences perceive their country and develop more effective managing strategies of their national image. To do this, cultural diplomacy plays an indispensable role in supporting foreign policy goals and diplomacy so that a favorable national image is gained.

In this regard, the Ethiopian government uses cultural diplomacy to build the country's image abroad. Therefore, assessing Ethiopia's cultural diplomacy effort with respect to image building goal will be the focus of the study.

1.2.1. Hypothesis

The implementation of cultural diplomacy has been expected to be challenging unless human, financial, and institutional challenges have been solved.

1.2.2. The Research Questions of the Study

1.2.2.1. The General Research Question of the Study

The general research question of the study is:

To what extent cultural diplomacy is implemented to build the image of Ethiopia abroad?

1.2.2.2. The Specific Research Questions of the Study

The specific research questions of the study are:

1. How is cultural diplomacy implemented towards building the image of the country?
2. What are the challenges and constraint of Ethiopia's cultural diplomacy, if any?
3. What are the policy issues that support cultural diplomacy in image building?

1.3. Objective of the Study

1.3.1. The General Objective of the Study

The main objective of the study is to depict Ethiopia's cultural diplomacy effort with respect to its image building goal.

1.3.2. The specific Objectives of the Study

The specific objectives of the study are:

1. To show Ethiopia's cultural diplomacy efforts in building the image of the country.
2. To identify the challenges and constraint of Ethiopia's cultural diplomacy in its image building goal.
3. To point out policy issues about cultural diplomacy in using it for image building.

1.4. Significance of the study

The study will provide some insight to the policymaking. Policy makers may devise a policy which aims at taking cultural diplomacy as an integral part of the formal diplomacy.

As far as the researcher's knowledge is concerned, there are no undergraduate, graduate, and post graduate programs of cultural diplomacy in the higher institutions. Thus, the researcher may show something in the academic circle.

The study may also be used as a start for researchers who want to do a comprehensive research that fills the knowledge gap in the area.

1.5. Scope of the study

National image is built through different ways. A country's cultural tourism, climate, geopolitics, national geography, the quality of government, the national infrastructure, demography, level of economic status, technological status, peace, security, stability, etc. The study will be confined to assessing cultural diplomacy with respect to its image building.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Culture and Tourism are the areal scope of the study. The study assesses Ethiopia's cultural diplomacy effort since 2000 E.C. particularly from September 2008 E.C. to August 2009 E.C.

Qualitative data gathered from the two institutions are accepted as enough for presentation and analysis of cultural diplomacy in image building in the country. These two institutions are purposively selected for the reason that they are more involved in the process of image building.

1.6. Limitations of the study

There were some bureaucratic routines to get data from my interviewees. There was some problem to get directly the participants who necessarily qualify for the study. As there are different stakeholders of cultural diplomacy, the samples may not be fully representative.

1.7. The Structure of the Study

The thesis is organized in five chapters. The first chapter contains introduction, statement of the problem, hypothesis, research questions, objective of the study, the scope of the study, and limitations of the study. The second chapter presents the review of related literature. The third chapter contains the research methodology. The fourth chapter contains data presentation and analysis. The fifth chapter presents conclusions and recommendations.

The first chapter contains introduction, statement of the problem, hypothesis, research questions, objective of the study, the scope of the study, and limitations of the study.

Chapter Two

2. Review of Related Literature

2.1. Diplomacy

Diplomacy is the means by which countries throughout the world conduct their affairs in ways to ensure peaceful relations (Berridge, 2002: 1). The main task of diplomatic services is to safeguard the interests of their respective countries abroad. This involves the promotion of political, economic, cultural, and scientific relations.

Diplomacy takes place in bilateral and multilateral contexts. The first attempt made to codify diplomatic law at the international level was the Vienna Congress in 1815. The rules by which today apply throughout the world for the conduct of diplomat affairs between states are set out in Vienna in 1961 (Roskin and Berry, 1999 :337).

Most countries have ministries of foreign affairs .The role of the ministries of foreign affairs is staffing and supporting missions abroad through embassies and consulate offices, policy advice and implementation, policy coordination, dealing foreign diplomats at home, and building support (Berridge, 2002 p: 5). This is basically related to Track I or traditional diplomacy which is conducted designated government representatives to designated government representatives.

Diplomacy in a traditional view is depicted as a game where the roles and responsibilities of actors are clearly delineated (Melissen, 2005: 5). Nowadays, the trend is changed. The digital technology especially the internet gives rise to the coming of different actors of diplomacy.

Diplomacy is not solely what diplomatic representatives do (Berridge, 2002:2). It is carried out by other parties and individuals, too. This kind of diplomacy is commonly called Track II diplomacy. Track II diplomacy is different from secret negotiation and back-channel talks (Klein, 2006: 111). Culture can be used as a tool of diplomacy. It is an important element in the contemporary international relations.

2.2. The Impact of Culture on International Relations

Culture is necessary for humans to become human (Nanda, 1994: 78). This shows that culture is an important element in the lives of human beings. We acquire it by participating in a socio cultural system. It is a shared experience among societies. The ways in which human beings perceive both the physical and the social environment, what they believe to be true about the environment, and how they organize the responses to it are all patterned by culture (Nanda, 1994: 79). This implies that culture calls for not an objective reality, but multiple realities.

The tone of diplomacy is changing and requires new vocabulary to frame messages for politically and culturally diverse audiences (Melissen, 2005). The traditional method of diplomacy is no longer the only way which solves the complex situations. Different actors are involving in the diplomatic arena.

New media are changing the dynamics of diplomacy and communication strategy, both at home and abroad (Webb, 2009:8). There is a fundamental shift in power from the centers of power to citizens' diplomacy. Citizens can influence the attitude of foreign publics by using culture.

Foreign policy initiatives have many intended and unintended consequences and governments will face difficulties if they attempt to change public behavior according to a clearly defined set of foreign policy objectives without considering the crucial role of cultural diplomacy (Webb, 2009:10). This shows that cultural diplomacy plays an important role in changing public behavior. It counteracts negative perceptions which the formal or traditional diplomacy cannot do.

Soft power pivoted on cultural power is playing and will continue to play a great and lasting role in the transition of international relations and world configuration. Cultural communication reinforces interdependence among nations, raises the possibility of seeking common interests, and helps advance the win-win plus sum game to replace the zero sum game in the process of cultural integration (Majie, 2002:61). This shows that plural cultures can coexist seeking common understanding, and valuing one another.

After the end of World War II, a bipolar world was created along the ideological lines of socialism and communism. This is what is commonly called the Cold War. The Socialist Camp was led by The Soviet Union, the Capitalist Camp was led by The United States. Deep ideological rivalry prompted both sides to look for ways of addressing each other's public. Cultural diplomacy was a major tool of the United States to halt the spread of communism. The tools were the media. Media are the major tools in the cultural hegemony contest of the United States and the West.

In the contemporary world that is characterized by international and local actors other than the state, persuasion and influence have become important tools of winning interest. Assertion of one's point of view by using military and economic powers seems fading (Fisher and Brockerhoff, 2008). The development of communication technology, the advancement of satellite television, the advent of the internet are the accelerating factors for the need to have cultural diplomacy. Proliferation of nongovernmental actors are becoming the crucial actors in enhancing the need and importance of cultural diplomacy.

There are common factors helpful for the integration of different cultures in today's world. The common language of modern technology and the production techniques it entails, frequent cultural exchanges and mutual transmission of resources are among the factors (Weijian, 2002:165). This interactive role between cultural groups should provide each other with factors for co existence and mutual understanding.

The twenty first century is an era of the globalization of the co-existence of plural cultures and requires a corresponding global awareness that is to imply the whole world cannot have one kind of cultural value and voice (Jiemin, 2002:71). The central point of culture is its value orientation meaning different cultures have different values. Cultural values tell us what is "good" and what "ought to" be good (Martin and Nakayama, 2007). Exchanges, learning from one another's values will promote friendship among peoples various countries. To the contrary, taking cultural power dominance will trigger or intensify contradictions and conflicts.

There are different issues that call for the cooperation of the international community (McKibben, 2010 p:2). HIV AIDS, malaria, tuberculosis, drugs, climate change, terrorism, migration, and other problems call for cooperation of the international community. Not a single country can solve all these problems alone. These global problems need global cooperation.

A new type of person whose orientation and view of the world profoundly transcends his indigenous culture is developing from the complex social, political, and educational interactions of our time (Adler, 2000:241). This orientation results from the increasing interconnection among the peoples of the world. Media especially the social media play a pivotal role in this regard.

