

UNIVERSITY OF EDUCATION, WINNEBA

**GHANA'S FOREIGN POLICY AND SOUTH-SOUTH COOPERATION
(2012 – 2022)**



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(2012 – 2022)**



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DECLARATION

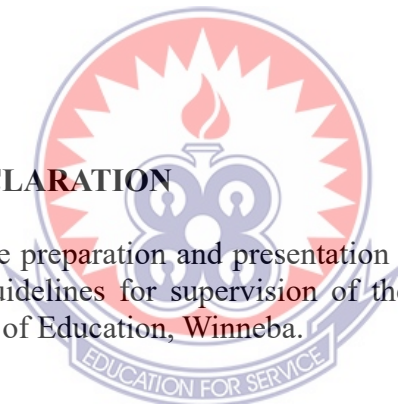
STUDENT'S DECLARATION

I, PATRICK KOFI ADU, declare that this thesis, with the exception of quotations and references contained in published works which have all been identified and duly acknowledged, is entirely my own original work, and it has not been submitted, either in part or whole, for another degree elsewhere.

Signature:..... Date:.....

SUPERVISOR'S DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the preparation and presentation of this work was supervised in accordance with the guidelines for supervision of thesis/dissertation/project as laid down by the University of Education, Winneba.



Name of Supervisor: THOMAS PREHI BOTCHWAY (PhD)

Signature :..... Date:.....

DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to the Almighty God for His protection and guidance throughout my life. To my father, Mr. Rexford Kofi Adu, and my senior brother, Maxwell Adu-Wiafe, I dedicate this work to you for your unflinching support and trust in me and my abilities. May the Almighty God bless you.



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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AfCFTA	-	African Continental Free Trade Agreement
AFRC	-	Armed Forces Revolutionary Council
AGOA	-	African Growth and Opportunity Act
ALBA-TCP	-	Bolivarian Alliance for the Peoples of Our America
ARF	-	African Renaissance Fund
BAPA	-	Buenos Aires Plan of Action
BRI	-	Belt and Road Initiative
BRICS	-	Brazil, Russia, China and South Africa Dialogue Forum
BTO	-	Build to Order
CDB	-	China Development Bank
CELAC	-	China and the Community of Latin American and Caribbean States
CSOs	-	Civil Society Organisations
DA	-	Development Assistance
ECLA	-	Economic Commission for Latin America
EPA	-	Economic Partnership Agreements
ESDF	-	Economic Support and Development Fund
EU	-	European Union
EXIM	-	Export-Import
FDI	-	Foreign Direct Investment
FOCAC	-	Forum on China-Africa Cooperation
G77	-	Group of 77
GATT	-	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
GDP	-	Gross Domestic Product

GHP	-	Global Health Programs
GIPC	-	Ghana Investment Promotion Center
GSABC	-	Ghana South Africa Business Chamber
HIPC	-	Highly Indebted and Poor Country
IAFS	-	India-Africa Forum Summit
IBSA	-	India-Brazil-South Africa Dialogue Forum
IFI	-	International Financial Institution
IGOs	-	International Governmental Organisations
IMET	-	International Military Education and Training
IMF	-	International Monetary Fund
MCC	-	Millenium Challenge Compact
MD2	-	Millie Dillard 2
MEPI	-	Medical Education Partnership Initiative
MESTI	-	Ministry of Environment, Science, Technology and Innovation
MFARI	-	Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration
MNCs	-	Multilateral Cooperations
MOFA	-	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
MPSA	-	Master Project Support Agreement
MTI	-	Ministry of Trade and Industries
MTN	-	Mobile Telephone Network
NATO	-	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
NEPAD	-	New Partnership for Africa's Development
NEPI	-	Nursing Education Partnership Initiative
NGOs	-	Non-Governmental Organisations
NIEO	-	New International Economic Order

OEC	-	Observatory of Economic Complexity
OECD	-	Organisation of Economic Cooperation for Development
PNDC	-	Provisional National Defence Council
SAP	-	Structural Adjustment Programme
SC	-	Smooth Cayenne
SGR	-	Standard Gauge Rail line
SSC	-	South-South Cooperation
TNCs	-	Transnational Cooperations
TriCo	-	Triangular Cooperation
UK	-	United Kingdom
UKAID	-	United Kingdom Agency for International Development
UN	-	United Nations
UNCTAD	-	United Nation Conference on Trade and Development
UNDP	-	United Nations Development Programme
UNFCCC	-	United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change
UNOSSC	-	United Nations Office of South-South Cooperation
US/USA	-	United States of America
USAID	-	United States Agency for International Development
WITS	-	World Integrated Trade Solutions
WTO	-	World Trade Organisation

ABSTRACT

The burden of this study was to understand Ghana's South-South Cooperation (SSC), its significance, and challenges, and explore how different Ghana's economic diplomacy with the South (China and South Africa) is from that of the global North (the US). Employing the Dependency Theory and Development Compact Framework, this interpretive qualitative research adopted a multiple case study design looking at the US, China, and South Africa in the areas of trade, FDI, and economic aid. Data was collected from eight informants including importers and exporters, Ghana Union of Traders Association, and an academic expert in the field of International Politics and Comparative Politics. Secondary sources included data from GIPC, the website of the Observatory of Economic Complexity, and other official reports and newsletters from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration, the Parliament of Ghana, etc. The study revealed that Ghana emphasises trade fairs, workshops, and conferences in its economic diplomacy, trading more with the South due to affordability, quality of goods, ease of transportation, and trade flexibility. The study also found that SSC generates jobs, supports key sectors, offers flexible economic aid, respects sovereignty, and provides affordable electrical goods. However, the study showed some challenges including forex exchange limitations, environmental concerns, unequal trade exchange, unsustainable debt, and insufficient intraregional trade and economic aid in Ghana's SSC. It found that South-South countries prioritise environmental concerns less than Northern counterparts. The study concludes that, Ghana's economic diplomacy approaches are similar, but differences emerge in trade value, commodities, FDI, and economic aid between the global North and South. Also, the quest to strengthen intra and interregional SSC faces challenges due to Western Superpowers' interests. The study recommends that Ghana continues to maintain flexible economic diplomacy, add value to Ghana's exports, prioritise environmentally-friendly economic aid, enforce environmental laws, and pursue a common regional currency to enhance intraregional relations.

Keywords: *South-South Cooperation, Global North, Global South, Triangular Cooperation.*

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Background of the Study

Ghana since independence has had relations with both the Western and Eastern blocs of ideological differences. It maintained a flexible approach in the early days of her independence by acknowledging the strength of the Great Powers, and her low population, weak military capability and her weak economic strength (Anglin, 1958). Ghana's foreign policy, under both civilian and military governments have been directed toward cooperation with both the developed and developing countries to promote its national interest; but the pendulum of the relationship mostly after the 1966 coup, have favoured the Western world (Abankwa, 2021; Aluko, 1975). Just as the country's foreign policy in political terms was non-aligned, its socio-economic relationship followed similar trend. Maintaining balanced economic relationship with all countries who wish for cooperation have been a deliberate effort of various governments to secure its interest. The driving force for Ghana (as with every state) in entering into international economic relations is primarily its national development (Boafo-Arthur, 1999).

Ghana's economic relations before her independence was basically on trade with its colonial master (Aluko, 1975; Anglin, 1958). After her independence, other economic relationships, in the form of aid (loans, grants, etc.) and foreign direct investments grew stronger with other nations even though trade continued to dominate its economic diplomacy (Stevens, 1974). The implication is that Ghana has relied on economic diplomacy with other countries in terms of not only trade, but aid in loans/grants and foreign direct investments to grow its economy. A journey through Ghana's history reveals the role of economic issues in ousting most (if not all) political administrations

(both military and civilian). The intertwining nature of economic issues and a government's political fate makes it necessary for the government to engage in sound foreign economic policies to ensure development and better livelihoods for its citizenry. That notwithstanding, an economic relationship may produce an initial comfort but will in the long-run be detrimental to the overall living standard of citizens as was seen under the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) (Abankwa, 2021; Awal, 2012; Boafo-Arthur, 1999).

As already established, in the wake of Ghana's independence, her major economic activities were mainly with the developed West. This changed in the later part of Nkrumah's administration towards strong economic ties with the Soviet (Stevens, 1974). The long military period that followed were mainly pro-West, with the exception of General Acheampong who had a ~~tensed~~ relationship with the Western financial institutions: The International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank; and the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC) whose short term in office did not establish any clear foreign economic relations. The early days of Dr Hilla Limann's government leaned towards the West until later when he acknowledged the hardships the conditionalities associated with the loans from the IMF and World Bank was bringing (Boafo-Arthur, 1999). Jerry John Rawlings' military administration, the Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC), took charge with their socialist inclination. However, natural tragedy and external happenings in the early 1980s and a lack of assistance from the East left little room for the government to manoeuvre and caused the government to reinvent the wheel of their economic diplomacy towards the West. Its reliance on the Bretton Woods institutions grew into the democratic period of the 1990s through to the 21st century. However, the 21st century economic relationship has proven to be a complex one.

With the reliance on the global North countries and institutions doing very little in ensuring financial independence and long-term socio-economic development (Moyo, 2009), a growing taste for focusing on the relationship between Ghana and fast-developing economies like China, India, South Africa, Brazil etc. emerged. China after the year 2000 realized the need to focus on economic growth to propel its political power in the global sphere; hence it increased its economic relations with the Global South, strengthening further the need for cooperation among states in the global South (Vadell, 2019).

Even though there had been the idea of a South-South Cooperation with the UN Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA), led by Raúl Prebisch (Gosovic, 2016), it was not until in 1978 in Buenos Aires that the United Nations Conference on Technical Cooperation among Developing Countries was officially initiated (Kakonge, 2014). China's steep economic rise and its relationship with the Global South, particularly Africa, gave feet to the South-South Cooperation (SSC) (Gosovic, 2016). Since then, slowly but steadily, countries have bought into the idea, of which China, a developing country and the second largest economy in the world is expanding the argument for such cooperation.

China's SSC is seen in its economic relationship with Latin America, the Caribbean, Asia and Africa (Vadell, 2019). Her SSC has been "based on the principles of solidarity, mutual respect, mutual benefit, and non-interference in domestic affairs" (Vadell, 2019, p. 118). Thus, China's economic relations promotes national sovereignty by reducing political interference in determining what the priority of the state should be, as often seen with the Washington Consensus encouraged by the IMF and the World Bank (To & Acuña, 2019). More so, China's economic diplomacy helps in dealing with issues of infrastructure (roads, railway line, hospitals, etc.), diseases, human resource

development and training in agriculture to improve the living standards of citizens in developing countries (Shelton, 2005; Sun, 2014).

The South-South Cooperation exists in two folds, multilateral: India-Brazil-South Africa Dialogue Forum (IBSA); the Bolivarian Alliance for the Peoples of Our America (ALBA-TCP); the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC); the India-Africa Forum Summit (IAFS), etc., and bilateral: China-Brazil, Brazil-Ghana, Ghana-South Africa, China-Ghana, etc. Sino-Ghana relationship has been in existence since independence. But the growth of economic relationship between the two has improved massively in the 21st century.

Even though Ghana's foreign economic policies have continuously been with the financial institutions of the global North, it has established a more improved bilateral economic relationship with the global South countries like China, India, South Africa, Brazil, etc. For stronger developing economies like China, this cooperation is a way to support other developing countries unto their feet, whilst also consolidating its economic interest through the relationship (Sun, 2014). For Ghana, how is her foreign economic policy promoting South-South Cooperation seeing that it maintains strong economic ties with the global North? This is not to say that there is no economic relationship between China and the global North, in fact, most of China's top trading partners are in the global North. However, if SSC is to aid developing countries to grow at their own pace and promote cooperation, then how is Ghana promoting this idea through its international economic relations?

1.1 Problem Statement

Ghana has sought to promote its economic interest by having an open economic relationship with the developing countries but have maintained its strong-ties with the developed North in trade, loans and investments. China, the United States, United Kingdom, India and South Africa are among the top trading partners of Ghana (Yeboah et al., 2020). With aid in loans and grants, the Chinese and the Bretton Woods institutions have consistently provided assistance to Ghana's economy (Abankwa, 2021), and Foreign Direct Investments (FDIs) to Ghana have also been from several countries of which top amongst them include China, India, US and UK (Yeboah et al., 2020). It can therefore be argued that Ghana's economic relations with the Global South is led by China, India and South Africa whilst its economic diplomacy with the Global North is led by the US, Bretton Woods institutions and the UK. But, economic diplomacy between the developing world and the developed countries in terms of trade, investment and loans have been criticized to leave the developing countries worse-off than before (Abankwa, 2021; Sun, 2014; Moyo, 2009).

The Washington Consensus and its conditionalities imposed on loans; unbalanced trade agreements and policies mostly in the area of agriculture in the World Trade Organisation; and the repatriation of profits back to home countries of foreign investors among other things have sustained the mistrust between the global North and the global South. The political influence international financial institutions seek to have on countries who ask for assistance is seen as a threat to the country's sovereignty (To & Acuña, 2019; Vadell, 2019). This is why most countries in Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean rely mostly on South-South Cooperation with China (Vadell, 2019).

China's economic relations with the global South is premised on the principle of a positive-sum-game. It preaches mutual gain, political non-interference and respect for

state sovereignty (Vadell, 2019). This has sat well with both democratic and undemocratic states in the global South and have deepened their economic relationship. China's economic activities have contributed to massive infrastructures in the developing world in Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Caribbeans (Shelton, 2005; Sun, 2014; To & Acuña, 2019). Yet, as argued by realists, states' focus is always self-interest (Weber, 2010). There have been growing concerns over why China will continue to embark on such expanded economic policies with the global South, causing the Western world to argue on how the assistance from China can have negative political and socio-economic impacts on developing economies (Sun, 2014). China's population is almost a quarter of the total population in the world and with that it needs natural resources (mostly energy supply) to power its industries, and provide employment opportunities for its citizens (Owusu & Botchway, 2018; Sun, 2014). This explains China's expansion and the proliferation of its citizens in developing countries.

Ghana has benefited in one way or the other from its economic diplomacy with both the developed and the developing countries. Yet, vast literature argues that economic relations with the North are considered inimical to development in the South (Abankwa, 2021; Akonor, 2006; Moyo, 2009; Sun, 2014). For other writers, South-South relations is just a gathering of interests and should be approached with caution (Amanor, 2016; Dahi & Damir, 2018). But how different is this relationship between the two? What really defines Ghana's economic relationship with the global South? What are the advantages of the South-South Cooperation, and what are the challenges posed on the country as a result of such a relationship?

Scholarly works on Ghana's foreign policy abounds. Most of these documents have focused on the political aspect of Ghana's foreign policy (Agyeman-Duah, 1987; Akokpari, 1999; Anglin, 1958) and others focusing on Ghana's foreign policy and

security (Addo, 2008). There have been those who have studied Ghana's foreign policy under various governments (Ansah, 2021; Kumah-Abiwu, 2016; Siaw, 2015), and those who have also examined how certain events impact Ghana's foreign policy (Botchway & Hlover, 2022). These papers do not look specifically at Ghana's economic relations with the international economies. However, few works including Agyeman-Duah and Daddieh (1994), Boafo-Arthur (1999), Akokpari (2005), Stevens (1974), Mubarak (2020), etc. specifically look at Ghana's international economic relations. They however did not argue in line with South-South Cooperation, a gap that Mattheis and Stolte (2016), Doe (2016), Flint and Waddoups (2019), etc. fill in their works. However, these papers did not provide how different Ghana's South-South Cooperation is with its economic diplomacy with the global North. It is therefore crucial to understand how Ghana's international economic policies with the global North differ from that with the global South, and the prospects and challenges that such cooperation with the global South brings to the country. This is the burden of this thesis.

1.2 Purpose and Objectives of the Study

The purpose of this study is to understand Ghana's international economic relations in line with the idea of South-South Cooperation. In addressing this issue, the study seeks to:

1. explore how different Ghana's economic diplomacy with the Global North is from the Global South;
2. examine the contribution of South-South Cooperation to the development of Ghana;
3. identify some challenges associated with Ghana's relationship with the Global South.

1.3 Research Questions

The objectives of the study are addressed through the following questions.

1. How different is Ghana's economic diplomacy with the Global North from the Global South?
2. How does South-South Cooperation contribute to the development of Ghana?
3. What are some of the challenges associated with Ghana's relationship with the Global South?

1.4 Significance of the Study

The study provides readers with a clear understanding of how the economic diplomacy between Ghana and the developed countries differ from that with the developing countries as shown by the cases and period under study. It uncovers the benefits and challenges associated with Ghana's economic relations and South-South Cooperation, which inform stakeholders on where to focus and how to get the most out of Ghana's economic diplomacy in light of South-South economic relations. It also raises awareness as to how Ghana's economic diplomacy is tied with its national development. This means that once the country is able to get its economic diplomacy right, there is a high chance of the country recording significant growth and development.

The study also has a theoretical significance. Thus, the Dependency Theory and Modern Development Compact Framework have provided a better foundation to understanding the differences between Ghana's economic relations with the North and the South.

Lastly, the study provides useful insights for the world of academia as it raises more questions that can be investigated by scholars on how to quantify what the level of win for each country is; what constitutes win-win? Can North-South relations be situated in

the principle of win-win? These are useful questions other scholars can further interrogate.

1.5 Delimitation of the Study

The focus of the study is Ghana's foreign economic relations and South-South Cooperation. Ghana's political and security relations was not stressed when addressing the issue of Ghana's foreign policy. The cases studied included Ghana-China economic diplomacy, Ghana-South Africa economic diplomacy, and Ghana-US economic relations. The justification for this is given in the methodology section.

The period that was studied was between the years 2012 and 2022. The year 2012 is an interesting one in Ghana's economic relations especially with Ghana's exports to the US, (among other countries) falling from the previous year, whilst China recorded more than a hundred percent rise from around USD257 billion to over USD626 billion (Yeboah et al., 2020). Since that period, Ghana's exports to China have seen a massive surge than those with the US and other countries (Yeboah et al., 2020). This is why the study sought to investigate from the said period to find out what possibly accounted for such a drastic change; and whether the change had anything to do with the quest to expand the idea of South-South Cooperation.

Also, Ghana's official economic diplomacy, as outlined by a newsletter of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration (MFARI), focuses primarily on trade, investment, and tourism (MFARI, 2019a; 2022). Economic aid is notably absent from this document. Despite this, several studies highlight the significant role of economic aid in Ghana's development and its influence during the transition to the Fourth Republic (Akonor, 2006; Bofo-Arthur, 1999; Hutchful, 1985; Kumah-Abiwu, 2016; Mubarak, 2020; Terry, 2019; Tiekou & Odoom, 2013; Yeboah, 2019). Consequently, the

study includes economic aid alongside trade and investment in analysing Ghana's international relations with selected countries, recognizing their crucial impact.

1.6 Definition of Terms

1.6.1 South-South Cooperation (SSC)

The United Nations Office of South-South Cooperation (UNOSSC) broadens the scope of South-South Cooperation (SSC), defining it as a collaborative effort among two or more countries in the global South, whether within the same continent or across different continents. This cooperation involves sharing ideas, skills, and resources across various sectors of each country's economy to foster development (UNFCCC, 2018). The study conceptualizes SSC as a collaborative approach among developing countries aimed at promoting mutual benefits through the exchange and assistance of resources. Further discussions on SSC and its principles will be detailed in subsequent chapters of the study.

1.6.2 Global North (North) and Global South (South)

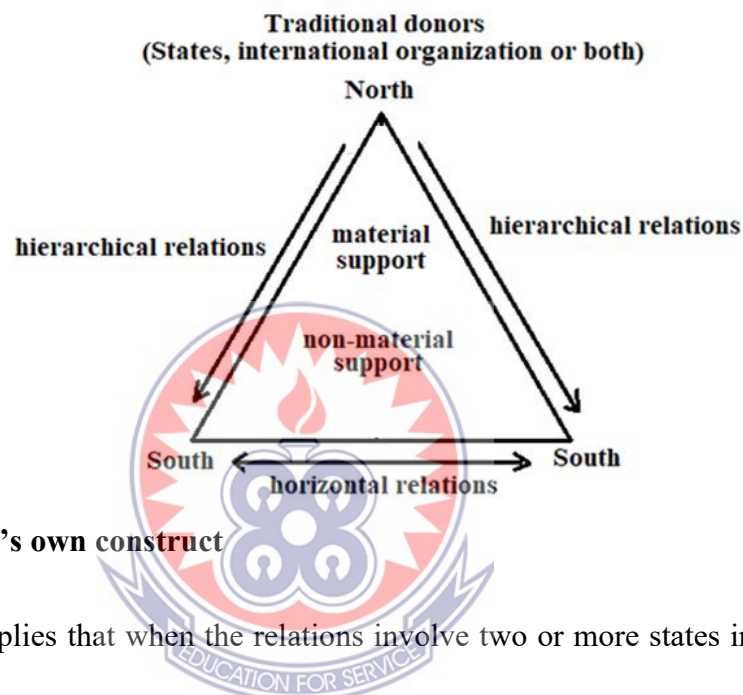
The study used “global North” to refer to developed countries and “global South” for developing countries. The classification for developed countries followed Braff and Nelson (2022), including the Organisation of Economic Cooperation for Development (OECD) members such as the US, Canada, EU countries, Britain, Australia, and Japan. Developing countries were identified based on Kwarteng and Botchway (2018) and encompass nations in Africa, the Middle East, Latin America, and other non-OECD countries.

1.6.3 Triangular Cooperation (TriCo)

South-South relations are generally characterized as horizontal, reflecting equal partnerships among developing countries, while North-South relations are often seen as hierarchical, with a more structured and unequal dynamic. To effectively describe

triangular cooperation, it involves horizontal South-South relations supported by traditional donors, which can be states, or international organizations. These donors provide material or non-material resources to enhance and promote the established South-South collaborations across various fields. This is graphically represented in Figure 1.

Figure 1: Graphical Representation of Triangular Cooperation



Source: Author's own construct

The diagram implies that when the relations involve two or more states in the South, with two or more traditional donors supporting with material and non-material resources, with the aim of facilitating the established South-South relations, this may be considered as triangular cooperation.

1.7 Organisation of the Study

The study has five chapters. The first chapter (Introduction) has dealt with the background of the study, statement of problem, research objectives, research questions, etc. The next chapter is the “Chapter Two” (Literature Review) that discusses the theory backing the study and a review on various literatures around the area of study. Chapter Three outlined the methodology and design the design for data gathering and analysis. Presentation of the information that was gathered and analysed from informants formed

the “Chapter Four”, whilst the discussion of the findings of the study made up the “Chapter Five”. Chapter Six summarises the findings of the study and conclusions were drawn from the findings before recommendations were proposed to end the study.



CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

The study adopts a thematic approach in reviewing the literature. The section begins with the theoretical framework which serves as a foundation for this study. The theories employed are the dependency theory and the development compact framework. The literature review examines the main issues in foreign policy and economic diplomacy, including Ghana's foreign policy and economic diplomacy in the Fourth Republic. The main concepts that will run through the review are the North-South relations and South-South Cooperation. Later in this Chapter, triangular cooperation, and a brief review on Ghana's economic relations with the selected countries is done. The objective of this section is to critically assess and appreciate existing knowledge in the field of North-South and South-South economic relations

2.1. Theoretical Framework

This part of the study highlights the theories that serve as foundation for this research. Two main theories serve as a bedrock for this study: thus, the Dependency theory and the Development Compact framework for South-South Cooperation.

2.1.1 *Dependency Theory*

Proponents of this theory include Raul Prebisch, Andre Gunder Frank, Samir Amin, Teotonio Dos Santos, etc. This is one of the theories of development that came to criticise the modernisation theory that had its roots from the Western world. Developed from Latin America, the theory argued by separating the world into periphery (developing) and core (developed) countries. Dependency theory argues, on a neo-Marxist basis, that contact with the industrialised world may indeed bring

modernisation and subsequently development to some people in the societies of the periphery, but that modernity arrives bearing the price of exploitation (Peet & Hartwick, 2009). Thus, the theory highlights that those relations between the core and periphery is mostly exploitative and unequal in nature.

It is premised on the assumption that a) the underdevelopment of the periphery is tied to their exploitation to the core countries; b) peripheral states experienced their greatest economic development when their connection to the core is very weak (example Latin America during the Great Depression period); c) when the core recovers from its crisis and re-establishes trade and investments ties, it fully incorporates the peripheral nations once again into the system, and the growth of industrialisation in these regions is stifled (Peet & Hartwick, 2009). Dependency theorists argue that the interaction between the core and the periphery have been that of plunder, exploitative and unequal exchange seen through the slave trade period, colonialism, and post-colonialism days (Rorie, 2020).

The theory further stresses that technology, financial and real capital, and management skills that originate in developed countries have rather been detrimental to the development of periphery countries because: a) the technologies do not match the skill set of the developing world; b) financial and capital support are channelled in areas that are not the focus of the developing country; and, c) there is unwillingness for the developed countries to provide better managerial skills for local employees in developing countries to take over the businesses to ensure development (Ahiakpor, 1985).

More so, the unequal trade that existed in the past is being maintained as systems and structure that have been put in place in the past continue to make the developing

countries poor (Roy, 2020). Thus, trade relations with the developed world continue to maintain the developing countries as primary producers whilst the developed countries control the manufacturing world, which products are returned to the developing countries at cheaper prices, hence killing local businesses. The theory therefore asserts that for the developing countries to develop, they have to be self-reliant. This is what sparked the idea of import substitution industrialisation in most developing countries in the 1960s (Peet & Hartwick, 2009).

Some of the criticisms seen by the theory is that it has failed to provide enough evidence of countries that developed when they cut-off economic ties with the developed world (Peet & Hartwick, 2009). Also, the idea that technology transfer has been to the detriment of the developing world is challenged because it is asserted that these technologies may be able to perform the needed activity if the developing countries will pay attention to training skilled people to man these technologies (Reyes, 2001). This brings into the discussion the role of the developing world themselves in their underdevelopment. As pointed out by the former Prime Minister of Singapore, Lee Kuan Yew, self-discipline and the willpower of leaders is important for developing countries to ensure they develop (Arkhurst, 1999). Therefore, the role of leadership is keen to the development of periphery countries which the dependency theory overlooks.

This theory provides an understanding of the nature of North-South relations, the scope of the relations, its aim and challenges. This helps the study in providing an understanding of Ghana's economic relations with the North and the challenges that may be associated with it. However, the theory does not satisfy the other aspect of this research which deals with South-South Cooperation. It is incapable of establishing why there is a need for such cooperation and what that relation will provide. This is why a

second theory is needed to provide an understanding to the importance of a stronger South-South relations. This brings into the study, the Development Compact Framework.

2.1.2 Development Compact Framework

The modalities followed in pursuing the mission of SSC are referred to in the relevant literature as Development Compact (UNOSSC & UNDP, 2019). The idea was derived from the original proposal that Thorvald Stoltenberg made in 1989 and later articulated by Arjun Sengupta in 1993, when he argued in the context of the hardship faced by the developing countries in fulfilling their contractual agreements linked to the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) which emerged as the cornerstone of what was labelled as the Washington Consensus. He proposed that compacts (or agreements) be established between industrialised and developing countries to ensure that the latter received sufficient resources for development as they endeavoured to reform their economies. This, as was argued, will promote development in the South. However, with criticisms against North-South relations gaining momentum in the 1990s due to the ills of the SAP, South-South relations began to intensify, establishing a new trend of engagements between the South.

