

LEGON CENTRE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS AND DIPLOMACY (LECIAD)

UNIVERSITY OF GHANA



**POLITICS-ADMINISTRATION DICHOTOMY OR COMPLEMENTARITY: A
CASE STUDY OF THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND REGIONAL
INTEGRATION'S CONDUCT OF GHANA'S FOREIGN POLICY**

BY

DEBORAH ABA AIKINS

(10454003)

**THIS DISSERTATION IS SUBMITTED TO THE UNIVERSITY OF GHANA,
LEGON, IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE
AWARD OF THE MASTER OF ARTS DEGREE IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS**

JANUARY, 2022

DECLARATION

I, Deborah Aba Aikins, do hereby declare that, this dissertation is the outcome of original research conducted by me under the supervision of Dr. Kipo-Sunyenzi of the Legon Centre for International Affairs and Diplomacy (LECIAD), University of Ghana and that, to the best of my knowledge, no part of it has been submitted anywhere for any other purpose, except where due acknowledgment has been made in the text.



.....
DEBORAH ABA AIKINS

(STUDENT)

DATE: 12 January 2022

.....
DR. DANIEL D. KIPO-SUNYENZI

(SUPERVISOR)

DATE: 12 January, 2022



DEDICATION

To my son Nana Kwame: 'Enyimnyam'; Your beautiful smile is a light that shines through my heart. May it never fade!



ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

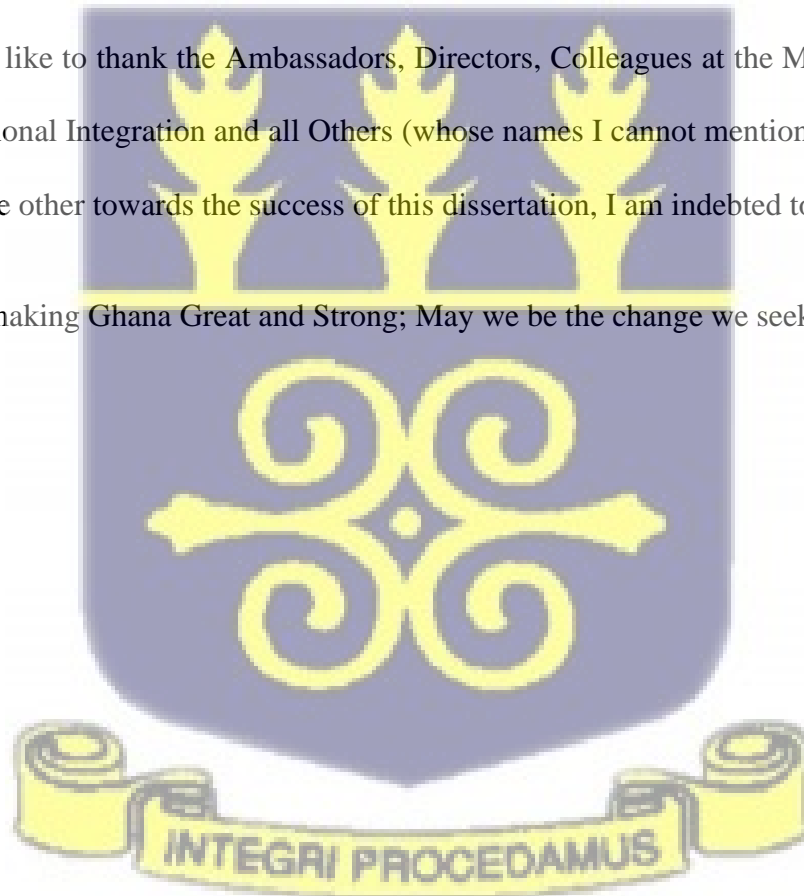
Praise be to the Almighty Elohim for His graciousness towards me during the time of this study.

I would like to express my profound gratitude to my supervisor; Dr. Daniel D. Kipo-Sunyenzi, for his, support, advise, guidance and encouragement. You are God-sent!

I would also like extend a special thank you to Alex Aikins (for always making sure I had something to eat), Dr. Kwesi Etuaful R, Chris Aikins, and my dear parents for their continued support.

Finally, I would like to thank the Ambassadors, Directors, Colleagues at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration and all Others (whose names I cannot mention) who contributed in one way or the other towards the success of this dissertation, I am indebted to you all.

In our quest of making Ghana Great and Strong; May we be the change we seek!



LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AfCFTA	-	African Continental Free Trade Area
ANC	-	African National Congress
DIRCO	-	Department of International Relations and Cooperation
ECOMOG	-	Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group
ECOWAS	-	Economic Community of West African States
EEAS	-	European External Action Services
EU	-	European Union
FAC	-	Foreign Affairs Council
HR	-	High Representative
IR	-	International Relations
JCPOA	-	Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action
MFARI	-	Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration
U.S	-	United States
AU	-	African Union
BCE	-	Before Christ
PSC	-	Politiburo Standing Committee
MDAs	-	Ministries, Departments and Agencies

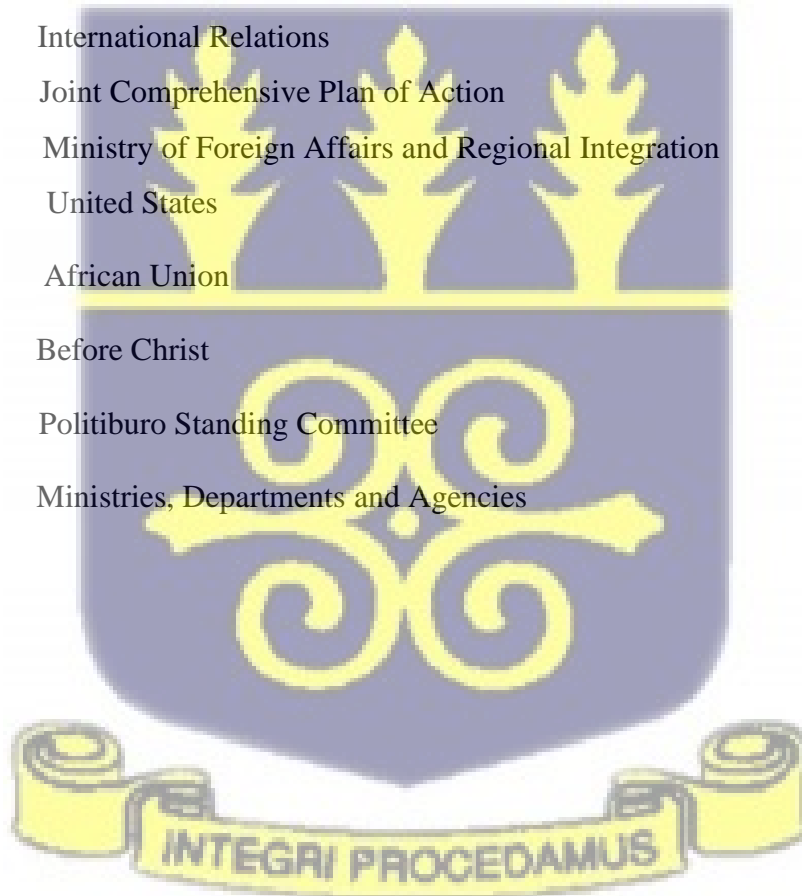
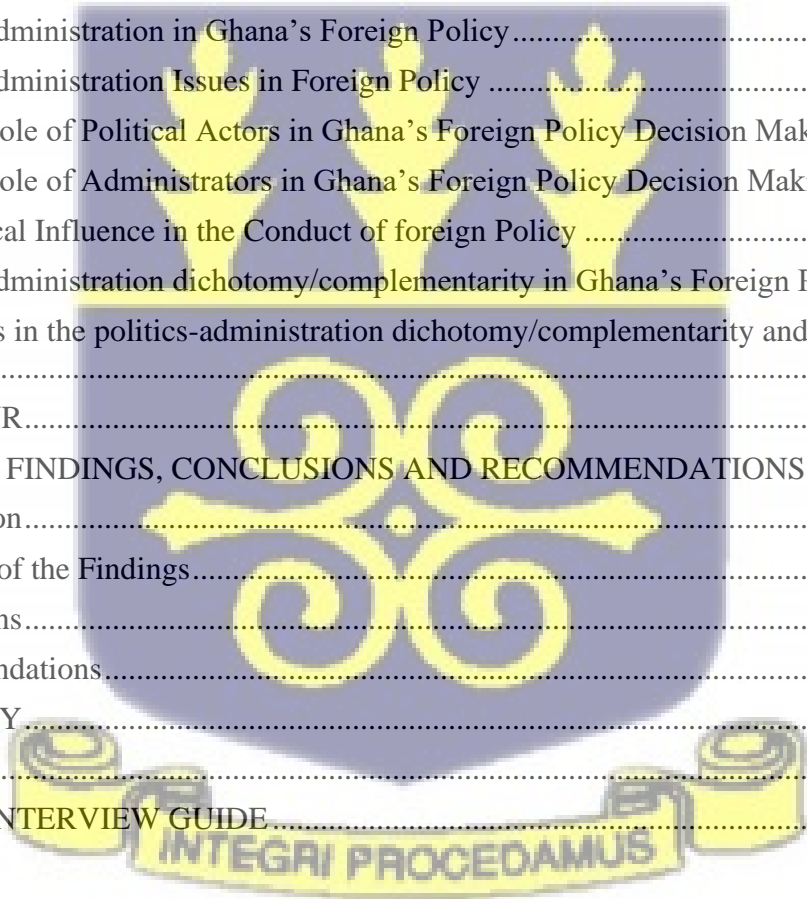


TABLE OF CONTENTS

DECLARATION	i
DEDICATION	ii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT	iii
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.....	iv
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	v
ABSTRACT.....	vii
CHAPTER ONE.....	1
INTRODUCTION	1
1.0 Background to Study.....	1
2.1 Problem Statement.....	4
1.2 Objectives of the Study.....	6
1.3 Research Questions.....	7
1.4 Scope of Study	7
1.5 Rationale for the Study	7
1.6 Theoretical Framework.....	8
1.7 Literature Review.....	13
1.7.0 States Foreign Policy Making and Implementation.....	13
1.7 The Ghanaian Foreign Policy	15
1.8 Foreign policy and National interest.....	17
1.8 Research Methodology.....	22
1.8.1 Research Design.....	22
1.8.2 Sources of Data.....	23
1.8.3 Sample Size and Sampling methods.....	24
1.8.4 Data Analysis.....	25
1.8.4 Ethical Issues.....	25
CHAPTER TWO.....	30
OVERVIEW OF POLITICS-ADMINISTRATION DICHOTOMY/COMPLEMENTARITY AND FOREIGN POLICY DECISION MAKING	30
2.0 Introduction.....	30
2.1 Foreign Policy	31
2.2 Foreign Policy Decision Making	32

2.2.1 China’s Foreign Policy Decision Making.....	33
2.2.2 America’s Foreign Policy Decision Making.....	34
2.2.3 The European Union (EU) Foreign Policy Decision Making.....	35
2.3 Theories of Foreign Policy Decision Making.....	36
2.3.1 The Rational Actor Model	37
2.3.2 The Bureaucratic Politics Model	38
2.3.3 The Organisational Process Model	39
2.5 Conclusion	42
CHAPTER THREE	45
ANALYSIS OF FINDINGS.....	45
3.0 Introduction.....	45
3.1 Overview of Ghana’s Foreign Policy	45
3.1.1 Ghana’s Foreign Policy Objectives	46
3.2 Politics-Administration in Ghana’s Foreign Policy.....	49
3.3 Politics-Administration Issues in Foreign Policy	50
3.3.1 The Role of Political Actors in Ghana’s Foreign Policy Decision Making.....	50
3.3.2 The Role of Administrators in Ghana’s Foreign Policy Decision Making.....	52
3.3.3 Political Influence in the Conduct of foreign Policy	54
3.4 Politics-Administration dichotomy/complementarity in Ghana’s Foreign Policy.....	57
3.5 Challenges in the politics-administration dichotomy/complementarity and how they are Resolved.....	60
CHAPTER FOUR.....	63
SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS.....	63
4.0 Introduction.....	64
4.1 Summary of the Findings.....	64
4.2 Conclusions.....	67
4.3 Recommendations.....	68
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	69
APPENDIX.....	75
APPENDIX 1: INTERVIEW GUIDE.....	75



ABSTRACT

Countries all over the world seek to project their national interest through their foreign policies. However, the conduct of foreign policy involves interactions various factors. Again, the formulation and implementation of foreign policy strategies of a state is done through the interplay of political actors and administrators. Thus, the purpose of this study was to explore the politics-administration in the conduct of foreign policy of Ghana. To do this, the study made use of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration as the case study and was conducted using a qualitative approach through the use of interviews to solicit responses from politicians and administrators at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration. Subsequently, the responses obtained were then analysed interpretatively using various themes. At the end of the analysis, the study found that, the major role of politicians in the conduct of Ghana's foreign policy is policy formulation whilst administrators were responsible for the actual implementation of the policies. Also, one of the major findings of the study was that, the nature of politics-administration in the conduct of Ghana's foreign policy is complementary rather than a dichotomy. Again, the study found that, despite this complementarity, political actors often have the tendency to interfere in the implementation process. Besides, political actors in many instances fail to adopt the advice of administrators who are technocrats of foreign policy. Finally, it was found that friction in the ministry between administrators and political actors is often resolved through compromise. In view of the findings, the study recommended that seminars and trainings should be organised regularly to enable political actors especially newly appointed ones to become conversant with the processes and procedures of the ministry in order to reduce frictions between political actors and administrators. Also, a national foreign policy needs to be design to explicitly define the interest of Ghana and the Ghanaian identity to serve as guide to subsequent political leaders.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Background to Study

Since the formation of the nation-state, nations have sought to project their interest and to assert their dominance in various ways. These interests became more advanced following the end of the second world war whereby countries, especially developed countries in the West became more aggressive towards the advancements of their interest globally. This was intensified during the period of the Cold War where the western bloc and the eastern bloc pursued various strategies globally in order to gain dominance. These acts have usually been captured in the foreign policies of the countries. Through these foreign policies, leaders of countries are able to consistently pursue the interest of their countries in relation to other countries in the world through the use of trade and foreign aid etc (Magcamit, 2017).