Soft and hard powers are interdependent and every country should develop both in constructing its comprehensive national power (Majie, 2002:44). Culture as a kind of soft power has been a significant part of a comprehensive national power. It has been a strategic option for many countries to strengthen their influence and competitiveness through cultural development.

Cultural power is bound to accompany political power. For example, the United States foreign policy has always included a plan of disseminating U.S. cultural values to the rest of the world, of which exporting the mode of U.S. political development is one of the major elements (Jiemin, 2002:73). Culture plays a crucial role in the American politics.

Cultural products reflect the cultural values of their producers and the social reality in which they were produced. Viewing a television program or listening to the radio cannot be seen as a simple act of consumption; these acts involve a rather complex process of decoding cultural meanings (Servaes and Lie, 2008). This implies that television or radio transmissions are not simply transmissions rather they have message value and they are value laden.

The contemporary competition over soft power is manifested in the following ways. First, intervention in the internal affairs of other countries in the name of human rights. Second, the pursuit of hegemony by international institutions. Third, using the market economy for cultural infiltration. Fourth, competing for human resources and

competitive advantage. Fifth, making use of religious and ethnic problems to push expansion strategy. Sixth, striving for better media position and intensifying cultural expansion (Majie, 2002:49_54).Intensifying cultural expansion by using the media is the major strategy of the U.S.-led Western countries over their competition for soft power. .

Culture is in the forefront of many countries’ promotional efforts .The use of culture to build a country’s image abroad is not a new phenomenon. It has been a means of state power since the medieval times when the European monarchs used it as a strategic tool to increase their prestige and influence on the global stage through the promotion of cultural events (Einbinder, 2013:24).This implies that although cultural diplomacy is little known compared to traditional diplomacy, the practice is not a new phenomenon.

Cultural diplomacy was conceptualized and strategically implemented differently across countries. For instance, France and Germany emphasized on the promotion of their language abroad. Britain concentrated on education while Canada focused on the cultural diversity of its cultural development (Einbinder, 2013:26).It can be used as an important tool in line with the formal diplomacy.

One of the first European countries to develop an official organ of cultural diplomacy for the promotion of its image abroad was France (Geusau, 2009). In 1883, the Alliance Francais was created in order to promote France’s reputation abroad and instruct the French language in the French colonies. The British council (1934), the Italian cultural Institute, and the Goethe Institute were created to promote Britain, Italy, and Germany respectively.

Since the end of the Cold war, the role of culture in international relations has been growing (Majie, 2002). This is due to the advent of the internet which accelerates cultural interaction by compressing time and space. United States of America uses media and Hollywood films to extend its influence overseas. It harnessed the power of culture against its enemy the Soviet Union and its ideology communism (Schneider, 2005).The U.S. uses the media and its culture to transcend governance abroad through international organizations.

Countries have used international broadcasting to reach foreign audiences (Fortner, 1994:37). The Voice of America (VoA), Cable News Network (CNN), Fox News, the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) and the other media conglomerates broadcast to disseminate the U.S. and Western values to the rest of the world. There is a saying which says “When the United States sneezes, the whole world gets cold.” The implication is the concern of the U.S. is the concern of the whole world. This is due to the diffusion of the U.S. values throughout the world.

In the Cold War period hegemonic countries confronted each other as enemies. The United States transmitted its cultural values through the media. It has set up “Radio Free Asia” based on the earlier “Radio Free Europe” with ulterior motives of playing a key role in the ideological field (Jiemin, 2002:68). Jiemin extends his argument saying that the Cold War has passed away as an era, but its habit remains till today. Media were the main tools in injecting the United States’ cultural values.

Although different cultures have different values, the commonality and complementarities of cultures provide a crucial base for harmony in international relations (Majie, 2002:27). There is no universal culture, but this doesn’t mean there is nothing at all that cultures share. Cultures have something to share in common. For instance, murder, theft, and treason are wrong in most cultures.

Culture is an important variable in the contemporary international relations. In the book, “The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order, Samuel P. Huntington (1996:183 to 291) argues that the fundamental source of conflict in the future would be neither ideological nor economic rather it will be cultural. This theory perceives culture as the dominant framework of international relations, the primary base of national behavior, and the main source of international relations. Scholars like Edward Said do not agree with the theory, but they agree that culture is an important component in the contemporary international relations (Majie, 2002:27). Huntington’s view are incorrect in theory (Xintian, 2002:19). Differences in culture may often be the fuse for conflict, but the scramble for interests of territory, wealth, resources and power is the main reason (Xintian, 2002:19). Among different cultures, there aren’t only conflict and

confrontation ,but also exchange and cooperation. Furthermore, cultures can share values and different cultures can temper intersecting interests and aspirations.

Civilization is culture developed to a higher level; it is relatively stable, but this does not stop at one level (Majie, 2002:92).As civilization is not developed overnight, culture is not a creation of one day phenomenon. Although the Westerners claim that Western civilization is universal civilization, there is no universal civilization, and the implication is there is no universal culture.

In the confluence of the Western civilization and non Western civilizations, the result of the meeting need not necessarily be a clash (Majie, 2002:101).Majie argues the meeting could be integration and then evolution towards a new and higher level of civilization. Japan, Singapore, and South Korea are examples of countries which absorb the essence of Western civilization, but not necessarily give up their national and cultural features.

Cultural security through closing doors is not only impossible technologically, but also will run counter to people's desire(Xintian,2002:211).Only by interacting and filtering "the good" from" the bad" can we coexist .Following a closed door policy is against the will and the right of the people. People have the right to interact with whom they want to interact.

The September 9 /11 incident brought the importance of foreign public opinion and the need to give it ample consideration in cultural diplomacy (Fitzpatrick, 2004). The United States administration revised its agenda about cultural diplomacy (Taylor, 2009).Because the United States image is deteriorating in the Middle East, it revised its agenda of cultural diplomacy so that people in the Middle East perceive it in a positive way. Not only your perception about you, but also others perception about you matters.

Culture provides the dominant blueprint for social and economic institutions and have exerts tremendous impact on national behavior and its fate in the international community (Majie, 2002:56). This is true because nations are different in their social credit, which inevitably will affect their international relations.

Culture is an architect of international social trust (Fukuyama, 1995). Francis Fukuyama argues that a nation's welfare and competitiveness are conditioned by a single, pervasive cultural characteristic. Culture determines the degree of social trust and influences the nature of cooperative institutions.

Culture is a driving force for economic development (Xintian, 2002:14). The Japanese have strong work culture. Culture is related to social psychology. Common social psychological makeup is formed because of culture. They adopt Western civilization without losing their national identity and culture. The Japanese adopted Western knowledge, and use it in their context for their economic development. They revised their education system, so that it can bring an overall change in the economic, political, and social thought (Schirokauer, 2002:282). The Japanese Meiji Restoration made Japan richer and more powerful by its modernization program (Majie, 2002:95). Japan used its own way of modernization. The Ethiopian author, Kebede Mikael's book, „Japan Endemin Seletenech“ shows that the Japanese adopted Western knowledge and contextualized it in their own national and cultural context. „Kaizen“ and „Deliveorlogy“ are the management philosophies that Ethiopia has adopted from Japan recently.

Culture is a means of entering the world political arena (Xintian, 2002:17). Xintian mentions that Asians are undergoing psychological changes from "everything being the best in the West" to finding again the values of their cultural heritage achieving a modernization unequal to Westernization. Of course, Xintian acknowledges that Western culture has made significant contributions to the world's historical process, leading to drastic changes with the scientific and technological revolution as the centerpiece. Japan, Singapore, and South Korea are good examples of Asian countries which have looked for their cultural heritage and achieved development. Neither modernization nor civilization are equated to Americanization, Westernization, or Europeanization. The path to modernization is not one directional; the path to civilization is not uniform.

Culture is a navigator in making decision (Majie, 2002:26). This can be manifested in leaders' decision. They approach problems and make decision through different cultural parameters. Thus, culture plays an important role in leaders' judgment

and decision making in international relations. States, peoples and their leaders are influenced by their distinctive cultures which reflect their different values, interests, habits and wishes.

Education is both culturally-determined and culture-specific; it is not only what we learn, but also how we learn (Weaver 2000:257). For instance, in the traditional education system (clerical school) of Ethiopia, imitation is the main method of learning.

Culture has broad determinant impact on the achievements of the state (Majie, 2002: 25). It plays an important role in providing the spiritual, ethical, and economic conditions for human life. State and people handle the economic and social demands of their life in their own way.

