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Promoting Ghana Beyond Aid Policy within ECOWAS Economic Integration: Challenges and Prospects

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ABSTRACT

The development discourse of Sub-Saharan African economies has been a key topic since independence. Despite Ghana once being seen as a beacon of hope for Africa, its current development is lacking. President Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo's declaration of a "Ghana Beyond Aid" has garnered global attention. This study examines the implementation, challenges, prospects, and impact of Ghana's "Beyond Aid" policy within the ECOWAS economic integration framework, using the dependency theory as a guide. In all, 25 participants were interviewed, and selected through purposive and snowball sampling, and an extensive review of secondary data. Using a mixed-methods approach, this study assesses the challenges and prospects of promoting "Ghana's Beyond Aid" policy within ECOWAS Economic Integration and its implications. The findings indicate that the policy aligns with the economy's needs and can reduce dependency. Additionally, ECOWAS provides a valuable framework that can support the policy's success. The "Beyond Aid" policy aims to reduce Ghana's dependency on foreign aid by promoting self-sustaining economic growth. This research analyses its alignment with ECOWAS's goals of regional integration and development, investigating challenges. Additional findings pointed to significant challenges, such as structural economic constraints, institutional inefficiencies, regional trade barriers, infrastructural deficits, and policy misalignments. Furthermore, weak institutions, negative attitudes, corruption, and politicization could undermine the "Beyond Aid" policy. Despite the challenges found, the study also highlighted promising opportunities through enhanced ECOWAS cooperation, targeted sector investments, strategic reforms, successful integration through regional partnerships, economic diversification, and fostering innovation and entrepreneurship. Addressing these issues could facilitate the policy's success, transforming the economy towards value addition and export-driven growth. The study concludes with policy recommendations to strengthen Ghana's economic resilience and promote sustainable development within ECOWAS. These include enhancing regional trade agreements, improving governance and institutional capacities, and fostering private sector growth. Respondents believe the policy is achievable long-term and could address many of the country's economic challenges. The study provides valuable insights for policymakers, development practitioners, and scholars interested in sustainable development and regional economic transformation in West Africa.

KEYWORDS: Aid, Trade, Policy, Regional Integration, Sustainable Development, Economic Transformation, Innovation, Entrepreneurship, Corruption, and Politicization.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND AIM OF STUDY

1.0 Background to the Study

Aid issues have received renewed interest during the 21st century. The Millennium Development Goals (MDG) acknowledged that objective attainment depended on increased resource transfers and improved aid effectiveness through donor coordination. Aid has also been a critical issue in pursuing the current Global Sustainable Development Goals (SDG).

Since the Monterrey Consensus in 2002, there has been considerable change in the landscape for sovereign debts. Strengthened macroeconomic and public resource management and substantial debt reduction through the heavily indebted poor countries (HIPCs) and multilateral debt relief initiatives (MDRIs) have led to a significant decline in the vulnerability of many countries to sovereign debt distress. Despite the improved efforts at debt sustainability and crisis prevention, sovereign debt distress continues to occur. Many countries continue to remain vulnerable to debt crises and some are in the midst of crises. Recent increases in the issuance of domestic currency debt, along with increased borrowing from emerging official creditors and the private sector have complicated the landscape for debt sustainability and crisis prevention for many developing countries, including Ghana.

African countries have been widely noted to be recipients of foreign assistance since their independence. Though some foreign development assistance programs, such as the Millennium Challenge Corporation (MCC) and the Africa Development Foundation (ADF), have shown lasting results in programs that stimulate local economies and reduce aid dependency, many experts argue that the provision of foreign assistance has resulted in many challenges for the

development of the economies. Thus, African governments have been urged to scale up policies that spur democracy and create the enabling environment to build prosperity in Africa through concrete priorities such as job creation, regional integration, and economic engagement to reduce Aid dependency.

Trade and market integration are at the heart of ECOWAS' aims and objectives. Article (3) of the Revised Treaty of ECOWAS stipulates the removal of trade barriers and harmonization of trade policies for the establishment of a Free Trade Area, a Customs Union, a Common Market, and an eventual culmination into a Monetary and Economic Union in West Africa. The ECOWAS Trade Liberalization Scheme (ETLS) was adopted in 1979 which is the main framework for trade and market integration in ECOWAS and addresses protocols on the free movement of goods, persons, and transportation. It is therefore expected that members' countries take advantage of these provisions and grow their markets.

The long-standing perils of Ghana's economy, inherited from pre-independence, have come with considerable costs to the ability of the country to leapfrog about development of the country. These include direct costs such as near-stagnation of export receipts, import dependency, aid dependency, and external debt burden as well as indirect costs, including high unemployment, high cost of living, and weak currency. It is well apt in the expert views of Ayelazunua and Mawuko-Yevugah (2019) who believed that, unless a serious effort is made to break away from the Guggisberg economic structure, Ghana will continue to suffer its perils and fail to achieve its development goals.

The contemporary slogan that has gained attraction in not only the Ghanaian media landscape, but the African continent and beyond is '**Ghana Beyond Aid**'. Ghana Beyond Aid is a national

transformation comprehensive long-term program comprising a vision of a Ghana that thrives beyond the dependence on aid (Whitfield & Jones, 2017). In view of this, the President of the Republic of Ghana in his maiden State of the Nation address to Parliament stressed that such a vision calls for transforming the economic structure into high-value services.

The President echoes the point that Poverty amid plenty is a sickening phenomenon his government was poised to tackle. “As a nation, we are blessed with a smart, youthful, and enterprising population” (Parliamentary Hansard, 2018). Ghana is endowed with many natural resources such as gold, bauxite, iron ore, diamonds, oil, natural gas, timber, cocoa, water, fertile land etc. However, it is widely believed that the state of Ghana does not bear out that we have these natural endowments.

Ghana’s situation at independence was touted with high buoyancy about its possibilities of development and economic self-reliance and sufficiency. Some scholars have opined that the way to prosperity was sure since there was some significant infrastructure and solid institutions built at the time. These included: a strong judicial system that had a good representation of Ghanaian graduates, a standing army although comprised mainly of British soldiers, and a Ghanaian Civil Service that the British put a lot of effort into training (Gaines, 2012). In view of this, Aklorbortu (2019) contends that, economically, Ghana’s prospects were not bleak either. Even though efforts to broaden the horizons of the economy by the British had yielded little by way of results, forthcoming businesses like bauxite and timber gave reason to be optimistic. Also, Ghana was the largest exporter of cocoa beans which sold on the international market at over \$850 a ton from 1956 onwards (Kolavalli et al, 2012).

Although Ghana is one of the world's leading exporters of cocoa, it also boasted \$ 151 million in total foreign investment and an additional £182,622,000 in external reserves (Jonah, 1989). These figures present a clear sign of the healthy economy Ghana had during independence. This apparent gain at independence nevertheless did not endure, by the time Dr. Kwame Nkrumah was overthrown, indeed the country's economy was a catastrophe due to falling cocoa prices and almost exhausted foreign exchange reserves due to it being used to finance developmental projects, especially the building of factories and the setting up of state farms. As a result, by August 1962, Ghana approached the IMF for \$14.25 million to ease the balance of payment deficits (Jonah, 1989).

Furthermore, since independence, Ghana has implemented many plans and economic strategy documents inspired by various ideological perspectives. A review of our experience with these plans shows clearly that while all of them were reasonably well-prepared on technical grounds, almost all of them, regardless of ideological perspective, have not been well-implemented, and achievements have been wide off-target.

Ghana has been a member of the IMF since September 1957. Since then, Ghana has benefitted from several technical and financial assistance programs from the IMF (Achanso & Kwoyiga, 2015; Adefulu, 2016). Some of the notable IMF programs that Ghana has benefitted from include The Stand-By Agreement (SBA) in 1966, the Structural Adjustment Program (SAP) in 1983, the Enhanced Structural Adjustment Facility (ESAF) in 1989, the Highly Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) initiative which was rolled out in collaboration with the World Bank in 2002 (Achanso & Kwoyiga, 2015). In 2009, Ghana again benefitted from the Poverty Reduction and Growth Facility (PRGF) from the IMF.

Over the years, Ghana's economic performance has seen wide fluctuations. Ghana experienced its highest economic growth rate in 2011, which reflected in 14% growth in Gross Domestic Product (GDP), which was largely driven by oil and gas discovery and exploration (Musah, Gakpetor, Kyei & Akomeah, 2018). Since then, Ghana has experienced a consistent decline in economic growth, reaching its lowest of 4% in 2014, leading to huge public debt and a Balance of Payment (BoP) deficit (Nabieu & Barnor, 2016). Several global economic changes accounted for the decline in economic performance in Ghana. For instance, a benchmark revenue projection of US\$93.34 a barrel for 2014, crude oil prices declined to US\$82 a barrel in September 2014, which led to a sharp revenue shortfall (Owusu-Antwi, Mensah, Crabbe & Antwi, 2015).

The NPP administration under the leadership of Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo has signaled its intent to change the status quo. In his speech during Ghana's 61st Independence anniversary on 6th March 2018, Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo made it clear that continually receiving aid was not the path that any country could use to develop and that aid would never be sufficient to spur growth to a developed status (Presidential Independence Speech, 2018). Based on this speech, one can say that there seemed to be a genuine desire by the President to see the country gradually wean itself off aid and all the terms and conditions they come with. In this regard, what Ghana Beyond Aid means, the options to aid the government seeks to explore and the challenges of implementing it will be probed.

1.2 Statement of Problem

The "Beyond Aid" policy has become a cornerstone of Ghana's development strategy, emphasizing self-reliance and decreased dependence on external assistance. This ambitious initiative aims to steer Ghana towards economic independence and reduce its reliance on

foreign aid. However, within the complex landscape of regional economic integration under the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), aligning Ghana's "Beyond Aid" vision presents intricate challenges and opportunities. This study explores the multifaceted dynamics involved in promoting Ghana's "Beyond Aid" policy within the broader context of ECOWAS economic integration.

Conversely, foreign aid is one of the few topics in development discourse that has consistently garnered interest and attention from academics, policymakers, and practitioners, despite its volatile history. Ghana, similar to many African countries is saddled with several problems, the furthestmost prominent among them being its financial challenges (Fay & Morrison, 2006). Though at independence Ghana could boast of having considerably high foreign reserves (Adelman, 2000), things have changed considerably. Consequently, this can be tracked in the years following the overthrow of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, the nation's first president, Ghana was heavily reliant on foreign injections of cash into its economy to not only stabilize it but also stimulate its growth.

The steady improvements in competitiveness, peacefulness, and credibility of multi-party elections in Ghana's Fourth Republic highlight the strategic role of external aid in the country's democratic development. Ghana's notable progress, from the flawed 1992 elections to the peaceful electoral turnovers in 2000 and 2008, can be largely credited to donor community support in establishing credible electoral systems and robust political parties. As a form of soft power, external assistance has significantly influenced Ghanaian democratization. External aid, particularly in democracy and governance, has been crucial in maintaining economic stability. It is important to state that Ghana as a member of the ECOWAS enjoys a broader market for its produce and moves goods freely from one member country to another without rigid trade barriers. This is very important for member countries because it leads to large-scale production

of goods, which in the long run translates into higher revenue generation. A large market basically means that more people are going to purchase a country's commodities.

Ghana's total public debt stock to Gross Domestic Product (GDP) ratio has remained above the 60.0% sustainability threshold recommended by the West Africa Monetary Zone (WAMZ) since 2013. The underlying causes of the debt crisis are the continued dependence on commodity exports, as well as borrowing and lending not being responsible enough, meaning that new debts do not generate sufficient revenue to enable them to be repaid. This and many other factors have made Ghana an aid-dependent economy over decades. Though successive governments have attempted to address these Aid Challenges in diverse ways, the recent pronouncement of Ghana Beyond Aid has attracted a significant amount of effort and recognition and has become one of the key flagship agendas of the current government.

The coming into office of President Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo has therefore put the country's aid conversation on the map stimulating critical mass discussions in the area. However, a critical observation across these discussions is the limitedness of empirical information and data. Because little research has been done in this area, a lot of arguments and debates lack scholarly basis. There is therefore the need for a critical focus and research into the Ghana Beyond Aid Policy and assess its challenges and prospects within the perspective of the ECOWAS regional body and by ascertaining diverse views from relevant stakeholders.

1.3 Research Objectives

The main objective of this study is to explore the possible challenges that might confront the promotion and implementation of the "Ghana Beyond Aid Policy" from the ECOWAS perspective. Specific objectives of the study are to:

- 1) Analyze the history, motivation, intentions, and the vision of government of Ghana's Beyond Aid Policy.
- 2) Ascertain stakeholder perspectives about the conceptualization and operational definition of Ghana Beyond Aid Policy.
- 3) Examine the interconnections of Ghana's Beyond Aid Policy with the operations and the framework of ECOWAS.
- 4) Examine the existing mechanisms for the implementation of the Ghana Beyond Aid Policy.
- 5) Ascertain the key challenges to the implementation of the Ghana Beyond Aid Policy.

1.4 Research Questions

- 1) What is the history, motivation, intentions, and the vision of government of Ghana's Beyond Aid Policy?
- 2) What is the stakeholders' perspective on the conceptualization and operational definition of Ghana Beyond Aid Policy?
- 3) How is the development and implementation of Ghana's Aid Policy connected with the operating framework of ECOWAS?
- 4) What are the existing mechanisms and the level of stakeholders' involvement in the implementation of the Ghana Beyond Aid Policy?
- 5) What are the key challenges that bother the Ghana Beyond Aid Policy within the framework of ECOWAS regional integration?

1.5 Scope of the Study

This study is limited to the Ghana Beyond Aid Policy. All other policies and related issues were not included in the study focus. Moreover, the study was focused on the challenges of

implementing the policy. Issues such as the policy development processes and other stakeholder engagement weaknesses were not included in the study. Additionally, the study's focus was mainly on Ghana and within the framework of the operations of the ECOWAS. This study is limited to the current policy of the Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo-led Administration spanning from 2017-2020. It also scrutinizes the scope and content of the Ghana Beyond Aid policy document which will chart the course to achieving a Ghana Beyond Aid. It also considers in addition to the above the viewpoint of ECOWAS as a regional body towards aid.

1.6 Significance of the Study

This study is highly significant because it will serve the interests of diverse stakeholders within the national economy and the sub-region at large. The research is going to be very significant for the researcher, and the academia and will also contribute to policy and development planning.

Furthermore, the research will provide the needed data and other relevant empirical information which will serve as a great input for policymakers and the implementing body to make informed and appropriate decisions to drive the effective implementation of the policy. It will also serve as a guide for the allocation and distribution of resources and address key challenges that may arise during the implementation of the project.

Similarly, the research will also enable the researcher to develop his knowledge and competence about the issues of trade, Aid, and Development Policy. It will enable the researcher to provide expert support, advisory, and consultancy services for practitioners and the implementing body of the secretariat. It will also expose the researcher to other important issues and propel the grounds for further and deeper research in the near future.

In much the same way, this research is also beneficial for the academic fraternity, especially within the disciplines of trade, regionalism, international relations, governance, and policy. It will contribute to the existing but limited knowledge in the area and help close the huge empirical gap. This study will contribute to further understanding of how the concept of Ghana Beyond Aid impacts the economic development of Ghana. Also, this research will positively impact the economic integration of the ECOWAS sub-region. This will be of interest to aid agencies and donor nations to learn more about the policy and how to further engage Ghana, lastly, the results of the study will create awareness and understanding of the relationships between Ghana and ECOWAS as well as enrich the available literature on the subject.

1.7 Organization of the Study

The structure of the dissertation was presented in five chapters. Chapter one (1) provided the introduction and aim of the study and key variables in the study particularly on Ghana Beyond Aid and the ECOWAS regional framework, the problem of the study, research objectives and questions, the significance of the study, and the organization of the study. Chapter two (2) focused on the literature review. The review focused on both conceptual and theoretical components. It provided a review of the historical and conceptual development of aid and conditions in Ghana relative to donor nations, the distinctions of the concept from other related concepts, and explored the gaps in the literature thereafter. A synthesis of other related studies and empirical works was also reviewed. Chapter three (3) on the other hand focused on the data methodology used. It discussed the choice of a research design for this study focusing on the research approach, research methods, data collection techniques, and data analysis techniques. Furthermore, chapter four (4) present on contents and results, analysis, and synthesis of the empirical data collected from the case. Finally, chapter five (5) present the

discussion of findings of the research with a summary of the lessons learned from the literature and key results. Chapter six (6) and final chapter present the conclusion of the study.

1.8 Limitations of the study

Accessibility of the study participants and time constraints were the key participants of the study. One of the key limitations of the study was encountered during the data collection stage. The researcher found it difficult to access some of the key experts and respondents for the study due to their busy schedules. Also, some of the respondents had limited time to participate effectively and fully in the interview process. The limited time allocation for the completion of the study also didn't allow the researcher to conduct extensive research.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

This chapter provides a discussion of the literature, to situate the current study within the context of the body of knowledge on Ghana Beyond Aid and its associated challenges and prospects. The theoretical and conceptual framework of the study is first discussed. After that, the related empirical literature on the subject is then presented. A conclusion is then drawn to synthesize the state of knowledge in current research.

2.1 Conceptual Review

2.2.1 Foreign Aid Defined

Foreign donor aid can be defined as both grants and concessional loans that have at least a 25% grant component. Foreign aid is usually associated with official development assistance and normally targeted to poor countries in the world (World Bank, 1998, p. 3). Ekiring (2000) also defines foreign aid as an international transfer of capital, goods, or services for the benefit of other nations. This assistance comes in the following ways: (1) capital transfers, in cash or kind, either as grants or loans; (2) technical assistance and training, usually as grants in the form of human resources and technical equipment; and (3) military assistance in the form of either equipment or training advisors. There are three types of foreign aid: humanitarian or emergency aid, charity-based aid, and systematic aid. Humanitarian aid is the type of aid that is mobilized and distributed in times of distress, for example, aid disbursed to the 2012 victims of an earthquake in Japan; while charity-based aid is mobilized and distributed by charities to communities, people and institutions in need; for example, the activities of the South African based charity organization, Gift of the Givers. Systematic aid is aid payments made directly by

the donor community to governments of recipient nations either as bilateral aid (government-to-government) or multilateral aid (transfer of aid through institutions such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) or the World Bank (WB) (Moyo, 2009). The primary focus of this study was systematic aid (see section 1.5) because apart from this type of assistance coming to developing countries as concessionary loans, it is often perceived as futile in the search for the much-needed economic growth development in developing countries.