However, how these foreign policies are formulated and executed vary from one jurisdiction to another. For instance, the United States has been one of the dominant forces in the post-world war 2 order. This is despite the fact that the US was reluctantly drawn into the World War 2 and the global stage (Tower, 1981). Due to US increasing influence in global affairs throughout the cold war till now, various questions continue to be asked about the actors who primarily influence the foreign policies of the United States. Considering the democratic nature of the United States and how it has consistently over the years dominated global decision making processes, experts of international relations have had various opposing views about the main drivers of foreign policies in the United States (Jacobs & Page, 2005). Whilst many of these studies have indicated that the American foreign policy has largely been influenced by various interest groups including politicians, businesspeople, administrators, other such as

Jacobs and Page, (2005) believe that the main influencers of foreign policy in the United States business leaders and experts whilst public opinion and labour union rarely play a significant role in this regard. Generally, an observation of the debate of the US foreign policy influencers reveals that there are three main influencers of the US foreign policy and they include organized groups and neoliberals (Keohane & Milner, 1996), Experts and knowledge-based communities (Hall, 1989) and public opinion (Sobel, 2001). Thus, these three main interest groups at various points in the history of the US have influenced the directions of foreign policies in the country.

Aside from the US, the European Union has also been a key player at the global stage. However, unlike in the US where foreign policies is largely influenced by three major interest groups including citizens, technocrats and political actors, according to the European Union, the major decision-making body in terms of foreign policies is the European Commission. Under the European Commission is the European Union's Common Foreign and Security Policy which contains the foreign policy of the union. However, in addition to this is the individual foreign policies of the members states which may rival the commission's policies. In Africa, many countries have not been able to present a formalized foreign policy. Consequently, foreign policies in many African countries are largely dependent on the political ideology of leaders at a given period of time. Consequently, the major influencers of foreign policies in Africa, unlike in the US and the EU, has been predominantly the political class. The foreign policy decision making process in Africa is therefore mostly shaped mainly by the interest of the leader (Adar & Ajulu, 2002) but with considerations of the regional political and economic climate as well as with recourse to colonialism, poverty, and imperial powers (Thiam, 1965).

The cases presented above provide an overview of how foreign policies are formulated across the world including the role that technocrats, and administrators play in shape policies. This

provides an idea of the interactions between the political class and administrators in matters of administration and foreign policy.

In the practice of public administration, one key issue that has always stood out and been a subject of debate is the relationship between administration and politics. One may assert that, the debate has flowed from genuine concerns regarding the relationship between the formulation and execution of policies and therefore, have generally, centered on the role of politics in an administration process and the proper role of administrators in the political process. The traditional position to a large extent, has been a separation between the politics and administration as espoused by writers such as Wilson, (1887). The traditional perspective promoted “simultaneous emphasis on separation and insulation of administrators from political interference, on one hand, and interaction and incorporation of administrative contributions in the design and the implementation of public policy, on the other hand” (Svara, 2001). However, gaps have revealed that the strict dichotomy position may adversely affect the implementation of public policy and the need for complementarity. Although there are diverging views on whether the traditional perspective of public administration was that of strict dichotomy, it cannot be disputed that to some extent, there is a need for elected officials to cooperate and collaborate with public administrators in the achievement of proper governance and service to the public.

In the light of the above, different jurisdictions have adopted their own approach to implementation of foreign policy in accordance with what is seem effective to the attainment of national interest and public policy at large. Associated with this are questions of adhering to political directives and maintaining professional integrity (Svara 2001) as well as the potential conflicts situations that may arise from this relationship. Further, in the conduct of foreign policy, different jurisdictions have their own approach to international engagements.

Do public administrators conduct Ghana's foreign policy in other jurisdictions from a lens politics administration dichotomy or complementarity?

The ministry of foreign affairs and regional integration is an arm of the executive responsible for the conduct of Ghana's foreign relations. As a government organization, it works to serve the interest of the public, home and abroad. Employees of the ministry are civil servants who perform administrative functions. Apart from the fact that the ministry is headed by the minister of foreign affairs and regional integration who is a political appointee, the ministry largely works with the presidency and other political appointees in the performance of its mandate. This, therefore, creates an inevitable relationship between political class whose agenda is to further the ruling government's objectives vis a vis that of public administrator who serve the Ghanaian public no matter the government in power (Azunu, 2015; Chiweza & Msiska, 2020; Abdulai, 2017)

Therefore, this study would analyze the implementation of Ghana's foreign policy by public administrators from two lens. Firstly, the practice that exists in Ghana by examining the working relationship between the political leaders and administration whether the practice employs the politics -administration dichotomy or the complementarity approach and its effects on the overall mandate of the public servant. Secondly, whether administrators who are mandated to implement foreign policy through their international engagements sets aside politics and are only concerned with administrative questions.

2.1 Problem Statement

The quest for global dominance has led to an increasing interest in the formulation of foreign policy documents by including developing countries. Over the past few years, through foreign policies, developed countries such as US, European countries and in recent years, China have through various efforts such as aids, loans, military actions etc implemented these foreign

policies. In the formulation and implementation of these policies, various actors play significant roles in achieving their foreign targets. These actors include political leaders, administrators, experts among others (Halperin & Clapp, 2007). However, the implementation of these policies has often been fraught with several obstacles especially due to the different roles, responsibilities and interests of various actors. For instance, whilst administrators, experts and technocrats may try to pursue foreign policies from a technical perspective, political actors are also interested in optimizing and advancing their political interest. These conflicting interests have often created significant infractions with implementation (Milner, 1997). Thus, depending on the geographical factors, cultural, economic and historical conditions of countries among others, in a given country, foreign policies are meant to achieve the goals of varying interest groups in the country.

In the case of Ghana, the implementation of foreign policy has been faced with several factors. According to Mba (2015), both external and internal factors affect the implementation of Ghana's foreign policies over the years even though these external and internal factors significantly depend on the available economic infrastructure. However, among all these factors, the most dominant factor that influences the implementation of Ghana's foreign policy has been financial constraints. However, despite this influential role of finances in the implementation of foreign policies, the existing political-administrative structure also plays a major role in the implementation of foreign policy (Larsen, 2018). This is backed by the fact that the execution of the foreign policy creates an interaction between interest of politicians and that the effectiveness of the administrators.

Unfortunately, in the case of the implementation of Ghana's foreign policy, the interaction between the political class and the administrative agencies have not received sufficient studies. Even though there have been studies on the political-administrative structure in Ghana, there has not been studies on the nature of the relationship with regards to foreign policies in the

country (Abdulai, 2017; Ayee, 2013; Azunu, 2015). Thus, studies have not been conducted to ascertain whether there is a dichotomy or complementarity in the implementation of the Ghana's foreign policy. This is against the backdrop that, politicians are the major influencers of foreign policy in Ghana, however, the implementation of Ghana's foreign policy is executed by the ministry of foreign affairs. This Ministry comprises technocrats and administrators who run the activities of the ministry but is headed by the minister of foreign affairs (Dompfeh, 2018). In view of this, it is important to understand how the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, through the minister and the administrators effectively execute these foreign policies (MFA, [Ghana's Foreign Policy Guideline]).

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration is primarily responsible for the implementation Ghana's foreign policy. The Ministry has a distinct approach to politics-administration in the conduct of its affairs. In this respect, however, there is no known documented approach the ministry as well as public servants at large employ at home and abroad. This research would, therefore, analyze the approach to categorize it scientifically and make recommendations on its level of effectiveness.

1.2 Objectives of the Study

The study seeks to achieve the following objectives:

1. To analyze the politics- administration issues in the conduct of countries foreign policy.
2. To examine whether there is politics-administration dichotomy or complementarity in the conduct of Ghana's foreign policy at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration.
3. To assess some of the challenges in the politics-administration dichotomy or complementarity in the conduct of Ghana's foreign policy.

1.3 Research Questions

The search seeks to find answers to the following research questions:

1. How does politics-administration issues play out in the conduct of countries foreign policy?
2. Is there is politics-administration dichotomy or complementarity in the conduct of Ghana's foreign policy at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration?
3. What are some of the challenges in the politics-administration dichotomy or complementarity in the conduct of Ghana's foreign policy?

1.4 Scope of Study

This study would cover old and new perspectives on politics -administration dichotomy and complementarity. It shall relate it to the Ghana's foreign policy objectives as provided for under the constitution 1992 and look critically at the role of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in the conduct of this policy objectives.

A case study shall be done at the ministry of foreign affairs and a few other public institutions that work hand in hand with the Ministry in the fulfilment of its mandate. This would be conducted with the purpose of finding out the approach Ghana employs and how effective it has been in the attainment of its national interest. Finally, an analysis and recommendations would be made on the findings.

1.5 Rationale for the Study

Considering the instrumental roles that foreign policies play in the advancement of the interest of countries globally, this research will provide new perspectives on foreign policies globally such as the US foreign policy, the foreign policy of European countries and the emergence of

China in the global stage. Subsequently, the results from this study will provide an in-depth knowledge on the workings of the Foreign Ministry of the Republic of Ghana in the formulation and implementation of Ghana's foreign policy. Thus, the study would hopefully provide scientific evidence on the politics administration approach in conduct of Ghana's foreign policy and ascertain whether this approach has been effective in the implementation of foreign policy. Further, findings of the study would add to the existing literature for students in International Affairs by empirically describing the relationship between politicians and administrators as well as Ghana's approach towards politics-administration her international engagements.

1.6 Theoretical Framework

Realism as a theory of international relations focuses on the nature in which international relations can be competitive or conflict among nations. According to Antunes & Camisão, (2018), the theory originates from the writings of Thucydides on the Peloponnesian War around the ages of 431 and 404 BCE. However, since the concept of international relation was non-existent at the time of Thucydides writings, he could not have been considered a realist. Thus, even though the idea of international relations started in twentieth century, the principle of Thucydides writing corroborates significantly with the theory of realism (Morley, 2018). Due to the similarities between his writings and the theory of realism, it is believed that the theory takes its root from Thucydides.

Now the theory of realism in terms of international relations posits that states seek their own interest by striving to expand or increase their own strength in relation to other states. As a result, states or countries that are able to garner more power or strength in various aspects such as economic power, military among others, will increase quickly to overshadow other states in the international arena (Antunes & Camisão, 2018). This implies that , the main objective of

every state is to ensure that it preserves its identity an interest and to pursue the acquisition of power in various forms such as political, social, and economic terms.

The basic idea of realism is that, the state is the number one player with regards to the international stage. As a result, other international organisations and individuals who participate in it are just other entities aside the state. Thus, the state is a unitary actor within the international level. The theory goes on to argue that, the interest of the state which is also referred to as the national interest is the main driver of the state's participation in the international stage. Moreover, the state and its decision makers are rational and that the decision maker in the state believes that it is through rational decision making that the state will be able to achieve its interest globally (Brock & Mares, 2014). In view of the above, it would be considered as illogical or irrational for any actor within the state to pursue actions that will weaken the position of the state or that will expose the state to dire consequences. Thus, regardless of the political leader at the given time or the political party in power, the interest of the state is paramount and that the state at all time must be protected and allowed to compete in the global stage.

Finally, the theory of realism assumes that the international stage is anarchical and that states exist in a state of anarchy within the global economy since the international stage, unlike the state, is not policed or governed by any laws or body. This situation is referred to by Antunes & Camisão, (2018) as the position of “no one to call” (p.1). Thus, the lack of military, police, law courts or other law enforcement institutions as exist in the state, at the international level means that there is no organ or body to do something in case of emergency or chaos. As a result, the international state is basically in a state of emergency where every state or nation-state only looks out for itself. This is necessary because the theory of realism also believes that the nature of human beings is egoistic and that human beings have an insatiable desire to obtain more power and influence and hence there is little trust among them. This desire to conquer

more as an innate quality of human beings reflects in the behaviour of the state and it comprises of humans and is ruled by human beings. This position is argued by Niccol Machiavelli who indicates that the traits of the state is influenced by the traits that the human beings in it and state's security as well.

After the second World War, Hans Morgenthau in 1948 sought to develop the theory that could comprehensively explain the nature of international philosophy and that could serve as a guide to international relations. This is because Hans believed that, like the state and society, the international stage could be guided by rules that are rooted in the nature human beings. Thus, the major objective of Hans was to make clear the linkage that exist between the national interest of states and the morals of international politics. To this effect, Hans took his inspiration from the earlier works of Thucydides and Machiavelli. Consequently, contrary to the suggestions that the international arena should be guided by the morality and fairness, Morgenthau argued that the priority of the state should be on the power rather than on morality. This is because Morgenthau that the subject of morality should be ignored because the interest of political activities including the activities of the state at the international stage is governed by the desire to increase and show power or in the least, retain it. Thus, the issue of morality was idealistic and has the tendency of leading the state to a weak position or exposing the state to dire consequences leading to possible annihilation or control of the state by its rivals in the global stage. Therefore, the issue of national interest and the processes involved are basically immoral and hence are not in any way susceptible to the conclusions of morality (Antunes & Camisão, 2018).

Based on the principles of realism, realists believe that the theory of realism best explains the nature of international politics. Thus, it is more realistic and appealing than many other theories of international relation. This makes realism the most used theory with regards to issues of foreign policy decision making. Through the ambition and guidelines of Michiavelli, the theory

guides decision makers (Mindle, 1985). However, critics of the theory believe that the continuation of violence in the international stage and the desire to use all means possible to obtain more power and influence over other countries is created by the theory of realism. This is because, realism as a theory, sows a seed of discord among major players in the international arena. This breeds distrust through the assumption that of lack of cooperation by each of the actors in the global stage. This makes realism a self-fulfilling prophesy as it serves as a breeding ground for egoistic attitude and lack of cooperation thereby leading to chaos. In fact, realism is seen by critics as been overly gloomy as it creates a notion of a confrontational international system where anarchy is unavoidable.