Each culture has its inherent value. Western cultural values are not the sole choice of the whole of human kind (Jiemin, 2002:70). Cultures diverge and blend. Divergence does not mean conflict. Similarly, blend does not mean elimination of national individuality. Correct realization of blend and conflict in cultural development lies in exploring how to make different cultures blend and avoid conflict; this is the requirement of peaceful development in human society (Jiemin, 2002:71). The belief that Non – Western people should adopt western values, institutions and culture is immoral (Huntington, 1996: 310). This calls for cultural relativity.

2.3. Cultural Relativism Theory

It was first coined by the philosopher and social theorist Alain Locke in 1924(<https://en.m.wikipedia.org>). It was established as axiomatic in anthropological research by Franz Boas in the first few decades of the twentieth century. Cross cultural relativism theory holds that all cultures are relative and can coexist (Xintian, 2002:111). It is the idea that a person's beliefs, values, and practices should be understood based on that person's own culture, rather than be judged against the criteria of another. This calls for cooperation and mutual understanding. Cultural relativism is not building a wall of "we" and "they". Different cultures have different values. People from different cultures can learn one another. The cultural diversity is not a curse. It is a blessing. Being

monochrome does not show beauty. It is the different colors that become attractive and appealing.

People who value individualism tend also to favor direct forms of communication and to support overt forms of conflict resolution. People in collectivistic societies may employ less direct communication and more avoidance style conflict resolution (Martin and Nakayama, 2007:99).Ethiopians are collectivistic people. Culture influences the pattern of communication.

Cultural connotations are very rich. Its central content is a deep value system, common national psychology evolved over a long history, and a kind of lifestyle (Jiemin,2002:69).Cultures differ in their value orientation. That is what makes one culture different from the other. Culture is not established overnight. It is an accumulation of long years“ experience. That is why people in the same culture share a common orientation.

Human values are not arbitrary. They shape human beliefs about the world and their evaluations of various aspects of it (Bell, 2010: 165).They inform „the right“ and „the wrong“ and „the good“ and „the bad“ in a given society. They show directions as to how a certain society should act and should not act.

Western civilization claims as carrying a sense of mission; it has expansionist role; it advocates the right of individual emancipation, individual choice; it is characterized by the pursuit of individual freedom and happiness(Majie,2002:94).The mission is claiming to free the world and to promote and strengthen democratic values in the world as their mission. Their expansionist role lies on civilizing the “uncivilized”. Individualism is the center of Western civilization.

In research on world civilizations, many Western philosophers and historians have elaborated the view that there is only one real civilization, that is, Western civilization. Other civilizations either lack vitality or have converged into Western civilization, which is a “universal suiting everyone” just as Western values are global values (Jiemin, 2002:67).Jiemin argues that the dissemination of modern Western civilization accompanied aggression and expansion. Of course, it is true that this is a

Western- centric view which adheres that there is only one way to civilization. This is a rejection of the values of other civilizations.

Western civilization is like a two-edged sword with one edge having the positive and obverse function, and the other the negative and reverses function (Majie, 2002:95).In one hand, it advocates human rights diplomacy. On the other hand, it rejects values which do not conform to Western values.

Western countries impose their own will on international institutions in order to make them reflect Western values and serve the interests of the West. They are trying to impose their own values and human rights standards as universal principles so that the United Nations could be used to play a role according to Western interests, and influence the world ideologically strategically (Majie, 2002:98).This is a wrong position because each civilization has its own value orientation.

The West fundamentally uses the influence of the market economy to spread their liberal democratic ideas and values. Westerners see trade not merely as commercial activities, but as a basic channel of personal contact to exchange views and values.

Concerns about the relationship between foreign and native cultures in the process of modernization have been rising (Xintian, 2002:125).This is because now there is an ever increasing cultural contact between different cultures because of the information and communication technology revolution. There is a cultural struggle to prevent culture from the influence of globalization. Culture is a powerful weapon in the hegemonic competition of the new era.

To achieve modernization and become developed, any country should boldly open its door to the outside world(Xintian,2002:128).Closing doors is impossible .It is also against the free will of people. There is a benefit gained and a lesson learned from the interconnection with the West. In this regard, globalization is not inherently harmful. It should be managed and used in the context of our country.

Japan's modernization was started and realized under the fierce impact of Western civilization. It introduced Western civilization subtly in the areas of politics,

law, economy, lifestyle, as well as in technology (Weijian, 2002:158). On the one hand, Japan took the fine achievements of modern civilization; on the other hand, it preserved its traditional cultural aspects, and made them suitable for the actual conditions of the Japanese people.

Globalization's negative impact is manifested in the September 11th incident. The September 11th 2001 incident will no doubt exert great deep impact on trends of Middle East social thought(Weijian,20002:199).According to Weijian, with the development of the fight against terrorism, the international community has paid ever more attention to various issues in the Middle Eastern extremes of social thought; the incident has led the Arab world to look into many of its issues and to make efforts to overcome the negative impacts of globalization and its own social maladies, thereby achieving peace and development together with the international community.

2.4. Cultural Diplomacy as a Communication in Image Building

Culture can be used as a diplomatic instrument of national image building in international relations. This is what is commonly called cultural diplomacy. Cultural diplomacy is a set of public diplomacy that includes the exchange of ideas, art and other aspects of culture among nations and their people in order to foster mutual understanding (Cultural diplomacy <http://www.culturaldiplomacy.org>).

The goal of cultural diplomacy is to influence a foreign audience and use that influence, as a sort of good will reserve to win support for policies. Cultural diplomacy seeks to harness the elements of culture to induce foreigners to:

- have a positive view of the country's people, culture and policies.
- foster greater cooperation between countries
- prevent, manage, and mitigate conflict with the target country.

Cultural diplomacy utilizes every aspect of a nation's culture. This includes

- the arts including films, dance, music, painting, sculpture, etc.

- exhibitions which offer the potential to show numerous objects of culture.
- educational progress such as Universities and language programs abroad
- exchanges – scientific, artistic, education, etc
- literature – the establishment of libraries abroad, and translation of popular and national works
- broadcasting of news and cultural programs
- gifts to a nation, which demonstrate thoughtfulness and respect
- religious diplomacy, including inter – religious dialogue
- promotion and explanation of ideas and social policies

Diplomatic organizations are grappling with ways in which to assert strategic direction within a system of communication that is asymmetric and often not measurable by traditional means (Webb, 2009:1). Cultural diplomacy is an important communication in this regard. It fills the gap that the traditional method cannot do.

Diplomats and other government representatives abroad spent a significant portion of their time explaining the work, positions and choices of their ministries to foreign public opinion leaders. Regardless of these efforts, there appears at the same time to be the unusual presupposition that cultural diplomacy involves engaging with foreign publics (Huijgh, 2017:63). The Diaspora community can be mentioned in this regard. They are close to the society. It can be said that they are deep inside the society compared to the conventional diplomats or government representatives.

Cultural diplomacy should be born out of a negotiated two way communication (Mellisen, 2005). It focuses on appreciating, listening, and involving in a give and take relation to establish understanding of one's policies among foreign publics. The communication process is best maintained as a dialogue or a two way relationship. Such kind of relationship emphasizes on informing, understanding, and persuading.

Collaboration is a key dimension of effective cultural diplomacy (Webb, 2009:2). It is through negotiation that cultural diplomacy becomes effective because it aims at winning lasting relationships. Cultural diplomacy is different from propaganda in that it is a two way (dialogic) communication. It is both encoding and decoding messages.

Cultural diplomacy has three dimensional models. These are daily communication, strategic communication, and developing lasting relationships (Leonard et al.2002).The daily communication deals with the immediate media responses. The strategic communication focuses proactive message intervention with a medium range effect. The third one deals with long term effect of relationship building. These three dimensional models of cultural diplomacy play to bring the intended result of a country's cultural diplomacy efforts.

Cultural diplomacy can be seen a multi actor communication strategy. It can have a long term, proactive and important policy goals (Webb, 2002 p: 1). Varieties of methods are used for the success of cultural diplomacy. The methods are used strategically so that they can bring the intended result. Some results can be seen in the short run; some results in the medium; some other results in the long run.

Cultural diplomacy should not be considered an accessory of a state's foreign policymaking process, and it should not be limited to referring to state policy alone (Jorgensen, 1990).It should be an integral part of the formal diplomacy. The cultural diplomat can easily mix with a foreign audience win the interest of his or her country as cultural diplomacy targets at winning the hearts and minds of others.