2.2.2 Origin of aid

The genesis of aid can be traced to the 18th Century when Prussia subsidized some of her allies to strengthen their military support and effectiveness (Ekiring, 2000). This was followed in the nineteenth century when the United States of America provided aid relief to the citizens of Venezuela under the 1812 Act for the Relief of the Citizens of Venezuela. In 1896, the American Department of Agriculture provided food aid to needy countries in an attempt to develop commercial and political affiliations abroad. The British followed suit by providing grants for infrastructure projects in her less-developed colonies under the Colonial Development Act of 1929 (Moyo, 2009). However, a full-blown foreign aid scheme started after World War II when Secretary of State, George Marshall proposed a plan to aid European states devastated by the war. The World War II plunged Western Europe into chaos. Factories were closed, and unemployment and poverty rose to alarming proportions. This state of economic performance in Europe was aggravated by a severe winter that damaged crops between 1946 and 1947, cut off water transportation, and caused huge food shortages. In an attempt to salvage these countries in distress in Western Europe, the Marshall Plan injected \$13 billion into 14 countries over five years - 1947 to 1952 – to rebuild the war-devastated region. Britain, France, Germany, and Italy were the major beneficiaries of the plan while Greece, Austria, and the Netherlands became the least beneficiaries (Moyo, 2009).

The Marshall Plan was as a success in rebuilding Western Europe and today, the plan is credited as a showcase of successful US aid abroad. The success of the plan in Europe has given hope to the Western world that the same or similar policies could help develop the southern hemisphere and assist in bringing problems such as famine, diseases, poverty, and human suffering confronting Less Developed Countries (LDCs) to an end through the transfer of resources such as finance, technology, and technocrats from the Northern Hemisphere to the Southern Hemisphere (Kendall et al 2004)

2.2.3 The Debate on Aid

The debate on the place of aid in the development trajectory of many less developed and developing countries has been a hotly debated topic over the years with varying views on its efficacy and whether it indeed achieves what it is meant for. In his article, *Foreign Aid to Africa: A Hollow Hope?* Akonor (2008) criticizes the dominant arguments in support of aid. The first, which he calls the normative argument, asserts that giving aid to Africa is a moral duty. He argues that this argument is problematic because it further entrenches the negative stereotype that Africa is beggarly and helpless like a child thus, lacking ideas on how to develop. He goes on further to say that it is disingenuous to assert that aid will break the structural cycle of dependency since it has done little to change the fortunes of the continent. He backs this assertion up with empirical evidence. Regarding the empirical argument, he argues that available evidence overwhelmingly shows that aid has failed to have any meaningful impact on the continent. In the article, he estimates that almost \$600 billion has been donated as foreign aid by the West since the 1960s, Moyo (2009) puts estimates at over \$1 trillion—and has risen over time yet the African growth rate has not been commensurate with the rise in aid. Rather, the growth rate had fallen thus creating a welfare continent and had become a vital cog that ensures most African economies function. Moyo (2009) and Easterly (2006) also toe the line of Akonor (2008). In her book, *Dead Aid*, she opines that the idea of

aid being a catalyst for development and ending poverty is a myth. She argues that rather than helping alleviate poverty, aid has deepened it; it has deepened the gap between the haves and the have-nots. In criticizing aid and aid dependency, Moyo (2009) writes that aid had led to laziness on the part of African leaders.

Moyo (2009) argues further that Africa had become greatly dependent on aid and thus is not motivated to come up with inventive ways of financing their country's future developmental projects. In addition, she opines that aid injection into LDCs leads to frivolity on the part of governments since much-needed aid is rather wasted on rewarding loyalists and supporting public sectors that are unproductive. Consequently, the concomitant effect is that Africans, rather than being equipped to carry their burden and build their countries are handicapped and powerless, leaving key decisions to be made by foreigners. Hence, rather than being able to determine their line of action both politically and economically, Africans are hampered leading to no conclusive strategy to break free of aid dependency.

On the other hand, Easterly (2006) although being highly critical of the aid industry by highlighting the many inefficiencies of aid, remarks that he was not looking at aid being repudiated in totality. Rather, its distribution is more efficient in reaching those it is meant for. Presenting a more balanced point of view on aid, Acemoglu and Robinson (2012) in their book *Why Nations Fail* estimate that merely about 10% to 20% of aid reaches those they are meant for.

However, rather than declaring aid a total failure, they opine that of the aid given, Humanitarian aid has been more beneficial when the need arose for it to be given. Their stance thus shows that in the debate on aid, the discussion has been lopsided and primarily focused on systematic

or financial aid given to countries. On their part, they argue that rather than scrapping aid in totality, it should be more targeted toward the building of more inclusive institutions, institutions that will create room for shared prosperity. The pro-aid camp, which advocates for more aid, led by arguably its most well-known proponent, Sachs (2005) argues that foreign aid is a key tool for economic development since it helps to break the poverty trap that the poorest find themselves in due to their inability to save. He also argues that aid is key in bringing about infrastructural development since many a time, the countries concerned are not in the position to provide the required infrastructure. Aid, in his opinion, helps realize this aspiration.

The anti-aid literature

The anti-aid scholars espouse that donor aid has no effect on economic growth and development and should be avoided in the search for sustainable economic development and poverty alleviation in developing nations. Prominent voices among the skeptics of the donor aid school include Moyo (2009) and Easterly (2006) who argue that five decades of aid to the developing world especially in Africa has not been able to ‘buy’ the desired economic growth and development, therefore, they call for a complete cessation of donor aid to LDCs. The arguments posited by the anti-aid school are the breeding of corruption, inflation, poorly coordinated, trusteeship, costly for the poor, and dependency syndrome.

Pro-Aid Argument

There are diverse arguments that have been propounded in favour of the need for Aid. Key amongst them is that aid can help the poor escape poverty, support the provision of infrastructure, prevention and the eradication of diseases, good governance, and support for Education and skills development.

2.2.4 Ghana and the History of Aid

The Politics of Aid: African Strategies for Dealing with Donors (2009), focuses on the various ways African States seek to maximize their agency in aid negotiations. This, they achieved by

putting in place ad hoc measures to access funds without implementing the pre-conditions attached to the aid. The book also highlights how country-specific conditions shape countries' strategies and how they affect the result of their attempts to negotiate aid. In a country-by-country study, this book highlights the countries with the strongest negotiating positions in Sub-Saharan Africa to those with the weakest negotiating positions by examining their unique relationships with donors and the various strategies they have crafted to withstand donor demands where they are deemed unacceptable. Specifically, the book questions the relationship between the machinery of aid in the countries under study, the outcome of this interaction politically, and its impact on the countries' efforts to show some initiative in the whole process.

Narrowing it down to Ghana, it argued that Ghana's culture of dependence on aid is due to foreign exchange shortages and debt (Whitfield & Jones, 2009). This was because Ghana had accrued considerable external debt in the 1960s and during the era of structural adjustment and increased significantly mainly due to being lent to by the World Bank and the IMF. Whitfield and Jones (2009) further assert that the demands of donors and their role in policy formulation processes increased due to Ghana's dependence on aid hence making it difficult for the country to formulate policies and developmental strategies that were independent from the demands of these partners. Andrews (2009) argues that unless the culture of aid recipients are understood, aid would remain largely ineffective. He does this by analyzing literature to ascertain whether there is any link between aid and (under) development in African countries.

In reviewing the literature, he finds that there is no real agreement on the aid- development issue. Where there was, it was dependent on other factors being in place.

These include a good policy environment as also argued by (Burnside & Dollar, 1997; Collier & Dollar, 2001). He also refers to Easterly et al., (2003) who though does not categorically

argue that aid is ineffective, found that there is no real positive correlation between development aid and economic growth when the basic yardstick of measurement – a good policy environment is subjected to further scrutiny along with other new data. Additionally, he cites Riddell (2007) who argues that aid has not been as effective as it should be because of systemic problems at the donor level as well as challenges at the end of aid recipients. He thus suggests that establishing a link between aid and (under) development is complex due to limited evidence. Hence, to better explain Africa's developmental complexities, its culture had to be taken into consideration.

2.2.5 Culture and Aid

Regarding culture, he writes that if the linear argument of modernity is to be followed on how a country should progress from backwardness to development, culture might be perceived as unimportant and should be done away with. He cites the classification of “traditional societies” in Rostow's Stages of Economic Growth that Africa had to do away with traditional (cultural) practices for Eurocentric values, beliefs, and ideology. He gives the example of Ghana and South Korea, countries that had comparable levels of growth in the 1960s.

However, he writes that there has been a variance in their fortunes in recent times since Ghana is still dependent on foreign aid including South Korean aid. This change in fortunes, he explains, was due to culture. He cites Huntington (2000) who is of the view that the varying value systems were accountable. While South Koreans valued thrift, investment, hard work, education, organization, and discipline, Ghanaians had different values which he does not outline. He goes on to add that other economists consider culture in the context of aid as vague and dynamic but clarifies that culture cannot explain everything. He further presents varying positions about aid and development. He cites Codjoe (2003) who discounts Huntington's argument.

Codjoe (2003) is of the view that Ghana's underdevelopment lies in colonialism and its integration into the global capitalist system. Andrews' cultural premise has however been called into question by Acemoglu and Robinson (2012) who argue that although social norms have gained a stronghold over time, there are aspects of it that are just not applicable in comprehending why inequalities exist. On breaking Aid dependency in Africa, Gatune (2010) in his work, *Africa's Development Beyond Aid: Getting Out of the Box* opines that Africa's escape route out of aid dependency lay in resorting to unconventional means. His viewpoint is less economic and more social thus focusing on the areas of social transformation, entrepreneurship, building the continent's knowledge base as well as focusing on good governance.

2.2.6 Economic Transformation and Aid

In the area of social transformation, he suggests that there had to be a change in mentality from being beggars to borrowers. In his estimation, aid has had a negative connotation thus, reinforcing the beggarly mentality which he believes is the primary barrier in African development. This beggarly mentality has therefore brought into existence conditionality-based aid. He asserts that a change of mindset is critical since it would be the core foundation that would empower African policymakers to assert themselves in Policymaking decisions and think for themselves.

He also suggests that Africans and African governments conceive much grander visions because they are in his opinion, what can free Africa from underdevelopment. He also argues that a much more inclusive society be built. To him, unless there is a relationship based on trust, social capital cannot be built, and Africa's problems will never be resolved since ideas that could be beneficial to all will be concentrated in the hands of a few people who belong to a particular ethnic group. An inclusive society he says can be achieved through school especially boarding schools, national service, and urbanization since they create a new society

that is less ethnic and more nationalistic in outlook. This assertion is not backed by empirical evidence, hence, it is difficult to substantiate his view.

Another suggestion that he puts forth is for governments to involve churches since they are, in his opinion, well-versed in providing essential services to the poor. On building the continent's knowledge base, he states that governments should be more adventurous in the acquisition and retention of knowledge. He suggests that this aspiration can be achieved by worrying less about the quality of university-trained citizens and rather focusing on churning out more. He suggests tackling the brain drain by emulating Cuba's example after the collapse of the Soviet Union. During this period, Cuba sent its scientists to work in Sweden, Germany, and Spain. This ensured that its best scientists were not lured away from its shores by more enticing offers from the West. Thus, he argues again that, research labs should be provided for African scientists, it would stem the tide of brain drain. He also suggests further that in seeking to find solutions to certain challenges they face or to build the capacity of their nationals, African states should look to institutions that are non Western. They could be on the continent of Africa or Asia. To him, knowledge is not necessarily the preserve of the West and can be accessed in the unlikeliest of places.

On entrepreneurship and good governance, he posits that Africans and people of African descent in the diaspora be encouraged to invest their expertise and capital on the continent. He also suggests that migrants of other ethnic and racial persuasions like Indians and Chinese be allowed to also invest and start businesses since, in his estimation, they would act as a wake-up call to locals to be more aggressive in business. In the area of governance, he argues for homegrown ideas and systems to be used in administering states as well as working to change the perception of citizens towards their governments, by decentralizing more to encourage the participation of the citizenry and ensure accountability on the part of leaders.

Akonor (2008) opines that African leaders should find innovative ways of financing their developmental goals rather than relying on foreign aid. Another path he suggests for African leaders is that they harness the continent's collective resources to benefit Africans and this he says can be achieved through Pan-Africanism and policy harmonization. In the researcher's opinion, this ties into the African Union's (AU) Agenda 2063 and the current moves towards establishing the Continental Free Trade Area as a stepping-stone towards regional integration. Though criticizing the effect of aid on Africa, Moyo (2009) also proposes some solutions to aid dependence.

As a solution, she proposes more dealings with the Chinese in the form of Foreign Direct Investment (FDI). This solution however seems rather unpalatable considering China has been accused of 'debt-trap diplomacy' in recent times. She also proposes seeking financing from the international capital markets because the interest rates on the loans from these markets are very low, second, the period of repayment is long, and finally, because aid from capital markets has more lenient terms. A glaring criticism of the above suggestion that countries should seek financing from the international capital markets although well-intentioned, is that although it might seemingly offer considerably lower interest rates, it will saddle African countries with debts that will need to be serviced in the long term. Also, it could lull Africa into a false sense of security regarding the ability of their states to meet payment deadlines especially if they have some natural resource like oil that is crucial to the running of the world economy. Thus, it does not represent a feasible long-term option to getting out of aid.

Another solution Moyo (2009) proposes is that African states trade more among themselves due to unfair policies by politicians in Western countries that not only put African governments at a disadvantage but also affect farmers in LDCs. This solution will become a reality with the

coming into force of the African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA). She also advises that trading should not only stop with trading among themselves, but African leaders should also explore striking better deals as a unit by taking advantage of the sizeable population Africa has in its dealings with countries that are clearly in need of their markets for their products. In exiting aid however, she proposes a gradual process of about five to ten years to break away from receiving aid rather than an abrupt one since doing so abruptly could be inimical to such countries in the interim. This book brings into the whole conversation to aid an African voice and take on the woes of the continent from the perspective of one who has lived on the continent, is deeply concerned about its developmental trajectory, and is conversant with the economic woes of the continent and its people.

2.2.7 Sources of foreign donor aid

Foreign aid emanates from various sources. However, aid can be identified as “private” and “official” (Moss, 2011). Private aid is aid given by societies such as faith-based organizations, individuals, and NGOs while “official aid” is given by governments using taxpayer money. The official aid can also be subdivided into bilateral and multilateral. Details of types of aid are discussed below.

Bilateral aid

Bilateral aid is foreign donor aid received from a single government, such as the UK, US, or Australia. Members of the Organization for Economic Corporation and Development (OECD) which is made up of the following countries: Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Finland, Germany, Greece, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, Sweden, Switzerland, the United Kingdom, and the United States (US) are the major bilateral foreign aid donors to Africa. These donor countries have designated agents

or agencies that manage the assistance transferred to developing parts of the world. The US for example uses different US government agencies in managing its Official Development Assistance (ODA). The US Congress sees to the appropriation of all budgets, restrictions on how foreign aid money is spent and decides on the purpose for which aid funds are channelled. Prominent among the agencies used by the US is the USAID. The USAID is part of the US State Department's apparatus but has no representation at the cabinet level. However, the administrator of USAID reports to the US Secretary of State (Moss, 2011). Apart from the USAID, the US military has also become an important agent in delivering foreign assistance from the US. As a result of the global war on terror, the Pentagon has channelled development aid to developing countries amounting to 15% of the US share of aid (Patrick, 2006).

The British also manage the transfer of their aid resources through the Department for International Development (DFID), an approach different from the US aid disbursement approach. The UK Parliament helps to shape aid policies in the UK but does not have the same powers that the US Congress has over aid management and policies. The DFID manages and coordinates aid as well as set strategies for non-aid policies that might influence development (Moss, 2011). China, a newcomer in the aid industry, however, has become a major donor in most developing economies, especially in Africa. Between 2002 and 2005, for instance, China donated more than \$1.8 billion in aid of poverty alleviation through economic development to Africa. China's global foreign aid expenditures increased steadily from 2003 to 2015, growing from US\$ 631 million in 2003 to US\$ 3 billion in 2015. Foreign aid expenditures dropped sharply to US\$ 2.3 billion in 2016 but have since rebounded to US\$ 3.18 billion in 2021, and between 2013 and 2018, 45% of China's foreign aid went to Africa according to Kitano & Harada (2020) at JICA Research Institute.

The Chinese government announced a development package of \$13 billion in infrastructure projects in Ghana and \$9 billion in DR Congo. The Chinese government, a leading member of BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa grouping), has granted Africa enormous assistance in aid. The EXIM Bank of China, one of the banks responsible for granting concessional loans from China, has for instance financed over 300 projects in Africa (Davies; Edinger; Tay; & Naidu, 2008). Regarding human resource development, the Chinese government has significantly aided the African continent by providing the opportunity for African scholars and bureaucrats to be trained in China. By 2006, more than 1500 African students had been given scholarships to enable them to gain skills and knowledge from Chinese universities. China disburses its foreign aid to developing countries through infrastructure projects that are managed by Chinese companies and workers. The World Bank for instance estimates that aid from China to Africa is about \$2 billion a year. According to Riddell (2007), the World Bank could only guess what the Chinese government gives as aid because aid from China as indicated earlier is shrouded in secrecy.

Multilateral aid

Multilateral aid is the foreign assistance received from institutions owned by many governments, such as the World Bank, International Monetary Fund (IMF), the International Development Association (IDA), Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), International Finance Corporation (IFC), the International Development Association (IDA), the African Development Bank (ADB), the Asian Development Bank (AsDB.) the Commission of the European Communities (CEC), the InterAmerican Development Bank (IDB), and all the assistance from the United Nations Agencies (UNA). Multilateral aid like bilateral aid also comes in the form of loans and grants to LDCs to assist in poverty alleviation through economic development in these countries (Moss, 2011).

The International Monetary Fund (IMF)

The IMF was formed to ensure global currency stability after WW II, and currently, its primary purpose is to ensure stability in the international monetary system. In developing countries that face development problems, the IMF also provides resources and guidance to mitigate the situation. In the 1970s for instance, when developing countries were locked up in the spiral of debt and economic crises, the IMF intervened and provided medium-term term loans. Again, in the 1980s when the Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) could not influence the economies of developing countries positively, the IMF again intervened to launch the Enhanced Structural Adjustment Facility (ESAF) to provide leverage to low-income countries that were negatively affected by the SAP. In the 1990s however, the ESAF was renamed the Poverty Reduction and Growth Facility (PRGF).