Chaturvedi (2016) highlights that the former development compact rested on mutuality of obligation and reciprocity of conditionality. Thus, both the developed and the developing countries have their roles to play; in that, as the developed countries continued to support the developing countries, these developing countries will also endeavour to provide all-round development for their citizens to ensure good governance and accountability. The compact therefore allowed poor countries to pitch for higher assistance and improved market access, while provider countries can demand better governance and accountability in return (Chaturvedi, 2016). Observing this

relations, Chaturvedi (2016) used the Development Compact to describe India's South-South cooperation from a theoretical perspective, making Chaturvedi's (2016) new development compact framework a theoretical one to explaining SSC.

The focus of the 'development compact' was on mutual commitment for development between developed and developing countries couched in the framework of commitment to development, which commitment came from the developed countries by way of their assistance programmes (Chaturvedi, 2016). Chaturvedi (2016) elaborated that in the last decade, however, several developing countries have themselves emerged as major providers of development assistance, giving a new thrust to the development compact idea. This therefore implies that modern development compact is no longer about the imposition of conditionalities for recipient countries but more on the principles that govern SSC such as mutual gain, non-interference, collective growth opportunities and indeed an absence of conditionalities. It is founded on a solid hypothetical framework for promoting SSC and creates a wide range of chances for development and economic expansion through various channels within the South. The main assumption of the modern development compact is that developing countries can promote mutual development if they strongly interact basically on these four core pillars including capacity building, trade and investment, technology transfer, and financing mechanism (Chakrabarti, 2016; Chaturvedi, 2016). This study will focus on trade and investment and the financing mechanism which hinges on economic aid. Chakrabarti (2016) expanded these pillars to highlight the elements within each pillar selected.

For trade and investment, he identified that there should be duty free trade preference, trade permits or easy access to market, trade promotion and trade support services, provision of investment funds, developing intraregional supply chains, establishment of regional and sub-regional trade agreements, provision of freely convertible currency

for trade, etc. On financial mechanism, it includes the provision of soft loans, grants in cash, debt forgiveness, and grant in kind.

It should be noted however that these four core pillars (capacity building, trade and investment, technology transfer, and financing mechanism) are not mutually exclusive. Relations in one may have a trickling effect on the other. Also, one of the pillars may be needed to improve the other. For instance, investments may be needed to improve technology transfer and capacity building.

For Chakrabarti (2016), these elements are the bedrock on which modern development compact for SSC rests. With this, Chaturvedi (2016) concludes that the new context of development compact is between actors from the South who interact more on the principles of mutual gain, non-interference, collective growth opportunities and without imposition of conditionalities; all of which aligns to the principles of SSC.

This is a useful framework for this study as it supports the idea of SSC for which developing countries will be able to promote their shared development if they engage with each other. As this study concerns itself with Ghana's economic diplomacy, and in particular, economic aid (loans and grants), trade and investments, this framework captures what the study is about and serves as a bedrock to understand the challenges and achievements that are associated with Ghana's SSC. The study now moves to addressing the themes for the study, beginning with understanding the concept of foreign policy.

2.2 Understanding the Concept of Foreign Policy

The concept of foreign policy is primarily about decisions (Hastedt, 2004); the decision to establish a relationship, which relationship may either be hostile or friendly (Botchway & Hlovor, 2022; Mintz & DeRouen, 2010). Whilst some scholars provide a

realist, state-centric, and narrowed definition to understanding foreign policy (Brown & Ailey, 2005; Cameron 2002; Wallace, 1991), others have provided a broader definition that acknowledges non-state actors including International Governmental Organisations (IGOs), Non-Governmental Organisation (NGOs), Transnational Cooperations (TNCs), Multilateral Cooperations (MNCs), etc. (Botchway & Hlover, 2022; Devetak et al., 2017; Yeboah, 2019). A recent example is Russia's invasion of Ukraine sparked by Russia's view of Ukraine's attempt to join the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) as an existential threat. Russia has resorted to the use of coercion and aggression to get Ukraine to respect its wishes and authority. This shows how relevant non-state actors are in foreign policy discourse.

The definitions by Sanusi and Adu-Gyamfi (2017) and Botchway and Hlover (2022) on foreign policy therefore offer a holistic understanding of the concept. Sanusi and Adu-Gyamfi (2017, p. 599) define the concept "as a country's policy on dealing with international issues and how it reacts to external events", whilst Botchway and Hlover (2022) define it as the actions and policies taken by states in their interaction with other entities within the international system. This gives a holistic understanding of foreign policy. It is however worthwhile to mention that all these scholars agree that foreign policy's aim is to promote the interest of a country.

In all, foreign policy is about choices; these choices are to establish a relationship with other external bodies which could be either hostile or friendly; and such relationship aims at promoting the national interest. It is important for this study to identify what foreign policy is all about and what it seeks to achieve because it serves as a foundation to understanding why states will establish engagements with other states and what they seek to achieve in such a relationship. However foreign policy decisions are not made

in a vacuum. They are influenced by various factors. What are these factors? The next section discusses the factors that influence foreign policy decisions.

2.3 Factors Influencing Foreign Policy Decisions

Several scholars in identifying factors influencing foreign policy decisions have mentioned socio-economic, security, international structures, state structure and government systems, geopolitical structure, natural resources, ethnic or religious differences, state ideology or culture, and the psychological traits of the leader (Alden & Wu, 2016; Aliyev & Ashifa, 2021; Asante, 2018; Boafo-Arthur, 1999; Ebo, 2020; Hamilton & Tiilikainen, 2018; Kumah-Abiwu, 2016; Siaw, 2015; Wiarda, 2013). From these works, the factors can be categorised into internal factors which focus on political issues (government systems, state's ideology, etc.), socio-economic (geographical location, economic factors, ethnic or religious issues, historical leanings, etc.), security, etc. On external factors, international structures which hinges on security, economy, amongst others also influence a country's foreign policy decisions.

The work by Mintz and DeRouen (2010) touches on all these factors. They identify domestic, external, cultural and psychological factors as the determinants of foreign policy decision-making. They mentioned leadership personality and ideology among other things under the theme, psychological factors influencing foreign policy decisions in their book titled *Understanding Foreign Policy Decision Making*. They explained that the leaders' temperament, cognition ability, motivation and social relation skills can influence a state's foreign policy. This implies that two leaders with different temperaments and worldviews will respond differently when faced with similar situations.

It is revealing to identify domestic, external and psychological factors as the main factors influencing a country's foreign policy decisions. However, it is worth noting that to be able to understand a country's foreign policy decision, one would have to understand the interplay of all the factors involved (Shyrokykh, 2018). Yet even though foreign policy elements may include political, economic, military, religious and socio-cultural, the main purpose for establishing foreign relations is to achieve economic prosperity; as an economically strong state is able to maintain its military and helps the state to play a more assertive role in global politics (Gimba & Ibrahim, 2018). This affirms the arguments of economic liberalists who posit that economic activities are the main "source of progress, cooperation and prosperity" (Jackson & Sorensen, 2003, p. 181). States therefore will always focus on establishing strong economic relations that will promote the interest of the state, which at this point has been identified to be economic prosperity and national development.

Ghana's foreign policy like all other states takes great accounts of its economic diplomacy. This will be discussed further in subsequent sections. Before that there is the need to understand Ghana's foreign policy especially under the Fourth Republic. This will provide the study with the focus of Ghana's international relations and how it sinks into its overall development agenda.

2.4 An Overview of Ghana's Foreign Policy

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration (MFARI) of Ghana defines its foreign policy as "a set of political goals that seek to outline how a particular country will interact with the other countries of the world" (MFARI, 2019a, p. 14). Botchway and Hlover (2022) explain Ghana's foreign policy as a directive from the country's executive arm, headed by the President, which guides how the country engages with external entities to promote national interests. Scholars such as Ebo (2020), Grilli

(2015), Mubarak (2020), and Botchway and Amoako-Gyampah (2021) trace the roots of Ghana's foreign policy to the ideologies of Kwame Nkrumah, the country's first president. Aluko (1975), Anglin (1958), and Debrah (2002) note that the then Gold Coast engaged in foreign relations through colonial masters before independence, which changed under Nkrumah's leadership (Thompson, 1969).

According to Mubarak (2020), Ghana's foreign policy is based on principles such as economic independence, elimination of neo-colonialism, cooperation with neighbours and external organizations, non-alignment, and positive neutrality. These principles, though evolved, still show continuity in the 1992 constitution. Various articles of the constitution provide insight into Ghana's foreign relations. Article 40 emphasizes the national interest, equitable social and economic order, respect for international laws and treaties, peaceful dispute resolution, and adherence to regional and international organizations' frameworks. Articles 73, 74, and 75 discuss the aims of international relations, the appointment of representatives, and the President's role in international relations, forming the basis of Ghana's foreign policy in the Fourth Republic.

Economic diplomacy is a significant aspect of Ghana's foreign policy. The constitution states that external relations should aim to improve citizens' livelihoods, promote happiness, and ensure the population's well-being. Successive governments in the Fourth Republic have focused on enhancing economic relations to safeguard the country's development. This leads to the discussion of economic diplomacy, its definition, and its role in national development, which will be explored in the next section of this chapter.

2.5 The Concept of Economic Diplomacy

Rana (2007, p. 1) describes economic diplomacy as the process through which states engage with external bodies to promote national development across various fields, including trade, investment, and other economically beneficial exchanges. Moons and Boer (2014, p. 3) provide a broader definition, describing it as the "use of government relations and influence to stimulate international trade and investment." These definitions suggest that economic diplomacy involves the economic relations states establish with other states and non-state entities to safeguard their national interests. Although political and security issues gained prominence after the 9/11 attacks, economic diplomacy became a significant global issue following the 2008 financial crisis (Sabaruddin, 2017).

Makokera (2015), Moons and Boer (2014), and Sabaruddin (2017) identify several stakeholders essential in economic diplomacy, including the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA), Ministry of Trade and Industry (MTI), embassies, consulates, investment and promotion offices, public sector business support units, trade unions, associations, exporters, and importers. These stakeholders play various roles in ensuring the effectiveness of a country's economic diplomacy. Their contributions are crucial in making economic diplomacy effective in promoting national development.

2.6 Ghana's Economic Diplomacy

The purpose of establishing foreign relations is similar to the rationale behind implementing domestic policies: advancing national goals and economic development (MFARI, 2022). The Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration (MFARI) is tasked with formulating policies that strengthen Ghana's relations with external bodies. A newsletter from MFARI, detailing the Ministry's medium-term expenditure

framework, identifies trade, investment, and tourism as the primary fields for the country's economic diplomacy (MFARI, 2019a; 2022).

Interestingly, these documents do not mention economic aid, loans, or grants from other countries or institutions. However, most scholarly works analysing Ghana's economic diplomacy have focused on economic aid, particularly loans from external entities (Boafo-Arthur, 1999; Hutchful, 1985; Kumah-Abiwu, 2016; Jeong, 1993; Mubarak, 2015). Despite this, the latter part of the Ministry's newsletter appeals to development partners to assist in improving the country's educational quality. The form of this assistance is not specified, and the document does not mention economic aid, suggesting that aid, loans, and grants are not officially considered part of Ghana's economic diplomacy.

This discrepancy between the official stance and academic analysis highlights a gap in understanding the comprehensive nature of Ghana's economic diplomacy. While the Ministry focuses on trade, investment, and tourism, scholars emphasize the significant role of economic aid and loans. The lack of official recognition of economic aid in these documents raises questions about the broader strategies and mechanisms through which Ghana engages with international partners to achieve its national development goals.

2.6.1 Economic Aid

Ghana's foreign policy has been significantly shaped by its need to attract external economic aid, influencing many of its decisions (Sanusi & Adu-Gyamfi, 2017). Political elites in Ghana have strategically used foreign policies to extract resources, particularly loans from International Financial Institutions (IFIs) (Ntim & Botchway, 2023; Tiekue & Odoom, 2013). Despite the lack of official recognition of economic aid, loans, and grants as part of the country's economic diplomacy, scholarly writings have

extensively focused on Ghana's aid relations with IFIs, especially during the Fourth Republic (Awal, 2012; Terry, 2019; Yeboah, 2019; Konadu-Agyemang, 2000; Siaw, 2015).

Ghana's economic diplomatic arrangements with IFIs, particularly the IMF, were pivotal in ushering the country into the Fourth Republic (Boafo-Arthur, 1999; Mubarak, 2015). However, scholars have critiqued these relationships, arguing that they have been detrimental to Ghana's holistic development (Konadu-Agyemang, 2000; Moyo, 2009; Terry, 2019; Yeboah, 2019). Various countries, including Canada, the US, the UK, China, Germany, Japan, and France, have provided financial assistance to Ghana before and during the Fourth Republic (Siaw, 2015). Notably, Ghana received USD2.1 billion at a donors' meeting in Paris in 1993-1994, and a USD16.5 million loan from the Kuwaiti Fund for a thermal power plant in Takoradi (Boafo-Arthur, 1999).

In the 2000s, Ghana received significant loans, including USD547 million from the US and over USD560 million from China for the Bui hydroelectric dam (Yeboah, 2019). The USAID, as the largest bilateral donor to Ghana, has focused on enhancing food security, natural resource management, health, education, economic growth, and governance (USAID, 2020). Over the past two decades, Ghana has achieved substantial economic and social development, with an average GDP growth rate of 6.65% from 2000 to 2019 and attaining the World Bank's Lower Middle-Income Country status in 2011 (USAID, 2020).

Economic aid has also led to debt relief, with Ghana receiving debt forgiveness from countries such as Canada (USD77.6 million), Germany (USD295 million), France (USD26 million), and Japan (USD1.01 billion) (Siaw, 2015). The Highly Indebted and Poor Country (HIPC) Programme in the early 2000s provided further debt relief,

contributing to a rise in GDP per capita from USD264 in 1999 to USD1300 in 2007 (Siaw, 2015). However, these loans have also contributed to rising inflation and an increase in the country's total debt (Awal, 2012; Siaw, 2015; Yeboah, 2019).

This information clearly indicates that Ghana's economic diplomacy in terms of economic aid is vital to the country. Therefore, it is important for the MFARI to include economic aid in their official fields of economic diplomacy. But as it has been indicated, trade and investment are also crucial areas of Ghana's economic diplomacy.

2.6.2 Trade

Ghana's top trading partners have long included the US, the UK, China, South Africa, India, and Switzerland. In 2022, the leading countries for Ghana's imports were China, Switzerland, India, South Africa, and the Netherlands; for exports, the leading partners were China, the US, the UK, India, and Belgium (World Integrated Trade Solutions (WITS), n.d.). On the African continent, South Africa stands out as Ghana's top trading partner for both imports and exports. Outside Africa, China accounted for 35% of Ghana's total trade engagements from 2016 to 2020 (WITS, n.d.).

Ghana's trade relations in the Fourth Republic improved significantly after joining the African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA). Although former president John Agyekum Kufuor was credited with initiating Ghana's participation in AGOA, the agreement was actually signed under President Rawlings in 1999 (Siaw, 2015). AGOA provided local producers with access to the US market, enhancing trade relations between the two countries. By 2010, the US was Ghana's top trading partner, but China surpassed the US in 2012, with Ghana's exports to China jumping from approximately USD 257 billion in 2011 to around USD 626 billion (Yeboah et al., 2020). China's trade

relations with Ghana have continued to grow, especially in exports and imports of both agricultural and non-agricultural products.

According to Yeboah et al. (2020), Ghana's imports include agricultural goods such as rice, wheat, cane and beet sugar, palm oil, and meat, as well as non-agricultural products like motor cars, frozen fish, and electrical gadgets. Ghana's exports include agricultural commodities like cocoa beans, wheat flour, coconuts, and cashew nuts, along with non-agricultural products such as gold, crude oil, petroleum oils, and inorganic acids. These items form the core of Ghana's trading activities, underscoring the country's reliance on primary goods with limited manufacturing (Aryeetey & Baah-Boateng, 2016).

Ghana's primary export commodities are gold, cocoa, and oil. Although Ghana was once the leading producer of gold, it has been surpassed by South Africa (Embassy of Switzerland, 2022). Nevertheless, Ghana remains the second-largest cocoa producer globally. These trading activities have significantly contributed to Ghana's GDP and provided employment opportunities. Thus, Ghana's economic diplomacy in trade has been highly influential during the Fourth Republic.

2.6.3 Foreign Direct Investment

Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) is crucial for economic growth, with Nguyen (2020) asserting that FDI and exports positively impact economic development. In Ghana, Boakye and Gyamfi (2017) found that FDI and exportation have consistently boosted GDP growth. Mungomba et al. (2020) observed that Ghana's reliance on international financial institutions (IFIs) often coincides with a drop in FDIs, but securing support from the Fund leads to an increase in FDI. This highlights the significant role of FDI in Ghana's economic development.

To enhance international economic relations, Rawlings' administration re-established the Ghana Investment Promotion Center (GIPC) in 1994 (Siaw, 2015). GIPC promotes investment in all sectors of the economy. Historically, FDI inflows came from the US, UK, India, and China, but in 2021, the main sources were Singapore (USD 370 million), Australia (USD 204.71 million), India (USD 93.84 million), China (USD 57.27 million), and the Netherlands (USD 48.40 million) (GIPC, 2022). The services sector received the largest FDI value, followed by oil and gas, and manufacturing. Despite concerns about currency depreciation, Ghana ranked first in West Africa and second in Sub-Saharan Africa in Fitch Solutions' trade and investment rankings (Embassy of Switzerland, 2022).

Ghana's economic relations in economic aid, trade, and investment have significantly contributed to its economy. These relations have been with both developed and developing countries, highlighting the importance of economic diplomacy. However, there is a debate about the nature of North-South relations; some view it as beneficial for developing countries, while others see it as exploitative. This backdrop sets the stage for examining the achievements and criticisms of North-South relations.

2.7 North-South Relations

North-South relations have their roots in the emergence of capitalism in Europe – The Spirit of Capitalism, characterized by the efficient use of capital, cost reduction, competitive improvement, and consumer demand fulfilment (Greenfield, 2009). European countries engaged in navigation and exploration, focusing on extracting resources with minimal expenditure to enhance their status. This led to unequal trade practices, including the exchange of inferior goods for valuable resources and human labour, eventually evolving into colonialism, where European powers controlled and

exploited colonies' resources while establishing infrastructure to their advantage (Rodney, 1972; Dahi & Demir, 2018).

Post-colonialism, a new form of control emerged: neo-colonialism, where economic aid became a tool for exploitation by developed countries. The unequal relations spurred the idea of self-reliance among developing countries through protectionist measures like import substitution industrialization, promoting internal development over external dependency (Gonzalez-Vicente, 2017; Chaturvedi, 2016). This led to the formation of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) in 1964, which sought to address the structurally unjust international economic system and the power dynamics favouring Northern states (Morvaridi & Hughes, 2018).

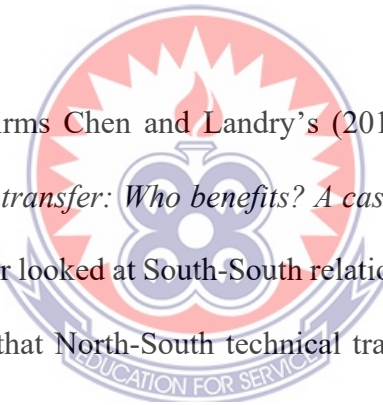
The Washington Consensus, a set of conditionalities from the IMF, World Bank, and US Treasury, introduced Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) aimed at helping developing countries generate revenue to settle debts, thus influencing North-South relations further. The Development Compact model emerged, advocating for accountability in aid relations, suggesting that democracy and good governance should accompany economic aid to ensure mutual benefit and accountability for both developed and developing countries (Chaturvedi, 2016; Sengupta, 1993).

This background to North-South relations shows a longstanding interaction between developed and developing countries. As critics argue that the relationship is detrimental to the development of the South, proponents see this as a way to support countries in the South. This is addressed in the sub-section below.

2.7.1 Studies on the Impact of North-South Relations on the Global South

Economic relations between the North and the South have raised several concerns, both positive and negative. Some scholars view the relationship as one that helps promote

technological transfer and environmental protection. For instance, Chen and Landry (2018) in their comparative study between Western IFIs and the Chinese EXIM Bank's projects in Cameroon sought to understand how these separate institutions perform their businesses in line with establishing projects on the African continent and the impact of their actions. They contended that the Northern donors' approach to technology transfer had a greater impact on institutional and regulatory capacity than that of the Chinese Exim Bank. They further emphasised that the Northern donors in their relations with the developing countries ensure soft technology transfer and build institutional capacity to promote long-term benefits. This is done through the introduction of experts in the various projects and institutions needed, and a long period of physical and hands-on training.



Hensengerth (2018) affirms Chen and Landry's (2018) findings. In his study titled *South-South technology transfer: Who benefits? A case study of the Chinese-built Bui dam in Ghana*, the author looked at South-South relations and its impact on technology transfer and concluded that North-South technical transfer supersedes that of South-South. However, Hensengerth (2018) was quick to add that the impact of technological transfer on the environment needs more attention. It is here that Chen and Landry (2018) point out that environmental issues are topical in North-South relations. They argued that Northern countries and institutions have strict environmental laws which ensures international environmental laws are strictly adhered to in their relations with the South. Hensengerth (2018) further elaborated that firms from developed countries in their registration agree to strict adherence to environmental laws and hence, their activities when they move to the South are subjected to these laws. To him, this contributes to the adherence to international environmental laws by the North in their relations with the South which helps to guarantee environmental protection.

Though these studies provide an understanding of the role of the North in contributing to environmental protection, the works focused on the impact of investment projects but did not specifically indicate the area of concern for the North in their investments to the South. This study therefore looks at which areas are the focus of foreign direct investment from the global North. But there is also the issue of how e-waste from the North contributes to environmental challenges in the South.

In his work which explored the menace of e-waste in developing countries, Olowu (2012) argued that the United States leads in e-waste production most of which finds its way to the African continent. He concluded that this posed environmental challenges to the continent since most of these are not recycled. This is further corroborated by Bimir (2020) in his study titled *Revisiting e-waste management practices in selected African countries*. Bimir (2020) contended that most of e-waste products come from developed countries and Africa remains a vast receiver of such waste. He further adds that these contribute to environmental concerns on the continent.

In a published article on Bloomberg which focused on the issue of second-hand electricals, Yeung (2019) identified Ghana as one of the world's largest destinations for second-hand electrical gadgets which, he adds, are toxic and pollute the environment. This goes to confirm the fears of an officer of Ghana's Energy Commission over the dumping of used electrical and electronic waste from Europe into the country (Kwofi, 2022).

These assertions on the environment and the impact of North-South relations on the environment play a key role in this study as they provide a framework for understanding technological transfer and its implications in the South. This study will further examine how different Ghana's trade relations with both the developed and the developing world

impact the environment. But what about market access when it comes to the South's trade relations with the North?

August et al. (2013) in their book *International Business Law: Text, Cases, and Readings* point to the concerns of unfair trade relations that have been noted since the days of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) to its transformation into the World Trade Organisation (WTO). The GATT and its new form, the WTO were established to help promote international trade and reduce trade barriers. However, August et al. (2013) argued that tariff rates and other forms of trade barriers have continued to be a problem since the Tokyo Round (1973 – 1979). The authors argued that the developed countries (mainly the US and EU countries) subsidise their local agricultural products making imported goods from the developing countries expensive to purchase (August et al., 2013). This goes to confirm the assertions made by Gonzalez (2002) that trade controversy between the North and South stems from the fact that the rules of agricultural trade, as highlighted in the WTO Agreement on agriculture allow the US and the EU countries to continue to subsidise agricultural production while requiring developing countries to open up their markets to harmful and unfair competition from industrialised country producers. This shows the form of protectionist measures that are still being implemented.

Findings from Postnikov and Bastiaens (2020) and Igwe (2021) further support these arguments on unequal trade relations with respect to access to the market. Postnikov and Bastiaens (2020) in their work that explored how domestic situations inform protectionist measures of the North indicated that governments in the global North use the available toolkit of protectionist measures which extends beyond traditional tariff measures or subsidies into the realm of social regulations. Igwe (2021) adds to the discourse that despite the WTO's engagements through various meetings since the

Doha Round through Cancun, Mexico in 2003, Hong Kong in 2005, Geneva, Switzerland in 2004, 2006 and 2008; Paris France, in 2005, Potsdam, Germany in 2007, etc. trade liberalisation is espoused by the developed countries, but their activities proclaim protectionism. Igwe (2021) therefore raised questions on who trade liberalisation benefits and concluded that trade liberalisation policies benefit the developed countries to the disadvantage of the developing countries.

It is this seemingly double standard that Chang (2002) in his book titled *Kicking Away the Ladder: Development Strategy in Historical Perspective* criticises. In elaborating on the development strategies adopted by the Western democracies, he identified protectionism as one of the main economic tools that was employed to aid development in Europe. However, these powers have downplayed the role of such policies in a globalised world emphasising trade liberalisation as the modern path to trek on. This for Chang (2002) has been the main issue of development in the developing countries.

Aside the tariff measures, non-tariff measures have also been a useful tool to protect Northern businesses to the disadvantage of local businesses. One key study in this field was done by Gatune et al. (2013) which examined trade policies on Ghana's pineapple industry. The authors observed that demand from Europe from SC pineapple variety type to MD2 variety type became a barrier to Ghana's pineapple exports. The MD2 (Millie Dillard) pineapple variety is considered to have a higher sugar and ascorbic acid (vitamin C) level and is able to resist internal browning, but it is also more prone to fruitlet core rot than the Smooth Cayenne (SC) variety. The authors identified that smallholders who contributed around 50% of export volumes were not able to make the transition to MD2 production. This caused a reduction from 1,600 smallholders to less than 200 smallholders engaged in commercial production of pineapples between 2004 and 2010. They consequently concluded that the shift from market demand in Europe

from SC to MD2 pineapples, which peaked in 2005, has consistently had a negative impact on pineapple exports from Ghana well beyond 2005.

These arguments fit into the current study with the various dimensions and views on unequal trade relations relative to access to market. The concerns imply that access to market in the developed countries are quite difficult as compared to the developing countries. This study further explores the nuances faced by exporters and importers from Ghana to further understand the opportunities and challenges in their trade relations with the Northern and Southern countries. This will help to identify the differences in Ghana's trade relations with the global North and the global South.

Hearn (2000) in her work dubbed *Foreign Aid, Democratisation and Civil Society in Africa: A Study of South Africa, Ghana and Uganda* sought to examine how foreign aid from the North promotes democracy in Africa based on the findings of the selected countries. Hearn (2000) found that Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) committed to the promotion of liberal democracy and economic liberalism through the demand for accountability against political leaders who mostly receive donor support from traditional donors such as the US, Germany, the World Bank, etc. The paper concluded that although assistance to civil society is relatively small and is directed at a very particular section of civil society, in each of these societies it funds some of the key actors involved in influencing economic policy and defining the content of democracy. Hearn's (2000) conclusion implied that North-South relations help to promote democracy in the South through accountability thereby ensuring development of the South. Moyo (2009) however disagrees with such a conclusion.