The theory of realism has been seen as the deficient due it inability to foretell or even explain the circumstances surrounding the recent major chaos at the international level. Some of these include the events of the end of the Cold War that existed between the Former Soviet Union and the United States of America which led to the collapse of the former in 1991. The events following this period were marked by a major shift in the international political landscape where there was less chaos and competition or strife among nation. This period saw more and more collaboration among nations throughout the world with significant milestones being achieve at the global stage through cooperation. This weakens the ideals of realism and hence led to the manifestation of a new body of theory which sought to dismiss the theory of realism as an old line of thought. Moreover, the theory of realism has been seen as limiting as it perceives the international stage through the state and the interest of the state alone as an entity. This ignores other international organisations and entities as well as the international issues or problems that may not necessarily be related to the state directly. Again, events such as the major uprising that were witnessed within the Soviet Union in the 1980s and early 1990s could not be explained by the realist theory due to its narrow focus on the interest of the state and its

assumptions that the individual and other international agencies or bodies, for instance, do not play any serious role in the international arena (Gismondi, 2007).

Based on the above, it can be observed that the theory of realism sees the state as an entity in a continuous state of self-services that does not factor other factors in its decision making but only its interest. As described by the ideas of 'balance of power', whereby all states continuously pursue the expansion of their own power that the continuously make decisions and take actions that undermine the power of other states in the international arena. Thus, theoretically, no state, in the end, is able to obtain sufficient power to override other states. This implies that any state that seeks to become 'too' powerful in the international stage and as such seeks to control others would be destroyed through an alliance of other states in the global stage. In such circumstances, these states collaborate to destroy the powerful state because of their common interest against the powerful state. This scenario is typified by the events of the second World War whereby other states allied their forces to fight against the advancement of Germany under the Nazi rule. Thus, based on the balance of power idea, the alliance ends immediately the goal is achieved. This idea is accused by critics as a tool that is used for more violence. However, in responding to these claims indicated above, realist often make the assumption that the events that characterised the fall of the Soviet Union among others are unique in the history of international relations.

Notwithstanding the criticism of many scholars against realism, the theory is still seen as one of the most important theories of international relations. The relevance of the theory to international relations has made it such that almost every modern literature on the subject of international relations examines the theory of realism. Again, considering the historical underpinnings of realism, the theory still serves as a critical tool in the foreign policy decision making of countries as it provides valuable insights into the perspectives of other states in the international stage. Thus, regardless of the criticisms against the theory, there is no denying the

fact that, even though states may have other priorities in their foreign policy, the major priority of every state at the international stage is the protection of the interest of that state. Consequently, both administrators and politicians who participate in the foreign policy decision making of their states do so with the major goal of advancing or at least, protecting the interest of their states. However, the question then arises that if all state actors in the foreign policy decision making process act in advancing the interest of the state, then it is important that these state actors are able to make concessions and compromises in order to arrive at decisions that will collectively advance the interest of the state.

Conclusion

Realism is a philosophy that seeks to explain world politics in its entirety. It emphasizes the political restrictions imposed by humanity's egoistic character and the lack of a centralized authority above the state. The primary priority for realists is the state's existence, which explains why states' acts are assessed by ethics of responsibility rather than moral precepts. Because of realism's prominence, there has been a considerable body of writing critical of its basic assumptions. Despite the validity of the critiques, which will be discussed further in this book, realism continues to produce useful insights and is an important analytical tool for any student of International Relations.

1.7 Literature Review

1.7.0 States Foreign Policy Making and Implementation

The making and implementation of the foreign policy of a country undergoes various processes and is shaped by numerous factors which may be internal or external. According to Folarin (2017), the internal factors that shape the foreign policy making of a country include the geographical location of the country, the strength of military might, economic public opinion,

media, economic development, culture and religion, historical values among others. These all play significant roles in the formation of foreign policies of countries. The paper added that, in addition to these internal or domestic factors of the country are the external factors which also affect the formulation of foreign policy in a country. Some of these external factors include the membership of an international organization or community, regional or international security, the intentions of the states of interest among others. These internal and external factors were also confirmed by studies such as (Khara & Kumar, 2018; Ahmed, 2016; Hamilton & Tiilikainen, 2018).

In explaining the processes of foreign policy formulation in the US, Bowie (1960) indicated that, the making of an American-foreign policies first of all requires that political actors and experts examine the issues of other states in relation to the US. Subsequently, the foreign policy makers then decide on how to respond to a given foreign action. This then leads to the necessary discussions on the issue and the appropriateness of a given response to the international issue. During the discussions on the issue, it becomes important for the actors especially the political class to marshal the support of the general public and the institutions that need to play a role in ensuring that the foreign policy is implemented. This may include obtaining support from the legislature as well as mobilizing the needed resources for the execution of the foreign policy. The final stage is the execution of the foreign policy after the necessary support, approvals and resources have been obtained. However, he indicated, during the implementation of the policy, certain factors on the ground may cause changes to some of the implementation processes. For instance, following the events of the September 11, 2001 attack on the World Trade centre, President George Bush's administration observed the extent of the situation and felt that, the necessary cause of action at that time was military action. Consequently, the various outposts that the government sanctioned had to be approved by the legislature and with support from

the American people. This defines the foreign policy formulation and implementation process in the United States.

In assessing the foreign policy machinery of the United States, Bowie (1960) posited that the main agencies of the state that have been mandated with the formulation and the implementation of US foreign policy is the State Department the Department of Defence which includes the Central Intelligence Agency.

1.7 The Ghanaian Foreign Policy

With regards to foreign policy formulation in Ghana, the main objectives include to provide support to the African Union, to ensure good neighbourliness, promote economic development, encourage research among others. The formulation of Ghana's foreign policy is conducted by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in collaboration with the various diplomatic missions across the world. Consequently, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is deemed as the main advisor of the government of Ghana in the formulation of Ghana's foreign policy. However, the formulation of the foreign policy is guided by the principles provided by the 1992 Constitution of Ghana. These include "the Promotion and protection of the interest of Ghana; Establishment of a just and equitable international, economic, political and social order; Promotion of respect for international law and treaty obligations; Promotion of the settlement of international disputes through peaceful means; Adherence to the principles enshrined in the Charter and aims or ideals of the United Nations, the African Union, the ECOWAS, the Commonwealth and the Non-Aligned Movement" (MoFA, [Ghana's Foreign Policy Guideline]).

Also, just like in the case of the US, Ghana's foreign policy has largely been influenced by the capability of the military. For instance, Ghana's foreign policy especially beyond Africa has not featured the use of military actions. Even within West Africa, the country undertakes a

military action usually through the Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) or through other international organizations. This is explained by the fact that the country does not have a powerful military like world superpowers (Khara & Kumar, 2018). Again, it is also influenced by the geographical location of the country. This is evident through the country's membership of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the African Union among others. These have created a peaceful co-existence between Ghana and these countries. Other factors that influence the Ghanaian foreign policy include the political ideology of the country, the historical events of the country among others (Carlsnaes, 2008).

Just as in other countries, the implementation of Ghana's foreign policy is bring the bear the interdependencies of the political class and the technical administrators of the implementation agencies. Thus, in examining the political-administrative relationship, Azunu (2015) found that some level of dichotomy exists in the form of orthodox dichotomy and moderate dichotomy, though at differential levels within the local government structure of Ghana. In addition, the structure also practices some degree of complementarity. This is explained by Ohemeng & Anebo, (2012) who posits that the nature of the political administrative system is complementary, and as a result, successive governments have been able to abandon projects and initiatives of previous governments especially during the change of administration. This is the result of the inability of the administrative system to resist attempts of the political class to make reforms within the country (Ohemeng & Anebo, 2012). For instance, due to the absence of a comprehensive national document, political actors in Ghana have often swayed the administrative system to pursue the interest of the political class.

1.8 Foreign policy and National interest

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration plays a very pivotal role in implementing Ghana's foreign policy. The ministry through its various Bureaus undertakes the following objectives:

Of providing advice to government on the formulation of Ghana's foreign policy; coordinating the foreign policy decision making process of Ghana's foreign policy objectives; providing and supporting the staff that will enable the country achieve its objectives; administering in an efficient and prudent manner the finances that have been allocated to the conduct of Ghana's foreign policy, as provided by the laid down rules and regulations to facilitate the achievement of its objectives; developing control systems to improve cost effective resource management; promoting understanding within the domestic and international media as well as governmental, non-governmental and civil society organizations on all aspects of Ghana's foreign policy; promoting a better understanding of contemporary Ghana and her achievements; promoting a better understanding of contemporary Ghana and her achievements; improving further the efficiency of the Passport service for the benefit of Ghanaian citizens both home and abroad; providing quality ICT service to facilitate and support the Ministry's efforts in pursuing its objectives; maximizing Ghana's representation and involvement in international legal fora and associated organisations; delivering an integrated legal service within the Ministry and in close conjunction with the Attorney General's Office; increasing the quality of consular services offered by the Ministry and its Diplomatic and Consular Missions; keeping strong interaction with Ghanaian communities across the world, particularly immigrant groups;; providing the necessary arrangements for the Diplomatic Corps to enable them to fulfill their diplomatic missions. Also, the ministry is responsible for advancing Ghana's economic interest by working with other MDAs to achieve targets set by the Government for the expansion of trade,

tourism and inward investment; ensuring a high standard of organization for official visits to and from Ghana; organizing Ghana's commitment to regional integration in order to advance national political, economic, and social goals while safeguarding national interests; Developing and organizing Ghana's negotiating stance at regional, continental, and international conferences in order for the conclusion to best suit Ghana's interests; creating and maintaining diplomatic ties with friendly countries, as well as promoting favourable bilateral political, economic, scientific, technical, and cultural contacts; Ghana's foreign policy objectives are being planned, monitored, and evaluated. (MFA&RI, [Strategic Plan 2011-2013).

The ministry together with its stakeholders promote the national interest of the republic of Ghana internally and externally. Many of these stakeholders are public institutions whose actors are public servants tasked with the responsibility of engagements on behalf of the state. Their aim is primarily to champion the national interest of the Republic of Ghana as enshrined in the Constitution (1992).

National interest is used to identify goals and analyze policy. It determines the behaviours of states on the international front. Writers such as Joseph Frankel have argued that national interest is “centered upon the welfare of the nation and the preservation of the national life”

Chapter six of the *Constitution of The Republic of Ghana (1992)* outlines what one would describe as the ultimate Ghanaian public policy. Article 34 (1) of the constitution (1992) provides that: the document is to serve as the primary guide to all citizens of Ghana, the various organs of the government of Ghana, namely, executive including the President and Cabinet, the Judiciary, the Parliament of Ghana, political parties, the Council of State, as well as all other organizations in the interpretation of the Constitution as well as any law in the implementation of policy decisions aimed at creating a free and just society. Specifically relating to the conduct of foreign relations, Article 40 provides that:

In its dealings with other nations, the Government shall promote and protect the interests of Ghana ensure that the international system is equitable and just; ensure respect for the international law and treaty, as well as using peaceful processes to settle international disputes; ensuring the adherence to the principles enshrined in or as the case may be, the aims and ideals of international organizations like the United Nations Charter, the Organisation of African Unity, the Commonwealth of Nations, the Economic Community of West African States, and any other international organisation of which Ghana is a member.

These provisions underpin the conduct Ghana's foreign policy as it embodies a clearly stated national interest. To this end, Article 74 (1) provides the president of the Republic of Ghana has the power to appoint persons to represent Ghana abroad. This usually service through the Ghanaian Embassies and High Commissions around the world. Implementation of Foreign policy is one of the most important areas for every government that comes into power (Thompson, 2015). The focal area is the formulation and implementation of Ghana's foreign policy and how they are influenced by the ideologies, objectives, and goals of the government in power (Kumah-Abiwu, 2016).

Ghana has employed various means of implementing foreign policy to advance its national developmental agenda. For instance, the Kufuor administration was heavily characterized by the pursuit of economic interests evidenced in international engagements (economic diplomacy). This is because the government's main objective was to transform the economic woes of the country at the time, which was characterized by huge decline of foreign exchange reserve, inflation, external arrears build up, increase in fiscal deficit among others.

Likewise, successive governments have articulated dimensions of foreign policy they wish to pursue rigorously (Kumah-Abiwu, 2016). The role of public administrators in international engagements to a large extent determines the success or otherwise of pursuits of the

government in power. This means that, public administrators must be allowed to function properly notwithstanding the fact that such engagements sometimes put them in situations in which they may be confronted with political questions in the quest of pursuing of national interest (Thompson, 2015).

Despite the views of certain IR theorists like Waltz who sought to articulate that, theories of international politics and foreign policy are distinct and such theorizing international politics produces few clues about foreign policy behaviour. Rittberger (2004) like some neorealists disagree and observes that “foreign policy is not an activity separate from international politics: in the sense international politics is composed of the foreign policies of the actors and if actors somehow decided no longer to engage in foreign policy, there would be no international politics either.” For instance, to the utilitarian liberalist individuals and groups within or without the political-administrative system such as bureaucrats, voters, interest groups, politicians are the fundamental actors of international politics are not states.

In the case of South Africa for instance, Landsberg (2010) in *The Foreign Policy of The Zuma Government: Pursuing the National Interest?* questioned then-South African President Jacob Zuma's government's new domestication foreign policy paradigm, which said that South Africa's national interest should be the "beam" of its foreign policy. He attacked the government's lack of clarity on what it meant by national interests, as well as the lack of a relationship between national interests and foreign policy two years after it took office. Concerned about the dangers that might arise when authorities make assumptions, he regrets that the "failure to make operational a national interest paradigm" has typified South Africa's foreign policy (Landsberg, 2010). He additionally points out that, the underlying factor has been the discomfort of embracing the concept of national interest due to Apartheid. The successive apartheid governments whose concept of power embraced and emphasized the

realist perspective which doctrines have been used to perpetuate racial subjugation in south Africa during the years of white domination (Landsberg, 2010).