Similarly, in 2010, the PRGF was renamed the Extended Credit Facility (ECF). Even though the operations of the PRGF and the ECF were similar, their purposes were slightly different (IMF, 2010). According to Moss (2011), while the PRGF signaled a change from a “strict macroeconomic” target to a poverty focus, the ECF is designed to respond to crises in developing countries. The IMF programmes and policies geared towards developing countries are meant to influence policy change in developing countries. The ESAF, PRGF, and the ECF in Africa for instance, were to monitor economic activities and determine whether it was expedient to continue assisting or discontinue the provision of assistance to countries contradicting the policy target of the organization (Taylor, 2007).

The World Bank

The World Bank, originally called the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), was set up to reconstruct Western European countries devastated by WW II. However, after the war, the World Bank Group (IBRD) and International Development Association

(IDA) and their affiliate components [(International Finance Corporation (IFC), Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agencies (MIGA), and the International Centre for Settlement of Investment Disputes (ICSID)] changed their mandate to reduce poverty and increase living standards in the world, especially in developing countries (Stiglitz, 2002). Between the 1960s and the 2000s, the activities of the World Bank in developing countries especially in Africa changed significantly. In the 1960s, the World Bank's activities were centered on building large infrastructure projects under the guardianship of recipient nation-state governments.

The construction of the Akosombo Dam in Ghana is an example of the infrastructure construction agenda of the World Bank in the 1960s. The failure of the massive infrastructure policy in the 1960s led to a drastic shift in policy in the 1970s. The Bank's policy in the 1970s was directed toward a "basic needs" approach while in the 1980s, the Bank once more changed its development approach to emphasis on policies and management. In the 1990s, the Bank's agenda again shifted to guiding developing countries on managing their budget, promotion of civil societies and cultural and social issues. The World Bank consequently introduced technical reforms, country-ownership, participation and transparency (Eldis, 2011).

African Development Bank (AfDB)

The AfDB was established in 1964 as a bank for African governments. The AfDB is to serve as "regional player" with emphasis on local control. The headquarters of the AfDB was originally in La Cote d'Ivoire but relocated in Tunisia when the former was plunged into civil war (ADB, 2005, p. 12). The AfDB is made up of 77 member nations of which 54 are African states and 27 non-regional members countries from Asia, Europe, Middle East and Americas. Due to the large number of the membership of African states, African nations wield considerable voting power (Moss, 2011). The AfDB is involved in lending monies to middle and low-income countries. The bank is also involved in rendering development assistance in

the form of infrastructure development and business development. Even though the bank is plagued by several problems, it has become a strong advocate for Africa in international economic gatherings.

UN Agencies

The UN agencies, which comprise the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA), the UN Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA), the United Nations High Commission for refugees (UNHCR), the World Food Program (WFP), the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), the Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO), and the World Health Organisation (WHO), are involved in promoting economic development and security in developing countries, especially in Africa. However, the execution of programmes and projects by the UN is done through its various specialized agencies. For example, the UNDP is tasked to manage and shape the development agenda of the UN. The UNECA is mandated to do analytical and advocacy work on behalf of the African continent, while the UNHCR is involved in providing for refugees and facilitates the return of refugees to their place of origin. The WFP is designated for delivering emergency food aid in developing countries struggling with food shortages. The UNICEF on the other hand has been very instrumental in raising awareness of issues affecting children like education, childhood diseases and child immunization programmes. The FAO, an arm of the UN, is concerned with providing agriculture policies in the world. The UNFPA provides information and advice on world population data and management issues. The WHO is also involved in helping countries improve their health policies, for example, it is involved in policies on HIV/Aids, malaria and tuberculosis (United Nations, 2010).

2.2.8 Categories of foreign Aid

There are four main categories of Foreign Aid. These include *program aid* Food Aid; project aid and technical co-operation (Dijkstra & White 2003). Program Aid, this type of aid is said to occur when grants or concessional loans are transferred from donors to governments of LDCs to support development programs. This assistance comes in the form of balance-of-payments (BoP) support, budget support or debt relief (Szirmai 2005). Program Aid is usually directed towards specific sectors of the economy such as education, agriculture, health or sports. This aid could also be directed towards programs that benefits the entire economy.

Project aid/Technical cooperation

Project aid enables donors to provide an aid recipient nation with a project for a specific purpose. This type of aid comes in the form of infrastructure works such as roads, dams, energy projects, and harbours. The Chinese government for instance has sponsored a lot of projects in Africa through her aid initiatives. In Ghana for instance, the construction of the Bui-Dam has helped end the problem of power rationing. The EXIM Bank of China has also embarked upon more than 37 projects in Africa (Davies et al, 2008). Technical cooperation on the other hand is given aid to enhance the level of skills, knowledge, and education in LDCs. This involves providing training and advice, teaching, and providing technical support and advice.

Food aid

Food aid involves the provision of aid in the form of food by developed nations. This assistance is either in the form of free food or subsidized food. Food aid is usually provided in response to disaster or in situations where there is failure in food production. In 2011 for instance, the US provided tons of food to the victims of drought in Somalia (United Nations, 2011). At the end of the 1990s, the pledges by the international community to promote sustainable economic development and end poverty in developing countries were not accomplished. Instead, the world entered the New Millennium with challenges that seemed to be defeating all

development agendas postulated by the world community. The world was ushered into the millennium with high poverty levels, HIV/Aids, Tuberculosis (TB) and high levels of malaria related deaths with billions of the world's populations without access to basic health services. Sachs (2005, p. 1) in his book "The End of Poverty" gives a good breakdown of the severity of poverty and human suffering in the developing world. According to Sachs, the daily struggle of the poor is not brought to the attention of the world because if it should, the records would have read as follows "eight thousand (8,000) children dead of malaria, five thousand (5,000) mothers and fathers dead of tuberculosis, seven thousand five hundred (7,500) young adults dead of AIDS and thousand more dead of diarrhea, respiratory infection and other killer diseases that prey on bodies weakened by chronic hunger". The dire situation in the poorer nations makes it a moral obligation for the rich to help the poor escape from extreme poverty. According to Martinussen and Pedersen (2003, p. 10), giving foreign aid assumes that rich countries have a moral obligation to aid poorer countries to advance their economic development, support social justice and respond to extreme poverty and inequality. The moralists are of the opinion that the widespread of poverty and human suffering in most developing countries has compelled the North to respond to the human catastrophe in the South where "more than eight million people around the world die each year because they are too poor to stay alive" (Sachs, 2005, p. 1) by providing relief through foreign aid. In 2005, Gordon Brown called on Britain to "awaken our conscience to the needs of not just neighbours but strangers to see every death from hunger and disease as if it were a death in the family" (Brown, 2005).

Egalitarians on the other hand perceive the vast gap between rich countries and poor countries in the world as morally wrong. The West, therefore, has a moral obligation to aid the South through transfer of resources and creating the opportunity to bridge the gap between the

developed and developing nations (Szirmai, 2005). Lumsdaine (1993) argues that “foreign aid cannot be explained on the basis of the economic and political interest of the donor countries alone, and any satisfactory explanation must give a central place to the influence of humanitarian and egalitarian convictions upon aid donors”. Yet at the same time, the commitment made by the world’s rich nations to the target of 0.7% of their GDP devoted to Official Development Assistance (ODA) through direct financial aid to poor countries had declined from 0.3% in the 1990s to 0.2% in the year 2000 (Sachs, 2005, p. 13).

It was during these global conditions that the United Nations (UN) spearheaded a development paradigm aimed at ending underdevelopment, poverty and human suffering in the world.

2.2.9 The role of AID in development

Aid in Africa is used to finance several types of activities: discrete investment projects; technical assistance (which is at times part of investment projects but frequently free-standing); budget support, often through funding associated with macroeconomic and sectoral reform programs; and debt relief, through the cancellation of debt. The various aid modalities have been changing over time presumably towards more effective modalities.

The real economic needs of African governments of resources to further their development and the efforts of aid donors to assist that development and respond to deepening economic crisis, the political and bureaucratic imperatives of aid donors to advance their broader diplomatic objectives and to expand overall aid levels and allocate all available to be spent; and the political goals of Africans to increase resources available for patronage and benefit from the various symbolic advantages that foreign aid provides. The evolution of the role of aid in development has reflected changes in development theory, existing data systems and change in the world economic environment. This road map has been invoked to enhance the understanding of interrelationships among development goals, development theories, policies and strategies and the position of aid has been shown to be evolving accordingly.

Aid has been approached from a variety of perspectives. Economic development has evolved from the preoccupation on growth of GDP to progressively include concerns of balance of payments, employment, basic needs, income distribution (growth with equity), poverty, stabilization and structural adjustment, sustainability, world financial management and governance. The impact of aid on most macroeconomic variables has not been simple and straightforward. It does exhibit more of a mixed picture of relationships rather than clear and significant causal relationships among them in most cases. The causal relationships may also be blurred by the varying policy environments under which aid has been managed in the recipient countries.

The impact on poverty is problematic and is less clear. The wider literature has indicated that effective anti-poverty action is difficult to achieve largely because the poverty problem is multidimensional, complex, and location-specific deeply rooted into the social fabric and distribution of economic and political power. Aid can impact development via its impact on institutions and governance. During the period of economic reforms, many countries made improvements in the soundness of their macroeconomic policies but at the same time undercut ownership of the policy agenda. The key finding of the research in this area is that institutions matter in mediating the impact of aid dependence. In response to these problems, new modalities involving the management and delivery of aid have been developed.

Specifically, there is an increasing emphasis on the part of donors on Sector Investment Programs (SIPs) and general budget support as a mechanism to coordinate donors within sectors and in the context of the broader budget management. As various recent studies have shown, general budget support has become more prominent in the late 1990s as part of the quest for more positive impact of aid on development with the overall assessment showing positive results in terms of harmonization and alignment, macroeconomic performance, service

delivery and impact on broader policy processes. Technical assistance has often been more supply driven than demand driven to the extent it has been provided independently of government plans, priorities, or requests. The literature on the role of TA has been pessimistic regarding the roles of performance of TA, training and capacity building. Debate on aid effectiveness has drawn attention to the complexity of relationships between aid and policy. In spite of the debates around technicalities and methodologies, adopted, there is general agreement that aid works better in good policy environments. However, performance itself needs to be interpreted broadly beyond the issue of growth as such and extend to consider issues of poverty and human development.

2.2.10 Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS)

The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) is a regional block located within the Western Part of Africa. It was established on May 28, 1975, via the treaty of Lagos. ECOWAS is a 15-member regional group with a mandate of promoting economic integration in all fields of activity of the constituting countries.

Member countries making up ECOWAS are Benin, Burkina Faso, Cape Verde, Cote d'Ivoire, The Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea Bissau, Liberia, Mali, Niger, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Senegal, and Togo. Considered one of the pillars of the African Economic Community, ECOWAS was set up to foster the ideal of collective self-sufficiency for its member states. As a trading union, it is also meant to create a single, large trading bloc through economic cooperation. Integrated economic activities as envisaged in the area revolve around but are not limited to industry, transport, telecommunications, energy, agriculture, natural resources, commerce, monetary and financial issues, social as well as cultural matters.

Expectations of economic integration have always been high, and a lot has been accomplished by the regional group since the endorsement of the treaty which gave it the required legal teeth. Going by current assessments, the regional body has exceeded the expectations of its founding fathers. Today, the organization is being acknowledged globally as a successful regional body, a toast to a workable integration and regional co-existence.

The Vision of ECOWAS

The Vision of ECOWAS is the creation of a borderless region where the population has access to its abundant resources and can exploit same through the creation of opportunities under a sustainable environment. What ECOWAS has created is an integrated region where the population enjoys free movement, have access to efficient education and health systems and engage in economic and commercial activities while living in dignity in an atmosphere of peace and security. ECOWAS is meant to be a region governed in accordance with the principles of democracy, rule of law and good governance.

The History of ECOWAS

Before the creation of ECOWAS, the collective territory known as West Africa, was made up of an aggregation of states that had emerged from different colonial experiences and administrations which largely defined the boundaries of the 15 states domiciled in the area. Even though Member States of the community now make use of three official languages (English, French and Portuguese), there are well over a thousand existing local languages including cross-border native tongues such as Ewe, Fulfulde, Hausa, Mandingo, Wolof, Yoruba, Ga, etc. that constitute its over 300 million people tucked in a vast land of about 5.1 million square kilometres.

Prior to colonialism, the area played host to many proud empires and kingdoms that spanned centuries, some of which included Ghana, Mali Songhai, Wolof, Oyo, Benin and Kanem Bornu. The region's cultural, linguistic, and ecological diversity presents both opportunities and challenges for the integration process. The longing to combine forces politically and economically has always been recognised as a step forward in the desire to engender co-prosperity in the area. In this regard, the first effort at integration dates back to 1945 with the creation of CFA franc that brought the francophone countries of the region into a single currency union. Then in 1964, Liberian president William Tubman proposed an economic union for West Africa leading to an agreement which was signed in 1965 by the four states of Cote d'Ivoire, Guinea, Liberia and Sierra Leone.

However, it was not until 1972 that a proposal for a union of West African States emerged. That year, the Nigerian head of state Gen Yakubu Gowon and his Togolese counterpart Gnassingbe Eyadema toured the region in support of the integration Idea. Thanks to the drafts that emanated from their efforts. These formed the basis for the emergence of the treaty of Lagos in 1975 which birthed ECOWAS. The treaty of Lagos was originally touted as an economic initiative, but emerging political events led to its revision and therewith the expansion of scope and powers in 1993.

ECOWAS is meant to foster interstate economic and political cooperation. History is on its side in this regard. Dating back to pre-colonial times, West Africans have been among the world's most mobile populations although much of the migration had been intra-regional. About 7.5 million West African migrants (3 percent of the regional population) are living in ECOWAS countries other than their own. The 1.2 million other migrants are dispersed mainly in North America and Europe. Estimated at about 149 million in 2013, women constitute over 50 percent of the region's population. The cross-border migration of women as traders and

businesspersons places them as potential champions for promoting integration. This reality needs to be fully exploited.

2.2.11 ECOWAS and Economic Integration

Trade and market integration are at the heart of ECOWAS' aims and objectives. Article (3) of the Revised Treaty of ECOWAS stipulates the removal of trade barriers and harmonization of trade policies for the establishment of a Free Trade Area, a Customs Union, a Common Market and an eventual culmination into a Monetary and Economic Union in West Africa. The ECOWAS Trade Liberalization Scheme (ETLS) adopted in 1979 with an agreement on agricultural, artisanal handicrafts and unprocessed products, and extended to industrial products in 1990, is the main framework for trade and market integration in ECOWAS as it addresses protocols on the free movement of goods, persons and transportation. The ETLS main pursuit of consolidating the free trade area is guided by the National Approval Committees that informs the member States. For this purpose, ECOWAS established an ETLS website to ease harmonization and usage of it. In this regard, ECOWAS has implemented a Customs and Connectivity program to simplify the movement of goods in the region. The ECOWAS Common External Tariff has thus been operational since 2015. Moreover, member States are increasingly implementing the ECOWAS Single Customs Declaration Form for their customs administrations.

The World Bank sponsored Abidjan-Lagos Trade and Transport Facilitation Program for Benin and Nigeria is one such example. Burkina Faso and Togo are likewise operationalizing the scheme. Nevertheless, challenges in regard to poor domestication of the ETLS is an issue that need to be addressed for deepened trade and market integration in the ECOWAS region. ECOWAS is also working in three areas to promote investments and competition policies, namely: creation of the ECOWAS Common Investment Market, investment climate promotion

and financial market integration. The ECOWAS Investment Forum and the ECOWAS online resource for monitoring the investment climate are such initiatives. West Africa-European Union negotiations of an Economic Partnership Agreement (EPA) were concluded on 30 June 2014 with the initiating of an agreed text by Chief Negotiators. In July 2014, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) Heads of State endorsed the EPA and opened it up for signature by Member States. To date, 13 ECOWAS member States over 15 have signed the Agreement. The Gambia and Nigeria are the two remaining member countries that have not yet signed, besides Mauritania.

2.3 Theoretical Framework

2.3.1 Introduction

The provision of donor assistance to newly created states in the 1950s and the 1960s was based on the assumption that the success of the Marshall Plan could be replicated in those countries to bridge the infrastructure, human resource and savings gaps in these newly independent states. The inception of the donor scheme was based on the modernization theory which sought to change traditional societies into modern ones through the provision of foreign donor aid. The modernists argue that poor nations do not have adequate investment which could aid mega infrastructure projects necessary for economic take off because the citizens are too poor to accumulate the savings for investments. Hence, donor assistance became the catalyst for economic growth and development in those poor nations. In Ghana for instance, the economy was still characterized by poor infrastructure, low savings, and no industrial base to support economic take off at independence. To modernize the country, the American and the British governments assisted the government of Ghana to construct the Akosombo Hydro- Electric Dam immediately after independence to serve as a reliable source of electricity supply to both industries and homes in the country. The Canadian government, the British government, the American government, and the German government also brought teachers and technical

instructors to Ghana to help develop the capacity of the human capital in Ghana after independence. To derive a better understanding of the foreign aid program in Ghana, this chapter briefly discusses the economic theories and models which have influenced the foreign donor scheme from its inception after WWII to the dawn of the new millennium. These theories and models include the modernization theory; the dependency theory, market fundamentalism and the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs).

2.3.2 Modernization theory

Modernization theory emerged in the seventeen centuries as a mode of social life in Europe but assumed a “more or less worldwide” appeal in their influence (Giddens, 1991). In the 1950s and the 1960s, freshly decolonized or newly created states perceived modernization as catching up with the western world and the only way to succeed in that direction was through industrialization. Hence, frantic efforts were put in place to establish import substitution industries and repackaging of indigenous products for export. Modernization in the 1950s and the 1960s was characterized by theories such as the linear stages theory and the structural change model.