Cultural diplomacy can counter contentious issues (Appel et al, 2008). Ethiopia and Egypt have longstanding religious relationship. In this regard, religious diplomacy can play a key role to strengthen the two countries relationship .Cultural diplomacy can assist to solve the contentious issue of the two countries which is the Nile issue.

Cultural diplomacy can facilitate harmonious relationship (Einbinder, 2013).Ethiopia and Israel have long years diplomatic and religious relationship. Queen Sheba's visit and the journey of the Ethiopian eunuch to Israel can be mentioned .The Ethiopian eunuch's conversion to Christianity is taken as the acceptance of Christianity although Ethiopia accepted Christianity officially in 340 A.D. Ethiopia is a country which accommodates the three great religions Christianity, Judaism and Islam peacefully for long. The Jews suffered in many countries of the world .In Ethiopia, they have lived peacefully.

International ties may have been created by transnational migrations, religion, or other historical forces. A cultural group that flees its homeland is likely to bring customs and practices to the new homeland (Martin and Nakayama, 2007: 137). In this regard, Ethiopian Diasporas are found almost in every corner of the world. They can communicate their cultural values and ideas to their new homeland.

Cultural diplomacy (religious diplomacy) can play an indispensable role. Religion is a powerful force for conformity in a society (Nanda, 1994 p: 350). Ethiopia and Saudi Arabia have had religious relationship since Prophet Mohammed's followers came to Ethiopia. Ethiopia treated the Prophet's followers well. No coercion was there against these believers. Ethiopian Muslims go to Mecca for Hajji yearly. It was the Ethiopian Bilal Ibin Rabah who presented the first Azan in Mecca, Saudi Arabia. This is a good way of to strengthen the relationship of Ethiopia and Saudi Arabia.

Language is the main tool of cultural diplomacy .We think in language, create images, and then recreate them in response to either stimuli or evocative thinking (Fortner, 1994:37). Language teaching is an important tool in cultural diplomacy .For instance, the significant number of prominent Palestinians' fluency in Hebrew facilitates direct contact, especially through television and radio interviews (Kaufman, 2006 : 212). Ethiopia is a country which has more than eighty languages. It is a country which has its own alphabet .Ge'ez is one of the Ethiopian languages. At home, it is endanger of extinction .It is confined only around the Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahido Church .There is an assumption that the language is a language of religion. Of course, Bahir Dar University is giving Ge'ez in the Master's of Art program now. It is given in a doctoral degree level in Germany, Bonn University.

All cultures have their own traditional way of using the voice and instruments in structured ways to produce song and music (Nanda, 1994: 391). In this regard, Ethiopia has its own diversified music genres. Music can be taken as a cultural diplomacy (Einbinder, 2013). Saint Yared is the prominent composer and song writer in Ethiopia .Ethiopia has its own music genre. It has its own music instruments .There is eight hundred years difference between Saint Yared and Beethoven. Ethiopia can create good relationship with Sudan through music. Sudanese music is close to Ethiopian artists.

Ethiopia can create good relationship with Mali through music, because Malian music is close to pentatonic music like Ethiopia's music.

As the source of knowledge is multidirectional, Ethiopia has its own indigenous knowledge. It is home for the philosopher, Zera'yacob. It has its own methods feeding culture, dressing culture, constructing houses, administration systems, justice system, ways of conflict resolution, ways of communication, and the like .For instance, „the way of indigenous communication. We have traditional saving institutions like „Edir“ and „Ekub“Edir and Ekub can be taken as equivalents to insurance and bank respectively. We have traditional cottage industries like weaving and pottery .Communicating these to the foreign public will promote the image of Ethiopia abroad.

Cultural diplomacy can be improved through language interaction .Ethiopia and Eritrea share a lot of socio-cultural features. They share common languages and cultures. They have been highly mixed because of the historical ups and downs they face together. The common languages and cultures that Ethiopians and Eritreans share is a good opportunity to improve the existing contention between the two countries. For instance, Ethiopia and Kenya can strengthen their relationship by using language, Oromiffa. The language is spoken both in Ethiopia and Kenya. This can be a good opportunity to improve the relationship of Ethiopia and Kenya.

In many cultures, sports are emotionally compelling and symbolic in a way that makes us think of them, at least in their function, as like traditional art forms (Nanda,1994:397).Ethiopians have their own cultural sports like „netsa tigid“, „genna“, „gebeta“and other sport activities. These sport activities can build the image of the country if we communicate them properly.

“Olympic Games Lead to Diplomatic Breakthrough” (CNN, 12 February 2018).Cable News Network (CNN) has written about the role of sport in resolving the resentment between South Korea and North Korea. Sport competitions can be tools of cultural diplomacy. Ethiopia is prominently known in athletics .Athletics has played a tremendous role in building the image of Ethiopia. Starting from Abebe Bikila's miracle in Rome Olympics until now, the Ethiopian flag is hoisted in the international arena. Countries

will have their representatives in sport activities, and there is an opportunity of showing their cultural identity. Sport can mediate rival parties. The Summer Olympics held in Pyongchang is a good example. After long years of rivalry, South Korea and North Korea were represented in the same flag. This is a practical example as to how sport can play a key role in mediating rival groups.

Ethiopia is a symbol of independence for the Blacks, especially for Africans. The Victory of Adwa is an iconic symbol of independence for people who were under the yoke of colonialism .Ethiopia played a key role for the founding of the former Organization of the African Union (the current African Union).Addis Ababa is a seat for many international organizations. It is the third diplomatic city next to New York and Brussels. This culture of keeping independence from any invader can build the image of Ethiopia. It is a symbol of patriotism .It shows the sacrifice made for identity, freedom, sovereignty.

Ethiopia, Sudan, and Egypt are closely tied because of the Nile issue. Blue Nile (Abbay) is a symbol of Ethiopia. The Tisisat waterfall panorama is a symbol of birr, the basic unit of the Ethiopian currency (Bairu, 2000: 153).It was the magnetic Nile that intrigued explorers as early as the twentieth century; it drew to its vast valley adventurers who sold gold, slaves, and gum arabicum, lured foreign missionaries to preach the Gospel to the numerous peoples of the grand valley, and attracted the colonialists to possess a major part of the region. It was precisely in this direction that most of the bloodiest battles of Ethiopia were fought in the period from 1840 to 1900(Bairu, 2000: 154). Most of the world civilizations are started around rivers .In this regard, Egyptian civilization is attached to the Nile River which is called the Nile Valley Civilization. This can be taken as an opportunity of cooperation not contention.

Culture has a defined role in interpreting and organizing the relationships between physical existence and mental existence in the Nile valley: on one hand, gives meaning to man's ties to the place, and on the other hand, to the link between man and the divine creation (Gershomi, 2000: 208).Ethiopia is full of torrential rivers, some of which are comparable to the Blue Nile, but Abbay(Blue Nile) is the symbol of the Nation

Understanding the complex relationship of between social structure and nature (known as “ecopolitics”) is central to the study of global issues (McKibben, 2010: 2). Culture is the key element in this perspective to show the relationship between nature and social structure.

Cultural diplomacy programs create opportunities for foreign investments (Appel et al 2008:10). Being exposed to a certain country will portray the image of that country. This, in turn, attracts foreign investment. Attracting foreign investment is one of the main goals of the Ethiopian diplomacy.

Cultural diplomacy programs have good marketing opportunity (Schneider, 2005: 149). Businessmen and investors interact with their counterparts overseas. Language teaching and learning is an important cultural diplomacy program in this respect.

Cultural diplomacy programs can counter misunderstandings, ignorance, and baseless hatred that people in other countries may bear toward a certain society (Appel et al 2008:11). It is mainly done by citizens not government representatives. This will result in mutual misunderstanding and cooperation, because cultural diplomacy mainly aims at winning the hearts and minds of the public.

The challenge posed by today’s global issues, including climate change, terrorism, energy security and fragile states, requires new horizon around the practice of diplomacy (Webb, 2009:5). Diplomacy is becoming a multidimensional entity. Power is not necessarily at the center of central governments. There are „arms-length“ organizations, opinion leaders, think tank groups, agenda setters, civic organizations, and non-governmental organizations. The traditional diplomacy alone cannot solve all the complex problems of the world.

Cultural diplomacy can only achieve its full potential if it becomes a collaborative effort between governments, nongovernmental organizations, international organizations and other stakeholders (Einbinder, 2013:49). This implies that cultural diplomacy can bring the intended result if it is done in an organized and coordinated way.

One of the important fields in which cultural diplomacy can reap important benefits is the field of education(Appel,2008 :12).Academic institutions can play an important role in the cultural exchange. Twinning universities as well as twining cities can be a good way for the cultural exchange.