Apartheid had split the country into “two nations and two economies”; the “white and prosperous”; and the “black and poor.” This negative impact has compelled post-apartheid governments to bring about new national interest perspectives different from those pursued by white-led governments and pursue a more progressive foreign policy (Braga, 2017).

However, from the Mandela led government to the Zuma government which primarily characterize post-apartheid south Africa, these governments have failed in their attempt to provide a proper national interest paradigm that would be beneficial to eradicate the woes apartheid has visited on the country (Landsberg, 2012). Landsberg, (2010) expressed that the first two governments had a “difficulty in pinpointing national interest on the domestic front” and the proper alignment of the domestic priorities to foreign policy. In this regard, one would have thought that the Zuma led government in declaring a new foreign policy as a way to overcome previous challenges, would clearly spell out the national interest is going to underpin the new foreign policy. Little choice is left than to categorize the aims found in the ruling African National Congress (ANC) manifesto and which was endorsed by the country’s Department of International Relations and Cooperation (DIRCO) and articulated on platforms by the minister.

Landsberg (2010) questioned whether these aims constitute the most “vital interests” for the survival of South Africa. On the other hand, he admits that the Mbeki government did a better job under the circumstances in comparison with the rest. Nonetheless, Landsberg examined the policy direction of South Africa to SADC, AU, South- South cooperation among others in driving its foreign policy. As a matter of concern, the country remains one of the underrepresented countries in SADC and other broader African and international multilateral forums, a situation that has direly affected the country’s national interests (Landsberg, 2010).

Lastly, he adds to the politics-administration discourse and suggests that south Africa is likely to improve its poor representation in international forums if appointments into such positions are merit based by placing competent and skilled individuals in such positions. Concluding that the Zuma government like its predecessors in post-apartheid, have failed in its attempts to conceptualize the country's national interest and resorted to "declaratory statement of intent" and hopes the government in its remaining years can make a shift and close the domestic-foreign policy gap (Landsberg, 2010).

The question therefore is, what relationship exists between the political class and the public servants who essentially serve as the bridge in translating governments aspirations into a reality? What has been the role and parameters of responsiveness by civil servants and diplomats in the consistent failed attempts that characterizes south Africa's national interest and its foreign policy?

1.8 Research Methodology

1.8.1 Research Design

For the purposes of this research, the study used the qualitative approach to achieve the above stated objectives. As a result of this, the qualitative data collection technique was used through face-to-face interview and questionnaires with Ambassadors, top level directors, and politicians as well as other staff of Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration. This is justified by the advantages of the qualitative research approach in examining experiences of people. As stated by Rahman (2017), one of the major advantages of a qualitative approach is that it affords the research the opportunity to obtain significantly deeper insights into the experiences of the population under study. In view of this, and considering the nature of this study, a qualitative approach was necessary to provide an insight into the experiences of

politicians, administrators and employees of the ministry and relevant agencies on nature of the politics-administration in conduct of Ghana's foreign policy.

According to Palmer and Bolderston (2006), a qualitative approach or method to research "is an interpretative approach, which attempts to gain insight into the specific meanings and behaviours experienced in a certain social phenomena³ through the subjective experiences of the participants." This implies that in the use of qualitative approach, the researcher seeks to obtain findings to questions that comprise of how, why or in which manner or way a particular activity is done. This is in contrast to the quantitative approach whereby a researcher tries to measure responses in terms of figures (Goertzen, 2017). Thus, in the case of a qualitative research, this research uses qualitative research design with descriptions, explanations, as well as categories to examine phenomenon or human experiences (Turale, 2020). The study's adoption of a qualitative approach is based on the fact that a qualitative approach gives the study participants an opportunity to express the opinions and share their experiences on the issues of politics and administration on the conduct of foreign policy in Ghana particularly the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional integration. Besides, through qualitative studies, a more comprehensive information is obtained to provide an in-depth analysis of the issues of politics and administration in the conduct of Ghana's foreign policy.

1.8.2 Sources of Data

As indicated above, the purpose of this study is to examine the nature of politics-administration in the conduct of Ghana's foreign policy by using the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration of Ghana as a case study. To this effect, the primary source of data was workers in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration. These included the Ambassadors, top

level directors, politicians, and staff of the ministry. The staff of the ministry included both those who have served abroad on postings and those who have not. The purpose of interviewing and soliciting responses from political appointees in the areas of Ghana's international relations and foreign policies such as ambassadors was to obtain the perspective of the political class in that regard. This necessary since the study sought to examine the relationship between the actions of politicians in relation to the administrators in the conduct of Ghana's foreign policy.

Consequently, since ambassadors are appointees of the government who represent the country in other countries, their perspective on the conduct of Ghana's foreign policy was crucial in the analysis. Similarly, the interview of the administrators was necessary to understand the perspectives of administrators in the conduct of Ghana's foreign policy. Therefore, the data source was the ministry and agencies in terms of both political appointees and administrators.

1.8.3 Sample Size and Sampling methods

As indicated above, the population of interest was the major stakeholders in the conduct of Ghana's foreign policy. As a result, the study made use of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration as a case study. However, according to Onwuegbuzie & Collins, (2007), due to the nature of qualitative studies, sample sizes should not be too many in order to allow for indebt analysis. This is because unlike quantitative approaches, the qualitative data analyses experiences. Notwithstanding that, they added that the sample size should not be so small in order to avoid issues of data saturation. Therefore, in view of the above, the study made use of a sample of 16 participants from the Ministry. This included politicians and appointees from the Ministry such as ambassadors, Foreign Service Officers who form the administrative class of the Ministry. The purpose of this was to obtain views from the various stakeholders of foreign policy making and implementation in Ghana to examine holistic experiences.

With regards to the sampling method, the study made use of purposive sampling. Purposive sampling simply refers to the type of sampling process that uses the judgement of the researcher and hence is non-probabilistic (Etikan et al., 2016). This type of sampling was ideal in this case since it was important to consider participants with significant experiences in the foreign policy making and implementation. Thus, even though staff of the Ministry would be interviewed, it was important that the participants are selected from the different bureaus of the Ministry that was crucial in Ghana's foreign policy.

1.8.4 Data Analysis

The study used a descriptive approach in analyzing the responses to basically describe the existing situation. This was basically in the form of the qualitative data analysis approach. This is explained by Patton (2002) as “any qualitative data reduction and 22 sense-making effort that takes a volume of qualitative material and attempts to identify core consistencies and meanings” (p. 453). The recorded interview responses were then transcribed for analysis. Subsequently, the transcribed responses from the participants were through comparisons to observe similarities and differences. Through this, patterns were observed from the responses for the purpose of making conclusion. Therefore, this study analysed by responses by examining each of the responses relative to the objectives above. However, it must be noted that there is no specific process of analysing qualitative responses (Hoskins & Mariano, 2004).

1.8.4 Ethical Issues

In the conduct of a research, the ethics of the research process is crucial in determining the originality of the findings. This makes it ideal to use these findings for the purposes of expanding knowledge on the subject among others (Macfarlane, 2010). As a result, the study was conducted in the most ethical manner.

Consent

In conducting the interviews, the consent of participants were sought prior to the commencement of the interview. The purpose of the research was made known to them and the participants were made aware that their participation in the interview was voluntary and that they were at liberty to withdraw their participation at any point of the interview.

This was necessary because the ethics of research requires that the consent of participants are sought prior to the conduct of the interview. Also, interviewees should not be coerced into participating in the interview. Besides, the participants should be free to withdraw from participating in the interview at any time (Cho, et al., 2015)

Privacy

According to Coffelt (2017), confidentiality and privacy of participants is important in research and it is the responsibility of the researcher to ensure that the privacy of the participants are assured. Prior to the commencement of the research, participants were made aware that the information that they will provide regarding this research would be held adequately protected. Also, their anonymity is assured since the study did not include the names of the participants in the survey.



REFERENCES

Alasdir, Roberts (2019). Shaking hands with Hitler: the politics administration dichotomy and engagement with fascism. *Public administration review*, 267-276.

Alford, J., Hartley, J., Yates, S., & Hughes, O. (2017). Into the purple zone: Deconstructing the politics/administration distinction. *The American Review of Public Administration*, 47(7), 752-763.

- Asmeron, Haile K., and Eliza P. Reis, eds. 1996. *Democratization and Political Neutrality*. London: Macmillan
- Ayee, J. R. (2011). Manifestos and elections in Ghana's Fourth Republic. *South African Journal of International Affairs*, 18(3), 367-384.
- Braga, P. (2017). Human rights and the origin of myths of post-apartheid South African foreign policy. *The Strategic Review for Southern Africa*, 39(2).
- Cho, M. K., Magnus, D., & Wilfond, B. S. (2015). Informed consent for research on medical practices. *Annals of internal medicine*, 163(9), 725-726.
- Chris Landsberg (2010). The foreign policy of the Zuma government: pursuing the national interest? *South African Journal of International Affairs* 17(3), 273-293
<https://doi.org/10.1080/10220461.2010.533890>
- Coffelt, T. A. (2017). Confidentiality and anonymity of participants. In M. Allen (Ed.), *The SAGE Encyclopedia of Communication Research Methods*. Thousand Oaks
- Dahl, Robert A. 1947. The Science of Public Administration: Three Problems. *Public Administration Review* 7(1): 1-11.
- Etikan, I., Musa, S. A., & Alkassim, R. S. (2016). Comparison of convenience sampling and purposive sampling. *American journal of theoretical and applied statistics*, 5(1), 1-4.
- Goertzen, M. J. (2017). Introduction to quantitative research and data. *Library Technology Reports*, 53(4), 12-18.
- Hartley, J., Alford, J., Hughes, O., & Yates, S. (2015). Public value and political astuteness in the work of public managers: The art of the possible. *Public Administration*, 93(1), 195-211.

- Kumah-Abiwu, F. (2016). Leadership traits and Ghana's foreign policy: The case of Jerry Rawlings' foreign economic policy of the 1980s. *The Round Table*, 105(3), 297-310.
- Landsberg, C. (2012). Towards a post-apartheid South African foreign policy review. *South African Foreign Policy Review*, 1, 1-17.
- Macfarlane, B. (2010). *Researching with integrity: The ethics of academic enquiry*. Routledge.
- Ohemeng, F. K., & Anebo, F. K. (2012). The politics of administrative reforms in Ghana: Perspectives from path dependency and punctuated equilibrium theories. *International Journal of Public Administration*, 35(3), 161-176.
- Palmer, C., & Bolderston, A. (2006). A brief introduction to qualitative research. *Canadian Journal of Medical Radiation Technology*, 37(1), 16- 19.
- Patton, M. Q. (2014). *Qualitative research & evaluation methods: Integrating theory and practice*. Sage publications.
- Rahman, M. S. (2017). The Advantages and Disadvantages of Using Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches and Methods in Language" Testing and Assessment" Research: A Literature Review. *Journal of Education and Learning*, 6(1), 102-112.
- Rittsberger Volker. (2004). Approaches to the study of foreign policy derived from international relations theories. *Tübingen 2004*, ISBN 3-927604-43-7
- Sayre, Wallace S. 1954. The General Manager Idea for Large Cities. *Public Administration Review* 14(4): 253-8.
- Sayre, Wallace S. (1951). Trends of a Decade in Administrative Values. *Public Administration Review* 11(1): 1-9.

Sayre, Wallace S. 1958. Premises of Public Administration: Past and Emerging. *Public Administration Review* 18(2): 102–5.

Svara, James H (1999a). Complementarity of Politics and Administration as a Legitimate Alternative to the Dichotomy Model. *Administration and Society* 30(6): 676–705.

Svara, James H. (1998). The Politics-Administration Dichotomy Model as Aberration. *Public Administration Review* 58(1): 51–8.

Svara, James H. (1999b). *U.S. City Managers and Administrators in a Global Perspective. The Municipal Year Book 1999*. Washington, DC: International City Management Association. 25–3

Thompson, W. S. (2015). *Ghana's Foreign Policy, 1957-1966*. Princeton University Press.

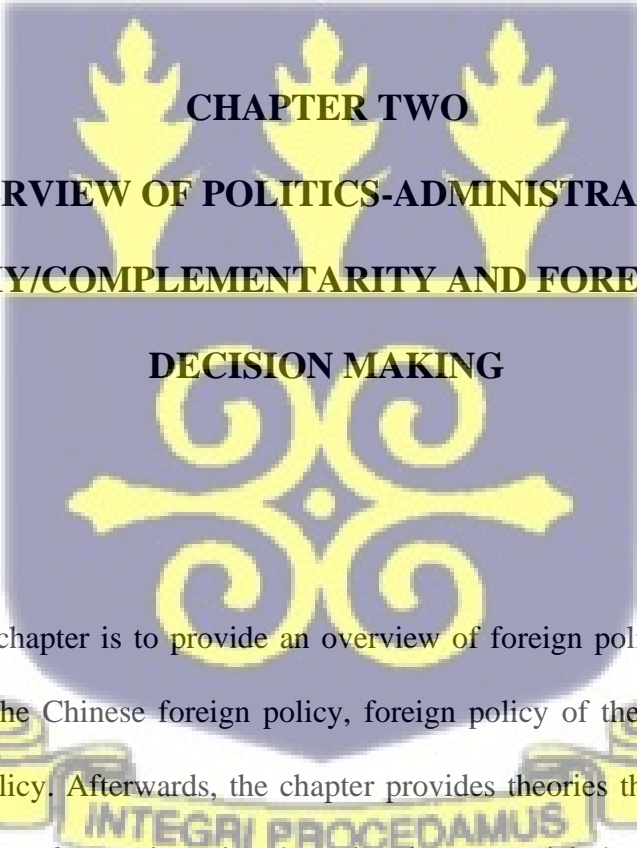
Turale, S. (2020). A brief introduction to qualitative description: A research design worth using. *Pacific Rim International Journal of Nursing Research*, 24(3), 289-291.