In her work *Dead Aid: Why Aid is not Working and How there is a Better Way for Africa*, Moyo (2009) argued that economic aid or development assistance that emanates from

the North has not yielded any benefits but rather, it has contributed to indebtedness, retardation of development and has promoted corruption in developing countries. On the question of accountability, Moyo (2009) clarified that leaders who misused funds from economic aid are consistently given yet more loans that further plunge these countries into debt. The question this raises is that if there were any accountability standards, why are such leaders given more loans when clear evidence of misappropriation and corruption are glaring? Chaturvedi (2016) affirms this by indicating that the old development compact which was an agreement between the North and the South so that as the North provided economic aid, the South would put measures in place to be accountable to its people, was seen as a way of safeguarding development in the South. However, the author argued that the espoused development was not realised and that caused developing countries to begin establishing strong relations among themselves. The indication is that the expected development did not materialise since the expected accountability was not realised.

Shai et al. (2017) also debunk the democracy rhetoric of the impact of economic aid. In their study which focused on the foreign policy of the US towards Africa after 1990, the authors observed that the projection of democracy by the United States is a tool being used to siphon the resources on the continent. They concluded that the continuous encouragement for countries, example Ghana, to hold on to democratic credentials is to provide a peaceful environment for the US to continue extracting crude in a less costly manner.

Rather than promoting democracy, Dahi and Demir (2018) contended that economic aid from the North does not provide room for the recipient country to determine what to use the loans for. In their work which examined the difference between North-South and South-South economic aid, the authors observed that Northern economic aid comes

with its own stipulated purpose which may not be in line with the needs and priorities of the recipient country. The argument raised by the authors therefore was that North-South relations does not help the Southern countries to determine their priorities and how to solve them; thus, developing states are unable to pave their own development paths which introduces the question on respect for the sovereignty by the Northern states in North-South relations.

Vadell (2019) for instance argues that North-South economic relationship questions the sovereignty of developing countries. In his work that aimed at examining why China's role in Latin America continue to increase, his line of argument emphasised that the conditions usually attached to the aid being provided allow these entities to influence government decisions on policies and projects. Thus, governments are not able to choose what developmental policies and projects to employ themselves, but rather, these are dictated to the governments. The author hence concluded that economic aid from the North is used as a tool to control the South which does not promote holistic development in the South. This claim supports the view of Jeong (1993) on the role of the governments of developing countries, among other actors, in the implementation of structural programmes by IFIs. He observed that whilst adjustment policies generally need the active role of the implementing government, policies that are introduced by the IFIs meant that the state disengaged from taking active role in the determining of prices of goods and services and the social responsibility it needed to play. For the author, this meant that the political power to implement economic and social interventions had been lost, which is in line with the argument being made by Vadell (2019) on the issue of loss of sovereignty.

From the review on foreign aid, it appears the debate on whether foreign economic aid supports democracy has received heavy criticism. Even though most of these works

were not country-specific and focused on the developed countries in general and the Western IFIs, it allows the current study to explore more how Ghana sees economic development aid from the North, specifically, the USA. This will aid the understanding of what the targets of such aid are, and how they contribute to Ghana's national development. However, some works have also argued on the role of Northern economic aid in Ghana's development and economic stability.

Boachie et al. (2022) for instance identify the health sector as an important sector in the development of the country. In their work which investigated the effect of democracy, foreign aid and IMF programmes and conditions on government health spending in Ghana, it was observed that foreign aid has contributed to improving the health sector of Ghana which is one key sector of Ghana's economy. But the work of Terry (2019) questions this line of argument. Terry (2019) examined Ghana's relationship with the IFIs and concluded that moments Ghana enter into a programme with these bodies, social interventions suffer. He explained that social interventions such as the National Health Insurance Scheme was implemented against the wishes of these bodies which eradicated the cash-and-carry system introduced by the IFIs.

Even though the works of Addo et al. (2010), Boafo-Arthur (1999), and Terry (2019) all agree to the fact that economic aid from the IFIs contributes to promoting micro-economic stability through the increase in the country's GDP, a reduction in inflation, and a reduction in poverty levels, these works assert that the stability and comfort has always been for a short while before poverty, unemployment, high taxes and high prices of commodities start to surge. Boafo-Arthur (1999), which focused on examining Ghana's economic diplomacy under Jerry John Rawlings' military government observed a massive decline of inflation from 122% in 1983 to 40% in 1984; and a

further drop to 10 per cent in 1985. However, he pointed out that this was temporal as it again shot up to 25% in 1989 from 10% in 1985.

In Addo et al. (2010) where they reviewed Ghana's previous interactions with the Fund, the authors argued that though the support contributed to economic stability for a short while, it did so at the expense of creating employment opportunities. Thus, the work concluded that the need to create employment opportunities and other social intervention programmes suffered, for the economic indicators of the country to stabilise which has consistently created hardships and has caused both civilian and military leaders their leadership. Terry (2019) concludes the argument by adding that SAPs which were as a result of economic aid from the Western IFIs have done more harm than good in their economic, political, and sociocultural impacts and that Ghana has and will continue to see improvements in all of these areas if it distances itself from strict adherence to the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) recommendations.

These works on economic aid from the Western IFIs and their impact on the country provides a useful contribution to the current study as it outlines how aid from the North is accompanied by various policies which are referred to as programmes aimed at restructuring the economy. They also give an understanding to the impact of such policies and how Ghana has fared under them. These work's focus however was geared towards the IFIs with little attention to specific countries in the global North. This is where the current work explores the complexities of North-South economic relations by looking at how different economic aid from a country in the North (the United States) is from those from the South (China, and South Africa).

The issues and criticisms of North-South relations have contributed to the need for countries in the global South to establish a stronger relationship between and among

themselves. This relationship is what is referred to as South-South Cooperation. The next section will delve into South-South Cooperation and studies on its impact.

2.8 An Overview of South-South Cooperation

South-South Cooperation (SSC) is a form of collaboration among developing countries designed to foster mutual benefits through shared resources and assistance across various economic sectors. This approach highlights the potential for mutual development when developing countries enhance their relationships with one another (UNCTAD, 2005). The origins of SSC are debated, with some tracing it to the 1960s dependency theory model (Morvaridi & Hughes, 2018), while others attribute its formation to earlier events, particularly the 1955 Bandung Conference in Indonesia. This conference, amidst Cold War tensions, saw Third World countries assert their non-alignment and form the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM), with the term "South-South Cooperation" being coined during this period (Gammage & Akinkugbe, 2020; Flint & Waddoups, 2019; Mawdsley, 2020).

The Bandung Conference, involving 29 Asian and African countries, established principles for SSC: mutual respect for sovereignty, non-aggression, non-interference, equality, and peaceful coexistence (Uchechara, 2009). These principles set the foundation for SSC and led to its incorporation into trade policy by Raul Prebisch, the first General-Secretary of the UN Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), in 1964 (Gammage & Akinkugbe, 2020). The formation of UNCTAD and the Group of 77 (G77) in 1964 marked the beginning of enduring cooperation among developing countries. The G77 aimed to enhance trade relations among its members and was described by the former Tanzanian president as the "trade union of the poor" (Toit et al., 2017). UNCTAD played a key role in advocating for the protection of developing

countries from trade exploitation and fostering trade among Southern states (Gosovic, 2016).

The New International Economic Order (NIEO), emerging in 1974, aimed to improve economic sovereignty for former colonial states in the South and sought a major restructuring of global economic relations focusing on trade, commodities, finance, and debt relief (Gammage & Akinkugbe, 2020). Although SSC's scope initially focused on economic relations, it broadened in the 1970s to encompass more diverse forms of cooperation.

In 1978, the Buenos Aires Plan of Action (BAPA) officially institutionalized SSC, expanding its focus to technical, economic, and political cooperation (Bracho, 2018). During the 1970s and 1980s, the debt crises led many developing countries to adopt neoliberal policies through Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs), which diminished the emphasis on SSC (Molinari et al., 2019; Morvaridi & Hughes, 2018). However, the failure of SAPs to alleviate poverty and improve living standards led to a renewed wave of SSC in the 1990s, marked by a significant increase in bilateral investment treaties among developing countries (UNCTAD, 2005).

Gosovic (2016) notes that Northern institutions, including the World Bank, were often unenthusiastic about supporting SSC projects involving multiple developing countries. These institutions frequently blocked demands for a UN conference on SSC, reflecting a broader resistance to Southern-led initiatives. Despite this, SSC has gradually gained prominence in the 21st century, partly due to the rise of China-Africa relations (Gosovic, 2016).

Mawdsley (2019) divides the transformation of SSC into two phases: SSC 1.0 (1950s-2000s) and SSC 2.0 (early 2000s-present), with potential for SSC 3.0 in the future. Toit

et al. (2017) offer a more nuanced view, categorising SSC's evolution into three phases. The first phase (1949-1979) focused on self-reliance and political strengthening, with developing countries seeking to distance themselves from exploitative colonial relationships and pursue economic restructuring. The second phase (1980-1998) involved a shift toward economic restructuring in response to debt crises and neoliberal policies, which ultimately exacerbated economic hardships (Toit et al., 2017). The third phase (1999-present) reflects a reliance on sharing experiences and best practices among developing countries, emphasising technical knowledge transfer and comprehensive development (Toit et al., 2017).

In the 21st century, SSC has evolved to include knowledge and technology transfers, economic cooperation, and responses to crises, reflecting a shift from political to economic objectives (Taidong & Haibing, 2018; Molinari et al., 2019). The growth of emerging economies like China and India has played a significant role in this transformation, contributing to SSC's development and increasing its relevance in global development cooperation (Bracho, 2018; Mawdsley, 2019; Taidong & Haibing, 2018).

The growth of emerging economies has contributed to the rise of the South in the global economy. For example, the economy of the global South grew to USD30.9 trillion from around USD7 trillion, about a 400% increase from 2000 to 2016 (Molinari et al., 2019), contributing to over half of the world's GDP. The growth of developing economies, mainly the emerging economies (China, India, Brazil, etc.), have contributed to the growth of SSC. This is significant in areas of infrastructure, economic aid, trade and investment. Factors responsible for the growth of SSC include the role of China, and multilateral groups like IBSA (India, Brazil and South Africa) and BRICS (Brazil, Russia, China and South Africa) (Mawdsley, 2019).

2.8.1 Studies on the Impact of South-South Cooperation on the Global South

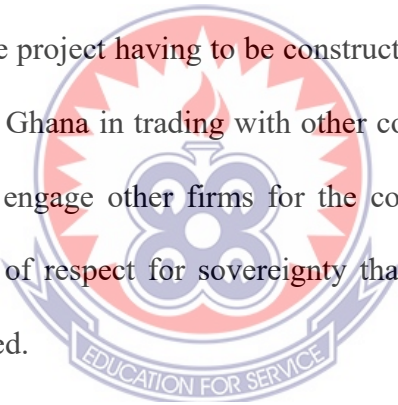
Vadell (2019) in his study in Latin America where he examined the domestic and international implications of Chinese presence in the region, concluded that SSC ensures respect for the sovereignty of developing countries. The author observed China's SSC principle of non-conditionality and non-interference in the assistance of developing countries which ensures that China do not dictate what economic aid should be used for or how to use it. He indicated that China pursues innovative arrangements of cooperation to promote mutual sustainable development, social welfare, and economic growth in developing countries. Also, Vadell (2019) highlighted that through the principle of non-interference, developing countries are able to use cheap economic aid and assistance offered them to improve the sectors that are of high importance to the state which ensures that the sovereignty of the state is respected.

Dahi and Demir (2018) share a similar view on SSC looking at the role of China in the Cooperation. In their article that aimed at identifying the differences in the costs and benefits of South-South relations and North-South relations, the authors explained that due to China's principle of respecting the sovereignty of developing countries through non-interference, China's cheap economic assistance more closely justifies the meaning of the word (economic assistance) than those from the West; because developing economies are permitted to set their own priorities on spending aid money which does not focus on the need of the said state.

However, relating to the assertions of SSC economic assistance, mainly loans being cheap, Chen and Landry (2018) have argued that not all Chinese loans should be seen as flexible and cheap by governments of developing economies. They indicated that concessionary loans that are regarded as cheap have specific fields of projects that such loans are to be used for; and that if the said project does not qualify, then it will be a

commercial loan which has a high interest rate like that from the North. They further indicated that this assistance may also come with conditions which include awarding the project to a Chinese company as was the case in Cameroon concerning the hydropower project constructed by Chinese company Sinohydro, an assertion corroborated by Tsikudo (2021) in observing Ghana's Bui Dam project.

In his article titled *Soft powering the China Water Machine: the Bui Dam and China–Ghana relations*, Tsikudo (2021) argued that Chinese loans for the Bui project came with two demands: a) selling 40,000 metric tons of cocoa, at a preferential price, to China every year, and b) the project will be built by a Chinese firm (Sinohydro). For the author, by demanding that Ghana sells a huge amount of its cocoa to China (howbeit preferential), and for the project having to be constructed by the Chinese, this reduces the options available to Ghana in trading with other countries with the same product, and also the ability to engage other firms for the construction of the project. This questions the principle of respect for sovereignty that Vadell (2019), and Dahi and Damir (2018) have raised.



Similarly, Abankwa's article through a content analysis to understand the role of rhetoric in Sino-Ghana economic relations identified that a USD3 billion loan package from the China Development Bank (CDB) was given to develop Ghana's energy sector and in exchange for the USD3 billion loan, Ghana was to provide 13,000 barrels per day of crude oil to China (Abankwa, 2021). This goes to support the concerns raised by Tsikudo (2021) and Owusu and Botchway (2018).

But contrary to the claims of Chaturvedi (2016) that developing countries (particularly China) lack key tenets of democratic governance which are transparency and accountability, Brautigam (2009) explains that this is what the Chinese seek to do in

giving out projects to the Chinese. She stressed that by giving these projects to Chinese companies, China seeks to ensure accountability and reduce corruption and embezzlement which the North have consistently been critical of in their dealings with the South. Kim and Lim (2017) have therefore argued for a common accountability and transparency measuring standard and framework for the South which will help both donors and recipient states of economic aid in the South to easily assess how transparent and accountable recipient states have been.

These are interesting debates on the impact of South-South economic aid on the South. The works explore issues of non-interference, non-conditionality, sovereignty and accountability. The current study will investigate in line with these assertions and try to understand the relationship between China's win-win principle through non-conditionalities and the issue of conditionalities as related to Northern donors. But there is yet another concern with economic aid from the South that it further plunges developing countries into debt crises, something Brautigam (2009) described as "rogue aid", or "toxic aid" and China being referred to as a "rogue donor".

Brautigam's book titled *The Dragon's Gift: The Real Story of China in Africa*, Brautigam (2009) indicated that China has targeted countries rich in natural resources with aid amounting to three times larger than that from the Western countries combined. She further outlined that these relations are usually contrary to business rules of engagements which ensures other developing countries become aid dependent on China. These assistances according to Brautigam (2009) mostly cover infrastructure for these developing economies which are sometimes used to transport the resources needed by China.

According to Eickhoff (2022) whose study focused on China's SSC infrastructure project and the controversies surrounding it, he observed in Kenya that Kenya's estimated debt to China as of 2021 stood at USD 6.95 billion. This represented about 20% of Kenya's external debt of USD36.9 billion. He (Eickhoff, 2022) pointed out that this has been as a result of mega infrastructural projects embarked on by Beijing in Kenya, an assertion Newcomb (2020) agrees to.

In Ghana, the country's debt to China is around USD1.7 billion (as against USD 1.4 non-China bilateral debt) covering about 6% of the total external debt of the country (Kyei, 2023). Outside the African continent is Pakistan with USD77.3 billion and Sri Lanka with USD6.8 billion (Buchholz, 2022). Interestingly, these are all mostly as a result of massive infrastructures built in the name of promoting SSC by China through its various initiatives.

Newcomb (2020) therefore notes that these projects have in them, exploitative tendencies. Newcomb's work examined the impact of Chinese infrastructure on Kenya's economy. In the study, he observed that in the Standard Gauge Rail line (SGR) which was constructed by China to link mainland Kenya to the Mombasa port was mainly as a result of the instability of South Sudan and Uganda (conflict with Sudan) where China gets part of its oil resource from. Kenya provides a suitable channel for carrying this resource to the port of Mombasa and exported to China, and this has caused the building of such infrastructures. This supports the claim by Owusu and Botchway (2018) that China's SSC might seem to support development in the South; but it also has the tendency to be exploitative seeing that they have an urgent need for energy resources like crude oil which has caused them to take an active role in providing infrastructural development in Venezuela, the Somali coast, Angola, Nigeria, etc. and in return, carry the much-needed resource to Beijing.

Howbeit, Githaiga and Wing (2019) have argued that SSC investment and infrastructural projects are projects that developing countries need very much. For him, these projects which include ports, railway lines, roads, hospitals, dams, etc. are among some of the infrastructural projects (Newcomb, 2020; Tsikudo, 2021) and are mostly considered as one that fits into the developmental plans of the developing countries. According to Tsikudo (2021) who aligns himself with this assertion, his research on China's SSC infrastructural investments with a focus on Ghana's Bui Dam observed that China's SSC infrastructural investment was in line with Ghana's Vision 2020 plan, which, among other things, included attaining middle-income status by 2020 through basic infrastructure provisions.

Such SSC infrastructural investments on the part of Chen and Landry (2018) promotes job opportunities. The authors whilst studying Chinese hydropower projects in Cameroon, observed that the project provided over 2,300 jobs for Cameroon nationals. This is affirmed by the work of Githaiga and Wing (2019) which examined the role of Chinese companies in contributing to employment generations. He pointed to one of Kenya's railroads that is being constructed by the Chinese and outlined that the project has provided an estimated number of over 46,000 jobs for Kenyan nationals. These opportunities help to improve the living standards of the people which aids in the gradual growth of the country.

Similarly, Ameyaw-Brobbe (2020) gathered data from 300 Ghanaian workers in Chinese firms for his study on the impact of China's Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) with attention on Chinese companies in Ghana. These were Ghanaian individuals who were employed by Chinese investment businesses in the various sectors of the economy ranging from construction, manufacturing, and service sectors including malls and restaurants.

Despite these fine arguments by Ameyaw-Brobbe (2020), Chen and Landry (2018), and Githaiga and Wing (2019), Newcomb (2020) observes that SSC infrastructural investments usually have an adverse impact on the environment. He observed that projects such as the SGR in Kenya displaced households and arable lands, including the killing of wildlife such as gorillas, elephants and lions. Newcomb (2020) therefore agrees with Githaiga and Wing (2019) that these infrastructure projects under the Chinese SSC are detrimental to Kenya's environmental regulations and could also adversely impact the tourism sector and revenue mobilisation if it continued. This is further stressed in an online news report which focused on China's USD20 billion deal in exchange for bauxite concessions by Gbadamosi (2020). The author interviewed some environmentalists and residents in the Atewa area where the forest reserve containing the bauxite concession is located. The reporter discovered that the forest serves as a habitat for unique wildlife that is only peculiar to the area and that any such mining activity in the area will contribute to the extinction of these unique species.

That notwithstanding, Ameyaw-Brobbe (2020) sees SSC as important to promoting people-to-people knowledge and technical transfer. In his study, he observed that Ghanaian locals benefited from Chinese companies in the areas of administration, business startups and practical technological training. Chen and Landy (2018) also observed in Cameroon that projects by Chinese companies entailed soft technology transfers. They found that Sinohydro sent 10 Cameroonian engineers for training in China, with the aim that they would in turn train other local engineers when they return. Again, the study indicated that a number of local engineers got the opportunity to be trained in China for two years and about 300 young people also were provided with a 45-day construction training in such fields as welding, carpentry, and electrical engineering.

Dye (2021) maintains in similar lines but expands the issue further into other fields such as health, education, and Information Technology. In his work, Dye (2021) examined the role of India's EXIM Bank in promoting SSC knowledge and technological transfer. He explains that India seeks to build the capacity of developing countries in its SSC by giving out vital information and in some instances, they actually help these countries to setup systems and offer them the technical know-how to run the systems. For example, one of such activities include the USD117 million pan-African E-Network which connects hospitals and universities in India and some African countries for online training. Such health collaborations have been identified by Olu et al. (2017) as they studied two health cases on the African continent. They observed that opportunities for SSC can be seen in the areas of disease prevention and control, production of medical products and essential medicines, harmonisation of regulatory processes, and health workforce development among others.

On agriculture, during the Fourth High-level Forum on Aid Effectiveness held in the Republic of Korea, in 2011, where several cases of SSC were discussed, Kakonge (2014) noted in his presentation that farmers from Benin have learned from their Costa Rican counterparts how to grow organic pineapples, whereas the Costa Ricans learnt from the Beninese how to use edible insects to feed cattle. But Kakonge (2014) also stresses that SSC in the field of education cannot be underestimated. His work explained the genocide that occurred in Rwanda and how knowledge transfers through investments aided Rwanda's educational sector. He outlined that after the undesired happenings, Rwanda was in urgent need of secondary school teachers which the country could not afford. The governments of Rwanda and Kenya reached an understanding to implement a teaching assistance programme with Kenyan teachers assisting their

Rwandan counterparts at a more reasonable cost looking at Rwanda's situation at the time.

But Chen and Landry (2018) contend that knowledge and technical transfer in SSC does not provide a deep insight into technical and technological issues. The authors observed through interviews that most of the Cameroonian locals who were to be trained received their training in an informal way, mainly on-site training. Even though such training may provide some form of technical and technological skill transfer, it does not expose these workers to a wider range of resources that could be used for similar tasks. Basic skills are therefore offered to these workers who receive their training on-site.

Ameyaw-Brobbe (2020) also made similar discovery in Ghana that transfer of technological knowledge comes in the form of on-the-job training. The study found that the machine models which were used were "a bit old" (p. 162). Working with these old-model-machines according to Ameyaw-Brobbe (2020) does not give room for these workers to compete with other workers internationally. New and more sophisticated machines that may be relevant and contribute to improving the technical abilities of these workers are not available to these workers. He therefore concludes that this limits the individual's ability to compete with those with ideas about more recent machine models.

These empirical findings have touched on economic aid and investment from the South and the areas of impact. It exposed the interconnection of economic aid and investment in the areas of infrastructural projects. The review helps the current study in identifying the various areas of South-South economic aid and investments mostly led by China and its impact on countries in the global South. This study further examines how

economic aid and investments from the South promote national development by focusing on the specific sectors the aid and investments goes into. It will also address how different economic aid and investments from the South is from that of the North and which areas that are to be focused more to foster development in the country. Nonetheless, there is a third aspect of this study that needs attention; thus, trade relations.

Dahi and Demir (2018) indicated that more than 30% of world trade heads towards South-South direction. With this, South-South trade relations have grown steadily in recent years which has contributed to development in some of the developing countries becoming emerging economic powers. Unsurprisingly, Dahi and Demir (2018) pointed out that these trade relations were dominated by the emerging economies of which China was in the lead. Gosovic (2016) explains this by indicating that relations with China are considered beneficial to developing countries, one that ensures mutual benefits. Developing countries have consequently favoured trade with China more than any state in the developing world. There is therefore the propensity for SSC to promote development in developing countries through trade among themselves.

These works by Dahi and Demir (2018), and Gosovic (2016) affirm the increasing rate of South-South trade relations and how most of these trade relations go to China. But these studies do not provide the reason countries prefer trading with the South, particularly China. This work explores the reasons importers and exporters prefer to trade with China and also, to observe the role of South Africa in Ghana's trade relations. But there are also some negative impacts on these trade relations.

According to Todaro and Smith (2012), South-South trade in minerals and agriculture products has been rising more quickly than South-South trade in manufactured

products, especially from other developing countries to China. Vadell (2019) puts it in a better way by indicating that China's trade relations show China as an exporter of manufactured products for the Global South and an importer of commodities and natural resources. This implies that in China's trade with the South, China's imports are mostly raw agricultural and mineral materials rather than manufactured materials. Brautigam (2009), Newcomb (2020), and Owusu and Botchway (2018) agree with this claim by further stressing that energy or oil resource is the main commodity of need for China hence they put that at the forefront of their South-South engagements.

Nonetheless Newcomb (2020) has observed that trade commodities that are imported from China into its South-South partners are mostly textiles and clothing, furniture, machinery, etc. which contribute to killing local manufacturing. He observed in Kenya that Chinese imports have been displacing many local producers and manufacturers and further adversely impacting employment in the country. He observed that most of these people who lost their employment were women and that contributed to a high unemployment rate of women in the country. In Ghana, Tsikudo (2021) highlighted for example the collapse of the Juapong textile company as a result of cheap textiles imported from China. This relationship is premised on the principles of SSC and therefore, the collapse of businesses and loss of jobs due to unequal trade relations between Southern states have raised significant concerns.

It is important to establish that these works argue out the unequal trade relations in South-South economic interactions which this work examines more to gain more understanding on the main trade commodities from the South and whether it has an impact on local manufacturing. If it does, what are some of the implications and if it does not, then how does the relationship promote Ghana's development? These are

some of the nuances explored in this study. It is also important to discuss some of the main challenges of SSC. The next sub-section addresses this theme.

From the review of the impact of SSC, it can be observed that activities of China were mostly referred to. This is largely because China's activities dominate SSC conversations. Scholars such as Mawdsley (2019), Molinari et al. (2019), and Taidong and Haibing (2018) have all attributed the growth and expansion of SSC to mainly China's activities in multilateral groups such as the BRICS and its establishment of financial institutions such as the Chinese Development Bank and the BRICS Bank. Even though the India-Africa Forum Summit (IAFS) exist, China on the other hand has established formal relations with Africa and South America through the Forum on China–Africa Cooperation (FOCAC) and the Forum of China and the Community of Latin American and Caribbean States (China-CELAC) respectively (Tsikudo, 2021; Vadell, 2019). This has increased China's engagements with the global South more than any other country and this is why China dominates in most South-South discussions.

2.8.2 Studies on the Challenges Facing South-South Cooperation

Fues (2018) in a study titled *Convergence on South-South Cooperation: The Delhi Process after Five Years*, explored the evolution of SSC and the challenges and opportunities it faced. He observed that governments in the global South have not been able to reach an agreement on what SSC actually represents. He argued that how SSC is viewed by the economic powers in Latin America differs from how those in Asia conceive the idea. Thus, economic powers in Latin America such as Brazil have a limited conception of SSC which focuses on technical transfer whilst their counterparts in Asia, mainly China and India view the Cooperation in a more holistic manner covering a broader range of cooperation from trade, education, health, agriculture, etc. (Fues, 2018). Bracho (2018) supports this assertion as he identified two main

approaches to understanding SSC. He points out that there is the Latin American conception which can be traced to the 1978 Buenos Aires meeting where SSC was formally initiated into the UN, and the Asian understanding of the Cooperation which traces its roots to the Bandung Conference having in it the true principles of the Conference.