Ethiopia has been named as “a land of origins” recently. The common cultural values of the Ethiopian people have great contribution in image building (Firehiwot, 2009:59).Although Ethiopians are diversified in cultures, they have common cultural values. According to Firehiwot, there is no study on common cultural values of Ethiopia .It is a cradle of mankind. It is home for Dinknesh or Lucy. It is home for the Axumite Civilization; it is home for the Rock Hewn Churches of Lalibela;it is home for the Castles of Fasiledes; it is home for the Jegol Wall, and it is home for the Tiya monuments. It has its own alphabet and calendar .It has kept its independence from foreign aggressors for a long time .It is a country which has never been colonized in Africa .Ethiopians are known for their courage and their hospitality. It is a country of diversity and beauty. It has accommodated diverse cultures and religions for long. Communicating these heritages can build the national image of Ethiopia.

Ethiopia’s main attractions tend to be of a historical and religious nature (Abebe, 2009:61). According to Abebe, tourism is an important strategy for socio-economic development for countries which have rich historical, religious and socio-cultural sites. Ethiopia is rich in this regard. We can build the image of our country if we properly address it to the foreign public.

Ethiopian monasteries and churches are home to substantial material culture, storing frontiers knowledge from the sacred to the, secular (Mareshet, 2009:68).We get lots of cultural heritages. Religious books, chronicles of former kings, indigenous knowledge and wisdom are found in the monasteries and churches. Ethiopia can earn a lot and build its image if these resources are preserved and communicated to the world.

The First Annual Research Conference Proceeding on Culture and Tourism was conducted in Gondar town in 2009 E.C. (The Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia Ministry of Culture and Tourism).The conference raised issues of integrating industries

and universities in the culture and tourism aspects .In the conference it was indicated that preserving cultural resources, and using them for the overall development of the country is indispensable.

National image is one of the most salient concepts in the era of globalization (Kinsey and Chung, 2015).It is inherently intricate and fluid, making it difficult to know what a country's national image is (Fan, 2010).This implies that it is difficult to put exact measurement. It is difficult to decide what a country's image exactly looks like.

The concept of national image has often been explored from the social psychological perspective. Kunczik(1992) posits that national image is the cognitive representation that a person holds of a given country, what a person believes to be true about a nation and its people .Wang(2008),on his part, says national image deals with the opinion formed by the international public's perception.

Measuring national image is difficult. However, there are six dimensions of the Fombrun RI Country Reputation Index developed by Passow,Fehlmann,and Grahlow in coordination with Charles J.Fombrun and the Reputation Institute(2000).These dimensions are emotional appeal ,political appeal ,financial appeal, leadership appeal, cultural appeal ,and social appeal .Ethiopia is a country of diversified cultures. In this respect, the country is among the prominent ones in the world. It has twelve cultural heritages recorded by the United Nations Educational, Scientific ,and Cultural Organization(UNESCO).This makes the country the prominent one in Africa.

The cultural appeal of a country is related to maintaining the values of diversity and a rich historical past (Fombrun_RI Country Reputation Institute (2000).In this context, Ethiopia is a country of diversified culture and religion. It has rich historical past dating back to pre Axumite civilization till now. Yeha, Punt, Da'mat, and other civilizations can be mentioned. The ruins of an ancient city called Harla has been found in the eastern part of Ethiopia.

Ethiopia's diplomatic experience is old. The incumbent Ethiopian government gives priority to economic diplomacy (FDRE Ministry of Foreign Affairs Policy and Strategy). The Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia Foreign Affairs Policy and Strategy says in

line with state to state relation, the public diplomacy that is conducted by media and public relations should be given emphasis (pages 24 and 25). In line with this, using exhibitions which show Ethiopian cultural products for the goal of image building is mentioned (FDRE Foreign Affairs and Security Policy and Strategy 1995 E.C.P:25).

On the other hand, FDRE Ministry of Culture and Tourism Cultural Policy (P. 18) defines cultural diplomacy as a public relations activity that involves cultural exchanges, cooperation, promotion and solidarity between people. The purpose is to create understanding, trust, mutual support and consequently strong ties between our peoples and the peoples of other countries, to foster a positive attitude towards and support for our nation through the promotion of our ancient civilization and cultural values to the external world.

In the history of Ethiopia's foreign relations and diplomacy, the country has been exercising both soft and hard power to secure its national interest. Ethiopia exercises soft power using celebrities, cultural exchanges, art and musical shows, foreign and domestic media relations, sister cities, foreign student scholarships and think thank group relations (Soft Power: How Ethiopia Fares in the Diplomatic Game [https://: addisfortune](https://addisfortune.com) August3, 2014).The cultural exchanges are indispensable because they tell a lot about a country even in the absence of the cultural diplomat.

The U.S.-Ethiopia diplomatic relations were established on December 27, 1903 Ethiopia when king of Ethiopia Menelik II and U.S. representative Robert P. Skinner signed a treaty of commerce in which the two states agreed to receive representatives in order to perpetuate and strengthen the friendly relations which exist between Ethiopia and the United States of America (History of the U.S. and Ethiopia U.S. Embassy in Ethiopia: [https// et.usembassy.gov](https://et.usembassy.gov)).There are many Ethiopians in the different states of the United States. These Ethiopians can play a paramount role to build the image of Ethiopia abroad if they work collaboratively.

In line with this, the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia Foreign Affairs Policy and Strategy and the Cultural Policy of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism state about using cultural diplomacy in their policy guidelines. In line with this, Ethiopia has

relationship with different countries in the aspect of culture. There are different cultural exhibitions and festivals conducted yearly through our embassies and consulate offices. Ethiopian cultural products are presented in these exhibitions and festivals. The study tries to depict the cultural diplomacy efforts of the Ethiopian government to build the image of the country abroad.

Chapter Three

3. The Research Methodology

3.1. The Research Design

The researcher employs a qualitative methodology. Qualitative research refers to the meanings, concepts, definitions, characteristics, metaphors and description of things (Berg, 2007:3). Kothari (2004:3), on his part, says a qualitative research is concerned with a qualitative phenomenon, i.e., phenomenon relating to or involving quality or kind. Similarly, Dawson (2009:14) discusses that qualitative research explores attitudes, behavior and experiences.

Certain research problems call for a qualitative approach (Creswell, 1998:120). Problems which cannot be easily counted and quantified are suited to qualitative study. Indeed, cultural diplomacy may not be suited to be counted and measured by quantities.

3.2. Sources of Data

3.2.1. Primary Sources of Data

Although cultural diplomacy is conducted by different stake holders, the ministry of culture and tourism and the ministry of foreign affairs are selected for the study. The ministry of culture and tourism is the leading ministry regarding culture. The ministry of foreign affairs is the leading ministry regarding diplomacy. Specifically, three directorates, two from the ministry of culture and tourism and one from the ministry of foreign affairs are selected for interview. From the ministry of foreign affairs, the promotion and cultural exchange directorate is selected for interview. From the ministry of culture and tourism, the cultural industries and cooperation directorate and the language values and cultural development are selected. Three directors and four experts are interviewed. A semi-structured interview is made for three hours with the participants. The researcher also interviewed the director of the Ethiopian Tourism Organization. The data gathered from the participants will supplement the data gathered from written documents, policy guidelines, training manuals, brochures, and websites are assessed.

3.2.2. Secondary Sources of Data

Written documents, policy guidelines, training manuals, brochures, and websites are assessed. The documents which are written in Amharic are translated into English. The content of these secondary sources is mixed with the data gathered from the primary sources.

3.3. Data Sampling Techniques

Snowball sampling is selected for the study .It is one of the non probability sampling methods. It is the best way to locate respondents with certain attributes or characteristics necessary in the study (Berg, 2007: 44).From the two ministries, directorates and directors which qualify better for the study are selected. Similarly, experts which qualify better for the study are selected. The directorates, directors and experts are selected based on a referral method. Content analysis and interview are employed in the study. Content analysis consists of analyzing the contents of documented materials such as books, magazines, newspapers, and contents of all other verbal materials which can be either spoken or printed (Kothari, 2004: 111). Content analysis is performed in various written documents, audio tapes, and video tapes (Berg, 2007:304). The themes of written documents, audio tapes and video tapes are essential.

The interview method of data collection is the other method employed in the study. The interview is conducted in a semi structured way. The interview method of collecting data involves presentation of oral – verbal stimuli and reply in terms of oral – verbal responses (Kothari, 2004:97). The interview method of data collection is used together with the data collected from written documents, brochures, audiotapes, videotapes, and websites.