Waldo, Dwight. (1948). *The Administrative State*. New York: Ronald Press.

Willoughby, W. F. (1927). *Principles of Public Administration*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Wilson, Woodrow. (1887). The Study of Administration. *Political Science Quarterly* 2(2): 197–222.





CHAPTER TWO
OVERVIEW OF POLITICS-ADMINISTRATION
DICHOTOMY/COMPLEMENTARITY AND FOREIGN POLICY
DECISION MAKING

2.0 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to provide an overview of foreign policy and foreign policy decision making in the Chinese foreign policy, foreign policy of the European Union, the American foreign policy. Afterwards, the chapter provides theories that explain the foreign policy decision making of countries using the rational actor model, the organizational process model and the bureaucratic politics model.

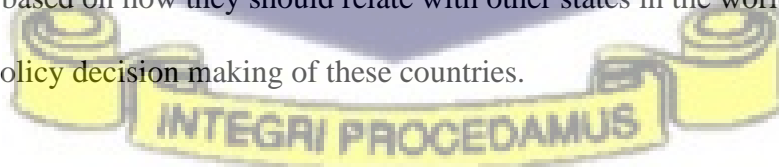
2.1 Foreign Policy

Foreign policy simply refers to the manner or the strategies through which a country relates with other countries with the aim of maximizing its interest in the world. Alternatively, it can be perceived as the diplomatic and strategic behaviour of a country to other countries and international organizations geared towards the advancement of its national interest. More comprehensively, it “is both broad trends of behaviour and the particular actions taken by a state or other collective public actor directed towards other states or collective actors within the international system. Foreign policy actions can be undertaken using variety of different instruments ranging from adopting declarations, making speeches, negotiating treaties, giving other states economic aid, diplomatic activity such as summits and the of military force” (Beach & Pedersen, 2019; p. 4). Throughout the world, foreign policy matters of a country are designed and implemented by the state on behalf of its citizens. This means that foreign policy entails the interactions of states in relation to other states. However, it must be noted that foreign policy may also involve the role of international organizations such as the United Nations, the African Union among others. In many countries, foreign policy matters are handled by the head of the government of the state and implemented through the foreign affairs minister and ministry like in Ghana, Kenya, China etc (Matano, 2016; Yang, 2019). In the case of the United States of America, foreign policy matters of the government are implemented through the Secretary of State who is the political head of the Department of State (Ross, 2011). In the case of Ghana, the president is also the primary foreign relations diplomat and hence is in charge of Ghana’s foreign policy but just like in the United States, the president acts through the minister and ministry of foreign affairs and regional integration. Despite this seeming similarity, the processes and procedures involved in the design and implementation of foreign policies of countries differs from one country to another.

The purposes of adopting and implementing foreign policies span throughout various interests of the state. These may be economic interest, security interest, cultural interest, ideological reasons, defense among others. Thus, countries develop their foreign policies to guide their relationships with other countries in the international stage in pursuit of these interest on behalf of its citizens. These relations may take the form of bilateral relations, multilateral relations which consists of regional organizations like the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the African Union (AU), the European Union (EU) among others. It may also be global and hence does not depend on geographical regions like the United Nations (Milner & Tingley, 2013). Below is an overview of the foreign policy decision making from the perspective of the Chinese, American and the European Union.

2.2 Foreign Policy Decision Making

The formation of the nation-state implied that states would interact with one another in one way or another geared towards promoting their national interest. This interaction has become more crucial especially in the increasing globalization of the world. Due to the advent of globalization, 'less influential' countries have also began to design their foreign policy documents which will serve as a primary guide to their behaviour towards other states and international organizations in the world. This involves the process of foreign policy decision making. Consequently, every state in recent years undergoes a process that enables them to make decisions based on how they should relate with other states in the world. This is defined by the foreign policy decision making of these countries.



In view of the above, the foreign policy decision making of a country simply refers to the process through which a state adopts alternative sets of behaviour or actions shape or influences how the state relates with other states in the world. Thus, the foreign policy decision making process describes how a state makes choices or plans regarding how it behaves at the

international stage. This involves examining the socioeconomic, and military conditions among others in the country in relations to the prevailing conditions in other countries and then adopting the best possible strategy that will protect the interest of the state.

2.2.1 China's Foreign Policy Decision Making

The Chinese foreign policy making and implementation is influenced by the Chinese system itself including the ideals of Confucianism and the communist party (Zhao, 2018). The system is greatly influenced by the Chinese communist party from which all members of bodies charged with the implementation of policy are selected. The party's highest body it is said, ranks higher than the highest state body rank and the party outranks all sectors of the state including government departments (Morrison, 2012). Decisions making involves a system where orders are passed from level to level. Decisions are made along dual tracks, the party track, and the state track. Since the party reigns supreme, its central committee is the most important body in the Chinese system with its members occupying the most important positions in the Chinese government. The executive committee of the central committee called the politburo standing committee is the ultimate decision-making body of China's foreign policy (Lawrence, 2011). The Politburo Standing Committee (PSC) oversees consequential decisions affecting China's major relationship including United States, Japan, Russia, and North Korea, emergencies, international crises such as border issues and incidents (Jakobson & Manuel, 2016). At least three major bureaus are responsible for elements of foreign affairs. These are the party's own international department (CPC ID). Second is Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA) and the Taiwan affairs office (the last two being state bodies) the MFA is responsible for government -government relations around the world (Fook, 2019). Many actors in the Chinese foreign policy system compete for favour of higher-ranking bodies. The Chinese president, Xi Jinping is said to be the most powerful figure in major decision-making issues of

Chinese foreign policy. This means that these “actors in the foreign policy decision making of China are competing for the favour of Xi Jinping who is said to have taken charge of all foreign policy decision making bodies” which has been described as personification of the Chinese foreign policy system (Jakobson & Manuel, 2016; p. 101). According to Guo (2019), China’s administrative management is one that follows “the path of political and administrative integration” (p. 368). Its political foundation lacks a realistic basis for achieving a dichotomy. However, as indicated by Jakobson, L., & Manuel, R. (2016), the foreign policy decision making process of China is embodied in the ideals of the communist party and strongly influenced by the regime such as that of Xi Jinping. Consequently, it goes to suggest that political heads are the major drivers of foreign policy whilst civil servant acts complementarily through compliance.

2.2.2 America’s Foreign Policy Decision Making

Issues relating to foreign policy making and implementation continue to be problematic for most states no matter the model a state may employ employed or the ideological constructs behind them. The assumption that domestic political considerations have the capability to influence foreign policy cannot be overlooked. This is because, government and politicians are major actors in the formulation and implementation of foreign policy. In the United States for instance, foreign policy has most often than not been shaped by its domestic political order. Mead, (2001) identified four American foreign policy schools of thought; the Hamiltonian, the Wilsonian, the Jacksonian and Jeffersonian schools of thought where presidents of the U.S have pursued foreign policies around these (Rolf, 2021; p. 1). Isolationism has been described as the central feature of America’s foreign policy from its founding era till World War II the cold war (Kupchan, 2020) when it endeared into liberal universalism. After World War II, The U.S foreign policy has mainly been dominated by the Wilsonian and Hamiltonian schools

which is viewed universal and more predominantly for most part after the cold war. The United States foreign policy was not only characterized by building an international order but also make domestic concessions and changes for the sake of that order (Knof, 2001). In both the Bush (first) and Clinton administrations, the construction of a global trading system and extension of democracy were the central themes of American foreign policy.

2.2.3 The European Union (EU) Foreign Policy Decision Making

In the case of foreign policy, all member states of the European union are regarded as equal no matter its size or economic power. Foreign policy is one of the major development agenda of the EU. The nature of foreign policy in the EU is such that foreign policy decision making is by unanimity through an “unwritten bargain between the bigger countries and the rest” where the big countries play a leadership role in shaping EU Foreign policy (Lehne 2012; p.3). Germany foreign policy for instance, does not only aim at maintaining its traditional alliances in the Atlantic-European community but also strengthening cooperation within the EU considering its position as a power bloc in the Union. Germany’s bureaucracy is characterized as Weberian. However, there are many close interactions between politicians and civil servants at all levels of administration which makes it difficult to draw a clear distinction between politics and administration. The top positions are occupied by civil servants are a class of political civil servants which makes obtaining a political craft an important part of the learning and job experience of high-ranking civil servants (Jann & Viet, 2021).

The EU foreign policy decision making falls under the jurisdiction of two main institutions inside the EU. These include the EU Foreign Affairs Council (FAC) and the European External Action Services (EEAS). The chairperson of these two committees in the EU is the High Representative (HR) of the EU to the Foreign Affairs and Security Policy who is the Vice President of the European Commission. Consequently, since the FAC and the EEAS are the

key foreign policy ‘departments’ of the EU, the HR who is the Chair to these two ‘departments’ inadvertently becomes a key influencer of the foreign policies of the EU and its member states (Cornelissen, 2020). However, whilst the FAC serves as a forum for member countries to meet to discuss foreign related issues of interest to the union, the EEAS, which is constituted by its own staff and has an independent budgetary allocation is the main department responsible for the implementation of foreign policy within the EU (Gatti, 2016). Thus, over the years, the EU foreign policy departments like the EEAS has assumed a crucial role even in the foreign policies of even member states even though a significant separation exist between the foreign policy of the EU and those of the individual member states (Cornelissen, 2020).

In the foreign policy decision making of the, Cornelissen, (2020) using the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA) posits that various factors influence the foreign policy decision making of the EU and they include the internal factors in the EU such as the roles of the government bodies or departments like the EEAS, the European Parliament, the FAC among others. In the case of the EEAS, the independence of the staff and its budget makes it less susceptible to the influence of member states in the foreign policy decision making of the union.

2.3 Theories of Foreign Policy Decision Making

The process of foreign policy decision making is complicated and has been explained three main theories. According to Farah (2009), these theories of foreign policy decision making include the Rational Actor Model, the Bureaucratic Politics Model and the Organisational Process Model. These models are examined below.

2.3.1 The Rational Actor Model

The rational actor model in the foreign policy decision making of countries takes its roots from the idea of expected utility in microeconomics whereby von Neumann assumed that the decision maker orders her preferences in based on the “degree of satisfaction” that the individual expects to obtain from taking such choice (Sage, 1990; p. 233). Thus, the actor is assumed to have information about the consequences of the various alternatives available to him and seeks to maximize his satisfaction from taking any of the available alternatives. Therefore, in the case of foreign policy decision making, the model assumes that the main actor in the foreign policy decision making of a state is rational and seeks to the best interest of the state (Soleymani, 2019). As a result, she makes decisions about foreign policy using available information and prevailing circumstances to determine the relationship between the state and others states and international organizations. In view of this, the model assumes that there is complete information available to the foreign policy decision maker. Also, the model assumes that the actions taken by the state actor such as government units are coherent and consistent (Gyasi, 2019).

The model consists of four main stages of decision making namely the identification of the problem, the definition of desired outcome, the evaluation of the consequences of alternative choices, and then the adoption of the most rational alternative to maximise gains. A main criticism of the model is that, states do not always act rational in the pursuit of their national interest as the model tries to explain and that the assumption of the availability of complete information to the actor is not always the case.

2.3.2 The Bureaucratic Politics Model

According to the bureaucratic politics model, the process of foreign policy decision making is shaped by various independent units or bodies within the state that seek to contribute value to the foreign policy decision making process of the state using its perception and expertise aimed at seeking the best interest of the state (Qingmin, 2016). Unlike in the case of the rational actor whereby the decision-making process is in the hands of one state actor on foreign policy, the bureaucratic politics model posits that the process of decision making involves a number of state actors. Thus, in the bureaucratic politics model, the various parties seek for the best interest of the state and hence consensus have to be built in the decision-making process among the various independent parties (Qingmin, 2016).

Notwithstanding the need for consensus building in the process, it must be noted that various factors shape the role or influence the decision-making process. These include the degree of influence of each party, the political values of the parties, the relative importance of the goals under review among others. Consequently, in making decisions on foreign policy, the bureaucratic politics model argues that based on the factors above, the various participants or parties to the decision-making process make concessions in order to arrive at a decision even though these decisions sometimes favour some more than others (Gyasi, 2019). This explains the conflicts that arise among various state entities in the foreign policy decision making of countries. An example of this is the foreign policy decision making process of the United States of America. The model also disputes the rationality of decision makers and hence explains why states sometimes, in pursuit of their national interest, do not act rationally as posited by the rational actor model.

2.3.3 The Organisational Process Model

The organisational process model provides a view of foreign policy decision making different from those of the rational actor model and the bureaucratic politics model. According to the organisational process model, the foreign policy decision making involves the various entities of government that work together to protect the interest of the state (van der Kley, 2020). The theory posits that, instead of an individual actor in the state making decisions on foreign policy as argued by the rational actor model or the availability of independent and separate entities shaping the decision-making process, the state entities rather work in concert with each other. These state institutions are a mix of powerful organisations within the state that play a role in the foreign policy decision making of the state. The model views the state to consist of various bureaucratic structures with a clear delineation of power and chain of commands and strict adherence to the standard procedures of operation. Thus, issues that confront the state are delegated to the appropriate units of government that work to support the government (Gyasi, 2019). These may include the appropriate department, ministry or agency of the state in charge of such matters.

However, critics of the model argue that the strict adherence nature to established standards and protocols of the state decision making process allows little room for dissent and individual discretion. This has the potential of reducing flexibility of state institutions in the decision-making process.