2.3.3 The linear-stages theory

The development theorists of the 1950s and early 1960s view the process of development as a series of successive stages through which all economies pass. According to the linear-stages theorists, all advanced nations in the world today had passed all the stages of development; therefore, developing nations must be prepared to travel the same path in order to attain developed status. Accordingly, the historical experience in transforming developed economies such as the USA, UK, Germany, and France from poor agricultural subsistence economies into modern industrial giants has important lessons for backward countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America. This theory, therefore, emphasizes the need for the “right” combination of resources

such as savings, investment, and foreign aid to put developing economies on the path of sustainable economic development. The most prominent advocate of the linear-stages theory was the American economic historian Walt W. Rostow who indicates that all advanced economies had passed through the five stages of development: traditional; pre-condition for take-off; take-off; drive to maturity and age of high mass consumption as the prerequisite for development (Mitchell & Passe-Smith, 2003)

The first stage is the Traditional Stage which is characterized by subsistence economic activities and “fatalistic value system” (Kendall, et al, 2004, p. 297). With the fatalistic ideology, the poor become content with their situation, therefore, at the first stage of the development ladder, societies are always poor because production is low, and savings are also very low. The second stage is the achievement of the Pre-Condition to Take-Off into civilization through the removal of the development obstacles that characterize the traditional society. The third stage is the Take- Off to self-sustained growth. At this stage, net investment and savings increase substantially which eventually result in economic growth. The critical strategy for take-off to occur is through the mobilization of domestic and foreign savings as well as through donor assistance to generate the necessary investment which can initiate and sustain economic growth and development. The fourth stage is characterized by the drive towards maturity and economic diversification. At this stage, there is an increase in investment opportunities and international trade which leads to increasing prosperity for citizens of the country and consequently leading to the fifth and the final stage. The final stage of development is the stage for high mass consumption of services and durable goods (Seyoum, 2001, p. 107).

Another linear-stages theory of economic growth and development is the Harrod-Domar (HD) growth model which posits that more investment in an economy leads to more growth. That is, investment and savings within a country determine the level of gross domestic product (GDP)

in the country. This implies that an economy with high levels of savings and investment is bound to experience high economic growth while a country with low savings and investment ratio will experience low economic growth and development. This principle goes to explain why developing nations remain poor and underdeveloped. Lack of savings resulting from the high ratio of poverty in developing countries makes it very difficult and sometimes impossible for developing economies to raise the requisite capital which could be invested in economic take-off in these poor nations. According to Sachs (2005, p. 56-57), when people are very poor, they always need their entire income to survive with no margin of savings for future. Therefore, to promote economic development in less developed countries (LDCs), donor assistance becomes an integral source of revenue (Todaro, et al, 2009, p. 111-112). As indicated earlier, Ghana for instance, at independence did not have the capacity to power the emerging industries in the country. Hence, Kwame Nkrumah, the first president of Ghana had to rely on the donor community to construct the Akosombo Hydroelectric Dam which has become the major source of power supply in the country (Buah, 1998).

2.3.4 The dependency theory

The 1970s witnessed a sharp decline in economic performance in most developing countries. Developing countries, especially, in Latin America and in Africa were faced with economic challenges such as unemployment, underdevelopment, poverty, balance of trade deficits, indebtedness and aid dependency (Hewitt, 2000). This led to an upsurge in criticism against the role of foreign donor aid in developing economies because the aid programs were dismally failing to deliver the anticipated economic growth and development which could propel economic take-off in developing countries. The controversy which surrounded the aid scheme led to the evolution of the dependency theory. The dependency theory which originated from Latin America as a reaction to the failure of the modernization theory is founded on the philosophy that poor nations are constrained by political, institutional and economic

bottlenecks both at the local and international levels which have resulted in the establishment of a “periphery” and “core” relationship with the developed world (Stewart, 2005).

The periphery comprises the South or developing countries in the world while the core refers to the North or developed nations in the world. Since the North wittingly exploits or “unintentionally” neglects the South, mutual existence of these separate worlds in an internal system makes it difficult and sometimes impossible for LDCs to be self-reliant. In other words, the high level of poverty and underdevelopment in the developing world can be attributed to the inequality in the global economic system which is perpetuated by the most powerful nations at the core of the world economy extracting resources from weaker nations in the periphery to develop the developed world (Todaro & Smith, 2003)). This inequality is entrenched with the aid of instruments such as international trade and well-established global financial institutions such as the IMF and the World Bank (Seligson & Passé-Smith, 2003).

Hence, it is inappropriate to conclude that the challenges of development and poverty confronting developing nations are not because of a lack of capital and institutional constraints as indicated by the modernist but it is as a result of the injustices in the world economic system. In the 1970s, it became apparent that economic growth and poverty reduction in the developing world go beyond capital formation, infrastructural development, and the establishment of import substitution industries. Hence, according to Thorbecke (2000, p. 29), the development approach of the decade shifted from the modernization models to promoting self-reliance, nationalization of private assets, and adopting Indigenous technology in production in developing economies. The shift in development over the period gave birth to new development approaches: the integrated rural development (IRD) and the basic needs approach (BNA). The IRD advocated a paradigm shift from capital-intensive projects to rural development-oriented activities such as small-scale income-generating activities and

agriculture development to promote economic development from microeconomic up to the macroeconomic level.

The IRD also encouraged development through indigenization (locally initiated development) and improved access to the market for locally produced commodities through incorporated intervention programs such as micro-credit, capacity building, and small-scale rural industrialization to support the rural communities. The objective of the IRD was to ensure that rural communities are capacitated to become self-reliant by meeting their basic needs such as food, shelter, and infrastructure (Liebenberg & Moloi, 2001, p.96). The BNA on the other hand dwells on raising the standard of living of the poor through the provision of basic necessities of life such as shelter, food, sanitation, and health services. Just like the IRD, the BNA also encouraged development through indigenization and self-help (Rondinelli, 1993, p. 65).

2.3.5 Post-Structural Adjustment and Foreign Aide in Ghana

The role of foreigners during the structural adjustment era (1980s) witnessed a shift in the mode of delivering donor aid to developing nations. Aid was provided to save the global economy from collapsing and strengthening heavily indebted developing nations from defaulting. This was because by the beginning of the 1980s, countries such as Mexico; Angola; Congo; Nigeria; Niger; Tanzania; Zambia; Cameroon; Ivory Coast; Gabon and Gambia had defaulted on their debt obligations (Moyo, 2009). The fear of a global economic meltdown as a consequence of developing nations defaulting led to the introduction of the stabilization and the structural adjustment programs (SAPs) by the World Bank and the IMF.

According to Moyo (2009), stabilization is a policy directed towards the reduction of imbalances in an economy to an appreciable level while the SAP was meant to encourage trade liberalization by supporting measures which could facilitate the removal of excessive

government control of the market in LDCs. Stiglitz (2002) indicates that Low-Income Countries (LICs) were compelled to accept the SAPs as a precondition for foreign aid because both multilateral and bilateral institutions in the 1980s insisted that poorer nations abide by the policies of neoliberalism as recommended by the Washington-based institutions (IMF and the World Bank) before they could qualify for aid. Easterly (2006) also noted that foreign aid with inescapable conditions was forced on developing countries by the donor community to ensure the implementation of the free-market system. As a result, aid in the 1980s was provided in the form of budget support to assist with the implementation of economic reforms (Ayttey, 2005). Some of the conditions that were attached to the reform aid included the devaluation of the currencies of developing economies and the adoption of the floating exchange rate among others (Hewitt, 2000).

The privatization of state properties and curtailing the role of the state in the affairs of the economy were other conditions which were attached to donor assistance in the 1980s as part of the reform effort (Taylor, 2007) indicated that between 1986 and 1996, countries such as the Central African Republic, Benin, Guinea, Ghana, Mali, Uganda and Madagascar shed more than 10% of the labour force in their civil service while the stake of government in property ownership in these countries fell from 90% to almost 10% over the same period of time. Notwithstanding the decline in the role of the state over the decade, there was substantial increase in reform related aid programs. By 1983, aid programs from IMF alone to developing countries rose to US\$ 12 billion (Moyo, 2009).

However, since aid policies in the 1980s were directed towards the implementation of the neoliberal policies at the expense of growth and poverty reduction, most developing countries relapsed into recession, destitution, and economic stagnation by the close of the decade (Hewitt, 2000). Apart from that, since almost all the aid programs in the 1980s were “tied” to conditions which favoured mostly the policies of the donor community, there was no or very

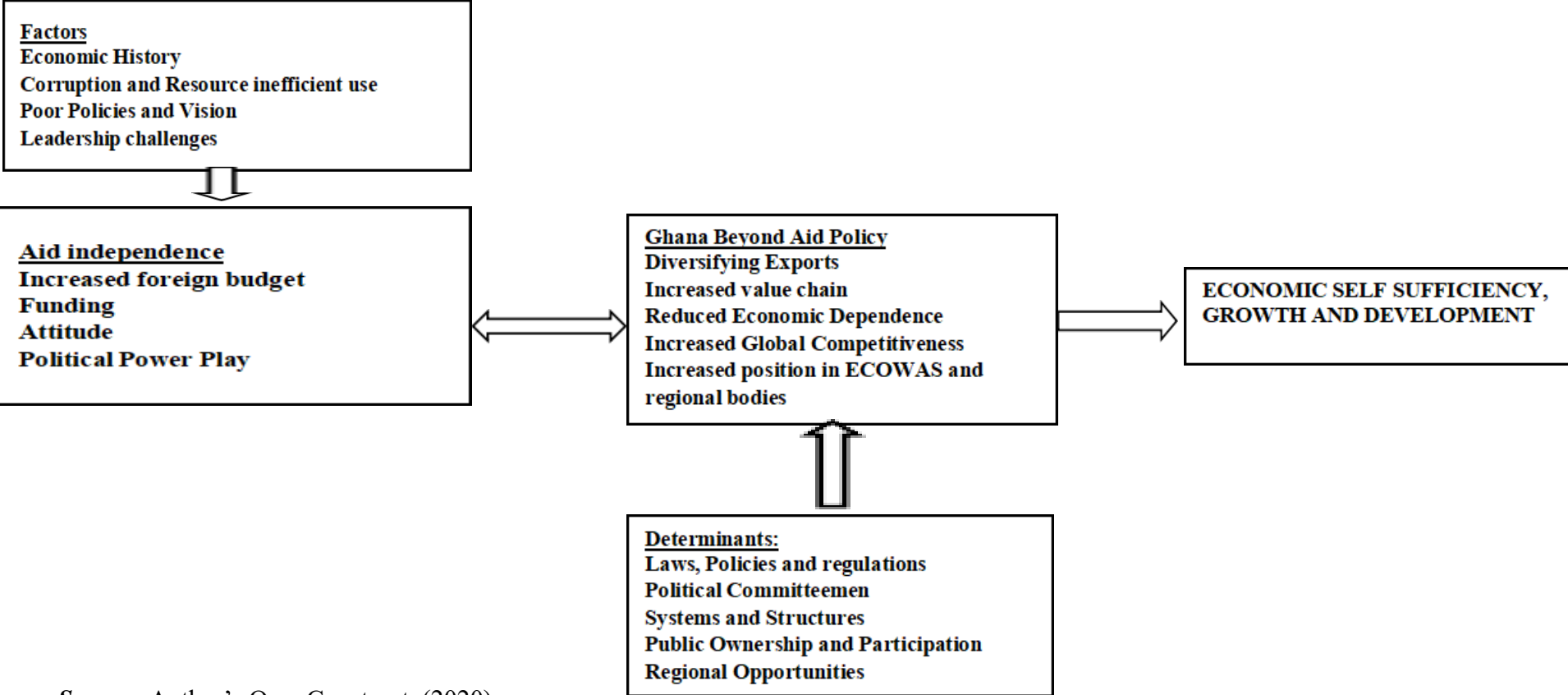
little support that came from the donors. Consequently, the effectiveness and the objective of aid in the decade were compromised because both the donor community and the recipients did not agree on the conditions attached to aid 38 programs because of their vested interests. In most cases, while donors were using aid programs to perpetuate political and economic ambitions, recipients became hostile against the conditions which they considered as an infringement on their sovereignty.

According to Osei (2003) aid conditions often force recipient nations to purchase goods and services from the donor country or from markets which are determined by the donor usually at very high cost when the same item could have been bought at a lower cost in another market. The discrepancy over the conditionalities made the SAPs concept ineffective in promoting sustainable economic growth and development in the developing world (Sogge, 2002, p. 127). The failure of the Washington Consensus policies to promote economic growth and development in most developing countries led to the introduction of the Post-Washington Consensus (Edelman & Haugerud, 2005, p.7)

2.4 Conceptual Framework of the study

The conceptual framework (figure 1) is premised on the argument that though several factors have contributed to the consistent and increasingly aid dependency of the Ghanaian economy, a determined, focused commitment by the politician and the political leadership and guided by the needed policies and regulations has the propensity to spur the Ghana beyond policy. However, these strategies are likely and are already facing some challenges and it is therefore prudent to unearth these challenges in order achieve the goals and intents of the policy.

Figure 1: Conceptual Framework of the study



Source: Author's Own Construct, (2020).

CHAPTER THREE

DATA AND METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter discussed the detailed methodology processes used in collecting and analysing data for the study. Methodology in research involves systematic scientific methods and procedures used to gather and analyse data to arrive at findings, test research objectives, and answer research questions (Dawson, 2019). The chapter consists of a detailed description of the research design, population of the study, sampling techniques, sample size, source of data, data collection, data analysis, and ethical considerations.

3.1 Research Design

Research design is considered the foundation for research (Silverman, 2016). It is defined as the specific frameworks used in gathering and analysing data based on the research approach chosen (Dawson, 2019). Pattern and Newhart (2017) also define research design as the approaches that are adopted in gathering data to address research questions. The study is premised on the exploratory-descriptive research design. Exploratory research is defined as research used to investigate a problem that is not clearly defined (Plonsky, 2017). It is conducted for a research problem when the researcher has no past data or only a few studies for reference and therefore helps to have a better understanding of an existing problem. The novel nature of this research problem therefore necessitated the use of the exploratory design. Due to the nature of the variables of the study, a qualitative approach was employed for data gathering and analysis. Qualitative research design is defined as the type of research where non-numerical data in the form of narratives, observations, and meanings are used for the study (Flick, 2018). Qualitative design is chosen for the study because the approach helps in proper analyses of the development and implementation challenges of the Ghana Beyond Aid policy

given the existing framework of ECOWAS. Qualitative research methods are better suited for research studies that seek to answer the “what”, “whys” and “hows” of issues (Silverman, 2016), hence, were found highly appropriate for this study.

Descriptive and Exploratory research aims to highlight and explore an un-explored and un-interpreted phenomenon to better understand the problem (Cavana et al., 2001; Marshall & Rossman, 2006). Further, exploratory research provides in-depth, rich data and descriptions. But sometimes exploratory research focuses on some unknown problems and tries to solve them to provide and identify a future research direction (Phillips & Pugh, 2000). As stated, the present research seeks to identify and explore the challenges that shall confront the implementation of the Ghana Beyond Aid policy.

3.3 Philosophical foundations of the research

The research was based upon an interpretive approach because the researcher is trying to see the social world from the participant’s perspective and consider the participant’s perception of the world (Edwards & Skinners, 2009). It is further explained by Denzin and Lincoln (2003) that an interpretive approach depends upon both the participant’s view and the researcher’s view of reality so that the researcher can discover the significance and importance of the action or make it understandable and clear for others what this specific action means. It needs to be interpreted and deduced in a way that other people can easily understand. People create their worlds of reality while interacting with the outer world around them. They assign meaning to the world around them, and to understand that meaning the researcher has to approach them while interpreting their assigned meaning (Orlikowski & Baroudi, 1991). In this regard, the researcher shall select an interpretive approach that is most suitable for collecting data within an interpretive paradigm; therefore, the researcher shall not design a new qualitative method but rather conduct semi-structured interviews for the present study. Analysis and interpretation

are the factors that played a crucial role and shall authenticate the results of this study. Moreover, rich and in-depth data can play a crucial role in understanding the phenomenon under study and explaining and resolving the research questions.

3.4 Population of the Study

Creswell, (2013) defines population as the collection of all individuals who constitute primary stakeholders of a study based on what a researcher is interested in and therefore qualifies to be included in the study. The population of this study encompasses all key office holders (Stakeholders) who are directly and or are key in the development, implementation, and outcomes of the program. For specificity, the population is defined to include policymakers, technocrats, academics, and professionals whose research and practice revolve around Economics, Finance, Policy, Governance, Law, Aid, Regionalism, International Relations, and structural issues in Ghana and have a direct higher stake in the policy. These also include professionals in relevant Ministries, Agencies, Offices, Departments, private institutions, and third-party organizations as well as individuals who have deep insights in development and Aid discourse.

The key informants chosen from institutions and organizations such as Ghana Beyond Aid Committee, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, AfCFTA desk at the Ministry of Trade and Industries, Foreign Affairs Committee of Parliament of Ghana, Institute for Fiscal Studies, International Relations and Diplomacy Lecturers (GIMPA & LECIAD), ISSER, and University of Ghana Business School, Department of Economics of University of Ghana, Bank of Ghana, Country Representative of IMF, Ghana office, World Bank, Institute of Economic Affairs (IEA), IDEG, IMANI Africa, Private Enterprise Federation (PEF), Ghana Anti-Corruption Coalition (GACC), African Renaissance, Integration and Sustainable Entrepreneurship, CSIR, CDD, NDPC, WAMI, Regional Integration Expert from ECOWAS Secretariat and Civil Society Organisations (CSOs), individual Policy Experts and Development Consultants.

3.5 Sample Size and Justification

One feature of qualitative studies is the use of small sample size (Saunders & Townsend, 2018). The reason for the small sample size is that qualitative studies focus on depth and not breadth, and therefore selecting fewer samples and delving deeper into the research question is prioritized (Silverman, 2016). In the current study, a sample of Twenty (20) participants were selected for the study. The decision to stop further interviews after interviewing this number of participants was determined at a saturation point. In qualitative research, saturation is reached when all key informants keep saying the same thing to the point that no new information or insight is coming up (King, 2011; Silverman, 2016).

3.6 Sampling Techniques

In social science research, it is usually not practical to select every member of the population for research (Plonsky, 2017). This is particularly so when the population number is unknown or extremely large. This applies to the study, whose population is quite infinite, and highly unlimited and it is difficult to include every member in the study population. Gravetter and Forsano (2018) propose that, in such cases, a sample, part of the population should be selected to gather data (Gravetter & Forsano, 2018).