The data collected from written documents, policy guidelines, training manuals, brochures, and websites are analyzed according to their themes. Similarly, the data collected by the interview method are coded in categories. The researcher coded them and tried to analyze them according to their theme.

Chapter Four

4. Data Presentation and Analysis

Cultural diplomacy is an important tool in national image building. Many countries in the world are using cultural diplomacy as an integral part of their formal diplomacy. The United States of America is prominent in this regard. It disseminates its values in the name of human rights diplomacy.

Ethiopian foreign affairs policy and strategy states that the ties we have with the Horn of African countries is in the aspects of language, culture, history, etc.

It does not clearly show how to approach these countries by using our language, culture, history, etc. Africa has its own early civilizations. In the eastern Africa, Axum, Nubia, and Meroe can be mentioned. In the western Africa, Malian civilization can be raised. In the northern Africa, Egyptian civilization can be mentioned. In the southern Africa, the Iron Age civilization can be raised. In the central Africa, city states civilization can be mentioned. There should have been a strategy to promote Ethiopia's pan Africanism role in the multidimensional aspects of Africa.

Regarding Somalia, the policy states that the education given in the Somali region by the Somali language can build strong tie in education and culture. This is a good strategy to strengthen the relationship of the two countries.

With regard to Sudan, the policy does not state the opportunity that the Sudanese attachment to the Ethiopian art specifically to the Ethiopian music. There are Ethiopians who sing Ethiopian music and, their Sudanese counterparts sing in Amharic, too. This can be used as an important element in the relationship of Ethiopia and Sudan.

The policy states that the establishment of Djibouti bases upon giving port service to Ethiopia. Apart from this, there are people in both countries who share the same language and culture. However; it does not indicate how this opportunity can be put into practice so that it can promote Ethiopia's interest.

Kenya is another country in the Horn of Africa. The policy shows that Ethiopia and Kenya are friends. Oromiffa is a language that is spoken both in Ethiopia and Kenya. This common entity is not mentioned in the policy document. There are two cities by the same naming Ethiopian Moyale and Kenyan Moyale. This could have been good if it was changed into city twinning.

The policy raises Ethiopia's nearness to the Middle East. It also points out that Ethiopia is a country which has accommodated the three great religions Christianity, Islam, and Judaism. It also indicates that Ethiopia has long time ties with the Middle East in language, history, and culture. Nevertheless, it does not show how these historical opportunities are communicated so that Ethiopia can strengthen its relationship with the aforementioned region and ultimately build its image.

The Ethiopian foreign policy and strategy mentions that the Nile River is the central element in the relationship between Ethiopia and Egypt. The Blue Nile (Abbay) is not considered as an ordinary river on the side of Ethiopians. On the other hand, Egyptians consider the Nile River as their "life-blood". They strongly believe that Egypt is the gift of the Nile River. The neglected thing here is the religious relationship we have with Egypt. The Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahido Church and the Egyptian Coptic Church are the same in doctrine and canon. A lot would have been done in this area if it had got proper attention apart from the religious issues.

The Ethiopian foreign policy and strategy says Ethiopia has a strong tie with the Gulf country, Yemen. It states that Yemen was part of the Axumite Kingdom as history recorded it. The policy continues mentioning that Yemenis had a good experience of involvement in Ethiopian commercial activity. However, the policy does not show this historical milestone is communicated to the Yemenis to promote Ethiopia's interest.

With regard to the other Gulf country, Saudi Arabia, the policy shows that Ethiopia has longstanding relationship. The policy does not indicate how to change the good opportunity of the early religious ties of the two countries because of Islam. The policy shows that there are no sufficient researches and studies done as to how Ethiopia's tie with the Gulf countries should look like.

Like the other Middle East countries, Ethiopia has a longstanding historical tie with Israel. The policy states that there is not much done in the aspects of commerce, investment, and technical support. There is also another opportunity in the area of religion, history and culture to be done. Ethiopia and Israel have had early diplomatic ties. Queen of Sheba's visit to King Solomon of Israel is exemplary in this respect. The Ethiopian eunuch's religious conversion to Christianity is a historical milestone in the coming of Christianity to Ethiopia. Again, the Jews have lived in Ethiopia for many years. Of course, the Israelis took them in two phases, campaign Moses and campaign Solomon. There is also a belief that Jerusalem is taken as a holy land. There are Christian pilgrims to Jerusalem either for Christmas or for Easter. This would have been used as an opportunity to show our image to the Israelis.

The policy states that Russia has been an ally in strengthening our defense capacity. It also states that the Russian people have long cultural tie with Ethiopia. However, it does not indicate as to how and in what cultural aspects this tie can be strengthened, and ultimately build the image of the country.

In our relationship with the United States of America, the policy points out that the United States of America plays a key role in world peace, stability, economy, and globalization. The policy also indicates that the center of attention should be Ethiopians who live in the United States to strengthen commercial and investment ties. The cultural element is the missing element in the policy document. Ethiopians can build the image of their country in the United States. There has to be a policy framework as to how culture can play a key role in the relationship of Ethiopia and the United States of America.

Ethiopia's support to the South Koreans is the missing aspect in Ethiopia's relationship with South Korea. „The Kagnew Shaleka“ is remembered in this regard. In fact, Koreans have built Korean Hospital and Korean TVET College in Addis Ababa to pay tribute to Ethiopia's support during their difficult times. There has been experience sharing between the two countries.

Ethiopia has been named as “the land of origins.”From thirteen months of sunshine, it has been changed into the land of origins. The motive behind is thirteen

months of sunshine is one aspect of Ethiopia. This does not show the country's numerous extraordinary resources which make the country unique from other countries. This is because it is a cradle of mankind. It is home for Dinknesh or Lucy .It is a country of ancient civilization. It has a rich historical past. It is a country of diversity and beauty. It is home for tangible and intangible cultural values. It is a symbol of independence. It has its own calendar. It has its own alphabet. It is unique in many aspects.

When we come to see Ethiopia's cultural diplomacy, there is an effort to use it for image building .These days, building the image of Ethiopia is what we commonly hear from government representatives. Being an ambassador or a diplomat is basically working for the good of your country. When you are a cultural diplomat, you are not in your country but your country is in you. The implication is you are very close to the public.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs established a public diplomacy directorate general in 2008 E.C. Two years later, promotion and cultural directorate was established. Although cultural diplomacy plays a tremendous role in image building, little emphasis is given to it. There is no cultural diplomacy policy at the national level .Cultural diplomacy can counter misunderstandings. It is not full of bureaucratic red tape .Not all Ethiopian embassies have cultural diplomats. Even, cultural diplomacy has no its own organ. It is done under the public diplomacy directorate general. Of course, people to people diplomacy or public diplomacy has a cultural aspect.

There are cultural diplomacy activities done yearly to promote Ethiopia's image abroad. The activities are not well organized with other stakeholders .The ministry tries to mobilize the Ethiopian Diaspora so that they can build the image of Ethiopia. The Diasporas are with their cultures. They migrate physically, but they are attached emotionally with their country. Of course, there is some labeling of the Diaspora as radical in their political outlook around the politicians. Regardless of their political outlook, mobilizing the Diaspora to build the image of the country is quite important. Building the image of the country by some yearly cultural festivals cannot properly build the image Ethiopia.

The Cultural Policy of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism (2008 E.C. p.7) says one of the objectives of the cultural policy is to facilitate national, continental and international cultural cooperation and exchanges based on equality and mutual benefit. Mutual benefit is the objective of cultural diplomacy. The cultural diplomacy activities are led by a policy direction, but it is not set as an integral part of the formal diplomacy. Although there is a cultural policy about cultural diplomacy in the country, the policy framework is not coordinated well with the formal diplomacy.

Policymakers do not take cultural diplomacy as an integral part of the formal diplomacy activity. The Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia Foreign Policy and Strategy mainly aims at economic diplomacy. The ultimate end of the policy is economic diplomacy. The policy states that Ethiopia should focus on its internal affairs to minimize its external vulnerability. For a country which is struggling to come out from the circle of poverty, focusing on economic diplomacy is indisputable; however, it doesn't show the economic benefit we can reap from cultural diplomacy. To attract foreign investment, the political diplomats discuss the prevailing peace, the friendly climate, and manpower. They do not usually discuss the appealing diverse cultures of the country. Cultural diplomacy is usually left aside. It is obvious that cultural diplomacy can attract foreign investment.