2.4 Politics-Administration Dichotomy/Complementarity in Foreign Policy

Historically, the creation of the civil service gave government a “business like” outlook where the principle of machine efficiency was created such that little time is wasted when a specific task is given. Reforms in the service brought an introduction of ethics and codes, laws even,

that regulated the work of civil servants to ensure services are provided at a professional level. Woodrow Wilson (1887) for example, was concerned about the rot in the American civil service at the time. He opined in his article “The Study of Administration” that, public administration should be approached scientifically and that policies by government must be implemented at “the highest degree of efficiency and responsiveness of the citizenry”. He asserted that Administration is connected to Political wisdom however this connection does not ultimately make administrative questions political questions. He said “although Politics sets that task for Administration, it should not be suffered to manipulate its Offices” (Wilson, 1887).

Many writers in the 1900s have interpreted this as strict dichotomy in comparison to recent writers. Willoughby (1927) opined that the roles between politicians and administrators do not intersect. He asserted that legislators determine policies and “give necessary orders for putting these policies into effect” whereas administration involves “the putting into effect policies and carrying out orders as given or determined by other organs.” Waldo (1948, 109) was of the view that Goodnow also depicted a strict dichotomy and not merely a simple separation of politics and administration just like Wilson.

However, Svara (2001) in “The Myth of Dichotomy: Complementarity of Politics and Administration in the Past and the Future of Public Administration” argues that the word “dichotomy” was never really used by early writers such as Wilson, and that, although the concept is accredited to the founding fathers of the field, their assertion did not strictly divorce administration from politics as advocated by some writers. He also pointed out the model has persisted due to division of roles and “does not limit the policy contributions of administrators in practice.”

The dichotomy model has been employed by some states as the key to avoiding controversial issues during international engagements. In the current international order where cooperation among states and the adherence of peaceful coexistence is the major objective of the United Nations, the place of the theory in Ghana's engagements must be looked at critically. Roberts (2019) in "Shaking Hands with Hitler: The Politics Administration Dichotomy and the Engagement with Fascism" delves into America's politics-administration relationship on the international front in the years preceding the second world war. He writes on the failed attempt of the United States practice of politics administration dichotomy in its dealings with the Nazi regime from 1933 to 1939 where American expert sought to engage the Hitler regime for three years on democratic administration only, ignoring the controversial political questions.

Pointing out the fact that employment of the United States of this model challenged the survival of democracy. He criticizes the fact that although writers like Brownlow, White and Merriam prompted the Wilson formula in the early 1930s to the detriment of democratic values which characterized the United States and thereby indirectly condoning the decay brought about by Nazism, fascism, and socialism. He however acknowledged the efforts these scholars of public administration made after a realization there was a need for Americans to take a stand on political questions. That administration without being involved in "grand politics". White for instance insisted that Americans take a stand on political questions affecting the world in their practice of administration. He concludes that although current world politics may not behave as terribly as Nazi regime, democracy is under a challenge because various governments around the world are more brazen about the neglect of rule of law and human rights. There is and therefore the need to protect democracy's survival. This means that specialists in administration are faced with the decision on whether to speak up on questions of grand politics involving rule of law and democracy or do they focus narrowly on questions involving administration and management? (Roberts, 2019).

2.5 Conclusion

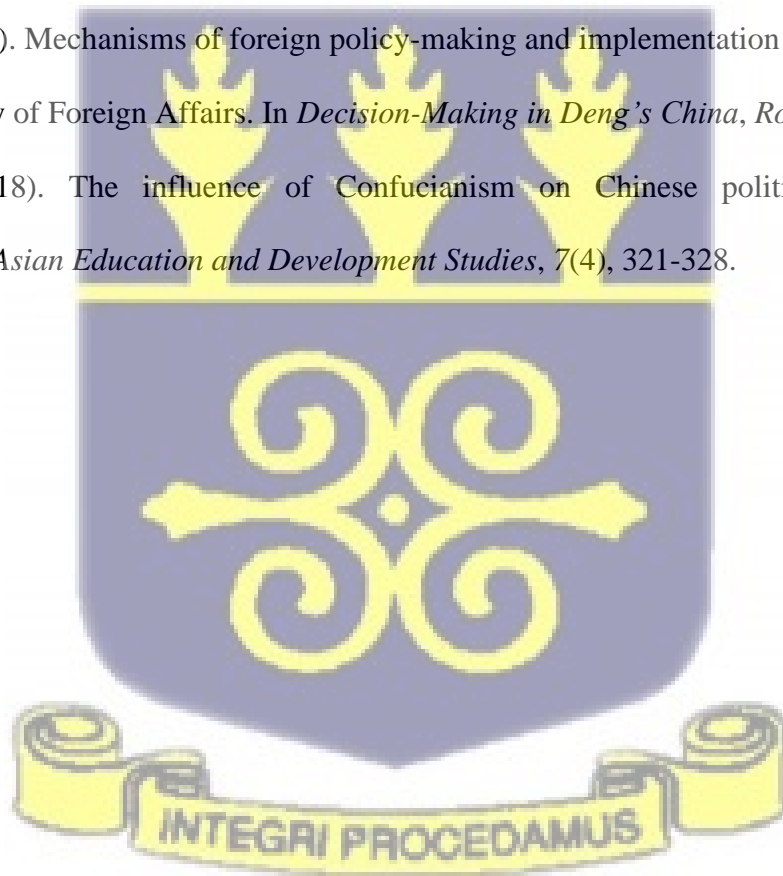
The chapter provided an overview of foreign policy, and foreign policy decision making of some selected countries such as China, the United States, the European Union and that of Ghana. The chapter also examined some of the theories that explain the foreign policy decision making process of countries using the three main theories of decision making. These included the organization process model, the rational actor model and the bureaucratic politics model.

REFERENCES

- Beach, D., & Pedersen, R. B. (2019). *Analyzing foreign policy*. Red Globe Press.
- Cornelissen, L. (2020). *A Foreign Policy Analytic Approach to European Policy- Making regarding the Joint Com-prehensive Plan of Action*. Raboud University (Master Thesis).
- Farah, I. (2009). *Foreign policy and conflict in Somalia, 1960-1990* (Doctoral dissertation).
- Fook, L. L. (2019). International Department and China's foreign policy. In *The Chinese Communist Party in Action*, 243-267. Routledge.
- Gatti, M. (2016). *European External Action Service: Promoting Coherence through Autonomy and Coordination*. Brill.
- Gebe, B. Y. (2008). Ghana's Foreign Policy at Independence and Implications for the 1966 Coup D'état. *The Journal of Pan African Studies*, 2(3), 160- 186.
- Grilli, M. (2015). *African liberation and unity in Nkrumah's Ghana: a study of the role of "Pan-African Institutions" in the making of Ghana's foreign policy, 1957-1966* (Doctoral dissertation, Leiden University).
- Guo, S. (2019). Political-administrative dichotomy: Its sources, logic and debates. *Open Journal of Social Sciences*, 7(03), 356.

- Gyasi, H. A. (2019). *An Examination of the Influence of Globalization on Ghana's Foreign Policy since the End of the Cold War* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Ghana).
- Jakobson, L., & Manuel, R. (2016). How are foreign policy decisions made in China?. *Asia & the Pacific Policy Studies*, 3(1), 101-110.
- Kumah-Abiwu, F. (2016). Leadership traits and Ghana's foreign policy: The case of Jerry Rawlings' foreign economic policy of the 1980s. *The Round Table*, 105(3), 297-310.
- Kupchan, C. A. (2020). *Isolationism: A History of America's Efforts to Shield Itself from the World*. Oxford University Press, USA.
- Lawrence, S. V. (2011). 'Perspectives on Chinese Foreign Policy. *Congressional Research Service, Testimony before the US-China Economic and Security Review Commission Hearing on "China's Foreign Policy: Challenges and Players"*, Washington DC, 13.
- Matano, P. (2016). *Effects Of Media On The Decisions Made By Governments With Regard To Foreign Policy: A Case Of Kenya'S Ministry Of Foreign Affairs* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Nairobi).
- Milner, H. V., & Tingley, D. (2013). The choice for multilateralism: Foreign aid and American foreign policy. *The Review of International Organizations*, 8(3), 313-341.
- Morrison, M. (2012). China's foreign policy research institutes: influence on decision-making and the 5th generation Communist Party leadership. *Yale J. Int'l Aff.*, 7, 77.
- Qingmin, Z. (2016). Bureaucratic politics and Chinese foreign policy-making. *The Chinese Journal of International Politics*, 9(4), 435-458.

- Rolf, J. N. (2021). Donald Trump's Jacksonian and Jeffersonian Foreign Policy. *Policy Studies*, 1-20.
- Ross, A. (2011). Digital diplomacy and US foreign policy. *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy*, 6(3-4), 451-455.
- Soleymani, G. (2019). Methodological Obstacles to the Application of Rational Actor Model in Foreign Policy Decision-Making. *The Iranian Research letter of International Politics*, 6(2), 137-160.
- Thompson, W. S. (2015). *Ghana's Foreign Policy, 1957-1966*. Princeton University Press.
- van der Kley, D. (2020). An Organisational Approach to the Study of Chinese Foreign Policy in Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan 2006 to 2016.
- Yang, G. (2019). Mechanisms of foreign policy-making and implementation in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In *Decision-Making in Deng's China*, Routledge, 91-100.
- Zhao, Q. (2018). The influence of Confucianism on Chinese politics and foreign policy. *Asian Education and Development Studies*, 7(4), 321-328.



CHAPTER THREE

ANALYSIS OF FINDINGS

3.0 Introduction

The chapter seeks to provide an analysis of the data obtained from the interview and the questionnaires. This data was collected in relation to the objectives and questions of the study and hence would be analysed in that regard. The data collected were from primary sources including the interview of politicians and administrators in the area of Ghana's foreign policy.

The secondary sources of data were collected mainly from the website of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration of Ghana, the Ghana's Foreign Policy Guideline and other leading papers published on the subject such as Gebe, (2008); Thompson (2015) etc. The secondary data was used to provide more insight into Ghana's foreign policy. In view of this, the chapter provides an overview of Ghana's foreign policy, and then examines the politics-administration in Ghana's foreign policy by considering the role of politicians and administrators in Ghana's foreign policy decision making. Then the chapter explores the how politicians and administrators work in the formation and implementation of Ghana's foreign policy, the importance of the relationship, how issues are addressed within the relationship and recommendations. The chapter concludes by providing a summary.

3.1 Overview of Ghana's Foreign Policy

Ghana's foreign policy began when the country had its independence on 6th March 1957 under the leadership of then Prime Minister Dr. Kwame Nkrumah. As part of the celebrations marking the day, Dr Nkrumah positioned Ghana's interest in relation to the interest of her neighbours throughout the continent by indicating that "the independence of Ghana is

meaningless unless it is linked up with the total liberation of the African continent” (Grilli, 2015; p. 19) This statement by Dr Kwame Nkrumah formed the basis for Ghana’s foreign policy at the time which was to support other African countries through whatever means possible towards the gaining of independence in those countries (Grilli, 2015). This pursuit of the liberalization of the continent at the time formed the axis and core interest of Ghana’s foreign policy formation. Subsequently, even though successive governments in the country continue to pursue the interest of Ghana around this focal point, the manner of implementation of Ghana’s interest since independence has differed in one way or another (Kumah-Abiwu, 2016). These differences are largely accounted for by the continuous changes in the internal and external factors that shape the implementation of foreign policies in the country. Some of these internal factors include the economic strength, military might, structure of leadership, governmental system among others whilst some of the external factors include the membership of political organizations, military and economic strength of other countries relative to the country, regional peace and security among others.

3.1.1 Ghana’s Foreign Policy Objectives

Notwithstanding the role of both internal and external factors in shaping the nature of foreign policy of a country at a given period of time, countries have core objectives that shape their foreign policy adoption and implementation throughout different times. Similarly, Ghana’s foreign policy since independence has been guided by the overall over-arching objectives of the country (Gebe, 2008). As indicated above, the quest for the liberalization of the continent from colonialism was at the forefront of Ghana’s foreign policy in the post-independent Ghana. This was seen in the radical pursuit of pan Africanism by Dr. Kwame Nkrumah (Thompson, 2015). Subsequently, this pan-Africanist form of foreign policy continued to guide Ghana’s foreign policy under various successive regimes including the fourth republic. Ghana’s foreign

policy is guided by general principles and objectives which border on ensuring good relationships with all countries of the world without recourse to the political, economic or religious beliefs of such countries (Gebe, 2008). In addition, Ghana's foreign policy is shaped in manner that keeps it from interfering with the domestic policies of other countries. Thus, in specific terms, the objectives of Ghana's foreign policy as outlined by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration given below.

a) Promoting Regional Integration

Since independence, Ghana's foreign policy has been geared towards promoting integration on the African continent especially in sub-Saharan Africa. As a result, the objective states that, promoting regional integration is to provide substantial and support for the government of Ghana's dedication to making integration a core tenet of its foreign policy (MFARI, [Ghana's Foreign Policy Guideline]). This is to enable the country obtain maximum benefits from its membership of both regional and subregional organization like the AU and ECOWAS (Gyasi, 2019).

b) Good Neighbourliness

Ghana is perceived as peaceful; both internally and with its neighbours (Gyasi, 2019). This is a result of the objective of Ghana's foreign policy to create a friendly relationship between the country and her neighbours (MFARI, [Ghana's Foreign Policy Guideline]). This is geared towards solving cross-border issues that are common among countries sharing borders.

c) Support for the African Union



The foreign policy of Ghana has an objective of playing an essential role in the promotion of peace, economic stability, and in the deliberations of matters affecting the Union. This objective has played a pivotal role in Ghana membership of AU.