In the current study, non-probability sampling is used in selecting the participants. Specifically, a combination of purposive sampling and snowball sampling techniques was used. These sampling techniques were chosen because the researcher targeted institutions and people from whom certain vital information related to the objectives and research questions were obtained, and also through whom the researcher met other stakeholders to participate in the data collection process. Purposive sampling was used to purposively select targeted individuals from the organizations and institutions identified (Silverman, 2016). The snowballing shall also

be used to select other participants who shall be recommended by interviewees as key individuals to be contacted and interviewed (Flick, 2018).

3.7 Sources of Data

Data for the study were obtained from both primary and secondary data sources. Primary data were gathered from conducting key informant interviews.

3.7.1 Data Collection Method

This section discusses the tools that were used to gather the data, particularly regarding the primary data. For the primary data, key informant interviewing was used. In general, interviews are defined as interactive conversations between two individuals where one person (i.e. interviewer) asks questions to others (interviewee) to elicit information (Ritchie, Lewis, Nicholls & Ormston, 2013). The interview is an interaction or conversation that exists between two or more persons with a single purpose of soliciting information from him/ or them based on the existing appointment, protocols, and permissions established, approved, and or agreed upon with the interviewer (Goulding, 2005). The researcher used both electronic and written recording systems to conduct the interview using diverse approaches such as face-to-face interviews, and telephone interviews were also considered.

3.7.2 Data Collection Instruments

Interview guides were developed and employed for the conduct of the interviews. According to Dawson (2019), an interview guide is used when there is room for probing questions which allows one to unearth issues not listed in the interview guide.

3.8 Data Analysis

Data analysis involves transforming raw data into meaningful information in answering research questions or meeting study objectives (Braun, Clarke, Hayfield, & Terry, 2019). The secondary data were analysed using a content and document analysis approach. The primary data were analysed using thematic analysis and discourse analysis. The first stage of the thematic analysis entailed transcribing the audio data into transcripts, and reading and coding the transcripts. The thematic analysis also involved grouping the codes into minor themes and grouping other minor themes into major themes in ways that provide insight into the research question under study (Braun et al., 2019). The qualitative findings were then presented using themes, codes, and quotes from participants' narratives transcripts.

3.9. Validity and Reliability

A key indicator of the quality of a measure is the proper measurement of the reliability and validity of the research. In standard research, any score obtained by a measuring instrument is the sum of both the 'true score', which is unknown and the 'error' in the measurement process. If the error margins are low and the reporting of results of research are of high standards, no doubt the research will be fruitful. If the measurement is very accurate then a researcher will find a true score (Kimberlin & Winterstein, 2008). The foundation of good research is the trustworthiness (reliability and validity) of the data to make decisions; otherwise, a good decision cannot be made. Reliability and validity are the two most fundamental features in the evaluation of any measurement instrument or tool for good research. Validity concerns what an instrument measures, and how well it does so. Reliability concerns the faith that one can have in the data obtained from the use of an instrument, that is, the degree to which any measuring tool controls for random error. Reliability and validity are needed to present in research methodology chapter in a concise but precise manner. These are appropriate concepts for

introducing a remarkable setting in research. Reliability refers to the stability of findings, whereas validity represents the truthfulness of findings (Altheide & Johnson, 1994).

3.9.1 Validity

Validity is often defined as the extent to which an instrument measures what it asserts to measure (Blumberg et al., 2005). The validity of a research instrument assesses the extent to which the instrument measures what it is designed to measure (Robson, 2011). It is the degree to which the results are truthful. So it requires a research instrument (questionnaire) to correctly measure the concepts under the study (Pallant, 2011). It encompasses the entire experimental concept and establishes whether the results obtained meet all of the requirements of the scientific research method. Qualitative research is based on the fact that validity is a matter of trustworthiness, utility, and dependability (Zohrabi, 2013).

Validity of research is the extent to which requirements of scientific research methods have been followed during the process of generating research findings. It is a compulsory requirement for all types of studies (Oliver, 2010). In quantitative research validity is the extent to which any measuring instrument measures what it is intended to measure (Thatcher, 2010). But, in qualitative research, it is when a researcher uses certain procedures to check for the accuracy of the research findings (Creswell, 2014). It is not a property of the instrument but of the instrument's scores and their interpretations. It is best viewed as a hypothesis for which evidence is collected in support of proposed inferences (Messick, 1989). Lee J. Cronbach and Paul E. Meehl first introduced the issue of validity in quantitative research in the mid-20th Century concerning the establishment of the criteria for assessing psychological tests (Cronbach & Meehl, 1955).

In research, validity has two essential parts: a) internal (credibility), and b) external (transferability). Internal validity indicates whether the results of the study are legitimate because of the way the groups were selected, data were recorded, or analyses were performed. It refers to whether a study can be replicated (Willis, 2007). To ensure this, the researcher can describe appropriate strategies, such as triangulation, prolonged contact, member checks, saturation, reflexivity, and peer review. External validity shows whether the results given by the study are transferable to other groups of interest (Last, 2001). A researcher can increase external validity by i) achieving representation of the population through strategies, such as random selection, ii) using heterogeneous groups, iii) using non-reactive measures, and iv) using precise description to allow for study replication or replicate study across different populations, settings, etc. It alarmed whether a researcher measures the right concept or not (Shekharan & Bougie, 2010). Validity requires that an instrument is reliable, but an instrument can be reliable without being valid (Kimberlin & Winterstein, 2008).

3.9.2. Reliability

Reliability refers to a measurement that supplies consistent results with equal values (Blumberg et al., 2005). It measures the consistency, precision, repeatability, and trustworthiness of research (Chakrabartty, 2013). It indicates the extent to which it is without bias (error-free), and hence ensures consistent measurement across time and the various items in the instruments (the observed scores). Some qualitative researchers use the term 'dependability' instead of reliability. It is the degree to which an assessment tool produces stable (free from errors) and consistent results. It indicates that the observed score of a measure reflects the true score of that measure. It is a necessary, but not sufficient component of validity (Feldt & Brennan, 1989). In quantitative research, reliability refers to the consistency, stability, and repeatability of results, that is, the result of a researcher is considered reliable if consistent results have been

obtained in identical situations but in different circumstances. But, in qualitative research, it is referred to as when a researcher's approach is consistent across different researchers and different projects (Twycross & Shields, 2004).

It is a concern every time a single observer is the source of data because we have no certain guard against the impact of that observer's subjectivity (Babbie, 2010). Reliability issues are most of the time closely associated with subjectivity, and once a researcher adopts a subjective approach to the study, then the level of reliability of the work is going to be compromised (Wilson, 2010). The coefficient of reliability falls between 0 and 1, with perfect reliability equaling 1, and no reliability equaling 0. The test-retest and alternate forms are usually calculated reliability by using statistical tests of correlation (Traub & Rowley, 1991). For high-stakes settings (for example, licensure examination) reliability should be greater than 0.9, whereas for less important situations values of 0.8 or 0.7 may be acceptable. The general rule is that reliability greater than 0.8 is considered as high (Downing, 2004). Reliability is used to evaluate the stability of measures administered at different times to the same individuals and the equivalence of sets of items from the same test (Kimberlin & Winterstein, 2008). The better the reliability is performed, the more accurate the results, which increases the chance of making correct decisions in research. Reliability is a necessary, but not a sufficient condition for the validity of research.

This research has been tested using validity and reliability in line with the qualitative research approach. In this study, the validity and reliability of interviews and focus group discussion as a significant research instrument tool were reviewed. Various types of validity were discussed with the goal of validity improving the skills and knowledge of interview validity tests among researchers. As discussed, there are four main validity tests namely, face validity, content

validity, construct validity, and criterion validity (Bhattacharjee, 2012). Depending on the type of questionnaire, some of these validity tests are mandatory to apply and some are recommended.

3.10 Ethical Considerations

Researchers needed to protect their research participants by developing trust with them, promoting the integrity of the research, guarding against misconduct and any impropriety that might reflect on their organizations or institutions, and coping with new challenging problems (Creswell, 2007). The researcher committed to all the guidelines required to protect the integrity of the research participants. Relevant ethical considerations were strictly adhered to. Permissions were sought from all participants before data collection began. A high level of privacy and confidentiality were also adhered to protect the image and integrity of respondents. Informed consent was also sought before interviews were conducted. The researcher therefore followed all ethical standards and principles and ensured that the data collected was managed in such a way that the identities of the respondents were strictly protected.

CHAPTER FOUR

CONTENTS AND RESULTS

4.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the data collected and provides a detailed analysis of the data collected from the field. The chapter also presents a discussion of the data collected through a synthesis of both primary data, secondary data, and available literature which the data gathered related in the form of either confirmation or contradictory empirical evidence. Data analysis and discussions were conducted according to the main objectives or themes of the research process. It starts by analysing data according to the research questions which guided this study.

4.1 Demographic backgrounds of Respondents

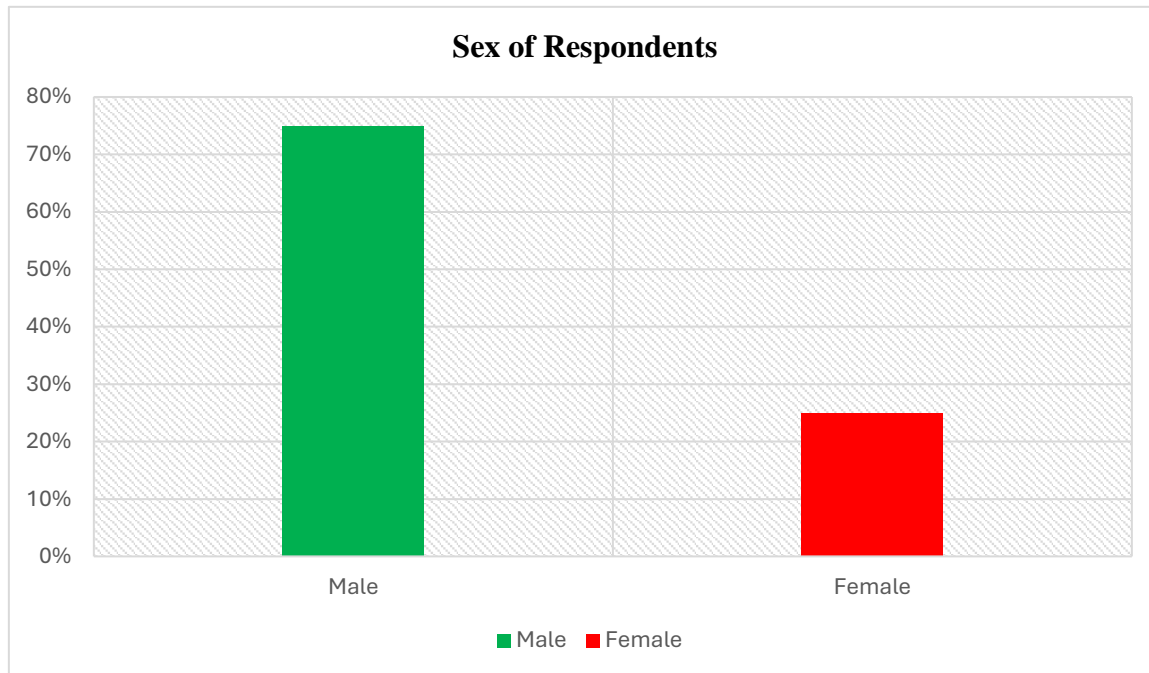
Out of the twenty (20) respondents who were targeted to be studied in this research, fifteen (15) of them fully responded and were complete, representing a 75% response rate. The rate of responses was a result of the difficulty in accessing the respondents as well as the busy schedules of most of the respondents coupled with the technical nature of the interview test items.

The demographic summary statistics of the respondents are presented in this sub-section of the report. The choice of the various demographic variables which are analysed in this section is informed by theoretical, conceptual, and empirical evidence that addresses the issues by creating meaningful linkages with the variables and other issues in the research report.

4.1.1 Sex distribution

The study showed that out of the total respondents interviewed, 75% were males whilst the remaining 25% were females (*Error! Reference source not found.*).

Figure 1: Sex of respondents



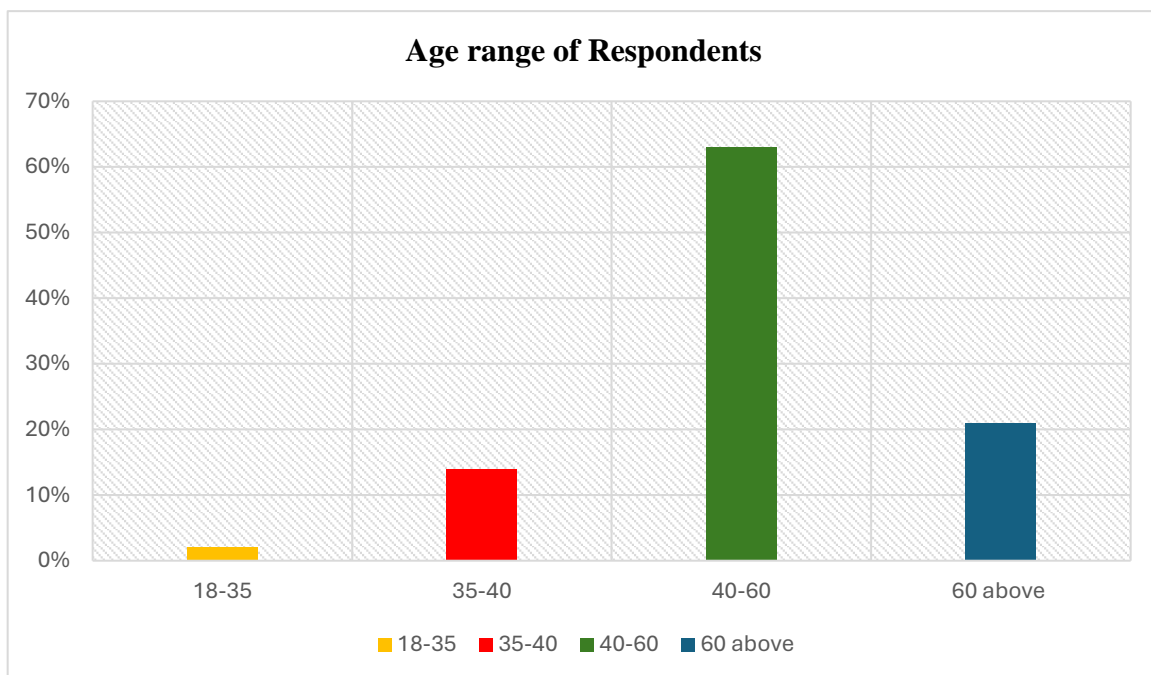
Source: Field Data, (2024).

4.1.2 Age Distribution of Respondents

The number of active years lived by an individual is a reflection of the depth of one's experiences and understanding of the issues in life. Age is very important because it also mostly, serves as a yardstick in determining one suitability and qualification to be assigned to a particular responsibility or a role. For instance, an individual is not eligible to become a member of parliament until the age of 21. Similarly, one cannot become a president of Ghana unless he/she is 40 years and above. In this research, age was an equally important variable because the topic deals with a very important issue which deals with experienced hands. Data gathered from the respondents indicates that more than 80% of the respondents were 45 years and above. The remaining minority were though, below 40, none of them was aged below 35 years except only 2% who were between 18 years and 35 years. However, in detail, 21% of the respondents were aged 60 years and above. These respondents were mostly active public servants who were appointed by the governments while

some of them too were private consultants and professionals.

Figure 2: Age distribution of respondents

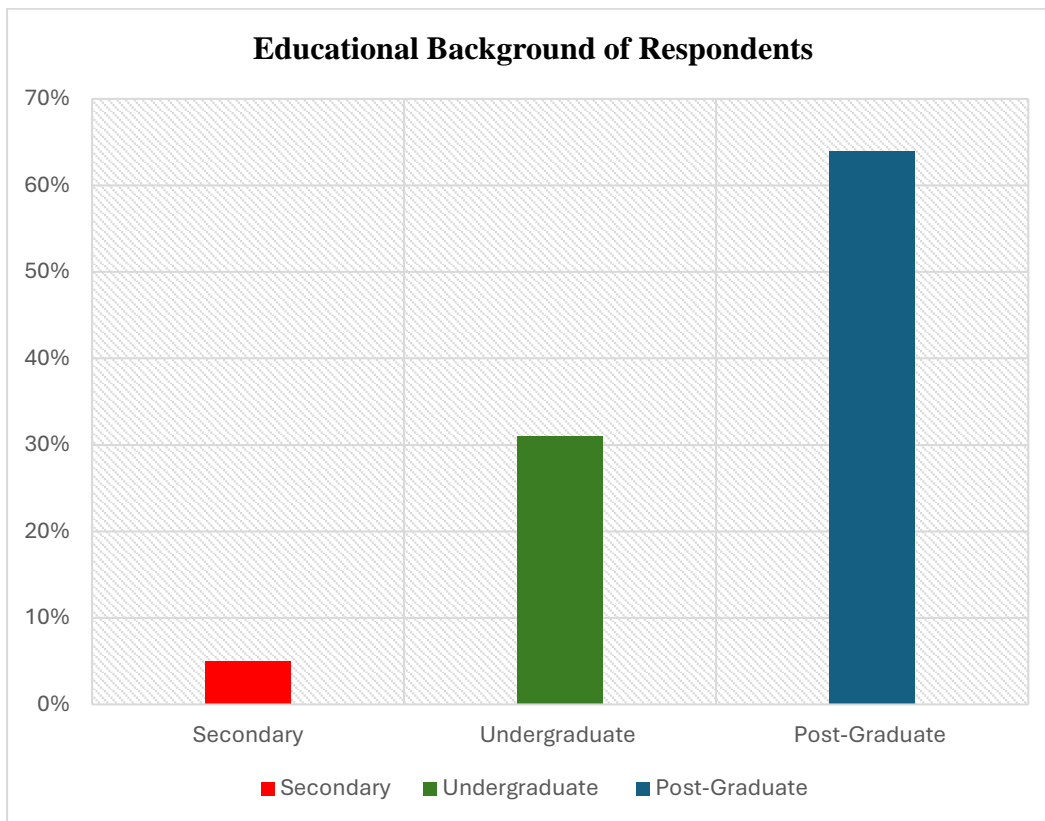


Source: Field Data, (2024).