Culture diplomacy seems to lack emphasis in the academic circle. There are no undergraduate, graduate and post graduate programs in our higher institutions. There are cultural study programs in our universities, but there are no cultural diplomacy studies in our higher institutions. There are researches done on culture by our scholars.

Everyone can be an ambassador for his or her country. However; this does not mean that there is no need to have a diplomatic skill by training. There are some cultural attaches in some of our embassies abroad. The cultural attaches are from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. If we take China's cultural attaches, they are assigned from the Ministry of Culture and Tourism. Assigning cultural attaches from the Ministry of Culture and Tourism may give the opportunity know the cultural diplomacy task well. If the cultural attaches are assigned from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, there may be knowledge and

experience gaps. In this regard, there are no sufficient trained cultural diplomats who work to build the image of Ethiopia abroad.

Cultural diplomacy is implemented strategically. The religious, people to people, and early diplomatic relationship would have been good opportunities for the cultural diplomatic relationship of Ethiopia and Israel. No significant efforts have been made in this dimension. Queen Sheba's visit to Israel and the Ethiopian eunuch early conversion to Christianity are important milestones for the relationship of Ethiopia and Israel. Queen Sheba came to Ethiopia with Menelik I. Claiming the Solomonic Dynasty in Ethiopia starts from the reign of Emperor Menelik I. Having this as a legitimate ground, until 1966 E.C., the Ethiopian emperors claim as they are descendants from the Lion of Judah, Israel. There is also Ethiopia's monastery, Der Sultan in Israel. These historical milestones have message value for the relationship of Ethiopia and Israel.

Although Ethiopia's image is deteriorating in the Middle East today, Ethiopia is a country which has accommodated the three great religions namely Judaism, Christianity, and Islam peacefully. We know what is happening today between Israel and Palestine. Killings and displacement of people are what we commonly hear in the conflict ridden region.

Ethiopia and Saudi Arabia have a longstanding religious relationship. The first followers of Prophet Mohammed came to Ethiopia because of the suggestion of the Prophet. Ethiopia's hospitality to the early followers of Prophet Mohammed is not properly communicated to the people of Saudi Arabia. Today, our sisters go to Saudi Arabia as housemaids. Being housemaids may not matter. What matters is they are treated inhumanely. They are suffering from lots of miseries.

Ethiopia and Egypt have longstanding religious relationship. Till 1952 E.C., the Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahido Church was headed by patriarchs of Egypt. The Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahido Church and the Egyptian Coptic Orthodox Church are among the five oriental churches. This can be used to create a religious relationship which can build trust on Egyptians. On the other hand, Ethiopia and Egypt are highly tied because of the River Nile. For Ethiopia, Nile (Abbay) is not simply like an ordinary river. It is above

that. For Egypt, Nile is the source of civilization, which is commonly called the Nile Valley Civilization.

After the launch of the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam, there have been recent public diplomacy visits to Sudan and Egypt. In the public diplomacy of Ethiopia, Sudan has assured her firm stand for the GERD even to assist financially. The former Egyptian leader Mohammed Mursi did not show a sign of cooperation and consensus in the Nile issue. Similarly, Egypt's fanatic newspapers were capitalizing that Ethiopia declared war on Egypt. They were that Egyptians are going to die of thirst. When diplomacy is performed by the public, their degree of trust becomes better. Egyptian artists, writers, opinion leaders, think tank groups, and others have taken a position saying that Nile has to be a source of consensus not contention. The Egyptian media have brought a paradigm shift gradually. Ethiopia has natural right to use the water without harming Egypt. This is what is manifested in the Egyptian newspapers like Al Ahram.

Ethiopia is a country which keeps its independence from foreign aggression. It has kept its independence. It has kept its culture. It seems difficult to get common values in Africa. Their culture is either assimilated or lost because of colonialism, but this does not mean that there are no African values at all. The Victory of Adwa is a symbol of unity for Ethiopians. It is an important landmark for the independence of the Blacks in general and Africans in particular. Recently, Pan Adwa African University is launched to be established in the town of Adwa. It is announced that the university is going to be a center of African cultural and historical studies. Ethiopia has not reaped something significant from the victory of Adwa. Adwa is above becoming a victor country in a war. Ethiopia got diplomatic enquiries from different countries of the world. The Addis Ababa Treaty was signed after the victory of Adwa. It is a war which equips the power of we can for the suppressed people in every corner of the world.

Language is an important tool in cultural diplomacy. Ethiopia is a country which has more than eighty languages. Geez is one of the Ethiopian languages. Our chronicles, folklores, history, and culture are written in Geez. We have ancient churches, monasteries, and mosques. In Ethiopia, it is confined only around the Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahido Church. The language is given in the doctoral degree level in Germany

Ethiopia can strengthen its relationship with Kenya. Ethiopia and Kenya have not gone to conventional wars in history. They share borders. They share language. Oromiffa is spoken both in Ethiopia and Kenya .This is a good opportunity to strengthen the relationship of the two countries .Language is an important element in culture .It is through language that we communicate our values and ideals.

Ethiopia has her own indigenous knowledge. It has its own traditional medication system .It domesticated crops thousands years ago. It identified the edible plants from the non edible ones .It has had its own system of administration. It has its own methods of conflict resolution. It has its own methods of saving like „Edir“ and „Ekub“. It has its own cottage industries like weaving and pottery. It has its own traditions. „The Gada System“ is an indigenous system of administration. „Dagu“ is an indigenous way of communication. „Yezemed Dagna“ is an indigenous way of conflict resolution. These are presented as examples. We have a culture of working together. Debo can be mentioned. As Ethiopia is a country of diverse cultures, it is rich in cultural traditions. These diverse cultures have diverse values. We don't have to necessarily follow the ways of other countries. These values are not communicated properly to the level they can build the image of the country abroad.

We have indigenous education systems like the Clerical Schooling system. „Qine“ is an important knowledge that is given in this kind of indigenous institutions. „Tewaney“ is taken as the originator of „qine“. The knowledge of „qine“ is mainly confined around the church. No due emphasis is given to it.

Athletics has built the image of Ethiopia in a better way. When the name of Ethiopia is called, what comes to the foreign public is the name of our outstanding athletes Abebe Bikila, Mamo Wolde, Miruts Yifter, Haile Gebre Selassie, Kenenisa Bekele, Derartu Tulu, Tirunesh Dibaba, Meseret Defar, and others .These athletes have hoisted our flag in pride in the international arena. Nations of the world gather in one place. There is cultural exchange in this kind of international meetings. Besides the victory in the sports competitions, showing Ethiopian cultural values is a very important opportunity to build the image of the country.

Cultural diplomacy is like a brick. The brick comes first before the building. Neglecting it means neglecting the whole building. Unlike the traditional diplomacy, cultural diplomacy is deep inside the society. It is not some government representatives who create culture. It is the public who create culture. It is the basement for our political diplomacy and economic diplomacy. Culture is the foundation. Every interaction has a cultural aspect in it. The cultural diplomats are the eyes and ears of their country. They can penetrate into foreign audiences easily, and win their hearts and minds.

For the successful accomplishment of cultural diplomacy, we need to have trained cultural diplomats. We need to have strong institutions which are the main stakeholders for the success of cultural diplomacy. The task may not be successful only in few weeks campaign. Westerners have trained personnel in this regard. Although they are facing lots of crises these days, they have built strong institutions which keep their status quo. Their media and cultures play the leading role. Cultural diplomacy is not given much emphasis. There is no sufficient skilled manpower in this area. When the case is about diplomacy, it is commonly about the traditional states to states diplomacy. The task seems to be left for the private sectors. The Alliance Française, The British Council, and the Goethe Institute are institutions which are established to build the image of France, Britain, and Germany respectively.

There are museums like the National Museum. There is also a national cultural center. The cultural center is established to show Ethiopian cultural products in a one place. In practice, it does not necessarily meet the objective. It doesn't communicate our values and ideals to the world properly. At least, it would have been good if our African brothers and sisters had known Ethiopia's unshaken commitment to their independence. Our African brothers and sisters do not seem to know well about Ethiopia's historical legacy for the independence and the unity of the continent.

There are cultural diplomacy activities. Embassies arrange cultural festivals. The cultural festivals promote the image of Ethiopia. These kinds of activities are done by some representatives. There are some cultural attaches in some of the Ethiopian embassies to promote the image of Ethiopia. However, cultural diplomacy is not basically a work of representation. It is the mass mobilization of the society.