d) Economic Diplomacy

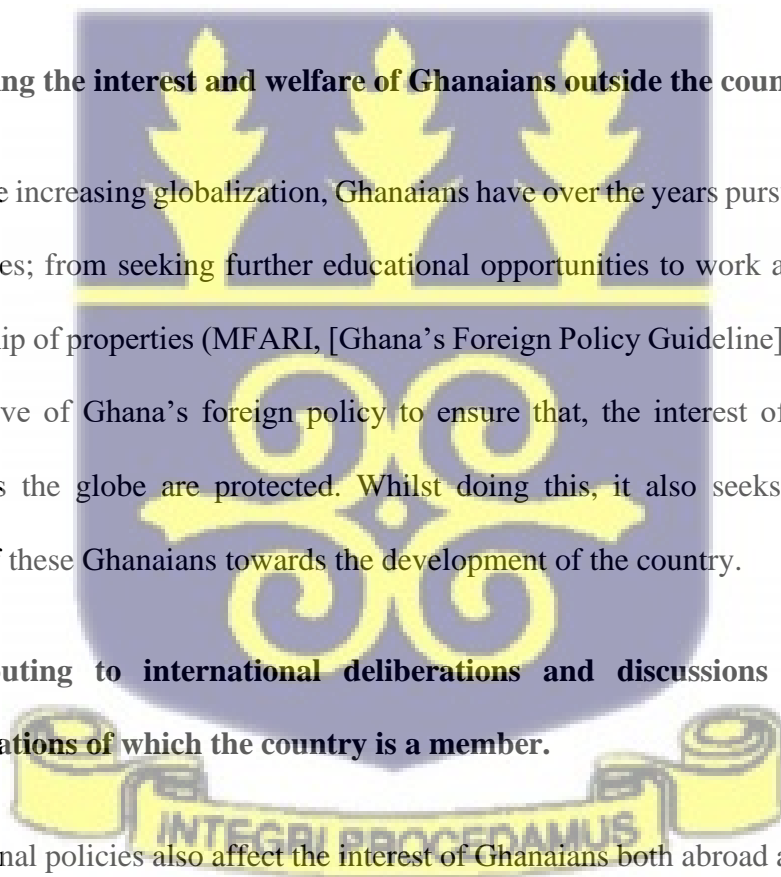
Due to the interest of Ghana in diversifying and promoting exportation of goods and services, the foreign policy of Ghana has an inherent economic diplomacy geared towards exploring external markets for Ghanaian products. This objective partly explains the membership of the country in various bilateral and multilateral economic organizations like the African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA) (MFARI, [Ghana's Foreign Policy Guideline]).

e) Protecting the interest and welfare of Ghanaians outside the country

As a result of the increasing globalization, Ghanaians have over the years pursued various goals in other countries; from seeking further educational opportunities to work and businesses as well as ownership of properties (MFARI, [Ghana's Foreign Policy Guideline]). In view of this, it is the objective of Ghana's foreign policy to ensure that, the interest of these Ghanaian nationals across the globe are protected. Whilst doing this, it also seeks to optimize the contributions of these Ghanaians towards the development of the country.

f) Contributing to international deliberations and discussions in multilateral organizations of which the country is a member.

Since international policies also affect the interest of Ghanaians both abroad and home, it is an objective of Ghana's foreign policy that the state engages in discussions at the international level (MFARI, [Ghana's Foreign Policy Guideline]). This is necessary in order to help in



ensuring global peace and security as well as solving pertinent global crises like climate change among others.

g) Promoting and ensuring international solidarity, goodwill and support for national development.

Finally, it is the objective of Ghana's foreign policy to maintain that the country presents a high level of diplomacy to ensure international solidarity, political goodwill and to promote investments necessary to maintain a good image of the country globally (MFARI, [Ghana's Foreign Policy Guideline]).

3.2 Politics-Administration in Ghana's Foreign Policy

As indicated above, the making of Ghana's foreign policy and its implementation primarily handled by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration where political actors and administrators work together. The political actors are often appointed by the incumbent government and whilst the administrators are civil servants who act as technocrats in the Ministry. Some of the political appointees include the Minister, the Deputy Ministers, and some Ambassadors. Therefore, in answering the nature of politics-administration in Ghana's foreign policy, we analyse the role of politicians, administrators and how they work to promote Ghana's interest using the data obtained.

In conducting the interview, comments were taken from various participants from various units of the MFARI. These units included the participants from the Office of the Minister, the Office of the Deputy Ministers, the Legal Bureau, the Consular Bureau, the Protocol Bureau, the Multilateral Relations Bureau, the Europe Bureau, The Africa And Regional Integration

Bureau, The Finance & Accounts and External Audit, Asia and Pacific Bureau etc, and also a politician. The comments from these participants are then assessed as answers to the questions of the study. Below are the findings.

3.3 Politics-Administration Issues in Foreign Policy

The first objective of this study is to examine how politics-administration dichotomy or complementarity play out in the conduct of countries foreign policy? To achieve this objective, the questionnaire asked participants to indicate the roles of political actors and administrators in the conduct of foreign policy. In addition, participants were asked to indicate the issues, the extent of interference, whether pervasive or not, in the execution of these roles. The responses to these questions are examined individually below.

3.3.1 The Role of Political Actors in Ghana's Foreign Policy Decision Making

In answering the question of the role of political actors in the conduct of Ghana's foreign policy decision making, the responses were grouped in terms of responses from administrators and those of politicians. Thus, the responses below are the understanding of administrators with regards to the role of political actors.

"Politicians are the architects of foreign policy. Statements of foreign policy are drafted in political party manifestos." (Participant 1 from the Minister's office of MFARI).

Also, another participant from the ministry indicated that,

"Politicians are pivotal to Ghana's foreign policy and therefore are the decision makers in Ghana's foreign policy." (Participant 12 from Legal Bureau, MFARI)

and finally,

“Politicians play a role by implementing Ghana's foreign policy” (according to participant 13 from the Consular Bureau, MFARI)

The responses provided could be grouped into two main ideas in terms of similarity. These included the indication that political actors were the main architects of foreign policy and hence formulate foreign policies. This response implies that political actors are the key decision makers in the area of foreign policy formulation. Thus, as suggested by Kumah-Abiwu (2016), even though Ghana's foreign policy has since independence, followed the ideals of Pan-Africanism as advanced by Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, successive governments have conducted foreign policy in different ways. These have often been shaped by the Head of State at each given time and as guided by the manifesto of the said party in government. Consequently, the responses given above that political actors are the main formulators of foreign policy confirms the findings of present literature. For instance, the president of Ghana is the country's lead diplomat. Others such as the Minister of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration as well as the Ambassadors are appointed by the president and his cabinet. Consequently, as these groups of individuals initiate policies on behalf of the country and participate in discussions on behalf of Ghana about the country's policies in the international arena, their contributions to the nature of foreign policy in the country becomes crucial. This explains the finding that politicians are a critical component of the Ghana's foreign policy.

The second idea from the assessment of participants' comments was that, political actors are also implementers of Ghana's foreign policy. This implies that, even though political actors may be the main formulators of foreign policy, they participate in the implementation process.

However, in addition to the interviews of administrators, the study also interviewed a politician and this is what the politician said regarding the role of political actors in Ghana's foreign policy. According to the politician,

“The Directive Principles of State Policy is the general direction for foreign policy. The government in power makes decisions that reflect the national interest of the country even though they sometimes go beyond or below the expectations of the constitution. Thus, the President is responsible for that” (Politician).

These responses from both political actors and administrators on the role of politicians in the conduct of Ghana's foreign policy indicates that, both politicians and administrators believe that politicians are mainly responsible for the formulation of foreign policy. Consequently, they pursue in the interest of the state, and hence are responsible for the outcomes of such policies. This confirms conclusions drawn by Plischke (1985), Masters (2017) and Fink (1982) that the president of the United States for instance, is the Chief diplomat and hence has a significant influence in the foreign policy decision making and is the main formulator of foreign policy.

3.3.2 The Role of Administrators in Ghana's Foreign Policy Decision Making

Just as in the case of political actors, participants also indicated the role of administrators in the conduct of foreign policy. The responses from both administrators and political actors are given below.

“Administrators’ advice the government on the best approach to implement Ghana's foreign policy” (Participant 13 from the Consular Bureau, MFARI).

And according to another participant from the ministry,

“They make sure everything is done in line with the civil service regulations. They also advise the politicians and manage already existing policies, improve upon the policies via recommendations” (Participant 2 from the Deputy Minister’s Office)

The responses above from both administrators and politicians are similar. They both agree that, the role of administrators in the conduct of Ghana’s foreign policy is to implement foreign policy by serving as technocrats in the implementation process. They also provide advice to the political class by helping to shape the foreign policy documents that have been formulated by the political leaders. Consequently, it is evident that, both administrators and political actors play significant roles in the conduct of Ghana’s foreign policy. This provides an overview of the roles that political masters and administrators play in the conduct of foreign policy.

Again, since the study also interviewed a politician, below is the comments of the politician regarding the role of administrators in the conduct of Ghana’s foreign policy:

“Administrators are implementers of foreign policy” (Politician)

This response above from the politician confirms those of the administrators interviewed and hence indicates that both politicians and administrators have a consensus regarding the role that administrators played in the conduct of Ghana’s foreign policy. Besides, considering that administrators or civil servants are static and are not change after four years, they become the custodians of the knowledge of Ghana’s foreign policy. In other words, the garner substantial knowledge on the drafting and implementation of foreign policy those political leaders would have to constantly seek their support and expertise in the execution of the foreign policies. These may include proffering advice to political leaders, providing explanations to some technicalities about Ghana’s foreign policy over the years among others

3.3.3 Political Influence in the Conduct of foreign Policy

The responses above have indicated that, both political masters and administrators play important roles in the conduct of foreign policy. The study further sought to examine the extent of these roles in the conduct of Ghana's foreign policy. Thus, the question is asked whether political masters unduly interfere in the role of administrators in the conduct of Ghana's foreign policy? Are administrators given the enough opportunity and the space to execute their mandates in the conduct of Ghana's foreign policy? Thus, since the role of administrators identified above include providing advice to the political masters and implementing the foreign policy, are they in hindered from carrying-out these? The responses are given below.

The responses revealed that, the extent of political influence in the conduct of Ghana's foreign policy is pervasive. According to one study participant from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration,

“Certainly. Although it seems like the constitution instructs how foreign policy is conducted. The politicians influence what direction it takes. One president for example would focus on good neighbourliness and other would not. They may tilt towards the east at one time, then the west at another time” (Participant 3 from the Legal Bureau of the MFARI)

Also, another participant noted that:

“It depends. Some political heads listen to the technocrats and also make their own judgement. But others do not take the advice of the administrators. It largely depends on the individual politician. Some insist on what they want.” (Participant 9 from the Africa and Regional Integration Bureau, MFARI)

These responses above reveal that, even though both political actors and administrators clearly understand the role of administrators in the conduct of foreign policy at the Ministry to include

the proffering of advice and the implementation of foreign policy, the influence of political masters in that regard is pervasive. Thus, in certain cases, some political leaders often ignore the advice of administrators. This particularly results from the fact that even though political leaders in some instances do not have the expertise of foreign policy decision making as compared to the civil servants, they are not bound to accept or implement the suggestion of the administrators or civil servants. Consequently, in some cases, these political leaders tend to disregard the concerns of administrators in the execution of the policies. Moreover, in Ghana, the nature of the power of political appointees makes it difficult for administrators or civil servants to consistently disagree with the opinions of political leaders. This is due to the influence that these political leaders as enshrined in the constitution of the country. Therefore, for fear of being victimised by these ‘powerful’ political leaders, administrators are often more likely to avoid circumstances that may cause friction between them and the political leaders.

As an explanation to the influence of political actors on the role of administrators, another participant posited that:

“Yes, it is. This is because politics is in every function of the organisation, right from recruitment to promotion. Politics permeates every single function here” (Participant 8 from Europe Bureau of MFARI)

Thus, if political influence is pervasive, do politicians allow administrators enough room to perform their responsibilities? To these questions, majority of the participants answered yes. Out of the 16 participants who were asked this question, 12 indicated that they believe administrators are allowed to perform their roles whilst four answered no.

According to one of the participants who believes administrators are allowed to perform their roles, he explained that:

“Generally, yes to an extent but there is always some amount of political influence. Whatever is done must be in line with the agenda of the politicians ie. if you want full room to function” (Participant 8 from Europe Bureau of MFARI)

On the other hand, one of the participants who believe administrators are not allowed enough room to work also argued that:

“NO. They interfere. Ghana is polarized so each govt seeks to promote its own agenda” (Participant 5 from the Legal Bureau of MFARI).

Again, in order to ascertain these views from the politician’s perspective, the politician interviewed in the study argued that:

“Yes. I think they allow the administrators to perform their functions. However, some Civil servants invite political interference” (Politician).

In view of the responses above, it is gathered that, politicians often allow administrators to perform their responsibilities so far as their actions are in consonance with the politician’s interest. Again, even though administrators are mandated to give advice, the discretion to uphold such advice or not, are determined by the political masters. Even though the issue of political influence and the extent to which political leaders allow administrators to perform their responsibilities is arguable between administrators and political leaders, the responses above still point to the systemic issues of excessive political control of the civil service or Ghana’s foreign policy implementation. For instance, as the head of the civil service is appointed by the president, and since the president doubles as the chief diplomat of the nation, it becomes easier for the president or the Minister in charge of foreign affairs, to influence the behaviour or actions of the administrators. And even though the advice of the administrators or civil servants may be non-binding, it creates little room for divergent opinions.

3.4 Politics-Administration dichotomy/complementarity in Ghana's Foreign Policy

Since the roles of the administrators and politicians have been established above, we then examine how they are able to work in pursuit of the national interest. Thus, do politicians and administrators work together complementarily in the conduct of Ghana's foreign policy or do they work in dichotomy? Here, it is important to know whether administrators are able to conduct their functions despite the level of political interference or influence. To this, all sixteen participants who were asked this question indicated that, administrators are able to execute their mandate of proffering advice to the politicians when the need arises. One of the participants indicated that:

"Yes, we provide policy advice and do guide them but it still depends on whether they would take it or do something differently. They usually take advice that implement the policies of the government of the day. They are not obliged to take our advice" (Participant 9 from the Africa and Regional Integration Bureau).