4.1.3 Educational Backgrounds

The educational backgrounds of the respondents revealed that tertiary qualification constituted 95% of the total respondents, out of which more than 60% have been trained at the post-graduate levels, especially at the master's degree and the doctoral levels. Some of these respondents even held professorial ranks in their fields of work. The remaining 5% had only attained secondary school education. However, all of these respondents were noted to be senior members who have gathered deep and diverse experiences and have risen through the ranks of their fields of endeavors. The research also gathered that most of the respondents with undergraduate certificates had pursued diverse professional and certificate courses in addition to their diploma and bachelor certificates.

Figure 3: Education Background of respondents.

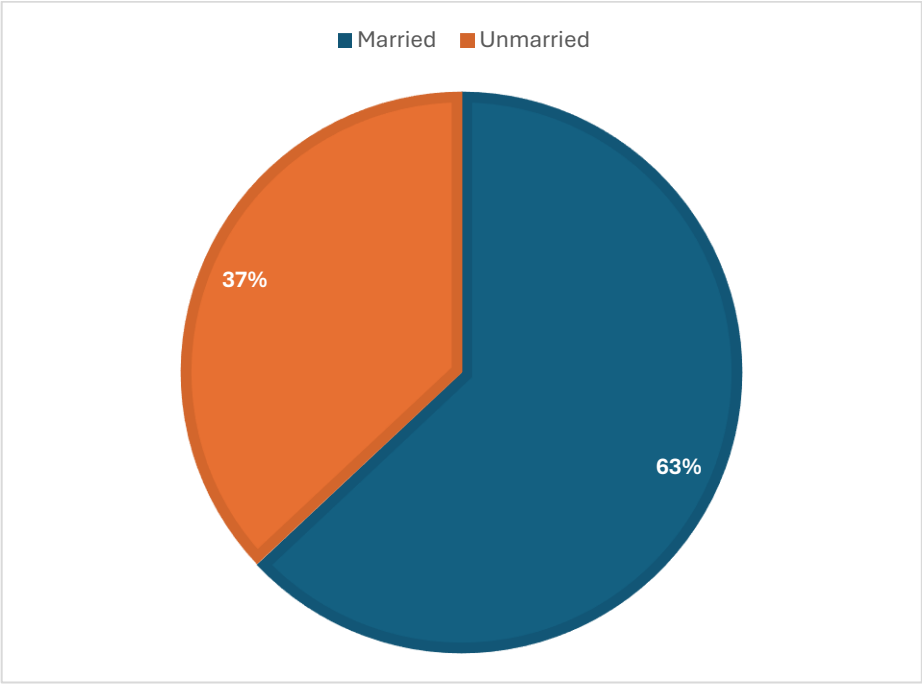


Source: Field Data, (2024).

4.1.4 Marital Status of Respondents

About the marital status of respondents, the study gathered that a higher proportion of the respondents are married (63%). While the remaining were unmarried. These minorities were either divorced, widowed, or had never married before.

Figure 4: Marital Status of respondents

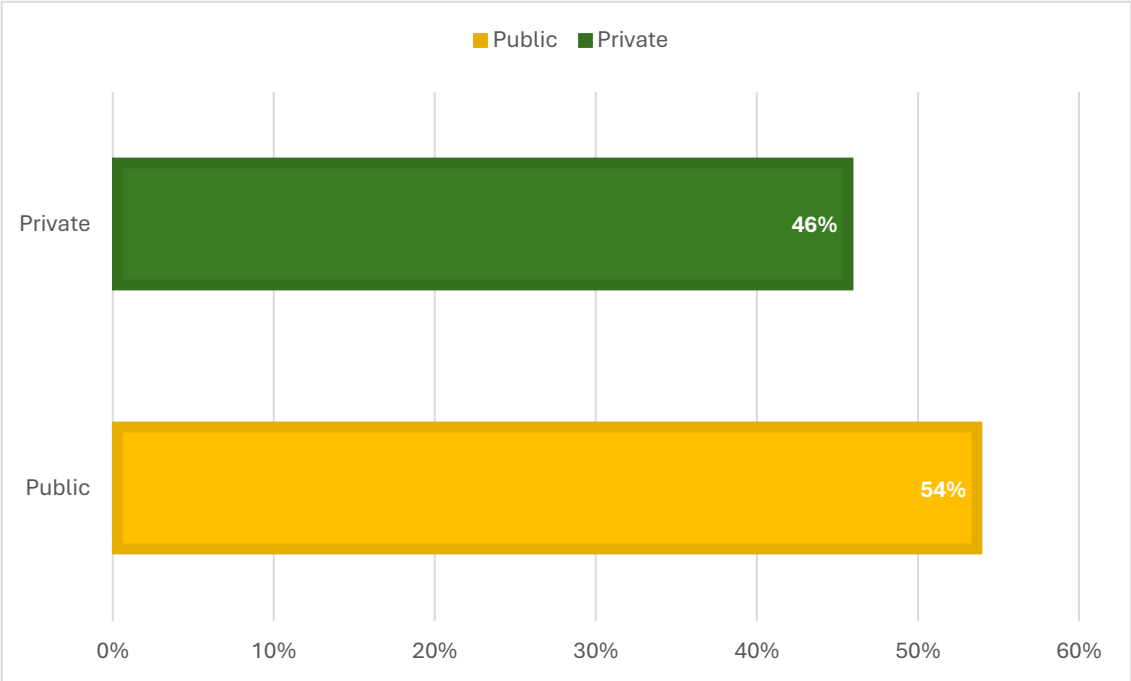


Source: Field Data, (2024).

4.1.5 Institution and Position (Rank) at Work

Though almost all the respondents were professionals, information gathered in **Figure 6** shows that 54% of the respondents were working in the public sector while the remaining 46% were private individuals working in non-state-owned entities. Also, almost 100% of the respondents were either senior members or directors and were holding key positions in their fields of endeavors.

Figure 5: Institution of work respondents



Source: Field Data, (2024).

4.1 Objective One: Analyze the history, motivation, intentions, and the vision of government of Ghana’s Beyond Aid Policy.

According to the National Development Strategic document of Ghana Beyond Aid, the intentions of the Government concerning the definition of the Strategy is to transform the nation and grow out of dependence but “*not necessarily rejecting Aid* (pages 11-12).

Ghana Beyond Aid is a national transformation agenda with a vision of changing the mindset, behavior, and mentality of the Ghanaian people towards pursuing national development. The vision calls for transforming Ghana’s economy, from production and exports of raw materials to manufacturing and high-value services to provide opportunities, jobs, and prosperity to all Ghanaians. According to the President of Ghana:

“It is time to pursue a path to prosperity and self-respect for our nation. A Ghana Beyond Aid is a prosperous and self-confident Ghana that is in charge of her economic destiny; a transformed Ghana that is prosperous enough to be beyond needing aid, and that engages competitively with the rest of the world through trade and investment.”

A careful analysis of this statement shows that the President acknowledged how wasteful and procrastinating it had been in the past and how wayward the economy had been. The president therefore communicated a sense of readiness and appreciation of the past situation which has taken the path of development of the economy on the wrong footage. Through that statement, the president also entreated all stakeholders and Ghanaians to oversee *her economic destiny*. By implication, the president pronounces that our destiny as a country has been handled in the past by other nations, individuals, or even institutions. The policy stipulates things to be done differently as normal level of activities, according to the policy, will not usher Ghana into development. Ghana Beyond Aid is about Transforming and Growing out of Dependence on Aid; not about Rejecting Aid.

The idea is that the policy recognizes that the economic transformation and growth of our economy that will make us prosperous and move us beyond aid will have to be financed primarily by domestic resources and also by foreign private investment. *But aid still has an important and welcome role to play*. Ghana Beyond Aid has two important implications for aid and our relations with development partners. These issues are the need to realign aid or assistance towards meaningful contribution to national development, as inferred by the policy, Ghana:

“Will pursue a clear strategy for economic transformation and we will insist that aid be firmly aligned to it. Second, there are certain basic services, such as basic education, health, sanitation, and water resources, that after 62 years as an independent nation, we need to cater for ourselves without stretching out our hands to donors”.

The spirit of the policy stipulates that the economy of Ghana has come far to be still relying on foreign donors before meeting the basic needs of its people. In that understanding, basic issues such as food, shelter, sanitation, education, etc, should be able to reach or fall within the capacity of the country to provide. This will also afford ample opportunity for important growth and outward-oriented development policies to be pursued.

The Ghana Beyond Aid agenda therefore includes a target to steadily increase Ghana’s contribution to basic public services while encouraging donors to re-orient their programs to strongly support Ghana’s economic transformation to hasten the time when there will be no need for aid and even be in a position to offer assistance to some of the poorer countries on our continent especially neighboring countries and those within the ECOWAS.

Also, according to the document, it is very important for earning self-respect and dignity for the economy. This statement implies that relying carelessly on Aid tends to negatively affect the country’s image within the international community. This tends to attract diverse negative tendencies and impacts such as credit ratings, negotiations, and international partnerships. Excessive Aid dependency also tends to produce inefficiency and ineffectiveness, loss of proprietary and economic distortions within the use and employment of Ghana’s resources. As quoted in the document, Moving Beyond Aid:

“Is important for our self-respect as a nation. Further, dependence on donors for such basics has tended to have the unfortunate effects of absorbing an inordinate amount of the time of our officials and distorting our national socio-economic priorities.”

According to the government, for the past three years, that is, 2016, 2017, and 2018, aid (which is the sum of grants and concessional loans) averaged 5.7 percent of the Government of Ghana's budgetary expenditure. If only grants were considered, the average was 3.2% percent. These numbers, according to the Government, have been on a declining trend, and for the year 2018, they were 3.1 percent for aid and 2.0 percent for grants. Using the revenue sources of selected but key ministries as an example, it was revealed that the Government of Ghana's contributions in the form of Goods and Services, Capex, and compensation expenditure are by far the dominant sources of revenue to the Ministries and, in the face of it, aid/grant's contribution remains largely low.

However, the impact of aid (and grants) on the budget is much more significant than what the raw figures presented above may suggest. This is because, for the overall budget, if compensation payments (i.e. wages, salaries, allowances, and pensions), interest payments, and statutory transfers are excluded and only expenditure on just goods and services and capital are mainly considered, the percentage of aid will average 38.3% over 2016 to 2018, while grants alone averaged 21.2%. the strategy revealed that these challenges are more predominant in the expenditure of some of the Ministries and Services such as the Ministry of Food and Agriculture, Ministry of Water and Sanitation, Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Health; Ministry of Gender, Children, Social Protection, and the Ministry of Local Government. These revelations suggest that while Government pays salaries to enable the ministries to operate and deliver on their administrative functions. Services and capital

expenditure are severely constrained without donors. Hence, even though the Government pays the bulk of the expenditure, at the margin donors get to be rather influential in shaping priorities and determining what is done by those MDAs that rely significantly on donors for operational resources.

The vision of Ghana Beyond Aid is to build:

“... a prosperous and self-confident Ghana that is in charge of her economic destiny; a transformed Ghana that is prosperous enough to be beyond needing aid, and that engages competitively with the rest of the world through trade and investment.”

This overarching vision rests on pursuing five broad goals, creating a Wealthy, Inclusive government, Sustainable development, Empowerment, and, Resilience, thus, **W.I.S.E.R** Ghana.

4.2 Objective Two: Ascertain stakeholder perspectives about the conceptualization and operational definition of Ghana Beyond Aid Policy.

According to Britannica (2020), Foreign Aid is the international transfer of capital, goods, or services from a country or global to benefit the recipient country or its population. Aid can be economic, military, or emergency humanitarian (e.g., aid given following natural disasters). Foreign donor aid can be defined as both grants and concessional loans that have at least a 25% grant component. Foreign aid is usually associated with official development assistance and is normally targeted to poor countries in the world (World Bank, 1986).

Ekiring (2000) also defines foreign aid as an international transfer of capital, goods, or services for the benefit of other nations. This assistance comes in the form of capital transfers, in cash or kind, either as grants or loans; technical assistance and training, usually as grants in the form

of human resources and technical equipment; and military assistance in the form of either equipment or training advisors. There are three types of foreign aid: humanitarian or emergency aid, charity-based aid, and systematic aid (Ekiring, 2000)

The researcher sought to know from the respondents what their understanding of the terminology Aid. A critical analysis of the responses shows that the respondents had a good understanding of what the term aid was all about. This is because while some knew or conceived aid as *“anything given in support of a course or action without any monetary payback”*, *“a concessional loan with between 25 – 35% as a grant”* or whiles, others also defined aid as help, support, grant or subsidy in the form of financial, technical or human resources.

Another key respondent within the ECOWAS said that Aid is very critical in the development discussion globally, and not only in Ghana because there are saving and investment gaps and there is therefore the need for foreign assistance to support our development effort. However, this respondent did not hide his reservations about the disadvantages of overly relying on Aid when he connected Aid to the e act of *“making love to an elephant; there is no pleasure in it, you only feel the pains afterward”*. This means that Aid is a difficult option for most beneficiaries because the consequences are mostly problematic. The use of such a metaphor implies that a nation may ordinarily not want to go in for aid but circumstances may compel them. In the end, the beneficiary tends to suffer especially when it comes to debt repayment due to the many conditionalities which are mostly attached to the supports. These reservations as intimated by the respondents affirm the frustrations and the consequent motivation of the government to drive the economy beyond Aid. One of the respondents, however, gave a more

comprehensive explanation by moving beyond explaining the literal meaning of aid. The respondent indicated that an aid is a:

*“A grant, assistance, support that usually comes into the country to support the budget of a country.
A loan for budget assistance, grants, and others.*

However, this respondent was highly elaborative. This startling revelation made by the respondent is a clear distinction that loans are not necessarily a grant but they are used to support an economy’s deficit estimate to support human resources and logistics”. However, some of the respondents confused the aid scheme with grants and other support schemes. For instance, the respondent above thinks that all aid supports must have payback strings which is not always true especially when the support is a grant. According to the Senior Minister, Ghana Beyond Aid implies getting Ghana to a point where we will have to harness effectively our resources and deploy them creatively and efficiently for rapid economic and social transformation.

Since the president of Ghana declared the Ghana declared Ghana beyond Aid policy, a lot of experts, social commentators, and social activists have contributed in diverse ways towards shaping and expressing their views and understanding of the intentions of the government about policy.

For instance, a senior lecturer at the University of Ghana Business School says:

“Ghana can truly say it’s independent if it lives without aid from other countries. He added “We cannot say we are independent as a country when our essential sectors are being fed by donor support. For instance, if you are looking at the education sector; you are looking at our health sector; it is like being in your home and not

being able to get basic food to eat.

“So for me, as a country, for us to be independent we need Ghana beyond aid”.

A critical perusal of this commentary shows that the respondent linked the independence of the nation to the ability to run the economy without any aid. This means that the respondent believes that national independence is not only political leadership or governance, but he also links it with economic liberation or anti-neo-colonialism. However, an assessment of some key responses in the study moved away from the neo-colonialism argument to matters of trade, bargaining, and economic powers. A respondent indicated that Ghana beyond Aid can best be described as a situation:

“where we want to come to the table of trade in equal terms and strength in being able to sell our produce to them in the way we sell other products to them, we cannot kowtow to them (herein foreign or western powers), have value for the natural wealth we have. We can present our product at competitive pricing. Determine the value of our products. Instead of they (herein foreign or western powers) cheating us on pricing and turn around to come and help us through aid with our own money based on the profit they made”.

The above respondent believes that Western donors can suppress the authority, bargaining, and market competitiveness of the developing economy and Ghana for that matter, which doesn't help us to control our price schemes on the trade market. This, as deduced by the respondents, makes us vulnerable and aid-dependent. Other respondents also shifted the argument of non-aid dependent towards the efficient utilization of our natural resources, which can either be human or capital and by depending less on other economies. This can be inferred from respondents who, for example, say that:

“Ghana beyond aid is depending on national resources to develop the economy with less or no assistance from donor agencies. The

nation becomes self-reliant, self-sufficient, and economically independent”.

Common as the thinking of most Ghanaians, a lot of people hold the belief that Ghana Beyond Aid is all about Ghana no more relying on the support and assistance of donor countries or institutions and rather doing things on its own. These are widely held as the layman's understanding or better still a less technical interpretation of the Ghana Beyond Aid. This is a reflection of one of the responses of the respondents who responded that:

“Ghana Beyond Aid simply means Ghana being able to sustain its economy without help, support, or grants in implementing its budgetary allocations. It means Ghana is no longer a dependent-driven economy or country”.

A careful analysis of the foregoing discussion reveals that the perceptions and understanding of the various respondents about the concept of Ghana Beyond Aid is surrounded by three key themes:

- Judicious use of local resources
- Depending less on external donors or foreign support schemes
- Deepening competitive advantage in the commodity market through value addition.

Almost all the respondents, however, think that Ghana is prepared to adopt the Policy of Ghana Beyond Aid. They, however, think that the country needs strong commitment and strong institutions. But some also think otherwise, because, according to them, the economic structures are not available to do that. These pessimists, however, feel that the execution of the policy will be possible if the right mechanisms are put in place.