To run cultural diplomacy, finance is important. As Ethiopia is wrestling with poverty, financial constraint has somewhat limited its effectiveness and efficiency. To the contrary, there is also problem of planning in the availability of finance. There is a gap in using cultural diplomacy activities in an organized and coordinated way. The activities are not well planned in time. They are not performed strategically. The cultural activities are not strategically chosen to promote the image of Ethiopia abroad.

There are trainings to equip diplomats with the ever-changing world dynamism. It is commonly said that communication is the blood of diplomacy. The ultimate goal of the trainings is to promote Ethiopia's interest. It is vividly stated in the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia Foreign Affairs and Security Policy and Strategy that the ultimate goal of our diplomacy is economic diplomacy. In the policy, keeping national sovereignty is taken as the ultimate goal of the policy. It states that Ethiopia is the only country in Africa which keeps its independence; it is a country which has a long and great civilization.

Again, it is clearly stated that each nation and nationality has the right to develop its culture. However; the attention given to this great civilization in building the image of the country seems that it lacks emphasis. When the cultural aspect is given emphasis, it can attract the attention of others and they come to invest. Peace, security, stability, climate, and manpower matter to invest in a certain country. The culture of the people also matters. Ethiopians are known for their courage and hospitality. In Ethiopia, the tradition is "guest first." They are welcoming people. Communicating these cultural elements, too plays a key role in building the image of Ethiopia.

Chapter Five

5. Conclusions and Recommendations

5.1. Conclusions

There is an effort in building the image of Ethiopia by using cultural diplomacy. In this regard, there are cultural programs conducted in different countries which aim at building the image of the country abroad. Efforts are being made in using the country's cultural wealth to build the image of the country. A policy and strategy framework is set for the implementation. There are efforts to coordinate different stakeholders for the success of cultural diplomacy. However, compared to the country's richness in cultural wealth, a great deal of work remains to be done.

There seems to be a lack of an integrated policy direction at the national level regarding cultural diplomacy. Although there is a cultural policy of the country, the two ministry offices selected for the study do not have a common policy direction as to how they are going to work collaboratively so that cultural diplomacy can play a paramount role in building the image of the country.

There has existed a problem of favorable economic and political environment for two years. As a country which is wrestling to come out of the ring of poverty poor, financial constraint has limited the success of cultural diplomacy. In the political aspect, a state of emergency has been declared twice in the country. The flow of tourist has decreased because of the domestic political environment. The peace, security, and stability problems have brought their own influence. They have negative influence on the tourist flow.

There is lack of a common policy guideline and strategy which helps to integrate human, institutional, and financial resources in order to bring efficiency and effectiveness in the area. The two ministry offices do not have a common policy guideline and strategy how to use their human, institutional, and financial resources together so that cultural diplomacy can bring the intended outcome in the area of image building.

There is a problem of integration among cultural diplomacy stakeholders .There is lack of coordination among the players of cultural diplomacy. Of course, different stakeholders promote the image of their country in different ways. This has brought its own good result in building the image of the country. However, it is not to the expected level.

There is a shortage of national research institutes which generate new ideas regarding cultural diplomacy. Of course, there are research organizations which focus on culture. Compared to the country's rich cultural potential a lot remains to be done in using cultural to build the image of the country.

There seems to be a lack of emphasis in the academic circle. Of course, there are educational programs which are related to culture .There are no sufficient academic studies done to show how cultural diplomacy is used to build the image of Ethiopia.

When the issue is about diplomacy, it seems to be left to the traditional diplomacy which is conducted government officials to government officials. Cultural diplomacy lacks emphasis in the Ethiopian diplomatic relations.

There is shortage of trained personnel in the area of cultural diplomacy. Although the practice is not new, cultural diplomacy is an emerging phenomenon in the academia. There is a lack of sufficient professionals in the area of cultural diplomacy.

There is lack of coordination among different stakeholders of cultural diplomacy .There seems to exist a loose connection between the ministry offices and higher institutions. There is lack of coordination between policymakers and scholars as to how they can design cultural diplomacy studies and put them into effect so that Ethiopia's image is built by cultural diplomacy to the desired level.

There is lack of operational capabilities in using cultural diplomacy programs strategically. Cultural festivals like cultural music and cultural dance are the common practices in most of our relationships abroad. The other elements of our culture are not communicated to the expected level.

There is lack of general institutional framework regarding cultural diplomacy. Although there are image building activities which are done by the two ministries together, they don't have a viable common institutional framework that can meet the goal of cultural diplomacy in image building.

There are no sufficient cultural programs which are aired or broadcast. Besides using cultural exhibitions and festivals, the media especially the social media would have been used to play a paramount role in building the image of the country. Momentary cultural exhibitions and festivals may not bring the intended outcome. Regular use of the media specifically the social media can bring the desired outcome.

5.2. Recommendations

There should be a viable cultural diplomacy policy direction at the national level. The two ministry offices should have a common policy direction as to how cultural diplomacy can bring the desired outcome in image building.

An action plan should be planned in the short- run, medium- term, and in the long run to get the desired outcome from cultural diplomacy. There should be assigning stakes to stakeholders strategically to achieve the intended result.

There should be a strategy which integrates human, institutional, and financial resources so as to bring efficiency and effectiveness in the area of image building. The two ministry offices should be integrated together and use their human, institutional, and financial resources towards building the image of Ethiopia.

Cultural diplomacy activities need to be done in a planned way. The two institutions need to plan together and implement cultural diplomacy activities together. There should be a common action plan for the success of cultural diplomacy.

There should be coordination between policymakers and scholars. We need to have academic programs with regard to cultural diplomacy. We need to have cultural diplomats who have the necessary knowledge, skill, and attitude regarding cultural diplomacy. Comprehensive and advanced researches should be done as to how cultural diplomacy can be used for image building.

There should be coordination among different stakeholders of cultural diplomacy. To do this, we need to have a general national institutional framework with regard to cultural diplomacy that aims at building the image of the country.

There should be coordination among higher institutions and the two ministry offices as to how new ideas come institutions by researches. Our higher institutions need to educate students who are equipped with the necessary knowledge, skill, and attitude regarding cultural diplomacy.

In line with the cultural development programs domestically, due emphasis need to be given in promoting our cultural values so that our image is built positively. In this regard, the government has to put policy emphasis on cultural diplomacy.

Cultural diplomacy programs need to be designed and put into practice strategically. The cultural programs that are designed for one country should not necessarily be the same for another country. The government needs to see the features of Ethiopia's historical relations with different countries, and use them strategically to build the image of the country abroad.

As cultural diplomacy offers the valuable opportunity of meaningful collaboration among a number of partners on the basis of a shared common interest, there should be a viable strategic management to coordinate different stakeholders. The government should exert effort in this regard.

Cultural diplomacy needs a holistic approach. There is a tendency of leaving the task for private tour and travel agencies. Of course, the government grants licenses for private tour and travel agencies which mainly aim at meeting their financial interests.

There should be short-term, medium-term, and long term trainings on cultural diplomacy to equip experts with the ever changing world. Cultural programs need to be planned by taking the dynamism of the world into consideration. Using media channels effectively can be a tool to show the cultural resources we have .To do this, cultural programs need to be aired and broadcast. Social media can play a key role in doing so.

There should be strong connection between industries and higher institutions. There should be a viable strategic plan which ties industries with higher institutions in the areas of cultural diplomacy. There is a gap between industries and higher institutions.

Besides preserving and developing the cultural resources of the country, using them for image building should be given emphasis. They need to be communicated by using different tools strategically. Media is the major tool in this regard. Besides the mainstream media, social media can play a key role.

We need to have national research institutes which generate new ideas as to how cultural diplomacy can be used better to build the image of the country abroad. Again, we need to have academic specializations on cultural diplomacy. There should also be experience sharing from Universities which have academic programs on cultural diplomacy.

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Appendix I

Open-Ended Interview Questions

1. How does your ministry office see cultural diplomacy in building the image of the country?
2. How far the ministries activities are coordinated with concerned stakeholders in building the image of the country by using cultural diplomacy?
3. What efforts are being made to equip the diplomats with the emerging concept, cultural diplomacy?
4. The ministry office has been engaged in cultural diplomacy activities .How far it has reorganized itself towards this end?
5. Are there any policy constraints that hinder the success of the ministry in practicing cultural diplomacy?
6. Are there institutional constraints that impede the success of the ministry in conducting cultural diplomacy?
7. How would you see the efforts made by the ministry to build the image of the country abroad by using cultural diplomacy?
8. How would you explain the role of the domestic environment in conducting cultural diplomacy?
9. Are the ministry's activities coordinated with higher institutions?
10. Is there a financial constraint in conducting cultural diplomacy?