But even for Kim and Lim (2017), these SSC frameworks being used by Latin America and Asia (The Bandung Conference and Buenos Aires Action Plan) are outdated and that there is an urgent need for a new strategic framework for SSC that can respond to the current trends in the 21st century. But these works do not touch on the African continent. How is SSC viewed in Africa?

Haug and Kamwengo (2022) in their article examined the extent to which, where and why African stakeholders have used references to South-South Cooperation. The work pointed out that African leaders especially do not show any zeal in the promotion of the concept. They observed that whereas Asian diplomatic officials overtly promote South-South Cooperation, African diplomats at international meetings do not claim and strongly attach themselves to the concept. They identified that some of the African officials claim not to really understand what this SSC is all about; they nevertheless use the concept in situations that may help promote the interest of their countries. Also, for some of the African leaders, the concern is that they do not want to be caught up in the North-South argument and hence prefer not to be vocal about what might be seen as taking sides with the South (Haug & Kamwengo, 2022). This according to them may dwindle the support they attract from their Northern donors.

Kakonge (2014) therefore cautions that the lack of a common framework contributes to a lack of purpose by the South which distorts the progress of the Cooperation. This

shows that the understanding of states in the South in promoting SSC differs and this creates a problem of focus which in turn delays the development they are yearning for.

These works have pointed to the differences in how developing countries view the Cooperation, something touted as a tool to ensure development in the South. This is important because it indicates a lack of a common understanding of the concept which is supposed to ensure the development of the South.

More so, Fues (2018) observed in his study that after the 2013 meeting of Southern states to promote SSC, the group fell apart since states could not reach a conclusion on SSC concepts and policies. He further outlined that many governments of the South are reluctant to provide adequate funding for analytical work on their SSC by scholars and activists at home so as to help give a better understanding to how and what the country needs to concentrate on in such cooperation. This shows the lack of political will by leaders in the South to consciously promote the concept of SSC. But this does not apply to all developing countries based on the efforts some emerging countries keep putting into SSC for a strong development partnership with other countries in the global South. So, what is Ghana's contribution and how is the country showing the will and desire in promoting the South-South idea? This study explores this area to find out the willingness of the country to promote SSC.

There have been issues raised that SSC has the capability to disregard the rights of workers thereby promoting rights abuses. According to Farooq et al. (2018), Kenya has seen frequent violations of local workers' rights as well as disregard of their health, safety and welfare by some Chinese construction companies. In a study that aimed at examining the impact of China's BRI, he found that Chinese companies unconsciously exercised discrimination against local workers and sometimes violated local laws and

provisions on workers' rights. Fues' argument is strengthened by the findings of Chen and Landry (2018) who in their work also discovered that Cameroonian workers in Chinese companies in 2015 went on strike due to unfair dismissals, harassment, and assaults meted out by their employees from China. In Ghana, Ameyaw-Brobbe (2020) also found similar concerns. In his study, some of the informants pointed out that they were sometimes insulted, and other foul words were used by the employers on the local employees, an act mostly meted to the locals and not to the other Chinese workers who were mostly a rank or two above the locals. This study acknowledges these discoveries as they touch on Chinese investment projects and companies and their attitude towards human rights issues. This is however not the focus of this thesis. This thesis will observe the areas of investments in emerging economies in the South and how that contributes to fostering national development in countries in the South.

One other key challenge to the growth of SSC has been the criticism it has constantly received as exhibiting neo-liberal tendencies of exploitation. Bond (2018) on this issue argues that the BRICS show traits of imperialism and neoliberal tendencies as the West and that their activities are bedevilled with exploitation as they assimilate Western ideas into their processes. This is what Newcomb (2020), and Owusu and Botchway (2018) identify as the exploitation of natural resources to Beijing, mimicking the exploitation structure of the Northern colonisers. Owusu and Botchway (2018) conclude in their work by indicating that the persistent focus at the East, may blind African countries to the exploitative tendencies of the Eastern giants and their activities. Despite these various works outlining the challenge of South-South relations, none of these works focused on Ghana. Abankwa (2021) therefore comes in to help provide an understanding in the case of Ghana.

Abankwa (2021) adopted a content analysis to explore through history, Ghana-China relations and Ghana-neoliberal institutions. He sought to understand how different Ghana-China relations is from Ghana's relations with the Western IFIs. Even though the work pointed out that statements made by governments indicated that Chinese loans are preferred due to their ability to allow for policy determination, the author cautioned that the incessant reliance on such assistance from China has the ability to keep the country in debt to China. This work is more specific as it concentrates on Ghana and its economic aid relations with China and the Western IFIs. But Abankwa's study looked at the Western IFIs and not a specific country in the North which may make such a comparison unequal. This study therefore looks at the United States as a country from the North, and China and South Africa as representatives of the South and how Ghana's economic aid relations differ from these two categorisations.

Lastly, Olu et al. (2017) in their study which sought to find out how SSC contributes to the health sector by analysing SSC's activities and challenges noted, among other things, that inadequate financing for SSC initiatives adversely affects the growth of the Cooperation. The authors noted that even though the economic strength of the South has seen massive improvements, these are led by only a few countries in the South like China and India. Kakonge (2014) adds that most of the countries in the South have not so much improved their economy to the point that they can foot the bills for imported technicians, engineers, doctors, etc. and this has caused the burden to rest on the emerging economies alone.

Issues of financial challenges in the South have contributed to the coming in of a third party who may be a traditional donor, an international organisation (forming triangular cooperation) or an emerging economy in the South (forming a threesome South-South cooperation). It is from this that Toit et al. (2017) point out that financial support

through technical transfer is one of the reasons for TriCo as it helps improve healthy cooperation between developing economies. At this point, the study will examine TriCo, its rationale, opportunities, and criticisms leveled against it.

2.9 Triangular Cooperation, Opportunities and Criticisms

North-South relations are often depicted as hierarchical, with the North positioned as the donor and the South as the recipient of economic support (Bond, 2018; Olu et al., 2017). In contrast, South-South relations are portrayed as horizontal, with an emphasis on equal partnerships and mutual benefits between countries facing similar challenges (Gonzalez-Vicente, 2017; Mabera, 2019). Given criticisms of exploitative North-South dynamics and challenges in South-South Cooperation (SSC), such as financial constraints and issues with transparency and accountability, Triangular Cooperation (TriCo) has emerged as a potential solution. TriCo aims to address these gaps by involving a Northern state or institution to support the horizontal relations between Southern states, thereby enhancing cooperation across various sectors like health, climate, and infrastructure (Toit et al., 2017).

TriCo is based on principles such as mutual respect, reciprocity, participation, and the willingness to both teach and learn from each other (UNFCCC, 2018). The concept is designed to provide material and non-material resources, including funding, technical support, and assistance, to promote effective and transparent cooperation among Southern states. For example, the Netherlands supported a TriCo initiative involving Benin, Bhutan, and Costa Rica, providing \$13.2 million to advance low-emission climate-resilient development (UNFCCC, 2018). Similarly, China, Ghana, Denmark, and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) collaborated on renewable energy projects, with Denmark providing \$2.7 million to Ghana and \$2.6 million to

Zambia (UNFCCC, 2018). These projects aimed to address environmental challenges and improve agricultural production in developing countries.

Non-material benefits of TriCo include significant technical and technological knowledge transfer. During the Ebola crisis, various SSC and TriCo initiatives helped strengthen capacity in affected countries, enhancing case management, infection prevention, and community mobilization (Olu et al., 2017). Programs like the Medical Education Partnership Initiative (MEPI) and Nursing Education Partnership Initiative (NEPI) also exemplify TriCo's role in building health education and research capacity in Africa (Toit et al., 2017). Additionally, the TriCo involving Benin, Bhutan, Costa Rica, and the Netherlands trained over 3,500 people in sustainable technologies and created more than 2,500 new jobs (UNFCCC, 2018).

Despite its benefits, TriCo has faced criticism. Gomes and Esteves (2018) argue that TriCo was created by traditional donors to align new Southern practices with established aid effectiveness agendas and to co-opt Southern agents into traditional practices. This critique suggests that TriCo may not be a genuinely mutual creation but rather a means for Northern states to influence Southern countries to adhere to traditional development agendas, such as the Kyoto Protocol on climate protection. Moyo (2009) highlights issues of corruption in North-South relations, questioning whether TriCo can ensure aid effectiveness, transparency, and accountability given past failures in these areas. Moreover, concerns about dwindling development aid from the North raise questions about the sustainability of TriCo and its ability to address the shortfalls in SSC (Moyo, 2009).

In summary, while TriCo presents opportunities for enhanced cooperation and development, its motives and effectiveness are subject to scrutiny. States must carefully

evaluate the benefits and limitations of North-South, South-South, and Triangular Cooperation to foster effective economic relations. In the case of Ghana, its economic relations with both Southern and Northern countries, including China, the US, and South Africa, will be further examined to understand their impact on Ghana's economic landscape.

2.10. Selected Cases

2.10.1. Ghana-US Economic Relations in Ghana's Fourth Republic

Trade and personal relations between Americans and Ghanaians have historical roots dating back to the period before the formation of the United States, between 1775 and 1783. Initially, these relations were shaped by colonial influences, but they evolved after Ghana's independence. Shai (2016) identifies that US foreign policy towards Africa is anchored on three main pillars: securing oil resources, promoting democracy, and ensuring security. In this context, Ghana, known for its democratic credentials and crude oil reserves, holds strategic importance for the US (Shai et al., 2017). US diplomatic relations with Ghana encompass political, economic, and strategic dimensions, with a particular focus on economic relations in the Fourth Republic.

Economic relations between the US and Ghana are predominantly managed through various aid programs, including the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), Development Assistance (DA), Economic Support and Development Fund (ESDF), Global Health Programs (GHP), and International Military Education and Training (IMET) (Cook, 2019). USAID's support, which began three months after Ghana's independence, aims to enhance Ghana's development through technical assistance and funding for sectors such as health, education, agriculture, and infrastructure (USAID, 2010). Initially, USAID support increased to approximately USD12 million annually in the early years of Ghana's Fourth Republic, and between

1997 and 2010, USAID provided an average of USD34 million yearly for various sectors (USAID, 2010).

Significant aid initiatives include the USD547 million Millennium Challenge Compact (MCC) in 2006 for poverty reduction and a subsequent USD498 million MCC focusing on Ghana's energy sector starting in 2016. Since 2010, USAID has released over USD425 billion for agricultural support, and additional funding has been provided for COVID-19 relief and agricultural assistance (USAID, 2022). Despite fluctuations in support, such as reductions under former President Trump, these initiatives have played a role in addressing health challenges and supporting job creation, particularly in agriculture. However, critics argue that the focus on primary production rather than manufacturing has limited Ghana's socio-economic development (Shai et al., 2017).

In terms of trade, the US has been a key partner for Ghana. The African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA), enacted in 2000, provides Ghana with duty-free access to the US market. Despite some growth in bilateral trade, which saw US exports to Ghana rise from USD416 million in 2007 to USD609 million in 2008, and imports from Ghana growing from USD115 million in 2002 to USD222 million in 2008, the growth has been relatively modest (Cook, 2009). The main exports from Ghana to the US include crude oil, gold, and cocoa, while imports from the US consist of capital equipment, refined petroleum, and other goods (Cook, 2010). Trade relations have increased by about 30% between 2008 and 2018 (USAID, 2020).

Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) from the US has experienced significant fluctuations. While FDI fell from USD1.2 billion in 2013 to USD15.3 million in 2017, it rose to USD556.86 million in 2019, with further investments in subsequent years (GIPC, 2021). These investments have contributed to job creation and support for democratic

governance, although some critics view them as primarily aimed at securing Ghana's crude oil resources and maintaining a favorable environment for resource extraction (Shai et al., 2017).

Surveys indicate that many Ghanaians regard the US as a model for development and recognize its considerable external influence on African countries, including Ghana (Lekorwe et al., 2016). Overall, Ghana's economic relations with the US involve both benefits and challenges, with the focus of this study exploring the nature of these relations and their implications.

2.9.2 Ghana-China Economic Relations in Ghana's Fourth Republic

Formal diplomatic ties between Ghana and China were established on July 5, 1960, making Ghana the second sub-Saharan African country, after Guinea, to do so (Amoah, 2014). Despite some fluctuations in their relationship, particularly around the time of Ghana's first President's overthrow, the partnership has strengthened notably during Ghana's Fourth Republic. Tsikudo (2021) highlights that Ghanaian heads of state, except John Dramani Mahama, have visited China to bolster this relationship.

In the 1990s, Ghana's relations with China were considered unstable due to Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) imposed by the Ghanaian government. Nevertheless, during this period, Ghana emerged as a key ally for China, especially after China supported Ghana following the Tiananmen Square Massacre (Chau, 2014). Initially politically motivated, the relationship has since evolved into a primarily economic partnership, with China seeking natural resources and Ghana needing infrastructure support (Owusu & Botchway, 2018; Tsikudo, 2021).

Economic aid has been a significant aspect of Ghana-China relations. In October 1998, Ghana secured an USD18 million loan agreement from China. Between 2001 and 2009,

President John Kufuor's visits to China resulted in USD1.3 billion in interest-free and concessionary loans, supporting various infrastructural projects including highway development and military facilities (Abankwa, 2021; Tsikudo, 2021). Under President John Evans Atta Mills, Ghana received substantial loans, including a USD260 million preferential buyers' credit and a USD3 billion package from the China Development Bank (CDB) for the energy sector. Although under President John Dramani Mahama no new loans were received, the existing USD3 billion loan was renegotiated to USD2 billion in exchange for bauxite concessions. This deal has faced criticism for its potential environmental impact and the growing debt burden on Ghana (Kpodo, 2018).

Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) from China has been substantial, with significant projects including the Bui hydroelectric dam, which stands out due to its size and impact. China's investments span infrastructure, manufacturing, agriculture, and services, contributing to employment and on-the-job training for Ghanaians. However, issues such as unfair treatment, discrimination, and illegal mining activities by Chinese nationals have emerged, impacting local industries and the environment (Chen & Landry, 2018; Ameyaw-Brobbe, 2020; Aidoo, 2016).

Trade relations between Ghana and China have expanded significantly, particularly after China joined the WTO in 2001 and established the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC). China has become Ghana's leading trading partner, with notable increases in trade volume from USD71.3 million in Chinese exports to Ghana in 1995 to USD6.75 billion in 2020, and Ghana's exports to China growing from USD4.23 million to USD1.52 billion over the same period (OEC, n.d.). However, the trade relationship is often criticised for being unequal, with Ghana primarily exporting raw materials and importing manufactured goods from China, impacting local manufacturers (Aidoo, 2016; Tsikudo, 2021).

A survey by Afrobarometer shows that while China is viewed as a development model by some Ghanaians, there are mixed opinions about the impact of its economic assistance, with concerns about resource extraction, land grabbing, and the quality of Chinese products (Lekorwe et al., 2016).

Ghana-China economic relationship highlights significant South-South cooperation, marked by substantial aid, investment, and trade. However, the relationship also presents challenges, including environmental concerns, economic imbalances, and the impact on local industries. Understanding these dynamics is crucial for assessing the broader implications of South-South relations and the role of major players like South Africa in these interactions.

2.9.3 Ghana-South Africa Economic Relations in Ghana's Fourth Republic

Todaro and Smith (2012) argue that South-South trade should move beyond simple trade relations to include economic integration, where nations form regional trading blocs with common tariffs against non-members and promote internal trade. This concept has led some scholars to explore how the African Continental Free Trade Agreement (AfCFTA) could enhance South-South cooperation (SSC). However, this discussion focuses on South Africa's role as a regional superpower in strengthening SSC, with Ghana as a case study.

Since the end of apartheid in 1994, South Africa has aimed to build open relationships with both developing and developed countries to foster its own development and support broader African progress (Qobo, 2010). Both Kottam (2017) and Qobo (2010) agree that South Africa's foreign policy has focused on African development. Initially, South Africa's development assistance sought to gain favor at the UN, but after 2000, it evolved into the African Renaissance Fund (ARF). This fund, along with the New

Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), has become central to South Africa's economic foreign policy, emphasizing support for African countries in areas such as peacekeeping, technology, research, and education (Chidaushe, 2010).

Economic relations between South Africa and Ghana primarily involve trade and investment. According to a survey by Lekorwe et al. (2016) for Afrobarometer, South Africa is influential on the continent and is considered a model for national development in Ghana. Trade between the two countries has significantly increased, with Ghana's exports to South Africa rising from USD4.357 million in 1995 to USD515 million by 2020, while imports from South Africa grew from USD48.3 million to USD350 million. By 2020, trade relations totalled over USD761 million, with imports from South Africa constituting 3% of Ghana's total imports and exports making up 16% of Ghana's total exports (Embassy of Switzerland, 2022).

Ghana exports commodities such as crude petroleum and cocoa paste to South Africa, while South Africa exports machinery and vehicles to Ghana. The formation of the Ghana South Africa Business Chamber (GSABC) in 2008 has facilitated increased trade, investment, and cultural interactions between the two countries.

South African investments in Ghana span sectors including telecommunications, mining, brewing, and construction. Notable investments include the 1997 merger between SABMiller and Ghana Brewery, and the 2003 merger of AngloGold and Ashanti Goldfields, which involved an investment of USD1.4 billion. By 2020, South Africa was among the top investing countries in Ghana, with significant projects and investments totalling over USD1.4 billion between 2010 and 2020 (GIPC, 2022). South African companies, such as Mobile Telephone Network (MTN), employ thousands of Ghanaians and contribute positively to the Ghanaian economy (Ramaphosa, 2021).

However, challenges remain in this economic relationship. Issues include worker exploitation, low wages, and poor working conditions for local employees. South African imports of finished goods can undermine local manufacturing and small businesses, while high-level management positions are often held by South Africans (Chidaushe, 2010). There is limited evidence of economic aid from South Africa to Ghana, with no substantial loans or grants reported in Ghana's Fourth Republic, though South Africa has supported other African countries with aid in the past.

This relationship illustrates South Africa's role as a regional superpower in promoting SSC through trade and investment with Ghana. It highlights the positive contributions to Ghana's economy and job creation but also points to challenges that impact the local economy and businesses. Further examination of these opportunities and challenges is necessary to fully understand the implications of this bilateral relationship for Ghana.

2.11 Conclusion

The chapter has explored the relevance of dependency theory and the modern Development Compact framework to the study. It noted that while dependency theory falls short in addressing South-South Cooperation (SSC) issues, the modern Development Compact offers a more comprehensive approach by emphasizing cooperation in capacity building, trade and investment, technology transfer, and economic aid. This framework was introduced to address the limitations of dependency theory.

The chapter also discussed the primary purpose of establishing foreign relations: to promote national interests, particularly national development and welfare. Economic diplomacy, as a component of foreign policy, is essential for achieving these goals. It

highlighted that economic concerns are critical factors in foreign policy decision-making.

Additionally, the chapter reviewed Ghana's foreign policy during the Fourth Republic and its economic relations' role in national development. It examined North-South relations, including investments, economic aid, and trade, and their impact on the global South. The challenges faced in North-South relations led to the growth of South-South relations, which were addressed through empirical analysis of SSC's effects. Issues with SSC, such as the perceived strategy to integrate emerging donors into traditional donor circles, were also discussed. The study aims to compare Ghana's economic relations with North and South, focusing on interactions with the US, China, and South Africa.

The cases reviewed demonstrated that all three countries have made significant investments in Ghana and strengthened trade relations. However, while the US and China have been active in providing economic aid, economic aid from South Africa was minimal. Criticisms included environmental concerns, poor service conditions from China and South Africa, and the impact of cheap imports on local businesses.

This study is unique in its focus on comparing Ghana's economic relations with developed versus developing countries, using the US, China, and South Africa as case studies. The objectives are to understand the differences in Ghana's international economic diplomacy and to identify and examine the contributions and challenges of Ghana's economic relations with the global South. Ultimately, the study aims to shed light on Ghana's international economic relations and its engagement in SSC, particularly in economic aid, foreign direct investments, and trade.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

The goal of the research was to understand Ghana's South-South Cooperation by exploring how different Ghana's economic diplomacy with the global North is from the global South. This chapter presents the research methods employed in the study including the research paradigm, approach, design, sample and sampling technique and procedures, research strategy, target population, trustworthiness criteria, and method of data analysis. It also describes the sources of data including methods of data collection and ethical considerations.

3.2 Research Paradigm

A research paradigm may be referred to as an entire structure of reasoning which includes assumptions about a phenomenon and how to address it (Neuman & Robson, 2014). Given (2008) has elaborated that research paradigms control how researchers view a particular phenomenon and their understanding of the appropriate methods to be used in studying the problem. A research paradigm may be positivist, critical, or emancipatory, interpretive, or pragmatic (Kusi, 2012). This study adopted the interpretive research paradigm.

An interpretive paradigm relies on interpretation and understanding of the data by the researcher from his interaction with his subjects, ensuring that the researcher and the participants co-construct reality or knowledge (Given, 2008). In co-constructing knowledge, the subjects should be those who have lived the phenomenon and experienced it. The study adopted this paradigm because it relied on the interaction

between the researcher and the subjects who have experienced the phenomenon under review. With this, results presented, and meanings assigned were based on the interpretation of the researcher from the said interaction with the subjects of the study.

3.3 Research Approach

Creswell and Creswell (2018) explained research approaches as the guidelines for research that covers the assumptions, how data for the study is collected, analysed, and interpreted. They indicated three approaches to research namely quantitative, qualitative and mixed-method approaches. They further expressed that the main difference between the qualitative and quantitative approaches is that whilst quantitative approaches focus on making use of numerical data to explain a phenomenon and generalise its findings, the qualitative approach deals with understanding a phenomenon in detail through observation and interaction.

Qualitative research is the interaction that exist between the researcher and the subjects of the study in their socio-cultural settings with the aim of gaining an in-depth understanding of a phenomenon (Kusi, 2012). It deals with gathering data, primarily words, which reflects the experiences, feelings and judgements of the subjects of the study. The study therefore made use of the qualitative approach in line with the interpretive inquiry paradigm. This is because the study sought to gain an in-depth understanding of how Ghana's economic diplomacy promotes South-South Cooperation and the prospects and challenges of Ghana's South-South relations. Also, the study primarily collected data in the form of words out of which interpretations were drawn to provide an understanding of the phenomenon being studied. These reasons satisfy the elements of qualitative approach to research and hence was adopted.

3.4 Research Design

Research design refers to the various forms of models that provide specific course for procedures in a research study (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). Kothari (2004) highlights that research design is a form of blueprint or plan that the researcher prepares in advance for the collection and analysis of the data. For interpretive qualitative inquiry, Creswell and Creswell (2018) identify five research designs: narrative, phenomenology, grounded theory, ethnography and case study. The study employed the case study design. With this design, data are gathered, analysed and interpreted into details from one or more instances of a particular place, individual, event, process or activity (Creswell & Creswell, 2018; Flick, 2014). Thus, a case study allows the researcher to select one, or multiple instances for study with the purpose of gaining a deeper understanding. Ghana's foreign policy has various dimensions of study. It could be the political, security or economic aspect. It could also be studied in time periods under various political administrations. This study selected Ghana's economic diplomacy within a period of 10 years (2012-2022) to gain a deeper understanding of the phenomenon.

According to Gustafsson (2017), case study can primarily be divided into two: single and multiple case studies. This study adopted the multiple case study design. Multiple case study simply involves studying more than a single case. Yin (2003) explains that the context of the study may determine whether a single case or multiple cases are appropriate. With regards to multiple case studies, even though criticised as being time consuming and expensive, evidence provided from multiple case studies through several empirical results are more trustworthy and difficult to dispute (Gustafsson, 2017). Also, it allows the researcher to compare results do identify differences and similarities between selected cases (Yin, 2003).

As part of the objectives, the research aimed to understand how different Ghana's international economic relations with the global North is from the global South. With this, a single case may prove to be insufficient in providing an understanding to the phenomenon, hence, a multiple case was selected to help deal with the country's economic relations with the developed and developing worlds. Again, since evidences from multiple cases are difficult to disprove, the study adopted it to ensure that the empirical findings in the study strengthened the conclusions of the study, thereby making it difficult to be disputed.

Three (3) cases were studied based on Schoch's (2020) assertion that about three or four cases are appropriate when engaging in a multiple-case study. He further explains that this allows the researcher to delve deep into each case to ensure adequate understanding and analysis to indicate the differences and similarities between the selected cases. The cases selected included Ghana-US economic diplomacy, Ghana-China economic diplomacy, and Ghana-South Africa economic diplomacy. These cases were selected because they are among the leading countries of Ghana's international economic relations (Yeboah et al., 2020).

As has already been identified in the study, China, India, South Africa, US, IMF, UK, etc. in general are among the topmost countries Ghana has established a strong economic relationship with. In the Global South, since India and China are all in the same region (Asia), only one was selected. China was chosen because it leads in the South-South Cooperation; and is the topmost trading partner of Ghana (Abankwa, 2021), and have been a strong investment partner to Ghana (GIPC, 2021). More so, in terms of bilateral debt, China is the country that Ghana is mostly indebted to. It is therefore appropriate to involve China in such a study.

To give it a regional balance, and to satisfy the idea that intraregional collaboration is needed to boost the idea of SSC (Todaro & Smith, 2012), South Africa, which is considered the regional economic superpower on the African continent was selected (Kottam, 2017). It therefore means that China represents Ghana's inter-regional SSC, whilst South Africa represents its intra-regional SSC. This therefore puts together the economic superpowers of Asia and Africa into a single study. The US was selected based on the fact that Ghana's economic activities in terms of trade, investment and aid from the North is mostly dominated by the US (Yeboah et al., 2020), and also, the US is considered as one of the largest bilateral donors to Ghana (USAID, 2020). It is therefore appropriate that in such a study, Ghana-US economic relationship is considered.

3.5 Population, Sampling Technique, and Sampling Size

Bless and Higson-Smith (2000) explain population as the set of elements that the research focuses on and to which the obtained results should be generalised. Similarly, according to Terrel (2015), population refers to everyone or everything that could probably be used as a subject for a study. On the other hand, Kusi (2012) describes sample as a subset of the population to be studied whose findings may be generalised to the entire population based on the approach adopted. According to Terrel (2015), sample refers to a subgroup of the overall population of possible participants. A sample that is fairly representative helps the researcher to make a generalisation about the parameters of the population from which the sample is taken depending on the approach adopted for the study (Yin, 2003).

Sampling allows researchers to infer information about a population based on results from a subset of the population, without having to investigate every individual. Reducing the number of individuals in a study helps reduce the cost and workload,

making it easier to obtain high-quality information. The study population for this research includes the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration, Embassies of selected countries, Trade Unions, Ghana Investment Promotion Center (GIPC), Importers and Exporters, and all other stakeholders in Ghana's economic relations with the selected countries such as the Ministry of Finance, Ministry of Trade and Industry (MoTI), and academic experts in the subject matter. However, the sample selected include GIPC, some exporters and importers in the country, officials of Ghana Association of Trade Union (GUTA), and an academic expert in International Relations and Comparative Politics. The various Ministries and embassies were consulted but due to delays and difficulties in accessing information needed from them, relevant official publications from the MFARI were relied upon. This is justifiable since these official documents represents the ideas and activities of the Ministry.