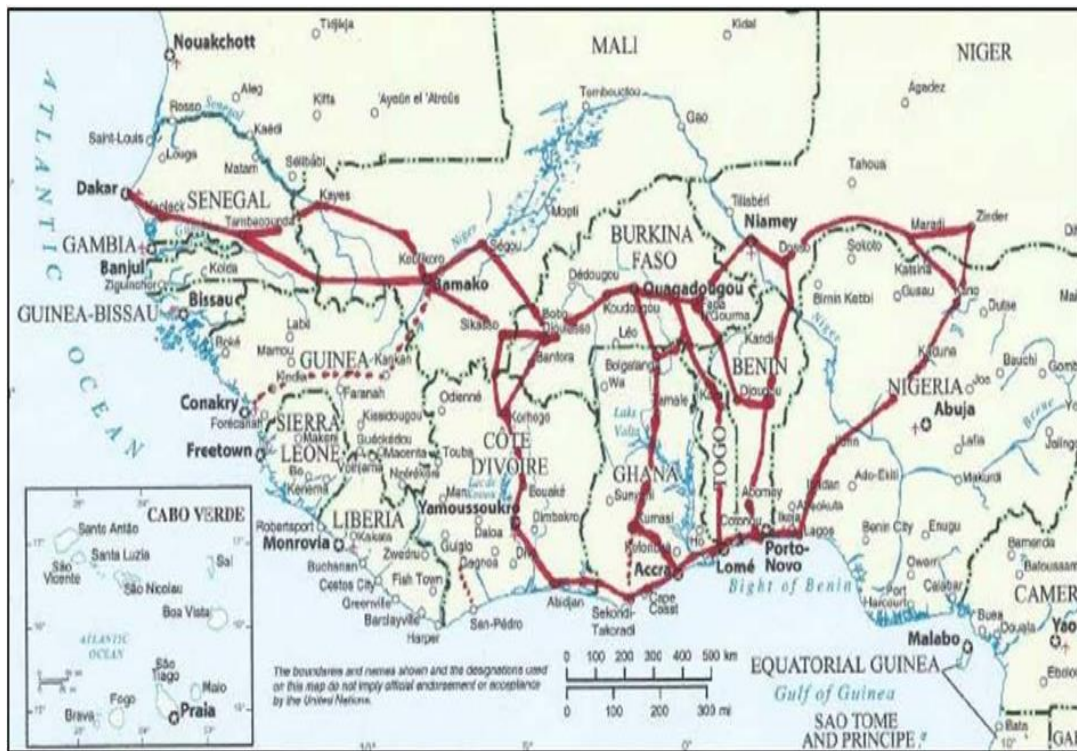
However, one key area or issue that was greatly echoed in the Ghana Beyond Aid Policy document but was silent in the responses of the respondents was reliance on technical and other

logistical supports. In other words, all the respondents' thinking was skewed towards financial assistance or support.

4.3 Objective Three: Examine the interconnections of Ghana's Beyond Aid Policy with the operations and the framework of ECOWAS.

As indicated earlier, one of the strong pillars for an economy towards the promotion of an aidless system is the need to capitalize on a competitive trade market and expand its market by adding value. Ghana is one of the 15 countries in the ECOWAS sub-region and is surrounded by weaker markets such as Burkina Faso, to, Benin and Even Ivory Coast. Ghana also is closer to one of the biggest markets in Africa (Nigeria) which has the highest population across the continent. According to DW, Ghana was touted to be a potential leader within the Anglophone, ECOWAS sub-region. This means that the economy has the potential to exploit the many opportunities that exist within the ECOWAS sub-region and promote its Ghana Beyond Aid Policy by embarking on an extensive market expansion.

Figure 6: A map showing ECOWAS Main trade corridors in West Africa



Source:

ECOWAS Database, (2005).

Since its creation on 28th May 1975, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) has been promoting economic cooperation and regional integration as a tool for an accelerated development of the West African economy. Regional integration remains the most viable and appropriate tool for achieving and accelerating sustainable development of West African countries. Consequently, the ECOWAS Authority of Heads of State and Government reaffirmed its commitment to improve the West Africa integration process while enhancing its effectiveness. To achieve this objective, the Community adopted a resolution in June 2007 to introduce the transformational ECOWAS Vision 2020. The ECOWAS Vision 2020 is aimed at setting a clear direction and goal to significantly raise the standard of living of the people through conscious and inclusive programs that will guarantee a bright future for West Africa and -shape the destiny of the region for many years to come. The ECOWAS regional trade policy is developed along the lines of boosting exports to member states as well as to the rest

of the world. Imports into the region are therefore seen as complementary to the exports of goods and services. This means that by giving Ghana's external development drive through the Ghana Beyond Aid Policy, ECOWAS can afford a supporting market for its growth.

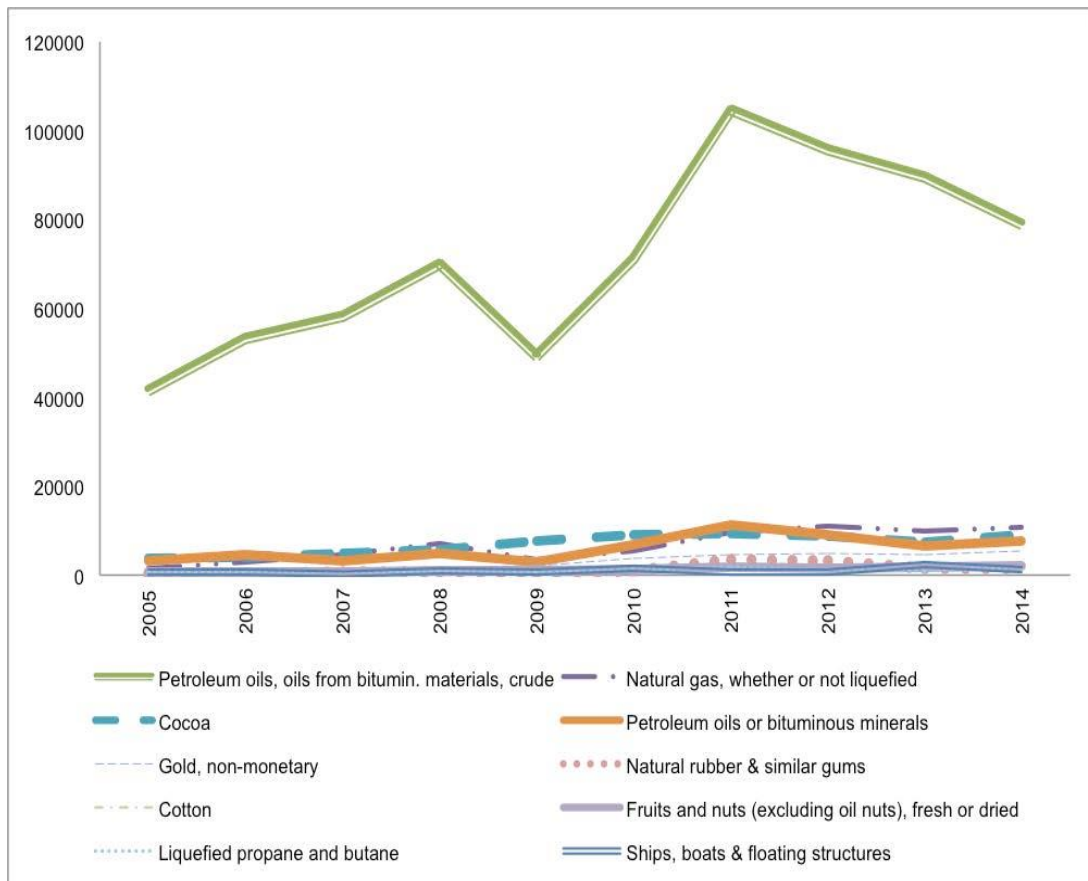
External trade of ECOWAS is dominated by several products and generates local value added due to the preponderance of fuels coming from extractive industries. These represent three-quarters (75%) of exports (excluding re-exports) and are provided mainly by Nigeria (73%). Cocoa and cocoa food preparations (5% of exports), precious stones (3%) and secondarily cotton, edible fruit, rubber, plastics, wood and wood products, fish and shellfish (about 1% each), form together with fuel, the major export products of the West African Economic Community.

Europe accounts for about 28% of ECOWAS exports with 23% for the European Union. The Americas account for 40 %, and 34 % for the Free Trade Association of North America (NAFTA) involving the United States, Canada, and Mexico. Trade openness fostered by the development of South-South trade shows substantial breakthroughs for Asian Countries and those of Oceania, capturing 16% of exports, with 0.3% for the near and Middle East. Exports from Ghana as compared to other ECOWAS member countries show that Ghana, even with the limited export value of ECOWAS, contributes insignificantly to the total value of exports from ECOWAS.

These exports are dominated by Nigeria and Ivory Coast that carry between them, 87% of these transactions. Nigeria provides 77% of regional exports and Côte d'Ivoire 10%. For their part, Ghana and Senegal are placed third and fourth with 4% and 2% respectively. Mali follows the traditional leaders with 1.7% of regional exports. Five Countries (Benin, Burkina Faso, Guinea, Niger, and Togo) carry each 1% of regional exports. To some extent, trade-in Services that

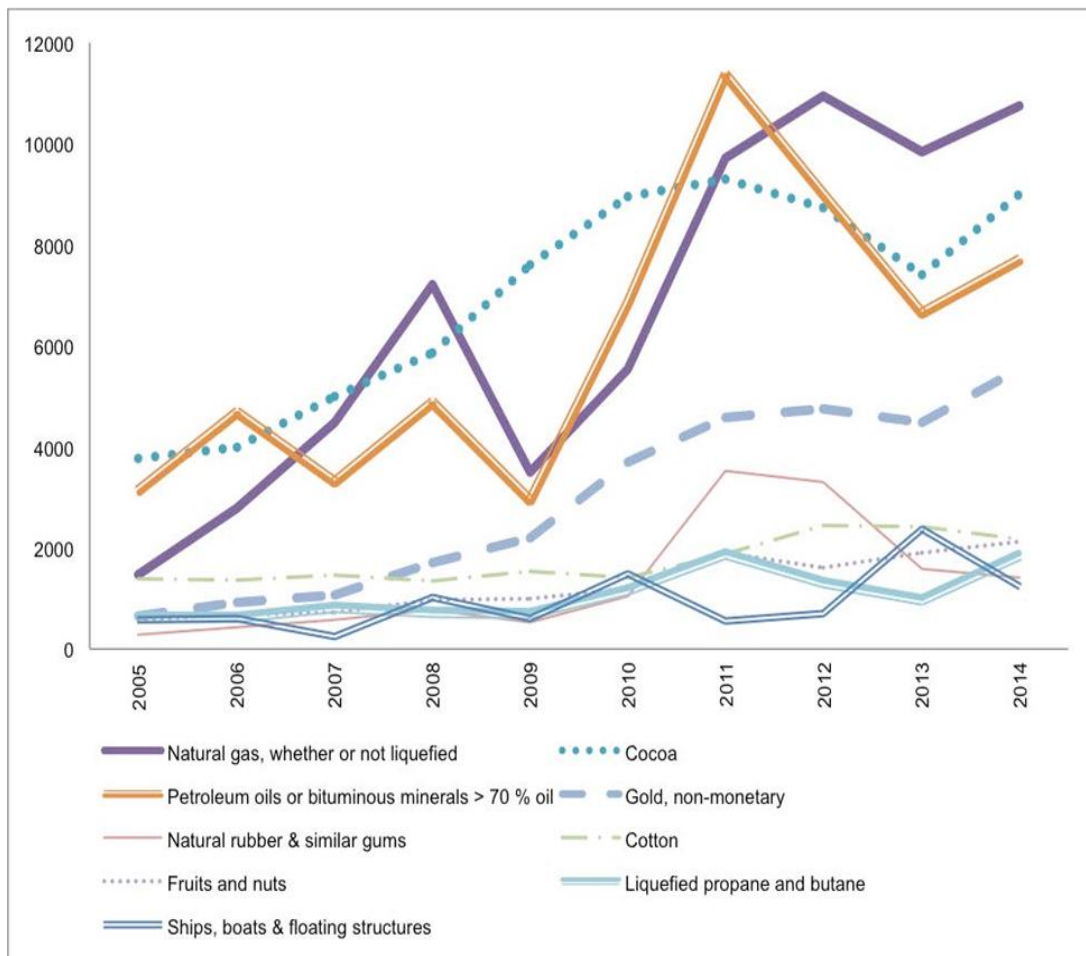
ought to promote growth in West Africa is hampered by institutional, regulatory, and infrastructural constraints.

Figure 7: ECOWAS export trends between 2005 and 2014 (in millions of USD)



Source: UNCTAD database, (2003).

Figure 8: ECOWAS export trends between 2005 and 2014 (in millions of USD (excluding Petroleum))



Source: UNCTAD Database, (2003).

A careful perusal of **Error! Reference source not found.** and **Error! Reference source not found.** shows that petroleum products constitute the majority of exports from West Africa. Apart from these products, cocoa production and export are also on the rise and dominate the majority of the economy's export value. The other export lines such as cotton, fruits, and the rest are not performing as expected and even then, their trends are gradually going down. This means that a lot of opportunities abound in West Africa and for Ghana to increase production. The ECOWAS is guided by its fundamental Principles in all its dealings with member states, citizens, and other even external bodies. These principles are enshrined in the Treaty of the

ECOWAS Community, which is also the fundamental document bringing the members together. The ECOWAS fundamental Principles state that, in pursuit of the objectives stated in Article 3 of the ECOWAS Treaty key principles such as:

- Inter-dependence of Member States;
- Solidarity and collective self-reliance;
- Inter-state cooperation, harmonization of policies, and integration of programs;
- Non-aggression between Member States;
- Maintenance of regional peace, stability, and security through the promotion and strengthening of good neighborliness:

These principles have been amply laid down and echoed to help facilitate the development of the region. These principles therefore ample opportunity for Ghana, to speed up its agenda of building an economy beyond Aid, by relying on the above principles to gain the support and cooperation of ECOWAS member countries and the entire body to implement its development agenda. The researcher, therefore, does not see any impending factors from ECOWAS that may obstruct Ghana from pursuing its Beyond Aid Policy.

Asked the respondents whether they think ECOWAS has a role to play in the Ghana Beyond Aid Policy implementation, all of them responded in affirmative. One of the respondents is quoted as saying that:

“ECOWAS has a role to play. Building a resilient economy among the Block and trading among the members of the block would enhance the implementation of the Ghana beyond aid agenda”.

However, the respondents are not entirely confident that the ECOWAS will provide the needed support and institutional arrangement to make this drive easy. For instance, one of the respondents intimated that:

“Even the completion point for the ECO (common Currency for ECOWAS) has been a major setback for the bloc. If ECOWAS works hard to achieve this and also ensure strong trade connections among member countries, it will go a long way for Ghana to achieve the beyond Aid agenda”.

The role of the ECOWAS, according to the respondent will not be explicit and specific. A respondent elucidated that *“the GBA is a national strategy and NOT a regional policy”*. However, the respondents believe that ECOWAS would provide the market to sell products within the CFTA to other countries. ECOWAS would provide the platform to reach other member countries with your products using the free movement of goods and services and investment protocol. While some of the respondents believe that ECOWAS’s role is to provide the immediate, needed, and ready market for the policy, others also are of the view that due to the increased global cooperation and the need for partnership as even stipulated in the Global Sustainable Development Goals, no country could boast of development without partners. The respondents therefore see the ECOWAS as a key institutional partner for the successful implementation of the policy.

4.4 Objective Four: Examine the existing mechanisms for the implementation of the Ghana Beyond Aid Policy.

The relevance of stakeholders in the implementation of policies cannot be over-emphasized, particularly, given the “national” nature of the Ghana Beyond Aid Policy. For this reason, most governments in different parts world are constantly engaging stakeholders in the implementation of government policies as this facilitates and improves the workings of government (Geurtz & Van, 2010). Studies such as Clase and Van (2007), Mualuko et al. (2009) James et al. (2010) Lin (2010) Charles and Sunday (2014) and Yaro et al. (2015) indicated that

stakeholders' participation in national development issues has a great impact in policy implementation towards attaining quality education.

A policy such as the Ghana Beyond Aid is very “international” in nature and has the propensity to attract diverse stakeholders from the local, regional, and international levels. According to the strategic document of the Policy, the Key identifiable stakeholders as identified by the president of the republic are “*all Ghanaians and stakeholders*”. This implies that beyond recognizing the role of Ghanaians, all other parties are recognized. The President further intimated that:

“To get to a Ghana Beyond Aid, it will also require that we break from a mentality of dependency and adopt a confident can-do spirit, fueled by love for our dear country”

The policy, further adds that:

“Ghana Beyond Aid is a non-partisan call, which is expected to trigger a new sense of nationalism and patriotism that will serve as the rallying point to shape our collective socio-economic destiny. Ghana Beyond Aid therefore requires a social partnership among the people of Ghana”

This, the president believes is the collective role of the Ghanaian people to ensure that the policy is effectively implemented. Given the collaborative intentions, the Policy document was developed, and outlined in the strategy, through the institution of the Ghana Beyond Aid Charter Committee which constituted members from the Government, and institutional representatives from major stakeholders such as:

- Trades Union Congress (TUC)
- Ghana National Association of Teachers (GNAT)
- Private Enterprise Federation (PEF)
- Association of Ghana Industries (AGI)

- Ghana National Chamber of Commerce and Industry (GNCCI)
- National Union of Ghana Students (NUGS)

Technical experts, and also engaged other stakeholders by calling for position Papers and contributions from key Stakeholders. Asked who they think should be the main stakeholders needed for the implementation of this policy, diverse but similar responses were received from the respondents. While some of the respondents felt that government officials and donor agencies are key, others also felt that investors and foreign and local business partners are highly relevant. However, it was revealing to find that some of the respondents also mentioned only political activists such as the Executive, the Judiciary, Legislators, Ministers, and even the District Chief executives. In all, it can be deduced that the respondents acknowledge the need for engaging diverse stakeholders who different fields. However, a key agent that almost feels is inevitable is the government. Similarly, others too made mentioned the traditional rulers and the clergy as key stakeholders to be involved or engaged.

In addition to the above revelations, the researcher sought to find out from the respondents, how they want the Ghana Beyond Aid policy to be implemented at the Regional and National level. A thematic analysis of the responses showed that developing a strong policy direction with strategic timelines and road map broken down and each region, district, or agency given specific tasks to perform or execute will be very appropriate.

Others also believe that the policy should be organized in a decentralized manner. In that sense, the respondents proposed that there should be regional, metropolitan, and district systems set up to help with the implementation. Also, according to the respondents, they should not be necessary new institutions but efficiently reorganizing the existing ones and setting systems to

help with the implementation of the policy will be more appropriate. This will also enable the state not to waste a lot of resources. According to the respondents, both the public sector and the private sector institutions should be responsible for the implementation of the policy. However, the respondents think that there should be a focused, credible secretariat that would coordinate the activities of the implementation, but every public and private institution should be involved.

4.4 Objective Five: Ascertain the key challenges to the implementation of the Ghana Beyond Aid Policy.

Every policy is faced with some challenges. These challenges may either emanate from the internal organization or within the domestic market and external environment or external market. In most developing economies such as Ghana, common policy implementation challenges which are encountered by governments include unrealistic goal setting, political patronage, neglect of target beneficiaries lack of consideration of policy environment, and lack of institutional capacity. Indeed, the proponents of the policy, having examined the possible related challenges and problems likely to be associated with the implantation of the policy, the president acknowledged that:

“Pursuing the vision requires high and efficient investments in infrastructure, education and skills, scientific and technological capability, which in turn require policies and institutions to significantly raise domestic revenue and savings, attract foreign investments, and to create an environment where businesses thrive”.