The sampling technique adopted for the study was purposive sampling. The purposive sampling technique is a type of non-probability sampling which is also known as judgmental, selective, or subjective sampling (Flick, 2014). Patton (2002) explains that purposive sampling technique is used to feed a qualitative study with rich information. Thus, the sample should be one that provides a great amount of information useful for the said inquiry. This is a deliberate choice for a subject due to the amount of information the subject possesses. Also known as purposeful sampling, purposive sampling is based on the assumption that the researcher wants to discover, understand, and gain insight into a phenomenon and therefore must select a sample from which the most can be learned (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016).

Purposive sampling starts with a purpose in mind and the sample is thus selected to include people of interest who are within the population to use for a particular study or research and exclude those who do not suit the purpose. The purposive sampling

technique was adopted for the study mainly because information obtained from the selected sample usually have a higher accuracy and also, the selected sample are those who have or continue to live the phenomenon and therefore have enough information to address the objectives of the study.

The sample size is the technique of choosing the number of subjects to include in a sample. The sample size is an important feature of any study or investigation in which the aim is to make inferences about the population from a sample. Flick (2014) simply describes sample size as the number of people or things observed or from which information is derived for the study. The proposed number of informants used for the study was 12. But the study made use of 8 informants. This is in line with the claims made by Guest, et al. (2006) that by the 12th interview for a qualitative study, the researcher should have reached the point of information redundancy. However, Guest et al. (2006) argued that from the 6th interviewee, similar themes will begin to emerge and at any point where information redundancy may occur, the researcher may halt further interviews. This was what was done. Creswell (2005) argued that a huge number for a qualitative study may reduce the quality of information to be analysed and defeat the idea of providing an in-depth understanding of the phenomenon. The number of subjects interacted with was therefore appropriate as they were able to provide enough information to address the objectives of the study.

3.6 Research Instrument

The term research instrument refers to any tool that is used to collect or obtain data, measure data and analyse data that is relevant to research. For qualitative studies, observations and interviews are the main instruments for gathering data (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). In this study, interviews were used. According to Seidman (2013), the reason for in-depth interviewing is to help understand the lived experience of other

people and the meaning they make of that experience. Since this study primarily relies on how people view some interactions and assign meanings to them, interview was mainly used as the instrument for data collection.

The interview helps respondents to produce a prospective account of their past, event, experiences, feelings and thoughts. To be able to gather data and solicit information for the cases, face-to-face and telephone interviews were conducted via the use of a semi-structured interview guide. This is in line with Creswell and Creswell's (2018) assertion that qualitative interviews may be done face-to-face, through the telephone or over the internet. Interview questions may be in 3 forms: structured, semi-structured and unstructured (Yang & Miller, 2008).

The semi-structured interview guide relies on predetermined questions but also gives room for the researcher to probe for further information that needed more clarification (Kusi, 2012). The semi-structured interview guide allows for consistency with the questions that are being asked, and it also allows for deeper discussions to be had. The study used this to ensure consistency in the questions that were asked whilst also allowing the flexibility for in-depth discussions to be had in line with the research objectives. That notwithstanding, interviews, particularly semi-structured interviews may be time-consuming; yet a well-conducted interview is a powerful tool for extracting rich data on people's views, attitudes and meaning that underpin their lives and behaviour (Gray, 2009).

3.7 Trustworthiness Criteria

Guba (1992) explains that to judge the quality of an interpretive-qualitative research, the use of trustworthiness criteria is appropriate. He identifies four (4) elements: credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability. According to Palmer and

Bolderston (2006), whilst quantitative research is concerned with issues of validity, reliability and objectivity, the realities of qualitative work require a modification of these terms which has been referred to as the trustworthiness criteria of a study. Elements of the criteria include: a) the credibility of the study; thus, explanations in the study are consistent and understandable; b) transferability; thus, there is enough information provided to allow the results to be adapted to another context or population; c) confirmability; there is a distinction between the researchers and the subject's ideas; d) dependability; the process used to obtain the results can be replicated (Palmer & Bolderston, 2006).

Here, transferability satisfies the idea of generalisation in quantitative studies, dependability for reliability and confirmability for objectivity in quantitative studies (Kusi, 2012). To ensure these elements are adhered to, the researcher employed data triangulation where different data sources were used to strengthen the accuracy of the findings. Palmer and Bolderston (2006) stated that to ensure trustworthiness in the study, the researcher should be able to ensure transparency by detailing all methods used for the study, have an independent person to review the work, engage in data triangulation, and be able to gather enough data until all themes are exhausted.

This study therefore followed the scientific and systematic approach in conducting qualitative studies as the researcher has outlined the various procedures for accessing the data used in the study. The details as to how the researcher went about gathering the information have also been highlighted. The data gathered was enough as the researcher reached a point of information redundancy before further interviews were halted. There has also been an independent review by some colleagues in academia, information was also derived from different sources to check the dependability of the results of this study. All these indicate that the researcher solely relied on the data available and

gathered, for the study to be dependable, transferable and confirmable. These activities have ensured that the results and conclusions of this study satisfy elements of trustworthiness criteria.

3.8 Data Collection Procedure

A semi-Structured interview guide which offers flexibility in an interview process was used to collect data for the study (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). GIPC was the first to be contacted via their online chatbot on their official website. A response was given for the researcher to contact the research unit of the institution via email which was done. An introductory letter was then sent via email to the research unit and an assistant was assigned to the researcher. Subsequently, the requested information was provided to the researcher.

Creswell and Creswell (2018) emphasise that an interview guide should be both flexible and consistent and must be tested to ensure it effectively gathers information relevant to the research objectives. They also stress the importance of informing interviewees about ethical considerations. In practice, purposively selected individuals with relevant knowledge were approached to pilot the interview guide. The responses aligned with the research objectives, and the use of a semi-structured guide ensured flexibility and consistency.

Importers and exporters were also identified from online trading and delivery hubs. Two of these traders agreed to phone interviews which occurred during their “free time”. For the remaining four, a date was agreed upon separately for the researcher to meet and conduct a face-to-face interview. A top official of GUTA was then the next to be consulted. The official requested a sample of the questions and then scheduled a date for the interview which was honoured on the said date.

Finally, an academic expert in the field of International Politics and Comparative Politics was selected based on his knowledge of the subject under review which has been exhibited in his publications and lecturing. The expert was consulted and agreed to a telephone interview which occurred at an agreed date. Online information on Ghana's trade relations from 2012 to 2021 was retrieved from the Observatory of Economic Complexity (OEC). Data on 2022 Ghana's trade relations were not available hence no data for the year 2022 was provided.

The web was also surfed to gather data on Ghana's Millenium Challenge Compact II and the Master Project Support Agreement between Ghana and Sinohydro. These two projects were selected because they represent the major bilateral economic aid from the USA, and China respectively between 2012 and 2022. With South Africa, the researcher was not able to find any bilateral economic support from South Africa to Ghana during the period under review.

3.9 Sources of Data

Primary and secondary data were collected for the study. Data collected for the study was both primary and secondary data. Kothari (2004) identified two types of research data: primary and secondary data. He outlined that primary data is information that is gathered "first time" and "afresh" and is in its "original character" (Kothari, 2004, p. 95). The researcher contacted informants to solicit first-hand information for the study. Interviewees gave their understanding of Ghana's economic relations with the North and the South and how they differ based on the data at their disposal. They also highlighted the advantages and challenges associated with Ghana's relations with the South based on the information and experiences gathered.

Secondary data were obtained through an extensive review of documents which included but not only limited to published and unpublished books and theses, research works, articles, reports, online articles, and journals on the subject matter. Also, data from the GIPC on FDIs from the US, China, and South Africa from 2012 – 2020, data on Ghana's trade relations from OEC, official published documents on Ghana's Millennium Challenge Compact II and The Master Project Support Agreement, parliamentary documents on both projects were used in the study, and official reports and newsletters from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration. The blended approach helped the researcher to gather enough data to respond to the objectives of the study as affirmed by Taherdoost (2021).

3.10 Data Analysis Procedure

Data analysis involves disintegrating of data gathered and then putting them back in a logically meaningful manner (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). As the selected design requires in qualitative approach, the researcher employed qualitative analysis procedures. One main qualitative analysis procedure is the thematic approach (Kusi, 2012). Thematic data analysis begins with preparing the data; listening and transcribing the data; coding and generating themes from the data before description is done (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). Data analysis was done as and when data was collected. Marshall and Rossman (1989) asserted that the process of data gathering, and data analysis must be simultaneously done. Thus, as and when the researcher got the opportunity to collect data from a particular source, he started the analysis procedure and kept going. This facilitated the process of analysing the chunk of data that will be gathered.

Recordings of some of the interviews were made and later transcribed verbatim, systematically organised, and constantly coded. Coding refers to the process of

organising texts and assigning terms or meanings to a word or group of words of which helps to group them under different categories called themes (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). Creswell and Creswell (2018) further identified two types of qualitative coding: computerised coding and hand coding (manual coding). The researcher employed a hand-coding technique. Even though this appears to be tedious and time-consuming, it enables the researcher to carefully identify specific words and groups of words that helped to respond to the research questions. Recordings were played over and over for the researcher to clearly identify themes and patterns to code. Computerised coding also may not be able to decipher and select all important words and phrases, hence, the hand coding procedure was employed to organise and analyse the data. Some informants refused to be recorded, hence, the researcher penned down the discussions that unfolded. Major ideas that emerged in line of the objectives of the study served as themes for which discussions revolved around.

3.11 Ethical Consideration

Ethics deals with proper behaviour and moral living (Given, 2008). In conducting a qualitative study, information protection and more importantly the confidentiality of research participants are key to maintaining the integrity of the study (Flick, 2014). This study being a qualitative one has at the forefront interaction with people and it was important to maintain the informants' discretion and integrity through anonymity. With this, the researcher adhered to correct citations and references and avoided plagiarism with the aim of maintaining a high standard of veracity in this study. Also, the semi-structured interview guide was given to the supervisor to vet and approve. This was done and the researcher was allowed to go to the field.

Informants were officially notified about the study via introductory letters from the supervisor and the researcher's institution. Also, the informants were explained to on

how their contributions will help address the questions raised in the study. At the informants' own appointed time, the researcher met with the informants to conduct the interview. The researcher introduced himself and read out all rights of the informant with respect to the study. Informants were informed of all data collection devices, particularly the recording devices. Their permission was sought before the recording devices were used. For those who declined, the researcher wrote down the information that was given. To maintain the anonymity of the interviewees, codes were assigned to their names. The 6 importers and exporters interviewed were represented with the codes Impex_1 to Impex_6. The official from GUTA was represented with the code Gut_1, whilst the academic expert was represented with the code Aca_1. All these were done to safeguard the integrity of both the study and the informants. Online sources used were however referenced with their names since they were already published for public use. Finally, the informant's rights, interests and wishes were considered first when choices were made regarding what to report in the study.

3.12 Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter was to discuss the methods used in gathering data and the way data was analysed in the study. The study mainly adopted a qualitative research approach to understand Ghana's economic diplomacy with developing and developed countries. The primary source of data for the study was obtained from mainly face-to-face and telephone interviews, and online sources. Interview guides were used to seek views from the informants to ensure consistency and the opportunity to probe for more information during the interview. The secondary source of data was also through documentary sources mainly official and online web reports on Ghana's trade and investments with the selected countries, including other journal articles.

Other secondary sources such as articles, news reports, authentic online articles, and books were also adopted for the study. With a qualitative approach, the study was much more flexible because there was no strict procedure followed in the gathering of data for the study. It allowed the researcher to gather and analyse data simultaneously. The flexibility further created a very friendly atmosphere between the researcher and the informants where they expressed themselves in answering the study's research questions. Through this, the study gathered enough data that helped to respond to the objectives of the study.

The next chapter presents the data gathered out of which analysis and discussions were made.



CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

4.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the analysis of the data gathered from the fieldwork. Data were analysed in relation to the research objectives stated in Chapter One of the work. Data was collected from various sources as has been pointed out in Chapter Three of this work. These include the Ghana Investment Promotion Centre (GIPC), Ghana Union of Traders Association (GUTA), importers and exporters, Ghana's 1992 Constitution, GIPC reports, the website of the Observatory of Economic Complexity (OEC), and other official documents on the Millenium Challenge Compact II and the Master Project Support Agreement. A total of six (6) importers and exporters, one (1) official from GUTA, and one (1) academic expert made up the eight (8) informants for the study.

These eight (8) informants responded to questions on the interview guide through face-to-face interaction and via telephone call. The sections below present the data gathered in a thematic form based on the objectives of the study. It will begin with the differences in Ghana's economic diplomacy with the North from the South, then to the opportunities of Ghana's South-South relations, and finally the challenges facing Ghana's South-South Cooperation.

4.1 How Ghana's Economic Diplomacy with the North Differs from the Global South

The goal of this research objective was to explore how Ghana's economic diplomacy with the Global North differs from the Global South. Ghana's economic policy stems from its broad foreign policy objective. Article 40 clause (a) of Ghana's constitution, 1992, identifies that "In its dealings with other nations, the Government shall: (a) promote and protect the interests of Ghana." Also, the Article 73 stipulates that:

The Government of Ghana shall conduct its international affairs in consonance with the accepted principles of public international law and diplomacy in a manner consistent with the national interest of Ghana [Ghana Constitution, 1992].

These statements highlight the need to prioritise Ghana's national interest in its dealings in the international setting. It does not give an indication as to which countries such relations should target. The 2019 – 2022 Medium Term Expenditure Framework from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration under the goal section states that “foreign policy [should be used] as a strategy for Ghana's socio-economic resurgence by redirecting emphasis to the marketing of Ghanaian goods and services and attracting foreign investments” [MFARI, 2019b, p. 1].

This is a way of attracting traders and investors into the country to support the country's development agenda. To ensure this, a 2019 Newsletter from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration of Ghana explains that:

...Ghana's foreign policy has been focused, in recent years, on the following objectives, among others: i. Promote Ghana's political and economic interests abroad, including international trade and investment; ii. Seek the welfare of Ghanaians ... [MFARI, 2019a, p. 5].

A foreign policy guideline on the website of Ghana's MFARI is more specific. The second sentence of the last paragraph of the page states that:

Today, Ghana's foreign policy constitutes of a mixed bag of progressive views on topical events, pragmatic management and pursuit of economic programmes, and vigorous yet objective dedication to West African and African causes and those of developing countries [MFARI, n.d.].

The statement above indicates that Ghana's commitment is tilted more to the developing countries. But the interview with the academic expert suggests that there has not been any deliberate effort to focus on strengthening its relations with the South. He explained that:

I have not seen any deliberate or direct policy by governments to strengthen our relations with the China [and the Global South]. But it is difficult to take that step because of the influence of the US. If you underestimate the power of the US, you will lose. China depends largely on the market of the United States. So, if you take any step that will not be in the interest of them [the US], they will respond in a different way and you will lose. Our position has always been non-aligned. That means any policy by countries that we find beneficial to our development, we accept it. That is how our economic diplomacy has been [Aca_1, Tuesday, October 2, 2023, 17:57 GMT].

This indicates that even though Ghana's foreign policy may have the developing countries in mind, the country has not generally put in place deliberate policies to strengthen its relations with the South. The focus of Ghana's foreign policy is seeking the welfare of its people; and this is what economic diplomacy does. In the Medium Term Expenditure Framework for 2022 – 2025, the document shows that:

Ghana's economic diplomacy agenda focuses on the national objective of diversifying and increasing Ghana's export base by actively seeking markets for Ghanaian products abroad and taking advantage of preferential arrangements and multilateral trade agreements [MFARI, 2022, p. 5].

This shows that Ghana in seeking to promote its national interests engages with other countries to provide market for Ghanaian products and to attract investors into the country. To do this, various approaches have been used including trade fairs, workshops, attending conferences, etc. This is stated in the Medium Term Expenditure Framework for 2022 – 2025 document. The second and third sentences under section

(e) Trade and Investment Promotion points out that Ghana engaged with partners:

[which] were done with the view to promoting the interest of Ghana in the areas of trade, investment and tourism in the context of Ghana's bilateral and multilateral relations. To achieve this, the Ministry facilitated the participation of various Ghanaian delegations in Workshops, Summits, Fairs, Trade Missions, and Conferences among others [MFARI, 2022, p. 5].

These are the platforms the country uses to promote its national interests. The key element in all this is dialogue, which is the heart of diplomacy. An interview with an official of Ghana Union of Traders Association confirmed that they are usually engaged when it comes to Ghana's economic diplomacy and that, trade fairs, business-to-business engagements, workshops, etc. are common platforms used. He highlighted that:

Yes, whenever we are invited. We mostly do that through the Ministry of Trade. So, the issues of trade facilitation and all the BTO [Build to Order] issues, the EPA [Economic Partnership Agreements] arrangement that we're talking about, mostly we are also invited and consulted to give our views. Then also with the AFCFTA, we are almost always engaged. And how we relate with these people [traders from other countries] is through trade fairs, B to B [Business-to-Business engagements], and online activities to bridge the gap with other foreign business [Gut_1, Thursday, June 22, 2023, 11:01 GMT].

There are no clear indications from the statements above concerning the modes employed by the country to promote its interests being different regarding how Ghana relates with other countries and regions. Economic diplomacy for Ghana is about ensuring national development by securing its national interest through its trade and investment relations. This is what these statements have shown so far. The official from GUTA stressed that:

Trade policy is uniform regardless of a country, and so it does not actually inform one where to trade because when you talk about trade policies, the standards are uniform regardless of a specific country that [it] is coming from. Traders are informed by the affordability and quality of goods and the ease of accessibility to the particular place as I said earlier... [Gut_1, Thursday, June 22, 2023, 11:01 GMT].

Acknowledging the fact that this is not the view of the MFARI, GUTA is a key stakeholder in Ghana's economic diplomacy. Therefore, such views cannot be ignored.

An academic expert in responding to how he sees Ghana's economic diplomacy with the selected countries explained that:

Our relationship with these countries [the US and China] has been that of superior and subordinate. On paper it is diplomacy, but we always yield to their demands. We take a lot of loans from them and that affects how we relate with them. If it is trade, look at the conditions of the trade. You have to open your market to them, yet various strategies will be put in place to reduce your imports into their country. So, we yield to their demands because we have our hands in their mouth [Aca_1, Tuesday, October 2, 2023, 17:57 GMT].

The indication is therefore that Ghana's economic diplomacy is the same with all countries who seek such relations. Also, it shows the unlikelihood of Ghana to take deliberate steps to build strong ties with the South to the disadvantage of the North. All Ghana sees is what benefits her, and how such relations will support the development of the country. However, the difference can be seen in the commodities and value of trade from the countries, value of FDI and the sectors of focus, and the kind of economic aid provided by the countries.

From the elements being studied, investments, trade, and economic aid, data reports and responses from interviewees indicated how different Ghana's economic relation with the developed countries is from the developed countries using the US, China, and South Africa as a study. Further explanation as to why the differences were also identified by the interviewees. Data presentation therefore begins with the Foreign Direct Investment element of Ghana's economic relations with the selected countries.

4.1.1 Foreign Direct Investment

Data from GIPC indicates that from 2012 to 2022, FDIs from the US, China and South Africa have focused on different sectors of Ghana's economy. The differences mainly lie in the total amount spent by these countries on FDIs in Ghana, and the focus of their

investments. The tables below provide data on FDIs from the selected countries within the period under study.

Table 1: Sector Breakdown of USA Investments Registered with GIPC (2012 – 2022)

SECTOR	NUMBER OF PROJECT	FDI (US\$ M)
Agriculture	4	5.23
Building and Construction	12	935.38
Export Trading	3	4.09
General Trading	10	23.95
Liaison	17	40.17
Manufacturing	23	200.40
Service	58	754.36
Tourism	2	0.49
TOTAL	129	1,964.08

Source: Data was provided to the researcher by GIPC on March 3, 2023, at 15:09

GMT.

From table 1, FDIs from USA amount to a total of USD1,964.08 million in 129 projects. Observation from Table 1 identifies the building and construction sector as the main area that has seen many investments costing USD935.38 million. But looking at the number of projects, building and construction recorded only 12 projects. Investments in the service sector also saw 58 projects within the period of study costing USD754.40 million. It therefore shows that FDI from the US targets the building and construction and service sectors of the country. This is because the data shows that building and construction saw more funds whilst the service sector saw more projects. Tourism happens to be the sector of less focus with only 2 projects costing less than half a million dollars.

Table 2: Sector Breakdown of Chinese Investments Registered with GIPC (2012 – 2022)

SECTOR	NUMBER OF PROJECT	FDI (US\$ M)
Agriculture	4	8.59
Building and Construction	28	219.94
Export Trading	11	13.00
General Trading	97	160.35
Liaison	5	113.13
Manufacturing	190	2,498.59
Service	64	667.53
Tourism	12	4.56
TOTAL	411	3,685.70

Source: Data was provided to the researcher by GIPC on March 3, 2023, at 15:09

GMT.

Table 2 presents FDIs from China between 2012 and 2022. The table shows a total of 411 projects undertaken within the stated period costing USD3,685.70 million. The target of these investments has been the manufacturing sector. This has taken almost two-thirds of the total FDIs from China with USD2,498.59 million in 190 projects. Here, in terms of the number of projects and the total amount spent on which project, the manufacturing sector dominates strongly. This covers manufacturing in textiles and garments, light manufacturing and assembly, construction materials, agro-processing, industrial machinery and equipment, etc. The sector with the least number of projects happens to be the agriculture sector with 4 projects costing USD8.59 million, whilst the sector with the least amount recorded is the tourism industry with USD4.56 million in 12 projects.

Table 3: Sector Breakdown of South African Investments Registered with GIPC (2012 – 2022)

SECTOR	NUMBER OF PROJECT	FDI (US\$ M)
Building and Construction	5	8.60
General Trading	8	23.89
Liaison	11	132.24
Manufacturing	7	272.33
Service	56	558.02
TOTAL	87	995.07

Source: Data was provided to the researcher by GIPC on March 3, 2023, at 15:09 GMT.

The table above (Table 3) represents South Africa’s FDI inflows to Ghana. The total of these investments within the period being studied sum up to USD995.07 million, invested in 87 projects. More than half of the total amount (USD558.02 million) has been directed to the service sector in 56 projects mainly covering banking and financial services, telecommunication, hospitality, air transportation, health, etc. The sector with the least attention of FDI from South Africa happens to be the building and construction sector costing USD8.60 million in 5 projects from 2012 to 2022.

Comparing these three tables, it can be seen that China provides more FDIs to Ghana than South Africa and the USA. It also shows that whilst FDIs from the USA and South Africa target the service sector, and the building and construction sector especially for the USA, that of China focuses mainly on the manufacturing sector.

4.1.2 Trade Relations

This section highlights Ghana’s trade relations with the selected countries. Data put together from the Observatory of Economic Complexity website shows that Ghana’s trade relations with China, the USA, and South Africa differ in terms of the commodities imported and exported to Ghana, and also the total amount of trade

between the selected countries and Ghana. The tables below provide data on Ghana's total amount of imports and exports from these countries, and the main commodity that are imported and exported into Ghana from these countries.

Table 4: Ghana-USA Trade Relations (2012 – 2022)

Year	Total Imports from USA to Ghana (USD)	Main Commodity Imported and Percentage	Total Exports from Ghana to USA (USD)	Main Commodity Exported and Percentage
2012	1.39mn	Machines (26.7%)	396mn	Food Products (43.5%)
2013	1.08bn	Transportation (27.7%)	394mn	Food Products (47.5%)
2014	1.3bn	Mineral Products (30.1%)	322mn	Food Products (61.2%)
2015	920mn	Machines (32.0%)	316mn	Food Products (72.4%)
2016	819mn	Machines (27.7%)	332mn	Mineral Products (69.0%)
2017	894mn	Transportation (27.1%)	737mn	Mineral Products (54.8%)
2018	839mn	Transportation (29.1%)	585mn	Mineral Products (51.2%)
2019	907mn	Transportation (20.8%)	949mn	Mineral Products (64.3%)
2020	787mn	Transportation (39.1%)	673mn	Mineral Products (58.8%)
2021	949mn	Transportation (35.2%)	1.56bn	Mineral Products (76.9%)
2022	-	-	-	-

Source: Data was retrieved from OEC on June 13, 2023, 11:33 GMT.

The table above (table 5) shows trading activities between Ghana and the United States of America from 2012 to 2022. From the table, even though the main imported commodities into Ghana from the US have been diverse, transportation commodities have dominated since 2017. Goods under this category include vehicles, etc. On the export side, the main commodity categorisation from Ghana to the USA has been mineral products including crude oil, manganese ore, etc. since 2016. Data for 2022 trade relations were unavailable.

Table 5: Ghana-China Trade Relations (2012 – 2022)

Year	Total Imports from China to Ghana (USD)	Main Commodity Imported and Percentage	Total Exports from Ghana to China (USD)	Main Commodity Exported and Percentage
2012	4.57bn	Machines (25.3%)	623mn	Mineral Products (79.2%)
2013	3.9bn	Machines (24.8%)	575mn	Mineral Products (78.7%)
2014	4.09bn	Machines (21.5%)	929mn	Mineral Products (85.5%)
2015	5.36bn	Machines (25.1%)	1.17bn	Mineral Products (84.2%)
2016	4.61bn	Machines (22.7%)	1.15bn	Mineral Products (84.2%)
2017	4.68bn	Machines (30.0%)	2.15bn	Mineral Products (92.2%)
2018	4.49bn	Machines (21.8%)	2.27bn	Mineral Products (92.5%)
2019	4.49bn	Machines (21.4%)	2.68bn	Mineral Products (91.7%)
2020	6.75bn	Machines (22.8%)	1.55bn	Mineral Products (94.0%)
2021	8.1bn	Machines (20.9%)	1.27bn	Mineral Products (91.8%)
2022	-	-	-	-

Source: Data was retrieved from OEC on June 13, 2023, 13:10 GMT.

Table 4 represents Ghana-China trade activities from 2012 to 2022. Data for 2022 was unavailable. However, the data displayed shows that machines have been the main commodity categorisation that are imported from China to Ghana between the period under review. It includes electrical gadgets, refrigerators, computers, air conditioners, motors, etc. In the exports from Ghana to China between the period of study, mineral products have been the main commodity categorisation. They include crude oil, manganese ore, etc.

Table 6: Ghana-South Africa (SA) Trade Relations (2012 – 2022)

Year	Total Imports from SA to Ghana (USD)	Main Commodity Imported	Total Exports from Ghana to SA (USD)	Main Commodity Exported
2012	439mn	Machines (33.7%)	4.42bn	Precious metals (94.5%)
2013	427mn	Machines (28.5%)	3.12bn	Precious metals (78.8%)
2014	359mn	Machines (22.5%)	2.36bn	Precious metals (71.2%)
2015	360mn	Machines (33.1%)	556mn	Precious metals (88.9%)
2016	347mn	Machines (30.4%)	361mn	Precious metals (97.1%)
2017	365mn	Machines (29.2%)	919mn	Precious metals (93.1%)
2018	377mn	Machines (31.5%)	1.6bn	Precious metals (57.4%)
2019	359mn	Machines (27.1%)	1.72bn	Precious metals (61.5%)
2020	350mn	Machines (26.9%)	515mn	Precious metals (98.2%)
2021	413mn	Machines (22.7%)	546mn	Mineral Products (96.2%)
2022	-	-	-	-

Source: Data was retrieved from OEC on June 13, 2023, 16:30 GMT.

Ghana-South Africa trade relations from 2012 to 2022 is presented in Table 6, and it indicates that imports from South Africa to Ghana have mainly been machines. Thus, air conditioners, computers, electrical gadgets, etc. make up the machine categorisation commodity imported from South Africa. Exports to South Africa on the other hand have mainly been precious metals. These include gold, diamond, etc.

Comparing tables 4, 5, and 6, it is observed that Ghana’s trade relations in terms of the total amount of imports and exports from 2012 to 2022 with China surpasses that of the USA and South Africa, indicating that Ghana trades with China more than these countries. In terms of the main commodity imported, Ghana imports mostly machines from China, and South Africa, but imports more of transportation commodities from the USA. On the other hand, Ghana’s exports to China and the USA are similar, all

falling in the category of mineral products. However, exports to South Africa have mainly been precious metals rather than mineral products. Mineral products here refer to crude petroleum, refined petroleum, manganese ore, aluminium ore, etc., whilst precious metals include gold, platinum, silver, etc.

It is also important to understand why Ghana prefers trading more with China than the other countries, and why the differences in these commodities imported into the country. From the interviews conducted, factors that influence why there is a preference for trading with China by Ghanaians include issues of affordability, trade flexibility, market accessibility, status of commodities, transportation or shipment fees, and availability of diverse kinds of commodities.

4.1.2.1 Issues of Affordability

Interviews from importers and exporters showed that most Ghanaian traders prefer trading with China mostly because of affordability. They explained that commodities from China are usually affordable as compared to South Africa and the USA. These exporters describe trading with USA as more expensive than China and that is one main factor that informs their decision to trade with the Asian giant. Interviewee 2 indicated:

I prefer importing from China because their prices of goods are very low. Our inability to afford brand new goods from the USA is because of the high prices. You see, a lot of things come into the picture of pricing: the exchange rate between the cedis and the dollar, the import duties, etc. These are high when it comes from importing from America and they make brand new goods from that country very expensive [Impex_2, Friday, May 19, 2023, 11:18 GMT].

Explaining further, interviewee 1 added that:

I go to China. Everybody goes to China. Prices of the products there are very cheap if you are to compare it with that of the USA. For South Africa, most of their imports are also from China, so the Ghanaians who have relations there, or want to trade from there import these

products, mostly fruit juices, electrical gadgets, and these heavy machines into Ghana. It is expensive than China, but mostly the prices of US goods are expensive than those from South Africa also [Impex_1, Tuesday, May 16, 2023, 10:16 GMT].

Interviewee 7 on the same matter also stated that:

When it comes to trading in Ghana, now, the preferred corridor for trading is Asia, predominantly China because of the prevalence of goods, different kind of goods which are also affordable. If you look at the economy and the affordability, then of course people tend to go to China. And it's not only the people of Ghana that goes to China. If you see even the rest of the world, they are all going to China to do this business. Compared to China and South Africa, prices of goods from the US, I would say are a bit higher [Gut_1, Thursday, June 22, 2023, 11:01 GMT].

These statements show that one key factor that influences Ghana's trade relations is the prices of goods. Since goods from China are seen to be affordable, it influences the decision of the traders in the country to trade with China. Information from the data also indicates that most goods from South Africa are also imported from China, yet less expensive than those imported from the US. Nonetheless, the tables that were presented showed more trading activities between Ghana and the US than between Ghana and South Africa. When interviewee 5 was asked why trade relations with the US more than trade relations with South Africa, he pointed out that:

You see, South Africa also imports from China. So why would I go to South Africa if let's say I want to buy television, or refrigerator, or electrical appliances for kitchen? I will go to the source because I will get it at the same price over there. But with America, based on certain commodities our clients want, we go there for those things. And sometimes they will tell you they want a particular thing from a particular country maybe because they have efficiency in them due to years of production. For that, we cannot do anything [Impex_5, Friday, June 9, 2023, 11:27 GMT].

Interviewee 7 also added that:

Take it this way, there are a lot of different goods in China and less expensive. There are relatively enough diverse commodities in America, but expensive, and there are not so much different kinds of commodities in South Africa, and they are relatively not expensive. Because we have established taste for American goods, because a lot of Ghanaians are in America and they like the place, those here contact them to start businesses with them. And so, you have more people also trading with America than South Africa [Gut_1, Thursday, June 22, 2023, 11:01 GMT].

The interviews outlined the role of efficiency and longevity in the production of a particular commodity which is yet less expensive. Also, the taste of preference by Ghanaians explains which trade commodity is imported and from where. In this regard, the researcher inquired further to identify the type of commodities that are mostly imported from these countries and how effectiveness, longevity of production, and taste of preference by Ghanaians inform their decision. In explaining, interviewee 7 noted:

...they will tell you they want a car, and they will tell you to buy from Europe or the US. For Ghana, we like those cars. People believe those cars are very strong and durable, and we know them for that. When you take China, we know they like these electricals and machines. When they started to industrialize, they focused more also in that area so they are able to produce different kinds of those electrical and machine products. So, depending on the goods I want, I know where to go [Gut_1, Thursday, June 22, 2023, 11:01 GMT].

On South Africa, interviewee 7 again explained that:

...they have very nice fruit juices. Usually when we mention South Africa on the market, we know they have quality fruit juices at affordable prices. Ghanaians like these fruit drinks. They also have the area they are good at [Gut_1, Thursday, June 22, 2023, 11:01 GMT].

The information from the interviewees on issues of affordability points out simply that goods from China are affordable than those from the US. This informs why Ghanaian traders trade more with China than the US. But it also shows that efficiency and

longevity in production, and the taste of Ghanaians determine what commodity is imported from China, South Africa, or the United States. Flowing from this discussion emerged issues of quality and status of commodities that are usually imported from these countries.

4.1.2.2 Issues of Quality and Commodity Status

Discussions on why most traders prefer trading with China introduced issues of quality and the status of commodities that are imported from the selected countries. As the informants mentioned affordability, the researcher inquired how the level of affordability or otherwise is influenced by the quality of goods produced in these countries. Information from the interviewees indicated that within all three countries, there are quality of goods available, but in China, there are goods categorisation to meet the needs of the various economic classes. Thus, a particular commodity may have different varieties which are grouped based on its level of quality and price. This is to allow for persons from diverse social and economic statuses to get access to whatever commodity they may need. Interviewee 3 on this matter explained that:

With these electrical appliances we import, there are certain standards they must meet before they come to the market, we don't buy goods that are of below standards. If they are not quality, they will not come to the market in the first place. I agree that the level of quality differ, but it is like that even when you go to Europe and America. Just that in China, they make a lot of these things, and they come in different levels, so you buy what your money will reach. They are not inferior [Impex_3, Thursday, June 22, 2023, 11:01 GMT].

The explanation from interviewee 3 showed that the prices of commodities in China coupled with the quality they get from the place influence why they trade more with the Asian giant. He discarded the assertion that these goods imported are inferior. He however acknowledged that there are many levels of quality of a particular product which allows every economic class to get access to the commodity they need. This was

reiterated by interviewee 7 when asked whether Chinese products were inferior or not; he explained that:

Beginning when it started, industrialisation, that was [when] people [complained off] quality. But now you cannot fault China with quality and all that. But that's also why we say that when you go to China there's prevalent of goods and then you have options of goods also to buy from. From those so-called cheap items and those so-called expensive items or more quality items. Every country produces commodities with different levels of quality, it just happens that China produces more of those. So, it's a diversified market where people can buy whatever they need from whether cheap, whether high quality, whether low quality or otherwise, it depends on the money you have. So, I disagree when people say China goods, China goods, basically saying they are not quality and all that. If you have money, you will get the best [Gut_1, Thursday, June 22, 2023, 11:01 GMT].

Interviewee 5 also added that:

If you have come across a device with the inscription, 'made in China, assembled in US', this would have cut the story short... These things that we buy at expensive prices from the US, most of them are made in China, and the prices there are not high as we see in US. In China, they think about all the various economic classes to provide goods for them. That is why you have some of the commodities at cheaper prices but it is not because they are not quality [Impex_5, Friday, June 9, 2023, 11:27 GMT].

These statements from the interviewees strengthen the argument that China produces goods of different levels of quality. They also go to confirm the affordability discussion that similar goods in China and the US may have different prices: cheaper in China, but expensive in the US. From here, the researcher asked about the status of commodities imported from these countries. This was to understand how the status of commodities imported may differ from these countries. From the interviews, it came out that goods from China are mostly brand new, whilst goods from the US are mostly used. From South Africa, it was noted that, machines imported which usually are heavy machines are used. Explaining this to the researcher, interviewee 1 said that:

I don't see people importing used goods from China... Yes, it's easy to import used goods from USA because it's less expensive... There are used goods in China, exactly, but the prices of new ones are affordable [Impex_1, Tuesday, May 16, 2023, 10:16 GMT].

Interviewee 6 explained it in similar terms indicating that:

Nobody imports used items from China. Well, for me I don't see people importing used items from China. Especially the electrical machines and commodities. It wouldn't make any sense. There is no used electrical appliance imported from China. They are all from the big countries [Impex_6, Tuesday, June 12, 2023, 14:20 GMT].

Interviewee 7 also added to the matter and explained that:

Normally when it comes to used materials, it does not come from China, okay? It comes from Europe and America, like we are saying. And those things are prevalent to electronics items, cars and including, yeah, clothing, but not for China, I hardly see imported electrical machines from China, probably because of their culture, the way they dress and even their stature. Ghanaians have preference for American cars and clothing. But the brand-new ones are too expensive there so they normally buy the used ones and import them [Gut_1, Thursday, June 22, 2023, 11:01 GMT].

These narratives provide an understanding that most Ghanaian traders prefer trading with China due to the quality of goods they produce. Also, it has been pointed out that used materials are mostly from Europe and the US, and not from China since similar products in China may cost less than those from Europe and America. It has also been explained that cars and clothing are among the used items that are mostly imported into the country. These interviews strengthen the data presented in tables 4, 5, and 6, where it was found that between the period under study, the main commodity categorisation imported from China has been machines, from the US has been mainly transportation products, and South Africa mainly machines. More on what accounts for why there is more preference to trading with China, than the rest of the countries, the issue of transportation and shipment fees came up. This is presented below.

4.1.2.3 Transportation and Shipment

Another issue that emerged from the interview as to what informs the preference of traders on which country to import from is transportation and shipment. The informants indicated that shipping fee from a country plays a crucial role in determining whether or not to import from these countries. It appeared that shipping fees from China to Ghana are less costly than from the US to Ghana. It was also mentioned that, even though South Africa is closer to Ghana than the other two countries, shipping fees from South Africa to Ghana is sometimes more expensive than shipping from China. Interviewee 5 on this note stated that:

...shipping from China to Ghana is less costly. It is one of the reasons I go to China. When you look at the US dollar and the Chinese Yuan, the dollar is expensive than the Yuan, so when you go there [China] and you are to pay everything in their [Chinese] currency, you will see that it is not as much as when you are shipping from the US where you will pay in dollars [Impex_5, Friday, June 9, 2023, 11:27 GMT].

Another importer and exporter, interviewee 3, indicated that:

For me, what I have observed is that when you are shipping from China or South Africa, it is mostly not expensive. But from the US to Ghana is more expensive. I don't know if it is because of the distance or what [Impex_3, Tuesday, May 30, 2023, 13:52 GMT].

An official from GUTA, interviewee 7 also affirmed this by explaining that:

...and also, shipment also from these corridors. Even though South Africa is in Africa, sometimes shipment of goods from there becomes more difficult than that from Asia, and even America sometimes. In most cases though, transporting goods from America to Ghana is expensive than the two countries [Gut_1, Thursday, June 22, 2023, 11:01 GMT].

When asked about why transporting goods from South Africa can be more expensive than from China and America sometimes, interviewee 7 stressed that:

I think the currency issue is a factor. You know, when you go to China, they like to do their business in Chinese

Yuan. So, when you are shipping from there, you are charged the equivalent of the Chinese Yuan. But importing from South Africa, you mostly may be asked to pay in dollars. Because the dollar is also expensive than the Yuan, the shipment becomes expensive... [Gut_1, Thursday, June 22, 2023, 11:01 GMT].

The observation from these statements indicates that most importers and exporters prefer trading with China due to the less cost incurred in transporting their goods from the country to Ghana. It also points to the issue of currency as influencing the shipment fee from these countries. Thus, due to the strength of the dollar, even importing from a closer neighbour like South Africa who will mostly charge in dollars, becomes more expensive than China who will charge in Yuan.

4.1.2.4 Market Access (to Country and Manufacturers)

Access to market also came up as a key factor influencing which countries Ghanaians import from and export to. The market access is in two folds: access to the country, and access to manufacturers. In the discussion with the official of GUTA, he indicated that traders can only go where they are allowed, and in the case where access to the US is difficult, most traders would prefer China and South Africa where it is quite easy to go and trade. He said:

...access to these destinations is very important. That's also one area that informs this business. ...most of the locals, because of access to these countries, we are more or less curtailed from going to America, but we have easy access to China. We are more prone to go to the Asian countries than go to America. ...it's easier to travel to China and even South Africa. The same cannot be said of America [Gut_1, Thursday, June 22, 2023, 11:01 GMT].

One importer and exporter also expressed that:

If you come to me for advice, I will tell you go to where you'll be given the visa to travel to so that you can have physical interactions with your suppliers. If you do not have physical interactions with your suppliers because there's an impediment on your way, how can you go and

do the business? You might not get what you want
[Impex_2, Friday, May 19, 2023, 11:18 GMT].

Interviewee 3 looked at this from access to manufacturers in these countries. He explained that:

In China too, there is easy access to manufacturers and suppliers. Maybe because of their population and their manufacturing capacity. When you go there, you do not stress to get access to them. In South Africa also, I think it is because they don't have a lot of manufacturing companies like China, so it is not really easy like China. In America, it is even more difficult. Maybe unless you have been doing it for a long time, otherwise, you would find it difficult to see the manufacturers and discuss your product with them [Impex_3, Tuesday, May 30, 2023, 13:52 GMT].

These are indications that access to a particular country influences its trade relations. Due to the difficulty Ghanaians face with regards to getting visa to the US, it has affected Ghana's trade relationship with them. But the relatively easy access to China and South Africa provides a ground to want to trade with these countries looking at other factors that may be involved.

4.1.2.5 Availability of Diverse Commodities

It was also noted from the importers and exporters interviewed, that the diverse commodities that are prevalent on the Chinese market are a key factor that influences Ghanaians to trade with them. The interviewees mentioned that the kinds of goods found in China, it is rare to see most of these commodities in the markets of US and South Africa. They explained more that the Chinese market offers commodities or goods that are not common to a lot of markets. Interviewee 1, on this matter, expressed that:

...you will see different kinds of things there. The same thing you want to buy, you will see a similar thing but designed in another way. Sometimes it is interesting
[Impex_1, Tuesday, May 16, 2023, 10:16 GMT].

For interviewee 5, the multiplicity of goods sometimes gets him confused. He indicated that:

When you go there, you get access to a lot of things... they are many over there. Sometimes I get confused and buy things I didn't actually planned to buy... But interestingly, when you get here, people like them also [Impex_5, Friday, June 9, 2023, 11:27 GMT].

Interviewee 6 adds that:

...one item, [you will see that] there are many shapes, and sizes. In the US, they are there, but [master], you can't compare it to China [Impex_6, Tuesday, June 12, 2023, 14:20 GMT].

These ideas show that the diversified market in China plays a key role in attracting Ghanaian traders. Stressed further is what interviewee 7 said, that:

When it comes to trading in Ghana, now, the preferred corridor for trading, is Asia predominantly China, because of the prevalence of goods... there are different kind of goods there... (China) more than these two countries because of a single factor [which is also] fundamental. Thus, prevailing of the different kinds of goods there. [This is] because you have to go to a corridor where it can be deemed as a one stop shop, that you can buy all your phones and the goods that mainly Ghanaians prefer; we get more [of these goods] from China other than these other destinations of business: that is America and South Africa [Gut_1, Thursday, June 22, 2023, 11:01 GMT].

These views presented from the interviews all point to the fact that Ghana trades more with the Asian giant because of the diversity of goods that they have on their market. From the interviews, that cannot be said for trade relations with the US and South Africa. For these traders, the diversity offers options to choose what best suits the trader, and what will satisfy their customers.

4.1.2.6 Trade Flexibility

The last theme that was raised in the interview was the issue of trade flexibility. The interviewees discussed that trade flexibility in the US and South Africa is nowhere close

to that of the Chinese. They seemed wowed by how the Chinese manufacturers and traders make trading quite simple and easy. The responses showed that Chinese traders and manufacturers do what the customer wants so they can get their money. It was also mentioned that there is surprise trade credits provided by some of the Chinese manufacturers which help reduce the burden of these Ghanaian importers. Interviewee 7 noted on this that:

Yeah, there's some kind of flexibility [when] trading in China. They give surprise trade credit, most of them. They give surprise trade credit due to the number of years we've traded with them, and so they give us this surprise trade credits. Sometimes you buy a lot of goods and you know that you have to pay the shipping fee and your money is not so much. But they will allow you to credit the products sometimes to pay it back in a month or two. But it is given to those who have established a long relationship with them [Gut_1, Thursday, June 22, 2023, 11:01 GMT].

Interviewee 4 gave an interesting account of how flexible Chinese manufacturers are. He explained that:

...they know how to do business. They don't care, you can go to them and tell them to manufacture an item and put your name on it. They don't care. They can manufacture something for you and put another country's flag on it, whether Ghana, the US, or any other country. What they need is their money and the connection that they build with you. They stay true to their customer and do what the customer wants. You cannot get such opportunities in the US and South Africa [Impex_4, Wednesday, June 7, 2023, 11:29 GMT].

These assertions by the informants indicate that trading with China provides more flexibility to Ghanaian importers. This, as has been pointed out, contributes to (among other stated factors) why Ghana trades more with China than the other countries being studied.

As has been observed from tables 4, 5, and 6, the differences in Ghana's trade relations with these countries are significant in terms of the cost involved. The differences also

largely lie in Ghana's importation from these countries. Thus, whilst Ghana imports more machine products from China and South Africa, that of the USA is mainly transportation products. To understand why this difference, affordability, issues of quality and commodity status, transportation and shipment, market access, availability of diverse commodities, and trade flexibility were referred to by the informants for the study who were mainly traders: importers and exporters. But there is the need also to look at the third element in this study: economic aid.

4.1.3 Economic Aid

On economic aid as an element of Ghana's economic relations with these selected countries within the period under review, the study observed the main economic aid provided within the period by these countries. With the US, the researcher observed that the main economic aid to Ghana between 2012 and 2022 has been the Millenium Challenge Compact (Ghana Compact II) also known as the Ghana Power Compact. From China, the main economic aid provided to Ghana within the period being studied has also been the Master Project Support Agreement. From South Africa, the researcher did not find any economic aid to Ghana within the period under study. This section focuses on these two projects as economic assistance from both the US and China. Information on the Ghana Compact II will be provided before the Master Project Support Agreement is also discussed. From the analysis, it would be seen that the differences in economic assistance with regards to assistance from the US and China are mainly, the target of the aid, the type of aid, and how the implementation of projects sponsored by these economic assistances are done.

4.1.3.1 Millenium Challenge Compact (Ghana Compact II)

The Millenium Challenge Compact with Ghana, the Ghana Compact II, also known as the Ghana Power Compact was an economic support that was signed in 2014 but

officially started in 2016 and ended in 2022. The project sponsored by the Millennium Challenge Corporation (MCC) aimed at reducing poverty and ensuring economic growth through sustainable energy. The source of information for this section is found in the original agreement document titled, “Millennium Challenge Compact between the United States of America acting through the Millennium Challenge Corporation and the Republic of Ghana” found on the website of the Millennium Challenge Corporation. In the Article 2 Section 1 of the original agreement, it stated the amount to be provided by the MCC. It indicated that:

Upon entry into force of this Compact... MCC will grant to the Government, under the terms of this Compact, an amount not to exceed Four Hundred and Sixty-Nine Million Three Hundred Thousand United States Dollars (US\$469,300,000).

This was a grant offered the country. This means it was not expected of the country to repay the money. Nonetheless, under Article 2 section 6, the government was to support with about 7.5% of the total amount given. No repayment was to be made unless as stated under Article 5 Section 3 of the original agreement which explains that:

If any MCC Funding... is used for any purpose in violation of the terms of this Compact, then MCC may require the Government to repay to MCC in United States Dollars the value of the misused MCC Funding...

In the preamble of the agreement, the document indicates that Ghana determined the area of focus for the assistance to help promote good governance, economic growth, and reduce poverty through energy sufficiency. It was highlighted that:

...MCC assistance under this Compact supports Ghana's demonstrated commitment to strengthening good governance, economic freedom and investments in people... the Government consulted with the private sector and civil society of Ghana to determine the priorities for the use of MCC assistance and developed and submitted to MCC a proposal for such assistance to achieve lasting economic growth and poverty reduction...

Even though this was the main focus to help promote energy sufficiency, it can be observed from the document that attention was also focused on environmental protection and sustainability. It did not rely only on the laws of the country, but outlined other ways of ensuring the environment is protected in the execution of the Project. It also pointed out that, in cases where there exist discrepancies, the strictest law shall be relied upon. Section 3 of Annex I of the document indicated that:

All of the Projects will be implemented consistent with the MCC Environmental Guidelines, the International Finance Corporation Performance Standards on Environmental and Social Sustainability, the MCC Gender Policy, and Ghana's laws, regulations, licenses, and permits. Where there is a difference between these standards, the stricter applies.

The section went on to describe all that the government needed to do to ensure the project did not cause any significant environmental challenges which included:

...(a) develop, adopt, and implement an Environmental and Social Management System ('ESMS') ... (b) undertake... necessary studies... including but not limited to Environmental and Social Impact Assessments ('ESIA'), Environmental and Social Management Plans ('ESMP'), environmental and social audits...

It is therefore indicative that a lot of attention was given to protecting the environment in the implementation of the Agreement. Moreover, under the Section 7(c) of Article 2 of the agreement which talks about the limitation of the fund, it again mentions the need to ensure environmental protection in the implementation of the project. An MCC Environmental guideline was also to be developed to ensure compliance of environmental protection. It stressed that:

The Government will ensure that MCC funding is not used for... any activity that is likely to cause a significant environmental, health, or safety hazard, as further described in MCC's Environmental Guidelines and any guidance documents issued in connection with such guidelines...

This shows that environmental issues are important to the US in its engagements. To understand why this is so, an academic expert and lecturer explained that:

The US wants to dominate the global sphere, okay. They have their cultures and ideologies that they profess, and their idea is to spread those things. The rights of persons are also part of these ideologies. The environment comes under the rights component of what is known as the third-generation human rights. Most of these are championed by the US. They claim that a healthy environment is a right that all persons should enjoy. So, they are very particular about it. So, when you see most of these documents from the West, they are championed by them [the US] and so when they engage you, they make sure you adhere to what they believe is human rights [Aca_1, Tuesday, October 2, 2023, 17:57 GMT].

These statements give a clear indication that the project was very much cautious of the environmental rules and challenges, and also why this is so. Hence, measures were to be put in place to reduce the environmental challenges that the project may cause. The agreement also stipulated the role of the government of Ghana that for the project to be implemented, it was to be implemented by the Millennium Development Authority (MiDA). It indicated that MiDA and MCC will be responsible for monitoring and evaluation, all geared towards ensuring transparency and accountability. Article 3 Section 2(b) of the agreement states that:

The Government hereby designates the Millennium Development Authority, as the accountable entity to implement the Program and to exercise and perform the Government's right and obligation to oversee, manage and implement the Program, including without limitation, managing the implementation of Projects and their Activities, allocating resources and managing procurements.

This is again, was explained in the Objective section under Annex III of the agreement which talks about providing a description of the monitoring and evaluation plan. It stated that:

...the Government will implement or cause to be implemented, an M&E [monitoring and evaluation] plan

that explains in detail how and what MCC and MiDA will (a) monitor to determine whether the Projects are on track to achieve their intended results... and (b) evaluate implementation strategies, provide lessons learned, determine cost effectiveness and estimate the impact of Compact interventions...

In a Monitoring and Evaluation Strategy document that was developed to produce an M&E Plan, it indicated how various stakeholders were to be a part of the project and to monitor and evaluate the progress and impact of the project which will ultimately lead to accountability and transparency. Under the introduction of the Strategy document, it highlighted that:

The role of various stakeholders including government, parliament, NGOs, CSOs, and MCC in monitoring progress of implementation of Compact II programs and projects would be clarified in the Monitoring and Evaluation Plan [MiDA, n.d.].

This shows that several actors played crucial roles in promoting transparency and accountability in the implementation of the project. But that is not all, the agreement outlined the limitations of the use of the MCC funds which can be understood also as conditions attached to the use of the funds. It listed that among other factors, the funds will not be used:

(a) for assistance to, or training of, the military, police, militia, national guard or other quasi-military organisation or unit; (b) for any activity that is likely to cause a substantial loss of United States jobs or a substantial displacement of United States production; (c) to undertake, fund or otherwise support any activity that is likely to cause a significant environmental, health, or safety hazard, as further described in MCC's Environmental Guidelines and any guidance documents issued in connection with such guidelines... (d) to pay for the performance of abortions... or coerce any person to practice abortions... or to pay for any biomedical research which relates, in whole or in part, to methods of, or the performance of, abortions or involuntary sterilization as a means of family planning.

The limitations indicate that the use of the money should not in any way go against the interest of the donor country (US), or its principles and ideologies. The government of Ghana was therefore to adhere strictly by this to ensure a smooth implementation of the project through the grant provided.

It will be observed that, the Ghana Compact II was a grant offered by MCC to ensure energy sustainability so as to promote economic growth, good governance, and to reduce poverty. The project even though was to be implemented by the Government of Ghana, MiDA was chosen to perform the responsibilities of the government so as to promote accountability and transparency. Other stakeholders such as Civil Society Organisations (CSOs), Non-governmental Organisations (NGOs), etc. were all involved to ensure the same. It can also be deduced that environmental concerns were paramount in the agreement. Steps were taken to ensure that the project met a certain standard of environmental protection. Lastly, even though this was a grant, specific conditions were attached as to what exactly the money could be used for, and anything outside that could lead to a refund of the money.

At this point, the Master Project Support Agreement will also be analysed to provide an understanding of what the Project entailed. After that, a simple table will be provided showing the differences between the two main economic supports from the US and China within the period under review.

4.1.3.2 The Master Project Support Agreement (MPSA)

The MPSA was an agreement between Ghana's government and the Chinese firm, Sinohydro Corporation Limited. The project was agreed by the Parliament in 2018. The source of information for this section is the report on the agreement by the Financial Committee of Parliament titled, "Report of the Finance Committee on the Master

Project Support Agreement (MPSA) Between the Government of the Republic of Ghana and Sinohydro Corporation Limited for an Amount Up To Two Billion United States Dollars (US\$ 2.00 Billion) for to Construction of Priority Infrastructure Project.”