From this, it is clear that the challenges are widely foreseen and highly anticipated. The respondents are also of the view that a lot of issues and challenges are likely to forestall the smooth implementation of the policy. A respondent said that Ghanaians are alien to change and that is likely to bring some level of resistance at most levels of the policy implementation.

However, the respondents believe that a committed and resolute government can change that static mentality of the Ghanaian people and drive along with the policy. Other key challenges which in the views of the respondents, are likely to affect the smooth implementation of the policy are detailed in the table below.

Table 1: Possible Challenges against the implementation of the GBAP

Key challenge	Details
Weak institutions	Inadequate and ineffective systems and institutions that would help administer the implementation of the policy. Another issue is corruption which consumes much of the government's revenue.
Poor stakeholder participation	Inadequate education of the masses on the policy and rallying the support of all Ghanaians in its implementation
External Forces	Stiff competitiveness of the European or Developed Markets which would allow the economy to dictate prices to them.
Domestic market failure	Excessive consumption of foreign goods by the local community is problematic. There is therefore the need to encourage the local community to consume local goods The business pattern should change from mere buying and selling to domestic production
Political Inconsistency	Lack of continuation of political or government projects is likely to obstruct the successful

implementation. The politics and the structure at which we define our development agenda should be modified.

Source: Field Data, (2024).

In the views of the respondents, one of the important strategies or measures that the government ought to put in place is the embarking of massive education and sensitization exercises to create awareness and conscientize the masses on the need to change their attitudes and thinking about the old culture of massive consumption of foreign commodities. This, according to the respondents, will also require businesses to change from mere trading or buying and selling to production and value addition.

Also, effective systems and existing institutions, according to the respondents, should be developed and strengthened. These institutions and systems ought to become independent of political ideologies, but rather focus on the intricacies of Ghana beyond the aid agenda.

With regards to the benefits of the policy, the respondents were unanimously in agreement about the numerous advantages that are likely to accrue to the Ghanaian economy, and the ECOWAS sub-region as a whole. These benefits, according to the respondents include:

- Massive industrialization of the economy
- Building a sense of unity and oneness among the Ghanaian public
- Promoting a sense of ownership of Ghana's development agenda.
- The policy if properly implemented would mean the creation of more employment.
- The policy will help expand Indigenous businesses.
- It will help increase the incomes of the average Ghanaian, encourage savings, and boost investment.

- The Ghana Beyond Aid Policy, if well implemented, will also help position the Economy on a highly competitive market within the ECOWAS region and the international market as well. It will place the economy in a strategic position that will be worthy of emulation by other developing economies.
- International recognition and respect among peer nations
- It will bring economic independence and consolidate political dividends.

A respondent further highlighted the relevance of the policy for the entire value chain within ECOWAS and the role it can play in the ECOWAS integration. According to another respondent:

“Our member states are small and fragmented, therefore GBA would benefit ECOWAS sub-region leading to a bigger market and proper negotiation of raw materials and finished product in the world market”.

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSION

5.0 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the discussion of the study, the conclusions drawn from the findings, and corresponding recommendations. The final section of this chapter looks at this study's contribution to knowledge and areas for further research.

5.1 Summary

Aid dependency has been a backbone for the development of Ghana since independence. This is because most of the budgets of successive governments have relied heavily on external support and other technical assistance in meeting the developmental needs of the people. These situations have called on concerns from diverse stakeholders including development experts, politicians, development partners, and even the citizenry on the need to pursue economic independence due to the many challenges that come with foreign aid. It has become necessary and justified the need for a proactive and radical shift towards self-reliance.

Though successive governments have made strenuous efforts to promote Ghana's development in diverse ways, the issue of Aid has been highly tackled and is one of the topmost priorities of the current President of the Republic of Ghana, His Excellency Nana Addo Dankwa Akuffo-Addo. The president has pushed forward an ambitious policy of moving Ghana Beyond Aid. However, just as many other policies and characteristics of most developing economies, the formulation and implementation of policies have always been a challenge and a point of mockery. The Ghana Beyond Aid Policy, is, however, novel and has gained the attention of the international but there seem to be diverse sentiments surrounding the policy, particularly in

the wake of increased economic integration and regionalism. The study set out to examine the policy and its implementation within the framework of the ECOWAS. Specific objectives were to; ascertain the motivation, intentions, and the vision of government of Ghana's Beyond Aid Policy, ascertain stakeholder perspectives about the conceptualization and operational definition of the Policy, examine the interconnections of the Policy within the operations and the framework of ECOWAS and examine the existing mechanisms for the implementation of the Ghana Beyond Aid Policy.

The study also sought to examine the potential challenges and opportunities surrounding it. These objectives were curved out after a rigorous review of concepts and theories to give the research a clear focus. Key concepts that were reviewed included foreign aid, economic integration, regionalism, and policy implementation. The study was also underpinned by dependency and structural theories. To achieve the objectives set in the research, a sample of 15 respondents was studied using purposive and snowball sampling methods. The sample size was determined based on the principle of saturation and exhaustion. A qualitative approach was chosen for the study. Data were collected through interviews and using an interview guide. Data were analysed and presented using content analysis, thematic analysis, and other qualitative data analysis approaches.

5.2 Findings of the study

The findings of the study are summarised as follows:

Ghana Beyond Aid is to transform the nation and develop out of dependence but not to reject aid. The vision is aligned with changing the mentality of the Ghanaian people towards pursuing national development and calls for transforming Ghana's economy, from production and exports of raw materials to manufacturing and high-value services to provide opportunities,

jobs, and prosperity to all Ghanaians. The policy brings forth how reckless and infective the economy had been in the past and advocates for a new way of doing things to usher Ghana into development.

The policy recognizes the role of economic transformation and growth by adding value and promoting exports. Ghana Beyond Aid intends to realign aid or assistance towards meaningful contribution to national development while encouraging donors to re-orient their programs to strongly support Ghana's economic transformation which will be in a position to offer assistance to some of the poorer countries on our continent especially neighboring countries and those within the ECOWAS. Ghana Beyond Aid is inspired by the government's overreliance on donors.

Though the concept of foreign aid seems quite ambiguous within both local and international literature, a critical analysis of the responses shows that the respondents had a good understanding of what the term aid was all about. However, some of the respondents confused the aid scheme with grants and other support schemes. Senior minister clarifies that Ghana Beyond is about getting Ghana to a point where we will have to effectively harness our resources and deploy them creatively and efficiently for rapid economic and social transformation. However, experts have defined it in diverse understanding through economic independence, to matters of trade, bargaining and economic powers, market competitiveness, and efficient utilization of natural resources while others tag it as absolute economic independence. Respondents also, think that Ghana is prepared to adopt the Policy of Ghana Beyond Aid.

Ghana is touted to be a potential leader in ECOWAS and has the potential to exploit the many opportunities that exist within the sub-region and promote its Ghana Beyond Aid Policy by embarking on an extensive market expansion. Regional integration is the most viable avenue for achieving this policy. ECOWAS has a system that seems to boost exports from member states. This means that by Giving Ghana's external development drive through the Ghana Beyond Aid Policy, ECOWAS can afford a supporting market for its growth. The ECOWAS is guided by its fundamental Principles of inter-dependence, solidarity, collective self-reliance; cooperation, and harmonization of policies. These principles offer the opportunity for Ghana, to speed up its agenda of building an economy beyond Aid. Additionally, the respondents also believe that ECOWAS has a critical role to play in promoting the policy. Through the provision of a ready market for the policy, and partnership.

According to the strategic document of the Policy, the key identifiable stakeholders are "all Ghanaians and the collective role of the Ghanaian people to ensure that the policy is effectively implemented is highly needed. This is also reflected in the constitution of the Ghana Aid Charter Committee which constituted members from the Government, institutional representatives from major stakeholders such as the Trades Union Congress (TUC), the Private Enterprise Federation (PEF), and the Ghana National Chamber of Commerce, and Industry (GNCCI). Meanwhile, some of the respondents felt that government officials and donor agencies are key, as well as investors, and foreign and local businesses. In all, the key agent that the respondents believe is inevitable is the government.

An analysis of the responses showed that developing a strong policy direction with strategic timelines and road map broken down and each region, district, or agency given specific tasks to perform or execute will be very appropriate. Others also believe that the policy should be

organized in a decentralised manner. According to the respondents, both the public sector and the private sector institutions should be responsible for the implementation of the policy but a secretariat is needed.

The proponents of the policy highly anticipate some challenges that are likely to forestall the smooth implementation of the policy, one of which is the public. Resistance. Other key challenges include weak institutions, politicization, poor stakeholder engagement, external market forces, and poor domestic market. Preference for foreign products. The respondents therefore entreated that massive education and sensitization be executed, as well as strengthening existing institutions. The ability to curtail these challenges will lead to industrialization, and employment creation and will position the Economy in a highly competitive market within the ECOWAS sub-region and the international market.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSIONS

6.0 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the conclusions of the study drawn from the findings, and corresponding recommendations.

6.1 Conclusion

The following conclusions can be drawn from the study.

The Ghana Beyond Aid Policy is well thought out, reflects the history and aspirations of the Economy, and provides a radical thinking, ambitious agenda for the growth and development of Ghana. The understanding and conceptualization of the policy by experts and other stakeholders are quite limited to financial aid with less regard to technical and other forms of aid which are hitherto, recognized by the policy document.

The ECOWAS sub-region provides a conducive macro-economic market where the policy can be capitalized, developed, and thrive. The resources, systems, and structures for the implementation of the policy are not effectively instituted to augment the smooth implementation of the policy. These include the stakeholder consultative processes.

The successful implementation is likely to be affected by diverse obstacles such as politics, public attitude, global competition, and corruption. However, the Policy has a lot of potential and it can spur economic growth and development through job creation, business growth, increased income, increased foreign exchange, and over increase in the living standards of the Ghanaian people as well as a good image at the international scene.

6.2 Recommendations

The study recommends that the massive education and sensitization of the policy be done with and target the leadership and the entire membership of key organizations such as the Private Enterprise Foundation (PEF), Think Tanks such as IMANI Africa, ARISE Africa, CDD, etc. Stakeholder engagement should be extensive and include all possible minority groups, civil society organizations, traditional authorities, religious and faith-based organizations, academia, and student bodies. Additionally, communication tools and mediums should be diversified and target all sectors and areas of the economy. Similarly, there should be effective enforcement of the relevant laws regarding corruption and management of national resources, and the judicial system should be efficient, punitive enough, and timely to send signals to the recalcitrant who may think they can flout the laws and go away freely. Equally, there should be a transparent reward system to motivate stakeholders for exceptional contributions toward the policy. Furthermore, existing resources should also be judiciously utilized and prudently managed. Stakeholders should also make serious efforts towards the promotion of domestic production and value addition. Also, strong institutions and competent leadership devoid of politics are equally highly needed.

Furthermore, the study made explicit recommendations as follows:

Ghana's "Beyond Aid" policy aims to promote economic self-reliance, sustainable development, and reduced dependency on foreign aid. Enhancing its integration within the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) can amplify regional cooperation and economic growth. Here are ten specific recommendations:

1. Strengthen Regional Trade:

- **Promote Intra-Regional Trade Agreements:** Facilitate trade agreements that reduce tariffs and non-tariff barriers within ECOWAS to encourage the flow of goods and services.
- **Harmonize Trade Policies:** Standardize trade policies, regulations, and customs procedures across member states to streamline cross-border commerce.

2. Develop Regional Infrastructure:

- **Transport and Logistics:** Invest in regional transport networks (roads, railways, ports) to improve connectivity and reduce transportation costs.
- **Energy Collaboration:** Develop regional energy projects (e.g., power plants, renewable energy initiatives) to ensure reliable and affordable energy supply.

3. Enhance Regional Industrialization:

- **Regional Value Chains:** Promote the development of regional value chains in key sectors such as agriculture, manufacturing, and mining to add value locally and create jobs.
- **Support SMEs:** Provide incentives and support for small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs) to participate in regional markets.

4. Promote Economic Diversification:

- **Agricultural Modernization:** Encourage the adoption of modern agricultural practices and technologies to increase productivity and food security.
- **Innovation and Technology:** Invest in innovation hubs and technology parks to foster entrepreneurship and technological advancement.

5. Enhance Financial Integration:

- **Common Currency:** Accelerate the implementation of a common currency to facilitate easier transactions and reduce currency risks.
- **Regional Financial Institutions:** Strengthen regional financial institutions to support large-scale investments and economic projects.

6. Human Capital Development:

- **Education and Training:** Develop regional educational programs and vocational training centers to build a skilled workforce tailored to the region's economic needs.
- **Healthcare Collaboration:** Enhance regional healthcare initiatives to improve public health, which is crucial for a productive workforce.

7. Policy Coordination and Governance:

- **Policy Alignment:** Align national policies with regional development goals to ensure coherence and synergy.
- **Good Governance:** Promote good governance practices, transparency, and accountability to build trust and attract investments.

8. Leverage Natural Resources:

- **Sustainable Resource Management:** Implement policies for sustainable management and utilization of natural resources to ensure long-term benefits.
- **Regional Resource Funds:** Create regional funds to manage revenues from natural resources for reinvestment in development projects.

9. Facilitate Private Sector Participation:

- **Public-Private Partnerships (PPPs):** Encourage PPPs for infrastructure development and service delivery.
- **Investment Promotion:** Establish regional investment promotion agencies to attract both domestic and foreign investors.

10. Promote Social Inclusion:

- **Gender Equality:** Implement policies that promote gender equality and empower women economically.
- **Youth Engagement:** Develop programs that engage youth in economic activities and entrepreneurship.

6.3 Implementation Strategy

1. **ECOWAS Secretariat:** Strengthen the capacity of the ECOWAS Secretariat to coordinate and monitor the implementation of these initiatives.
2. **Stakeholder Engagement:** Involve stakeholders, including governments, the private sector, civil society, and international partners, in planning and implementation.
3. **Monitoring and Evaluation:** Establish robust mechanisms for monitoring progress and evaluating the impact of initiatives to ensure they are achieving desired outcomes.

By implementing these recommendations, Ghana's "Beyond Aid" policy can be effectively integrated within ECOWAS, promoting regional self-reliance and sustainable development.

APPENDIX

INTERVIEW QUESTION GUIDE

A. INTRODUCTION

The researcher is a Graduate student of Selinus University of Science and Literature in Rome, Italy researching on the topic “**PROMOTING GHANA BEYOND AID POLICY WITHIN ECOWAS ECONOMIC INTEGRATION: CHALLENGES AND PROSPECTS**”. This research is purely for academic purpose and humbly request that, you spend some few minutes of your precious time to answer the following questions via telephone or written. Be assured that, you shall be given an utmost confidentiality it deserves.

B. BACKGROUND

Ghana is a resource-rich nation with considerable endowment in natural resources and human capital. When these resources are well harnessed and deployed creatively in a transparent manner, they should catalyse Ghana’s economic development rapidly. This is the reason why Ghana was seen as a country of great potential when we attained independence in 1957. After 63 years of independence, Ghana is still seen as having the potential to advance economically. The natural question therefore arises; what should we do to actualise our potential of becoming a prosperous and self-reliant nation, taking into account the many resources which are available to us as a nation? It is the search for an answer to this question that has informed the Ghana’s President vision to pursue a policy of “Ghana Beyond Aid” which has informed the researcher to research into this noble agenda. Through Ghana Beyond Aid, we are seeking to find collectively, practical ways of unleashing the embedded potential of Ghana and the people of Ghana so that we can together become a: “prosperous and self-confident Ghana that is in charge of her economic destiny; a transformed Ghana that is prosperous enough to be beyond needing aid, and that engages competitively with the rest of the world through trade and investment.”

C. PERSONAL BIO-DATA

1. Sex: (a) Male [] (b) Female []
2. Age Bracket. How old are you? (a). 18year – 35years [] (b). 36– 40years [] (c).41 – 50 years [] (d). 51 – 60 (e) 60 years & above []

3. What is your level of education? (b) Basic education [] (c) Secondary Education (d) Undergraduate [] (e) Post Graduate []
4. What is your marital status? (a) Married [] (b) Single [] (c) Divorce [] (d) Widow/Widower[]
5. Do you work in a: ? (a) Public [] (b) Private Institution []
6. What is your current position?.....

D. GENERAL QUESTIONS

QUESTIONS	
1	How do you understand by the term Aid?
2	What is your understanding of Ghana Beyond Aid Policy?
3	In your view, what does Ghana Beyond Aid Policy seeks to achieve?
4	In your view, do you think Ghana is prepared to adopt the “Ghana Beyond Aid Policy”?
5	Ghana is a member of ECOWAS. Do you think ECOWAS has a role to play in the implementation of the “Ghana Beyond Aid policy”? (a) If yes, what role can ECOWAS play? (b) If no, why do you think ECOWAS has no role to play?
6	How would the implementation of the Ghana Beyond Aid Policy affect the ECOWAS protocols and provisions on Aid?
7	How do you think ECOWAS protocols and provisions would promote the implementation of Ghana Beyond Aid Policy?
8	How would the Ghana Beyond Aid Policy benefit the ECOWAS sub-region?
9	Policy implementation involves a lot of relevant stakeholders, who in your view should be involved in the implementation of this policy?
10	How involved was the ECOWAS in the development of the policy?
11	How involved is the ECOWAS in the implementation of the policy?
12	In your view, what institutions (public and private) should be mandated to be responsible for the implementation of the “Ghana Beyond Aid policy”?
13	Is “Ghana Beyond Aid” policy achievable? If no, what might be your reasons or factors?
14	In your opinion, do you think Ghana can survive without donor aid?
15	In your view, do you think the implementation of this policy would encounter challenges:

	(a) if YES, what challenges are likely to confront the implementation of the policy? (b) if NO, why do you think there won't be any challenges
16	What solution would you proffer or recommend to solve the identified problem(s) above?
17	In your view, what is missing in the "Ghana Beyond Aid policy"?
18	How would you want "Ghana Beyond Aid policy" to be promoted?
19	How would <i>Ghana's economy</i> and <i>Ghanaian citizens</i> benefits from this policy?
20	What advice would give to: (a) the government (b) the Implementing Committee/Body of this policy?
21	Any other additional information relevant or useful for this research project.

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