On the front page of the report by the Finance Committee of the Parliament of Ghana, the target of the agreement was stated as focusing on “priority infrastructure projects” of the country. It also indicated the amount involved in the agreement. In the introduction section of the Committee’s report, it indicated that:

The Master Project Support Agreement (MPSA) between the Government of the Republic of Ghana and Sinohydro Corporation Limited for an amount up to Two Billion United States Dollars (US\$2.00 billion) for the Construction of Priority Infrastructure Projects...

This was a loan facility provided to support various sectors of the Ghanaian economy. Ghana is to contribute about 15% of the total amount. However, the Chinese company offered to provide a source of that percentage for the Government to repay along similar terms as the main facility. The Finance Committee’s report in Section 6.1 explained that:

...under the MPSA, Sinohydro agrees to arrange for one or more loan facilities for payment of eighty-five percent (85%) of the construction of the project cost of the Priority Project of the Government of Ghana.

It went on to explain further in Section 6.2 the role of the Government of Ghana in the funding:

...the Government of Ghana is, in principle, required to provide the remaining fifteen percent (15%) of the construction cost... Sinohydro will arrange the 15% on behalf of Government along similar terms as the Deferred Payment Facilities.

Since this was a loan facility, the Government needed to repay the money. Section 6.4 of the Finance Committee’s report highlighted that the country would have to repay the loan facility through the sales of refined bauxite within a period of 12 years after the

expiration of the grace period of 3 years when the Chinese company has secured a commitment for financing the listed projects. It noted that:

...the repayment obligations of the Government of Ghana (GoG) to Sinohydro for Sinohydro Arranged Project Financing shall be deferred and honoured over a total term of fifteen (15) years (inclusive of a 3 -year grace period), but the commencement of payment term shall be deferred to the date on which Sinohydro confirms to GoG that it has secured the commitment for the relevant project financing.

The same section (6.4) of the report went on further to state that:

GoG is to make the repayments out of receipts from transfers of refined bauxite (alumina or aluminium) to Sinohydro's strategic partner (Offtaker). Where such receipts are insufficient to service the Project Financing, GoG will be required to use other sources for the repayment to Sinohydro.

It is this mode of repayment that the report identifies as the reason for the then Deputy Minister of Finance to classify it as a “barter” rather than a loan. According to the Section 6.5.1 of the report,

The Honourable Deputy Minister of Finance, Hon. Charles Adu Boahen informed the Committee that the Agreement is only a barter arrangement and not a loan. He explained that refined bauxite (alumina or aluminium) would be used for the barter agreement and it will not add to the public debt.

This idea seems problematic since it is the monies that would have been derived from the sales of the refined bauxite that will be used in the repayment of the so-called “barter”. This shows that the facility is a loan that the country will have to repay with refined alumina or aluminium and failure to do so within the stated period will be seen as a breach of agreement. The facility is to support two main areas: rural electrification, and construction. Under the construction, hospitals, roads, schools, railways, etc. were all listed. The third point allowed the Government of Ghana to determine whatever

project the country may deem a priority. This was stated in Section 6.3 of the report which highlighted that:

...Priority Projects of the Government of Ghana to be funded under the MPSA comprise: (a) Rural Electrification, (b) Construction of... (i) Hospitals and Clinics, (ii) Bridges, (iii) Interchanges, (iv) Roads, (v) Affordable Housing, (vi) Fishing Land Site, and (c) such other projects as may be identified by the Government of Ghana.

This gives freedom to the Government to determine what else the monies could be used for in the country's own interest. The Project however was to be implemented solely by Sinohydro and all financial agreements were to be the responsibility of the Corporation. This was pointed out in Section 6.3 of the report:

Under the MPSA, Sinohydro is responsible for arranging the Project Financing for all the Priority Projects... Sinohydro shall be solely responsible to enter into the financing agreement(s) with any financial institution that agrees to provide the Project Financing.

This shows that the government of Ghana does not get access to the funds directly. Sinohydro Corporation Limited is the one that gets the funding and uses it for the project that the Government of Ghana may see fit to be a priority. The Government however is to check to see whether the activity matches the description as agreed upon, and the quality of the same. The parties were to enter into an Engineering, Procurement, and Construction (EPC) contract which would allow the Government to transfer the complete risk of design, procurement, and construction to Sinohydro. This would mean that all concerns of the projects shall be led by the Company. This is its way of ensuring accountability and transparency, that the monies are used for what it is intended. It does not include any third party in assessing the projects.

In the words of an expert interviewed, "the issue of accountability is not directly imbedded into their agreements once they know they can retrieve their monies" [Aca_1,

Tuesday, October 2, 2023, 17:57 GMT]. Even though there were no particular guiding principles of the project, the project was to be conducted under the laws of Ghana. This was highlighted under Section 6.7. It stated that "...the MPSA shall be governed by and construed in accordance with the laws of Ghana". No mention of the environment was made in the document. This shows that the focus of the Project is to deliver what the Government has asked for, and nothing more. Determination of any other thing not stated is the sole responsibility of the Government.

From the report of the Finance Committee, the economic aid provided is a USD2 billion loan facility to be paid after 15 years. The Government of Ghana will pay 15% of the total money involved, but this will be sourced by Sinohydro for the country to pay back on similar terms as the original loan. Extracts of natural resources (refined bauxite) were to be used to repay this loan. The focus of the loan is mainly in the construction sector, and rural electrification, and any other projects that the Government may identify as a priority. This gives room for the Government to determine what it may see as a priority with a change in circumstances or events. To ensure that the project is used for what was intended for, Sinohydro is to take up all responsibilities in providing the projects that the Government will identify. Nonetheless, the project does not incorporate any other third parties to ensure transparency and accountability. All these are in the hands of both the Government of Ghana and the Sinohydro Corporation Limited. Lastly, there are no clearly stated strict measures to ensure environmental protection, except to rely on the general laws of Ghana.

From the information provided by the Ghana Compact II and the MPSA, it can be observed that the differences in the economic aid from China and the US differ in their mode or type, focus of development, the ability to determine what the priority of the country is in the cause of the implementation of the project, the mode of ensuring

efficiency, transparency, and accountability, and the approach to ensure environmental sustainability. These differences are summarised in table 7 below.

Table 7: Summary of Differences Between Ghana Compact II (US) and the MPSA (China)

Aspect	Ghana Compact II (US)	MPSA (China)
Type of Economic Aid	Grant (non-repayable)	Loan (payable in 15 years)
Source of Funding	U.S. Government	Sinohydro (Chinese Company)
Focus of the Aid	Energy sufficiency	Rural electrification, construction and priority projects
Government's Project Priority	Limited flexibility, specific focus	Open, self-determination of priority
Efficiency & Transparency	MiDA, CSOs, NGOs involvement	Sinohydro solely responsible
Environmental Protection	Stringent guidelines, additional regulations	Relies solely on Ghana's laws
Revisions & Flexibility	Limited revisions allowed	Flexibility in project choice

Source: Authors deduction

The table above provides a summary of the economic aid provided by China through the Sinohydro MPSA and that provided by the United States through the Ghana Compact II which exhibit distinct differences in various aspects. These differences encompass the nature of aid, funding sources, focus areas, flexibility in determining project priorities, approaches to ensuring efficiency and transparency, environmental protection measures, and the level of flexibility for revisions.

The Ghana Compact II, supported by the United States, offered non-repayable grants to enhance energy sufficiency with a specific focus on energy, economic growth, poverty reduction, and good governance. The project was guided by stringent guidelines, involving third parties like MiDA, CSOs, and NGOs to ensure

accountability, transparency, and environmental protection through comprehensive assessments.

On the other hand, the Sinohydro MPSA, backed by China, provided a loan payable over a 15-year period through proceeds of refined bauxites and emphasised rural electrification, and construction and implementation of "priority" projects. This agreement grants the Ghanaian government more flexibility in determining project priorities. While it offers self-determination in project selection, it relies solely on Sinohydro for funding, implementation, and accountability, without direct involvement of third parties in monitoring and evaluation. Additionally, the environmental protection measures are primarily governed by Ghana's laws without the inclusion of supplemental, potentially stricter regulations.

These distinctions in economic aid mechanisms underline the unique approaches taken by China and the United States in supporting Ghana's development. While the Ghana Compact II highlighted a specific project scope with well-defined accountability structures and environmental safeguards, the MPSA allows Ghana greater autonomy in prioritising projects, albeit with a more streamlined implementation and accountability framework. These differences in approach reflect the varied strategies of the two countries in fostering development through major economic aid within the specified period.

4.2 Contribution of South-South Cooperation to the Development of Ghana

The second objective was to examine the contribution of South-South Cooperation to Ghana's development. Focusing on Ghana's economic relations, the study sought to find out how trade relations, FDI, and economic aid from the South benefits the country using China and South Africa as cases. From the interviews and examination of

secondary documents on Ghana's FDI inflows from the selected Global South countries, and the Master Project Support Agreement (MPSA), themes that emerged include job creation; supporting various sectors of Ghana's economy; provision of vital electronic goods at quality and affordable prices; and supporting Ghana's development through priority infrastructure projects. These are examined below.

4.2.1 Job Creation

A careful observation from the available data from the interviews and the secondary sources speaks to the fact that Ghana's economic relations with China and South Africa helps to create jobs for the people. The 2021 GIPC report on FDI inflows into the country states that the total FDI inflows into Ghana's economy in 2019 alone created 10,180 jobs, in 2020, it created 22,382 jobs, and in 2021, it created 14,340 jobs. All these were jobs created for Ghanaians. The 2022 report also shows that total FDI inflows into Ghana created 13,487 jobs in 2022. The data received from GIPC on FDI inflows from China and South Africa into Ghana, put together, recorded 498 projects amounting to USD4,690.77 million. These targeted the manufacturing, service, building and construction, etc. All these areas deal with people. It is therefore clear that these projects invested in by China and South Africa have contributed to the provision of job opportunities to Ghanaians in various sectors of the economy such as service, manufacturing, building and construction, general trading, etc.

From interviewing some traders also, some of them pointed out that trading with these countries has been a source of livelihood for them. They highlight that it is a value chain of employment they create through their trading. This begins with bringing the goods into the country, then the vehicle that transports the items to the various destinations of warehouses, the off-loaders who off-load the items, the retailers who will come for

some of these items and distribute them to their customers, etc. These people actually rely on the imported items to make a living. For instance, interviewee 1 explained that:

...and yes, this is my work. There are those who are working at the port too. It is because of us that they are there. Those who rent out the long vehicles too get money from it. At my warehouse, there are those who will come and off-load the goods and I pay them. I have a secretary also who I pay. Before the retailers will also come for the goods and sell to their customers. Sometimes if I have to deliver a product too, I call on a delivery guy to deliver them. So, it is very important and if you do not get enough as profit, you cannot pay the people you are working with [Impex_1, Tuesday, May 16, 2023, 10:16 GMT].

For interviewee 2, he briefly said that:

I used to go to these countries to buy the things myself. Recently, I have employed someone who does that and I pay him so that I can do other things [Impex_2, Friday, May 19, 2023, 11:18 GMT].

These statements emphasise the importance these trade relations are for some people in the country. It also highlights the need for affordability since the added costs in the renting of vehicles, off-loaders and other periphery workers may be added to the value of the item to increase its price. This was mentioned by interviewee 5. According to him:

...you have to pay the duties and the taxes on the goods, and then you pay your workers, okay. So, if the things are not affordable, people cannot buy and you will run at a loss [Impex_5, Friday, June 9, 2023, 11:27 GMT].

Having this in mind, most of the traders go to China since the goods are affordable and can make them settle their additional costs yet allowing them to enjoy some profits by selling the items at competitive prices. Asked whether these imported items do cause loss of jobs, interviewee 6 noted that:

I can agree to some extent. Because some of the things are produced here. But when you look at it well, most of the things are electronic items and these are not produced here. So, yes, things like furniture and textiles from China especially is difficult to compete with in terms of the

price. But I think the job that this trade will create will be far more than the one that is lost. It is up to us to improve on what we can the most [Impex_6, Monday, June 12, 2023, 14:20 GMT].

The argument therefore is that, since machines are imported, which machines are not produced in the country, the gains in terms of employment are more than the losses.

It can also be observed that economic aid from the South contributes to job creation. As was pointed out under the MPSA section, the implementation of the project was to be done by Sinohydro Corporation Limited solely. This means that the company will be leading the development and construction of the identified infrastructure projects. Nonetheless, the project was seen as one that will create jobs for the Ghanaian people. In the Finance Committee's report on the MPSA, paragraph three of Section 6.5 stated briefly that: "This [the MPSA] is expected to create jobs and enhance the value of the resource [bauxite] to Ghana." Despite a lack of real numbers in terms of the number of jobs it is expected to create, the indication is that the workers will be locally sourced to help in the construction of these infrastructures.

4.2.2 Supporting Various Sectors of Ghana's Economy

Data from GIPC on Ghana's FDI inflows show that Ghana's relations with China and South Africa support various important sectors of the country's economy. The 498 projects embarked on by these two countries between the period under study have targeted various aspects of the economy. They include agriculture, trading, manufacturing, building and construction, service sector, tourism, etc. These are broad areas which can further be broken down into various specific areas including health, telecommunication, electrification, infrastructure, banking, hotels, malls, and many others. These are key areas in every country's development planning. By supporting

these sectors, Ghana's trade relation with the global South is curating to developing the country.

On the MPSA, the Finance Committee's report established that the projects identified are priority infrastructure projects. The document elaborated that the Government sees infrastructural projects like roads as important when it comes to fostering socio-economic growth. The first paragraph of the Background (Section 3.0) of the report stated that:

The Government of Ghana recognises the importance of good road infrastructure as a critical facilitator for socio-economic development of the country through the improvement of accesses, reduction in travel time, congestion, vehicle operating cost, accident and cost of doing business.

The statement above describes how important the Government of Ghana sees these infrastructural projects to be sponsored through the MPSA. The document moreover added, in Section 4.0 which talks about the Programme Objectives, that:

[It is] to improve road infrastructure for enhanced intra-urban, regional and national road traffic flow, pursue rural electrification, affordable housing, fish landing sites, strengthen economic and regional integration and reduce the cost of doing business in the country.

Under Section 7.0 which provided a concluding remark on the project, the first paragraph also stated that "...the MPSA would help to accelerate the pace of infrastructural development in the country". The basic understanding here is that the projects to be implemented will contribute to ensuring infrastructural development and will be in the interest of the country. It will ensure that the welfare of Ghanaians is catered for through the establishment of the various infrastructural projects that are critical to the state. This contributes to the point raised earlier in this section that Ghana's economic relations with these countries in the South support various sectors of Ghana's economy.

4.2.3 Flexibility and Non-Interference

One key contributing factor to Ghana's development in its economic relations with the South is the freedom that usually comes with economic aid from the South, particularly China. Under the economic aid session in this chapter, the dissection of the MPSA revealed that the agreement has a high level of flexibility and allowed for self-determination. Under Section 6.3 that listed the priority areas, specifics were not made as to what particular road, bridge, interchange, hospital, etc. that were to be built and where exactly they were to be established. It left that determination to the Government to choose which will be its priority. It was also not listed in a particular order allowing for flexibility in which project should be started and at what time.

Also, Section 6.3(c) which stated, "and such other projects as may be identified by the Government of Ghana", allows for self-determination on what is the priority of the Government. Thus, the Government will be responsible for identifying what project may be a priority at what time, which project will be implemented by the Sinohydro Corporation Limited.

Section 6.7 of the Finance Committee's report also points out that the loan facility is devoid of imposition and external standards that were to be met. It indicated that "...the MPSA shall be conducted and construed in accordance with the laws of Ghana." Furthermore, the Engineering, Procurement, and Construction (EPC) contract under Section 6.6 of the report only allows the Government to transfer the complete risk of design, procurement, and construction to Sinohydro. However, the Government would see and assess whether the project has met the standards agreed on. This provides some kind of power to the Government to question projects that does not meet the standards agreed on which safeguards the country's sovereignty.

4.2.4 Provision of Vital Electronic Goods at Quality and Affordable Prices

Data from the Observatory of Economic Complexity indicates that the main commodity categorisation imported from China and South Africa are machines. These are mainly electronics including computers, refrigerators, air conditioners, electronic batteries products, and other household and kitchen electronic appliances. These are items that have become important in our daily lives. However, these commodities are not produced in the country. According to Interviewee 6:

...they are new and are of good quality too. Most of the electronic items we bring, they are not produced here but we use them every day. So, we need them, okay. And we get them at cheaper prices when you compare...
[Impex_6, Monday, June 12, 2023, 14:20 GMT].

Other statements that have already been pointed out under issues of affordability and quality as reasons for trading more with China under trade relation in this chapter adds to this point. Since the goods have become necessary in daily living and are considered to be quality and affordable, more profits are made to improve the living standards of these traders.

4.3 Challenges Associated with Ghana's Relationship with the Global South

This objective was to help identify some challenges that may exist in Ghana's economic relations with the global South using China and South Africa as cases. From the interviews and report of the MPSA, issues that came up included forex exchange challenges, unequal exchange and resource exploitation, environmental concerns, issues of debt unsustainability, expensive intra-regional trade, and inadequate intra-regional economic aid and investment. One interesting thing to note is the dimension of intra-regional and inter-regional South-South Cooperation that these two countries (China and South Africa) bring to the study.

4.3.1 Forex Exchange Challenges

Three interviewees identified forex exchange as their main concern when it comes to Ghana's trade relations with the South, particularly China. They indicated that the Chinese Yuan is limited (if there are any) on Ghana's market. This makes it difficult for them to access the currency in the country before living to China. They explained more, that in most cases they have to change the currency from Ghana Cedis to dollars, and then later in China, change it from dollars to Chinese Yuan. This appears to be a protracted process for these traders as they called for something to be done about it. For instance, interviewee 1 highlighted that:

Honestly, the government makes the economy suffer when you have to exchange your A to B and B to C in order to import an item [where A is Ghana cedis, B is USD, and C is Chinese Yuan]. I prefer transacting in Chinese Yuan to US dollars. Ghanaians import more from China than other countries, therefore the government should make available Chinese Yuan in the central banks more [Impex_1, Tuesday, May 16, 2023, 10:16 GMT].

Interviewee 2 also explained that:

When you change Ghana cedis to Chinese Yuan, you get more than changing it to US dollars. It is very annoying when you have to change cedis to dollars before you go and change it again... For South Africa, most of the activities are in dollars so when you go there, you mostly will have to do business in dollars, but in China, business is usually done in their currency so it is difficult [Impex_2, Friday, May 19, 2023, 11:18 GMT].

Similarly, interviewee 4 shared in such view. He indicated that:

It is a big challenge. We want to trade amongst ourselves. We are saying AfCFTA, but we are trading in dollars. When you go to China where most of us go, they trade in their currency. But you can't go to the forex bureaux and tell them you need this amount of Chinese currency. You will not get. Unless you take the dollar before you go and change it later when you go there. It is a long process [Impex_4, Wednesday, June 7, 2023, 11:29 GMT].

These statements explain the frustration of traders who trade with China especially. It therefore points to the fact that Ghana's SSC faces forex exchange issues that need addressing. The unavailability of Chinese Yuan at enough quantity for traders to directly access the currency here before going to China is a major concern that needs to be critically looked at.

4.3.2 Environmental and Livelihood Concerns

Details from the Finance Committee's report on the MPSA indicate that there was no specific reference as to how a sustainable environment will be ensured in carrying out the infrastructure projects or the mining of the bauxite for the repayment of the loan facility. Even though mention was made that the project will be governed by the laws of Ghana, this is an open statement that does not directly deal with environmental issues that the implementation of the agreement may bring to the country. An online report by Gbadamosi (2020) - a columnist for the Foreign Policy website highlighted that, as part of the deal, mining of bauxite in the Atewa forest was to be used to settle the debt. He noted concerns by some environmentalists through an online interview that:

There are plants, frogs and butterflies [at least] in Atewa that are found in no other forest in the world, and over 100 species that are threatened or near-threatened with global extinction... [It] is so obvious and indisputable that it is hard to understand how [mining] is still being considered... [Gbadamosi, 2020].

The statement gives an indication that environmental challenges are not a major concern of the parties involved in the implementation of the project. The writer further interviewed some residents in the Tano-Offin area to understand how the project was going to affect them. He observed that most of the people are farmers and rely on their farm produce to feed their families. One farmer said "Cocoa is the only income I have to take care of my family. I have a wife and eight children..." Gbadamosi (2020). With

the destruction of the forest and the area for mining, this will destroy its means of livelihood. A teacher in the area who was also interviewed added that:

We teach them how they should conserve the forest so that it will be there for future generations... The forest is very important to us. We get food from plants, medicine from plants, the animals we eat are all in the forest, so if the forest is destroyed it means everything is gone. Our life is gone.”. [Gbadamosi, 2020].

These issues observed why there was actually the need for a specific law on how the project was to be conducted, environmental assessment known to the public and how affected people will be compensated were to be spelt out clearly and made public knowledge to diffuse some of these concerns. Elizabeth Stephens, managing director at Geopolitical Risk Advisory in an interview told CNBC:

There are concerns that this bauxite mine, in the mountainous forestland of Atewa, could pollute three major rivers that originate there [the Densu, Birim and Ayensu] which provide drinking water to three regions of Ghana, including one million people in Accra. The fact that detailed environmental impact studies are not publicly available is a concern [Smith, 2021].

Observing the absence of strict environmental laws in the MPSA, and the various environmental concerns raised, interviewee 8, the academic expert and lecturer was asked why the absence of something considered very important. He highlighted that:


It is not a priority for them. Unlike the West who have stated healthy environment as a human right in their civil and economic documents, documents from the East, like Russia and China do not have that. Rights are determined by the state and it is not a priority of the state at the moment [Aca_1, Tuesday, October 2, 2023, 17:57 GMT].

The understanding from all these statements is that the MPSA has the tendency to cause environmental damages without specific measure put in place. A lack of such measures can affect the environment including the water bodies in the area and also trickle-down to have a serious impact on the people in the region.

4.3.3 Unequal Exchange and Resource Exploitation

It was again observed from the data and interviews that unequal exchange is one of the challenges of Ghana's economic relations with the global South. Data collected from the Observatory of Economic Complexity indicated that the main commodity category imported mostly from China and South Africa are mainly machines, which are finished products, whilst Ghana exports mainly mineral products and precious metals to China and South Africa respectively. These exports are mainly crude, manganese, gold, and diamond, which are mainly in their raw state. In essence, Ghana imports finished products from these countries, whilst exporting unfinished products which are mainly natural resources in their raw or slightly processed state. This indicates the unequal exchange.

On the same matter, interviewee 6 outlined that:



I think if you look at it, business should be two ways. We send goods there, and then we bring goods. Our inability to send more goods to these destinations but rather buying more goods from there means that we are being disadvantaged in this trade relations. We have to increase our exports to these destinations... lack of information as to goods that are needed in these destinations and those that are required to be sold there. So, the government should be making conscious efforts to identify goods that we can also ship to these destinations. So, traders can buy these goods, sell to these areas and then use the proceeds thereof to buy the goods from there. When we are able to do that, then we would have maximised our trade and then we would have benefited from the relations [Impex_6, Monday, June 12, 2023, 14:20 GMT].

Interviewee 4 also added that:

The intra-trade in Africa is only 15%. It is only 15% as against the weight of the world because the people of Africa mostly consume raw materials. What Africa have for trading mostly are raw materials. And so, the value addition is important, and that we should be able to have finished products. If we have finished products, then it

should also be competitive to the rest of the world
[Impex_4, Wednesday, June 7, 2023, 11:29 GMT].

The statements above show that Ghana and Africa continue to rely on raw materials for exportation. This, as has been indicated, does not promote development in the country and on the continent at large.

In the Master Project Support Agreement as has been pointed out, the loan facility that was given were to be paid through proceeds of refined bauxite that were to be mined.

The second sentence of paragraph two of Session 6.4 stated that:

Where such receipts [proceeds of bauxite] are insufficient to service the Project Financing, GoG will be required to use other sources for the repayment to Sinohydro.

This is similar to other loan agreements between China and Ghana for infrastructure between 2007 and 2018 that amounted to about USD619 million collateralised against natural resources such as bauxite, crude oil, cocoa, and electricity. The implication was that in case the country defaults in the repayment of the facility, these resources will be extracted to repay the debt, and the electricity will be sold to settle the debt incurred. This shows clearly how natural resources are important to China and the extent they will go to get access to these resources.

Interviewee 8 responded to whether he viewed the relationship as unequal. In his view:

It is yes, and no. You see, when China is given loans, he looks out for his interest. Ghana also sees that these infrastructural loans will contribute to its infrastructural development. So, they are both benefiting in some way. But when you look at the dynamics, you will realise that there is no equality in terms of a standardised measurement of impact. Just like the Mercantilist idea stated by Thucydides, that 'powerful states do what they want, whilst weaker ones suffer what they must.' So, you measure the win according to your status in the international system. We get some benefits, but they get more of the benefits in the relationship [Aca_1, Tuesday, October 2, 2023, 17:57 GMT].

Even though this statement identifies that Ghana enjoys some benefits in the relationship, it points out that the issue of equality is absent in the country's interregional SSC with China.

4.3.4 Issues of Debt Unsustainability and Dependency

From the MPSA, it was observed that the economic aid provided was a loan facility that the country will have to pay back with proceeds of refined bauxite, and this is to be done within fifteen (15) years. In spite of the label given to it (barter) by officials in government, the deal sees this as a debt and that is why provision was made for repayment to be made. Section 6.8 of the Finance Committee's report on the Agreement highlighted the concerns of the minority in this regard where they stated that labelling the facility 'barter' is just a way to "hide the debt involved in the Agreement." The MPSA and its USD2 billion facility has raised concerns that this will put a heavy debt burden on the country. In an online interview with the CNBC, Elizabeth Stephens, managing director at Geopolitical Risk Advisory stated that: "The deal risks further undermining the government's credibility for transparency... and weaken its debt sustainability outlook..." [Smith, 2021].


Having in mind that Ghana's largest bilateral debt is to China, the concern is that the MPSA will add more debt to the country. The views of interviewee 8 were expressed in the statement:

You know, China gives loans, and they want it back. They do business, and the state do support private companies to go out and make profit and bring it into the country. As I said before, they will consistently give you loans once they know they can retrieve the monies, and you will be perpetually indebted to them. So, the major challenge is that it [the loans] will make us perpetually indebted and dependent on them and that equally affects how you will engage with them in subsequent engagements [Aca_1, Tuesday, October 2, 2023, 17:57 GMT].

This shows that the continuous reliance on China in Ghana's interregional SSC can maintain Ghana's indebtedness to China and therefore eternally dependent on them.

4.3.5 Expensive Intra-Regional Trade

Interviews on Ghana's trade relations with South Africa indicated that Ghana's intra-regional South-South trade is more expensive than its inter-regional South-South trade. The informants highlighted that some of the commodities that are imported from South Africa are more expensive than those imported from China. The difference was identified to be currency differences. Thus, commodities in China are being traded in the Chinese Yuan which has a lower exchange rate as compared to the dollar which dominates trade activities with South Africa. Also, it was explained that commodities that are imported into South Africa before being imported into Ghana, these products are quite expensive than products made in South Africa. For instance, when interviewee 3 was asked why he said trading with South Africa is sometimes more expensive than China, he explained that:



You see, when you go there to buy the things that they produce there like the fruit juices and other things, they are not that expensive. But when you are buying the electronic items from there the prices are higher. We all import these electronic items from China, so they add their extra costs to it. Mostly, those who import from South Africa have relatives there who buy and bring these things. Sometimes they are even second-hand electronic appliances [Impex_3, Tuesday, May 30, 2023, 13:52 GMT].

Interviewee 2 had also previously stated that:

...For South Africa, most of their imports are also from China, so the Ghanaians who have relations there, or want to trade from there import these products, mostly fruit juices, electrical gadgets, and these heavy machines into Ghana. It is expensive than China, but mostly the prices of US goods are expensive than those from South Africa also [Impex_2, Friday, May 19, 2023, 11:18 GMT].

Similar, concern was raised by interviewee 7 as he briefly mentioned that:

Even though South Africa is in Africa, sometimes shipments of goods from those areas become more difficult than that from even Asia [Gut_1, Thursday, June 22, 2023, 11:01 GMT].

These assertions highlight that trade in commodities that are not produced in South Africa are more expensive than those that are imported there. It also points out the issue of shipments being expensive from South Africa. The relatively expensive nature of trade in South Africa comparing it to China discourages intra-regional trade relations with Africa's economic powerhouse.

4.3.6 Inadequate Intra-Regional Investment and Economic Aid

Data from the GIPC as shown in Table 3 indicates that between 2012 and 2022, FDI inflows from South Africa amounted to USD995.07 million directed into 87 projects. When this is compared to China which has invested in 411 projects with a total of USD3,685.70 million, it can be observed that FDI from South Africa is very low. Also, the table shows that the areas of these investments from South Africa are just about five (5) whilst that of China is eight (8). The understanding that is derived from this is that intra-regional South-South investment from Africa's emerging economic power is lower than Ghana's inter-regional South-South investment with China.

On economic aid, no record on economic aid from South Africa to Ghana was found between the period under study. Such absence indicates that South Africa may not prioritise economic aid as China does. This means there is a weak intra-regional South-South economic support in terms of loans and grants between Ghana and South Africa.

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

5.0 Introduction

The chapter discusses the findings of the study. The discussion is done in three sections in relation with the objectives of the study. The first section provides a discussion on how different Ghana's economic diplomacy with the global North is from the global South. The second section addresses the contributions of South-South Cooperation to the development. The final section then tackles some of the challenges associated with Ghana's relationship with the global South.

5.1 How Ghana's Economic Diplomacy with the North Differs from the Global South

Data presented on Ghana's foreign policy aligns with the popular notion that foreign policy of states rests on the promotion of national interest (Botchway & Hlovor, 2022). This national interest as indicated from the data provided aims at promoting the welfare of the people and ultimately promoting the country's development (Rana, 2007). To ensure this, economic diplomacy is employed as the primary tool which confirms the assertion by Boafo-Arthur (1999) that Ghana's primary goal for entering into international economic relations is its national development. The data also explains the existence of various stakeholders such as trade unions, exporters and importers, Ministry of Trade and Industry, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration, etc. in Ghana's economic diplomacy (Makokera, 2015; Moons & Boer, 2014; Sabaruddin, 2017).

From the data, Ghana relates with both the global North and the global South to secure its interest in terms of foreign direct investments, trade, and economic aid (Abankwa, 2021; Moons & Boer, 2014). This indicates that Ghana's economic diplomacy with

both the North and the South exhibits no difference in terms of the approaches. However, the differences are visible in terms of trade, foreign direct investments, and economic aid relations.

Foreign direct investments based on the data gathered show that the dominant power in the global South focus more on providing FDIs in the manufacturing and service sectors, whilst countries from the global North target the service and building and construction sectors. This explains why the US through the USAID has invested more into providing education, energy, and health infrastructure including capacity building in diverse sectors (USAID, 2020). Within the period under review also, the global South invested more into Ghana than the North. But the nuance is that Ghana's inter-regional FDI overwhelmingly supersedes its intra-regional FDI. Under trade, the data shows that Ghana's imports from the South is mainly machine commodities whilst those from the North are mainly transportation commodities. The values also from the South are more than the North. Thus, trade value with the South is more than Ghana's trade relations with the global North as alluded to by Dahi and Demir (2018), Gosovic (2016), and Yeboah et al. (2020) that trade from the South has tilted towards China. But the gap between Ghana's inter-regional trade relations with China outweighs its intra-regional trade with South Africa.

Ghana's trade relations with the global South mainly with China rest on factors such as affordability, quality of products, easy transportation and shipment processes, easy access to the country and manufacturers, availability of diverse commodities, and trade flexibility. Even though data shows that Ghana's intra-regional trade relations with South Africa have similar features attracting Ghanaian importers to South Africa, the strength of these factors in China is greater than in South Africa. The overall data

confirms the assertion that Ghana relies more on primary products and less on manufacturing items for exports (Aryeetey & Baah-Boateng, 2016).

Arguments on unequal exchange by Dependency Theory can be observed from the findings in this study (Peet & Hartwick, 2009; Roy, 2020). Under trade, it could be seen that most of Ghana's exports are mainly raw products whilst its imports are finished goods. This shows a huge trade imbalance between Ghana and the North (the US). But the findings of the study are not consistent with the assertion that financial and capital support from the North are channelled in areas that are not the focus of the developing country (Ahiakpor, 1985). This is because the Ghana Compact II which focuses on improving the energy sector was signed at a period where Ghana was going through energy challenges. This makes the provision of such economic assistance important for the country.

Under economic aid, the analysis provided shows that economic aid from the global North countries are mainly grants which are not repaid, but economic aid from the global South are mainly loans which are repaid. This explains why Ghana's biggest bilateral debt is to China (Kyei, 2023), whilst the US is one of the main grant providers to Ghana (USAID, 2020). This can support the findings of Lekorwe et al. (2016) where he observed the developed world as the preferred model of development and placing China as the second-best model for Ghanaians. As the data indicated, China's main economic aid is a loan, one that can be described as concessional due to the flexible terms of payment which has caused it to be described as barter. This is why Dahi and Demir (2018) stated that China's economic aid best explains the term economic assistance rather than aid from the North.

The restrictions imposed on the aid from the North as to what the aid should strictly be applied to directly contradicts that from China where the support and projects may vary as time goes on. This affirms the arguments raised by Abankwa (2021), Chen and Landry (2018), and Yeboah (2019) that China mostly provides concessionary loans with flexible payment terms looking at how such a loan has been described as “barter” due to uncomplicated repayment terms. It should however be noted that the grants provided by the North do not incur debt to the country.

As can be observed from the data, environmental issues are topical in North-South relations (Chen & Landry, 2018) more than in South-South relations. With strict guidelines attached to aid from the North to ensure environmental protection, it shows their adherence to international environmental laws (Hensengerth, 2018). The South, mainly China, however, do not see this as imperative in their relations (Newcomb, 2020; Githiaga & Wing, 2019). Despite this outlook, the study found in trade however, that e-waste challenges which is also an environmental issue are mostly perpetrated by used electronic commodities from Europe and the US (Bimir, 2020; Kwofi, 2022; Olowu, 2012; Yeung, 2019). This would also mean trade relations between Southern countries do not support e-waste trade hence, ensuring environmental protection in that regard. As the study found, imports from China are mostly in new products compared to the used products mostly imported from China.

The data again agrees with the idea that economic aid from the North promotes democracy by ensuring transparency and accountability of received economic assistance. It does this by strengthening CSOs to be involved in projects so as to ensure transparency and accountability (Hearn, 2000; Botchway, 2021). This role, ensuring that monies are used for a particular stated project is what scholars have identified to be interfering in the sovereignty of Southern states (Dahi & Demir, 2018; Vadell, 2019).

For South-South cooperation, the findings support the view of Brautigam (2009) that China ensures transparency and accountability by giving out projects to Chinese companies. Thus, instead of handing the money over to governments, the monies are used by the companies to implement the projects that are identified by the governments. In this way, the sovereignty of the state is preserved whilst ensuring the monies are used for stated projects.

The absence of data on economic aid from South Africa shows that intra-regional economic relations is mainly on trade, and direct investments with little or no focus on economic aid. This strengthens the views held by Chidushe (2010) and Kottam (2017) that South Africa's economic assistance is mainly within its region and records of such assistance are difficult to find. It is also consistent with the argument of Olu et al. (2017) and Kakonge (2014) that SSC is led mainly by China and India whilst the other countries lack the financial muscle to make any significant contribution.

5.2 Contribution of South-South Cooperation to the Development of Ghana

Job creation happens to be one of the contributions of Ghana's South-South relations. The data has shown that FDIs create job opportunities. Knowing the various sectors of FDIs from China and South Africa, it is evident that foreign direct investments from the South provides employment opportunities in the various sectors of the country's economy: service, manufacturing, building and construction, trading, etc. The findings also highlight that trade relations with the South are a source of employment for not just the employers, but also track drivers, off-loaders, etc. creating a value chain. Ghana's SSC in economic aid also supports the employment sector per the data shown. The aid focused on infrastructure, health, electricity, roads and bridges, etc. These findings support the assertions by Ameyaw-Brobbe (2020), Chen and Landry (2018),

Githaiga and Wing (2019), and Newcomb (2020) on the contribution of SSC to job creation.

SSC contributes to supporting various sectors of a country's economy with key infrastructural and investment projects (Githaiga & Wing, 2019; Tsikudo, 2021). The study observed that infrastructural projects to be implemented from economic aid from China is considered a "priority" for the country, one that will aid in the development of infrastructure and promote development. This sits well with the work of Tsikudo (2021) who observed that Chinese infrastructure support aligned with Ghana's Vision 2020 which, among other things, included attaining middle-income status through basic infrastructure provision. With the trade, investments, and economic aid supporting the different sectors of the country, it could be said, that Ghana's SSC contributes to supporting key sectors of the country's economy.

South-South relations appear to have more flexibility. The non-interference and flexible relations in SSC alluded to by Dahi and Demir (2018) and Vadell (2019) were visible in the results of this study. The term of payment which was the sale of bauxite, or any other natural resource after that means Ghana will not have to think of how to repay its debt. Also, by indicating that Ghana will determine what projects it considers priority, the elements of flexibility and non-interference is addressed. Despite this aligning with the findings of Abankwa (2021), the findings contradict the survey by Afrobarometer where 41% of the sample selected described economic assistance from China as somewhat bad or very bad while only 31% described it as good (Lekorwe et al., 2016). The study nevertheless has shown that Ghana's SSC in terms of economic aid provides autonomy and allows the country to maintain its sovereignty. This is in line with the foundational principles of SSC as espoused during the Bandung Conference (Uchechara, 2009).

Contrary to the assertions by Newcomb (2020) whose argument indicates that imports from China contribute to killing the manufacturing industry in Kenya, findings from this study show that China invests more in the manufacturing industry in the country. For Aidoo (2016) and Tsikudo (2021) who assumed the textiles imported contributed to killing local firms, this may be true, however, the findings show that the main commodities imported from the global South are mainly machine products. These are products the country does not manufacture. Therefore, even though it is possible, the extent to which such imports from the South contribute to killing local manufacturing industries in the country may be exaggerated seeing the huge number of investments pumped into the sector. The study may however agree that such relations contribute to weakening local industries since there are other products manufactured in the country that are also imported into the country.

These machines and electrical gadgets imported from China are considered quality and affordable. This gives room for the various economic classes to purchase commodities they may need at cheaper prices but with better quality. The tentacles of the affordability of trading with the South and particularly China reach areas of ease of accessing the country, and manufacturers who establish cordial but business relationships with their customers. Findings from the study support the claim that used items are mostly imported from Europe and the US (Yeung, 2019). That is, used clothing, electrical gadgets, etc. are not imported from China but rather from the developed world due to the vast differences in the prices of the new and used commodities.

The Development Compact Theory as highlighted by Chaturvedi (2016) and Chakrabarti (2016) provides a framework within which South-South Cooperation should work to ensure mutual development between and among developing countries. Per the selected themes, trade and investments and financial mechanism, the study

found that Ghana's SSC has all these themes. Through trade fairs, business-to-business meetings, and surprise credit in its trade relations, there is trade promotion and trade support. There is also easy access to the country and manufacturers, and investment funds are also provided. Intraregional trade supply chains exist but not on a large scale as compared to its interregional trade supply chain. The creation of AfCFTA also satisfies the element of regional and sub-regional trade agreement element in the framework.

5.3 Challenges Associated with Ghana's Relationship with the Global South

The study observed that forex exchange challenges are a common denominator with regards to Ghana's economic relationship with the South. Lack of or inadequate Chinese currency forces traders to trade in international currencies from the North. This shows that even in South-South relations, an element from the North plays a key role. Buying the US Dollar with Ghana Cedis is more expensive than buying the Chinese Yuan with the Ghana Cedis. This makes trading in the US Dollar within the Southern countries difficult and challenging. Seeing that Ghana trades more with China than the US, and yet the availability of the Chinese Yuan is very limited, the assertions by Haug and Kamwengo (2022) on the low level of enthusiasm governments in the global South have shown towards SSC is evident. This is important because the Development Compact Framework outlines that among the steps to promoting trade and investment in South-South Cooperation is the provision of a free convertible currency (Chakrabarti, 2016). The challenge associated with accessing the Chinese Yuan in Ghana for traders therefore affects the attainment of a comprehensive SSC.

Even though trade relations between Southern states have some challenges, based on the findings of the study, it does not contribute to e-waste and environmental challenges. However, economic aid from the South appears to be detrimental to the growth and

sustainability of the environment. As argued by Newcomb (2020) and Githiaga and Wing (2019), economic assistance into infrastructural projects do not take into accounts environmental protection. This is visible in the findings of the study as concerns have been raised over China's USD2 billion loan that the assistance may destroy the Atiwa forest reserve and destroy livelihood.

About USD619 million of China's loans to Ghana have been collateralised against the country's natural resources and electricity. The USD2 billion MPSA loan facility is collateralised with Ghana's refined bauxite. In a case where proceeds from the bauxite is not enough, other natural resources will be used to settle the debt. This is consistent with the views of Bond (2018), Newcomb (2020), and Owusu and Botchway (2018) that South-South relations mostly with China has in it, Western colonial exploitation tendencies and should be viewed with caution. Thus, the relationship is unequal as it could deplete the country's natural resources. The unequalness is also seen in Ghana's trade relations with the South. The data points to the fact that Ghana's exports to the South (both China and South Africa) are mainly natural resources in their raw state. Thus, whilst finished products are exported into the country, Ghana's exports are mainly raw materials (Aryeetey & Baah-Boateng, 2016; Yeboah et al., 2020).

South-South Cooperation according to the Development Compact Framework should have a finance mechanism which is debt forgiveness assistance in grants (Chakrabarti, 2016; Chaturvedi, 2016). The study found that the financial mechanism employed in China's SSC with Ghana is mainly loans rather than grants. These loans require that natural resources be used to pay the debt. This contradicts how the Development Compact Framework sees financial mechanisms as a way of ensuring development in the global South. The loans put countries in debt which needs to be paid.

At the end of 2022, Ghana's debt to China was around USD1.9 billion. The USD2 billion loan facility will contribute to increasing the debt stock of the country. In spite of the argument that this is a barter, it is still a debt that the country would have to pay. Once the country needs to pay the money back, it is a debt that the country has incurred. Proceeds from the sale of the refined bauxite could be used for other projects, but they will be used to settle debts. It is therefore aligning with the concerns of Abankwa (2021) that these loans from China would continue to keep the country indebted to China.

Todaro and Smith (2012) have indicated that intraregional economic collaboration is important to boost the idea of SSC. The study however found that Ghana's intraregional economic relations is mainly on trade and FDI. The lack of intraregional economic aid means the financial prowess of South Africa, the economic superpower on the African continent is weak (Kakonge, 2014). The FDI inflows from South Africa also appears to be uncompetitive with FDI inflows from Ghana's interregional SSC with China. These are indications that improving trade relations is the focus of the continent hence the establishment of AfCFTA to improve trade on the continent.

Per the Development Compact Framework, the growth and gains of SSC will be seen more if Southern countries develop an intraregional trade supply chain and regional and sub-regional trade agreements (Chakrabarti, 2016; Chaturvedi, 2016). Ghana's intraregional South-South trade appears to be in existence. But it is not able to compete with its interregional trade. It also explains Ghana's participation in the AfCFTA as a way to strengthen its gains in its intraregional South-South relations.

CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the summary of the entire study, conclusion of the study, and recommendations for further studies. The chapter is organized into six sections. The first section discusses the summary which highlights the steps involved in carrying out the study. The second section highlights the major findings from the analysis of data and their interpretations. The third section involves the limitation to the study while the fourth section presents conclusions drawn from the study. The fifth section presents the recommendations for practitioners and further studies.

6.1 Summary

The aim of this study was to explore Ghana's South-South Cooperation (SSC), its significance, challenges, and how Ghana's economic diplomacy with the South (China and South Africa) compares to the global North (the US). The focus was on understanding Ghana's relations with these countries concerning foreign direct investment (FDI), trade, and economic aid. By examining South Africa and China, the study aimed to shed light on regional dynamics in Ghana's economic relations. The study is important for understanding the benefits and challenges of Ghana's SSC and identifying ways to enhance gains from its economic relations with the South.

Two theories were central to the study: Dependency Theory and the Development Compact Framework. Dependency Theory explains the unequal economic relations between the global North and South, while the Development Compact Framework emphasizes the need for cooperation among South countries to foster mutual development. Together, these theories formed the basis for the study's objectives.

This qualitative interpretive study utilized a multiple case study design. Purposive sampling was used to select six importers and exporters, an official from the Ghana Union of Traders Association (GUTA), and an academic expert in international politics for primary data. Secondary data were sourced from Ghana's 1992 constitution, official documents from Ghana's parliament, and agreements such as the Master Project Support Agreement and Ghana's Compact II with the Millennium Challenge Corporation. Additional data on FDI and trade between 2012 and 2022 were obtained from the Ghana Investment Promotions Center (GIPC) and the Observatory of Economic Complexity website. Official reports and newsletters from GIPC (2019 and 2020), the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration, and other relevant websites provided further information.

The combination of primary and secondary data sources enabled a comprehensive analysis of Ghana's economic diplomacy and relations in terms of FDI, trade, and economic aid. Thematic analysis was used to organize the findings based on emerging themes from the interviews, leading to key insights and conclusions of the study.

6.2 Key Findings

The following are the major findings of the study:

1. Ghana's foreign policy and economic relations are flexible, employing various engagements like trade fairs and conferences. Ghana trades more with the South due to affordability, quality, easy transportation, market access, and trade flexibility. Imports from China and South Africa are mainly machines, while imports from the US are mainly transport commodities. Exports to both the North and South have mainly been crude oil and precious metals.

2. Ghana's South-South Cooperation creates job opportunities across various sectors, supports priority infrastructure projects, offers flexible economic aid terms, and promotes self-determination and sovereignty. It also provides essential electrical commodities at affordable and quality prices.
3. Ghana faces forex exchange issues, environmental and livelihood threats, unequal trade exchanges, resource exploitation, debt unsustainability, and expensive/inadequate intraregional trade and economic aid. Environmental concerns are not prioritized in the South as they are in the North.

6.3 Conclusion

Based on the findings, the study concludes that:

Ghana's economic diplomacy with the global North and South follows similar approaches, including trade fairs, workshops, and business engagements. However, differences arise in trade values, commodity types, foreign direct investment focus, and economic aid. External factors, such as affordability, quality, transportation ease, market access, and commodity diversity, play a significant role in Ghanaian traders' preference for China over other partners. These external motivators outweigh internal policies in shaping trade preferences and economic relations.

South-South Cooperation significantly aids Ghana's development by creating jobs, supporting key infrastructure projects, respecting Ghana's sovereignty through non-interference, and supplying quality and affordable goods. These contributions enhance the general welfare and development of the country. However, the study also notes that achieving strong intra- and inter-regional South-South Cooperation may be challenging due to the interests of Western superpowers.

Despite its benefits, South-South Cooperation faces significant challenges for Ghana. Issues include forex exchange difficulties due to the lack of a Southern currency, which hampers trade with major partners like China. Additionally, Ghana's interregional SSC neglects environmental sustainability and livelihood concerns, and exhibits unequal trade exchanges and resource exploitation reminiscent of Western colonial strategies. Furthermore, Ghana's intraregional SSC is weak in economic aid and foreign direct investment, focusing primarily on trade that imports manufactured goods and exports raw materials, particularly precious metals.

6.4 Contributions of the Study

The study contributes to the Development Compact Framework by showcasing how elements like easy access to markets, investment support, and trade credits by manufacturers are evident in Ghana's economic relations with the global South, particularly China and South Africa. However, it also identifies a critical gap: the lack of access to freely convertible currency, which complicates trade and economic diplomacy within South-South Cooperation. This insight underscores the need for a more comprehensive framework that addresses currency accessibility to fully realize the benefits of South-South economic interactions.

This study stands out for its broad scope, bringing together Ghana, China, South Africa, and the US to provide a comparative analysis of economic aid, trade, and foreign direct investment (FDI). By examining Ghana's economic diplomacy with both the global North and South, the study offers a holistic view of how Ghana navigates its foreign economic relationships. The research delves into Ghana's intra-regional and inter-regional South-South Cooperation (SSC), uncovering the nuances and complexities within these relationships. It identifies the similarities and differences in how Ghana engages with these regions, thus providing valuable insights into the dynamics of SSC.

This comprehensive approach not only enriches the existing literature but also sets a precedent for future studies to adopt a similar comparative framework to better understand the interplay of global economic forces on a country's development trajectory.

Practically, the study has important implications for policy and practice, particularly in the area of economic diplomacy and regional cooperation. One of the key findings is the need to strengthen intra-regional economic aid mechanisms to foster greater solidarity and development among Southern countries, reducing their dependency on inter-regional partners like China and the US. This highlights the importance of building robust regional financial frameworks and support systems that can provide more sustainable and autonomous development pathways for countries like Ghana. Additionally, the findings highlight the urgent need for Ghana to develop a robust economic diplomacy and aid framework. Such a framework would streamline economic interactions, ensure strategic allocation of resources, and optimise the benefits derived from both inter- and intra-regional economic relations. This practical insight is vital for policymakers and practitioners aiming to optimise the benefits of South-South Cooperation while mitigating the challenges associated with over-reliance on external economic aid and investment.

6.4 Recommendations

Based on the study's conclusion, the study recommends that:

The Government of Ghana should maintain its flexible economic diplomacy with both the North and South, as it supports the country's economy in various ways. Additionally, adding value to its raw materials is crucial; relying on other countries for this is not viable. The study recommends that FDI in the manufacturing industries should be

leveraged on by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration and the Ministry of Trade and Industries to boost the value of Ghana's exports. Without enhancing this value addition, Ghana will continue to face unequal trade exchanges and deficits.

While South-South Cooperation offers significant benefits, it's important to ensure that economic aid from the global South is environmentally friendly. To promote sustainable development, the study recommends that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration in collaboration with the Ministry of Environment, Science, Technology and Innovation (MESTI) should ensure that all infrastructural projects funded through SSC adhere to strict environmental protection guidelines. Effective application of existing environmental laws and addressing any legal gaps are necessary. Commitment to third-generation human rights, including environmental sustainability, should be prioritized to enhance sustainable development and improve livelihoods.

The study finally recommends that the Government, specifically the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration should ensure transparency and accountability in its SSC with China in terms of economic aid. The Ministry should therefore involve other stakeholders like CSOs in their economic aid agreements with the South to further promote transparency and accountability. Also, such documents should be made easily accessible to the public to strengthen transparency and accountability yet again.

6.5 Limitation to the Study

There is no perfect scholarly work, and this work is no exception. All academic works have some limitations. In studying Ghana's economic diplomacy with the selected countries, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration and the Embassies of the selected countries would have contributed enormously to this work. However,

accessing these parties proved difficult. This was the main limitation to the study. Nonetheless, the researcher employed official documents and sources which provide official information on Ghana's foreign policy and economic diplomacy. Also, the findings of this study are not exhaustive due to the limited scope of the sources of data. However, the study gives a foundation to understanding Ghana's economic diplomacy, and economic relations with countries in the global North and the global South.

6.6 Recommended Areas for Further Studies

More studies are needed in this area to understand how Ghana's SSC challenges can be addressed. Similar studies can also focus on getting information from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration and some selected Embassies to understand Ghana's economic diplomacy, its challenges and opportunities. Lastly, economic aid from the North and the South can be studied separately to observe the challenges they hold and provide some mitigation factors.



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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

INTERVIEW GUIDE (GUTA)

1. From GUTA's standpoint, what are the key differences (if any) in Ghana's trade relations with the United States compared to its trade relations with China and South Africa?
2. In GUTA's view, what are the major factors that influence Ghana's trade relations with the United States, China, and South Africa, taking into account the varying levels of economic development?
3. According to GUTA, how does Ghana's trade relations with the United States, China, and South Africa contribute to its overall economic growth and development goals? Are there contrasting impacts or areas where these trade relationships align with Ghana's national development agenda?
4. Is GUTA actively involved in Ghana's international economic diplomacy, particularly its trade relations with other countries? If yes, what role or function do you perform?
5. What is GUTA's perspective on the potential impact of trade agreements, such as the African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA), on Ghana's trade relations with China, the USA, and South Africa?
6. What recommendations can GUTA provide to improve Ghana's trade relations that will promote the development of the country? Is South-South Cooperation the way to go?

APPENDIX II

INTERVIEW GUIDE (TRADERS)

1. Which countries do you import/export from/to?
2. What commodities do you import?
3. Based on your experience, what commodities are mostly imported from
 - A. China
 - B. United States
 - C. South Africa
4. Between importing from China, South Africa and the USA, which one do you prefer and why?
5. Which of these countries' (China, South Africa and the USA) trade relations with Ghana would you consider better for the development of Ghana and why?
6. What are some of the challenges of importing from China and South Africa?
7. What do you think can be done to help improve Ghana's trade relations with the outside world to promote the welfare of the people and to ensure the realisation of Ghana's development agenda?

APPENDIX III

INTERVIEW GUIDE (EXPERT INTERVIEW)

1. How would you describe Ghana's economic diplomacy?
2. Do you see any difference in Ghana's economic diplomacy with the global North and South?
3. Are you aware of any deliberate effort to establish a strong relationship with the South?
4. Do you think economic relations between Ghana and China as unequal? If yes, at what point can it be seen as a win-win relationship?
5. Why does the North prioritises environmental issues in their economic aid than the South?
6. What benefits (if any) can be identified in Ghana's SSC towards the development of the country?
7. What challenges (if any) do you see Ghana's SSC towards the development of the country?
8. Do you think SSC is the way to go?
9. What recommendations can you provide to improve Ghana's gains in its economic engagements?