Similarly, the response of the politician interviewed confirmed the above position of the administrators interviewed as he indicated that:

"Yes. The role of the civil servant is to give policy advice and to implement the decisions of the political appointee. The administrators must ensure that they proffer the best course of action" (Politician)

This implies that, as dictated by civil service guidelines of Ghana, political actors are not bound to the advice of administrators. In spite of the above, administrators at the Ministry are allowed to provide advice from their technical point of view. Thus, another participant from the Europe Bureau of the MFARI:

“Yes, they do. Often, the actions of the politicians are in line with the administrators because they understand that administrators have the technical know-how”

(Participant 8 from the Europe Bureau of MFARI)

Therefore, largely, administrators; from both the perspective of administrators and the politician interviewed, are allowed to perform their functions which primarily involve providing policy advice to political masters. These results imply that despite the fears that political leaders often have the tendency to suppress divergent opinions especially from civil servants, in the implementation of Ghana’s foreign policy, political leaders allow civil servants the opportunity to proffer their advice. However, it is important to note that, as indicated above, this advice is non-binding. In view of this, it is important to understand if political leaders and civil servants have a good working relationship, especially at the MFARI during the execution of Ghana’s foreign policy

Following from the above, participants were then asked to indicate per their experience and opinion, the nature of the working relationship existing between the administrators and their political counterparts in the conduct of Ghana’s foreign policy. In their responses, they unanimously indicated that, the relationship is best described as complementary. One participant from the Ministry said that, the relationship is:

“Complementary because we (administrators) process political documents as well so we work together. That why we have a political desk in the office. The political desk observes political situations in the region. For example, we have been closely observing recent happenings in Burkina Faso and Guinea. We give the president recommendations based on our findings” (Participant 7 from the Africa and Regional

Integration Bureau, MFARI).

Another participant from the legal Bureau of the MFARI indicated that,

We initiate, and advice and they take the decisions. So we cannot work without them”
and again, *“The goal of the administrator is to serve the government despite the political party in power. I would describe the working relationship as complementary*
(Participant 3 from the Legal Bureau of MFARI)

And finally, the politician interviewed also asserted that the relationship is

“Complementary. It’s a continuum thing. Its teamwork.” (Politician)

The answers above provide a verdict on the nature of the working relationship between political masters and administrators, whether it is dichotomy or complementarity. Yet, as a way of ascertaining the extent of the interdependence in the conduct of foreign policy, participants were asked to answer on the possibility of administrators or politicians working independently of the other. To this, a participant indicated that,

“No because we are civil servants, and we only implement decisions of government which is a political body. We have the institutional memory and analyse issues”
(Participant 3 from the Legal Bureau of MFARI).

In a similar vein, participants indicated that, politicians could not act independently of administrators in the conduct of Ghana’s foreign policy. A comment from a participant from the Ministry was that;

“They (politicians) do not have the technical know-how and their allegiance is usually towards their political party. They are not neutral. Their interest may not be that of every other Ghanaian” (Participant 8 from the Europe Bureau of MFARI)

These pieces of information from participants indicate that, in Ghana, the conduct of foreign policy is done in a complementary manner between politicians and administrators. Thus, they are interdependent rather than separate. **Specifically, as political leaders are responsible for**

decision making related to Ghana's foreign policy, they seek the support and expertise of administrators in that regard. Also, administrators on the other hand require the decisions of political leaders in the implementation process of the country's foreign policy. However, it is important to note that, politicians are much more likely to work alone than civil servants as the opinions of civil servants are not mandatory in the decision making process. Yet, administrators are bound by law to work in consultation of the political leaders.

Consequently, notwithstanding this position from the participating administrators, the perspective of the politician interviewed differed in terms of the interdependence of administrators and politicians in the conduct of foreign policy. On the issue of whether administrators and politicians could work independently of each, the politician who was interviewed argued that,

"No. Administrators could not work independently of politicians because political masters are the ultimate decision makers".

However, he argued, regarding the issue of politicians working independently, he said,

Yes. politicians could sometimes work independently but that depends on the issues at hand (Politician)

3.5 Challenges in the politics-administration dichotomy/complementarity and how they are Resolved

Whilst it has been established above that, there is complementarity in the politics-administration in the conduct of Ghana's foreign policy, participants in also acknowledged that, there are issues of interference especially from the politicians. And sometimes, there are differences in opinion between administrators and politicians about the direction of a given foreign policy. In this regard, participants were asked to indicate how issues that arise in the conduct of Ghana's foreign policy are addressed. To this, an administrator indicated that,

“They [political masters] are the final decision makers. You follow their policy direction and find ways to reduce the negative impact of the decisions they take”

(Participant 12, from the Minister’s office).

Also, another administrator argued that there is the need for;

“A compromise on the part of administrators.” “Politicians generally do not compromise. They take the decision and you as an administrator must justify it”

(Participant 8 from the Europe Bureau of MFARI).

And yet, another participant posited that differences that arise between the two groups during the conduct of in Ghana’s foreign policy are resolved through:

“regular dialogue and critical analysis of the issues but in the end, the politicians have the final say” (Participant 12 from the Minister’s Office)

These imply that, even though differences may arise between administrators and political masters in the conduct of foreign policy, they are resolved through a dialogue where a compromise is arrived at based on an analysis of the issue(s) at hand and its probable impact on the state. In the absence of that, the political class often have their way. Thus, where dialogue fails, the political class prevail because they are not bound by the advice nor recommendations of the administrators.

Aside from differences that may arise between the political class and administrators, issues such as political questions sometimes come up during the conduct of foreign policy by administrators. They may be from the public, media, opposition parties, International Organizations or institutions, inter-governmental organizations etc. As indicated by Naveh (2002) that the media plays a critical role in the conduct of foreign policy through constructive criticism and provision of information to the public among others, these often lead to the formation of an opinion among the public who question certain decisions. In situations like

this, participants indicated that, it is the role of administrators to provide technical guidance to the Minister who then speaks to the public in that regard. All the participants expressed that; political questions that arise in the course of duty are referred to the political masters for answers. One participant indicated that,

“As a civil servant, you are apolitical, so you give inputs based on analysis which is devoid of politics... Bring it to the attention of the Minister to take a decision or give a direction” (Participant 3 from the Legal Bureau, MFARI)

Thus, administrators in such circumstances still work closely with politicians in a complementary manner by furnishing politicians with relevant information and advising them on the appropriate approach needed to resolve the problem.



REFERENCES

Fink, J. S. (1982). The foreign policy role of the president: Origins and limitations. *Hofstra L. Rev.*, 11, 773.

Gebe, B. Y. (2008). Ghana's Foreign Policy at Independence and Implications for the 1966 Coup D'état. *The Journal of Pan African Studies*, 2(3), 160-186.

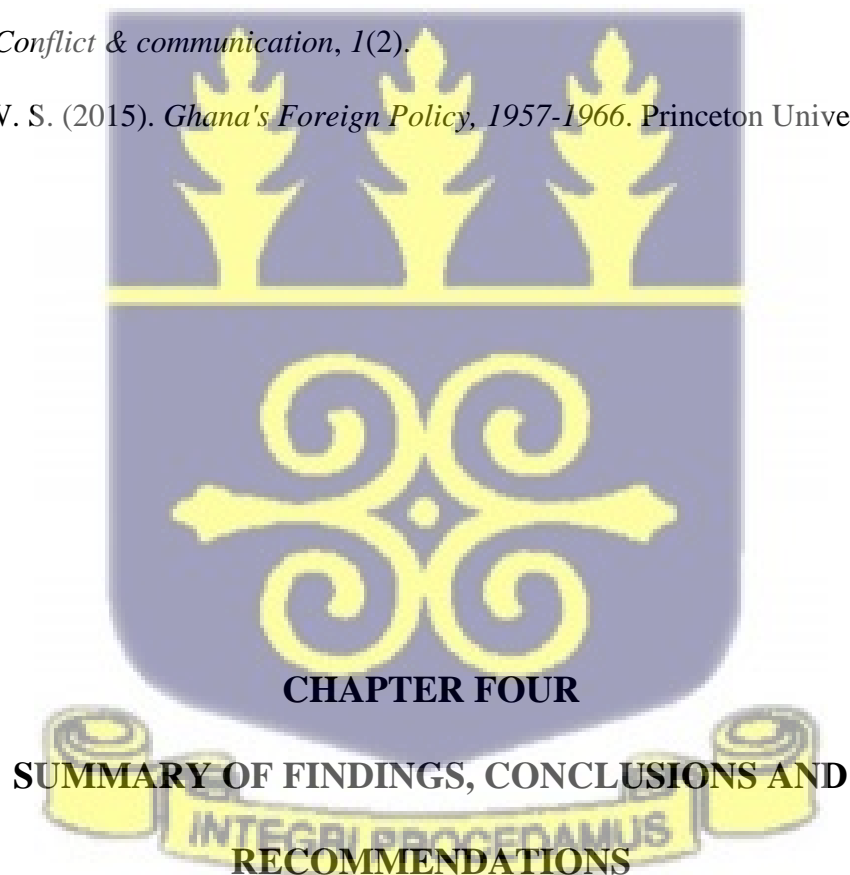
Grilli, M. (2015). *African liberation and unity in Nkrumah's Ghana: a study of the role of "Pan-African Institutions" in the making of Ghana's foreign policy, 1957-1966* (Doctoral dissertation, Leiden University).

Gyasi, H. A. (2019). *An Examination of the Influence of Globalization on Ghana's Foreign Policy since the End of the Cold War* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Ghana).

Kumah-Abiwu, F. (2016). Leadership traits and Ghana's foreign policy: The case of Jerry Rawlings' foreign economic policy of the 1980s. *The Round Table*, 105(3), 297-310

Naveh, C. (2002). The Role of the Media in Foreign Policy Decision-Making: A Theoretical Framework. *Conflict & communication*, 1(2).

Thompson, W. S. (2015). *Ghana's Foreign Policy, 1957-1966*. Princeton University Press.



4.0 Introduction

As the final chapter of the study, this chapter seeks to provide an overview of the study. This includes a summary of the objectives of the study, the findings that have been obtained in the previous chapter. Also, the study provides a conclusion based on the results and the findings that were obtained in the study. Finally, based on the objectives, findings and conclusion, this chapter provides a recommendation for the study.

4.1 Summary of the Findings

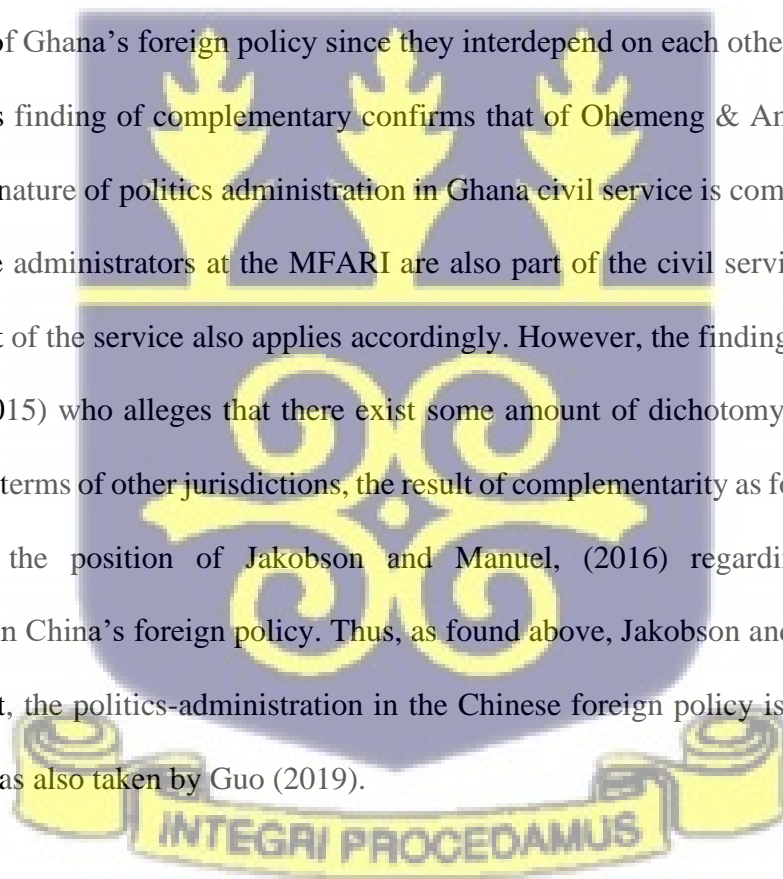
As presented in the chapter one of this study, the research sought to achieve three main objectives. As a result, three main questions were asked and the interviews conducted sought to provide answers to these questions. Consequently, below are a summary of the questions and the answers that were obtained from the discussions in the previous chapter.

The first objective of the research was to assess the politics-administration issues in the conduct of Ghana's foreign policy. To this, the question was asked to find out what were the politics-administration issues in the conduct of Ghana's foreign policy? Thus, the findings from the study indicated that both administrators and political actors played crucial roles in the conduct of Ghana's foreign policy. However, political actors wield so much influence in the conduct of foreign policy. It was observed that, whilst political actors were mainly responsible for formulating the foreign policy directions of the country, the administrators were responsible for the implementation of these directives. Besides, the administrators also act as technocrats in the implementation of foreign policies by providing foreign policy advice to the politicians. Therefore, this result obtained from the MFARI which shows that political actors and administrators play distinct roles that interdepend on each other in the conduct of Ghana's foreign policy is in consonance with the practices of other jurisdictions such as China as found by Yang, (2019), Kenya as found by Matano, (2016) and the United States as found by Ross,

(2011). In the case of studies in Ghana, the finding of objective one largely confirms the observations of other studies (Adam et al., 2019; Safo, 2015). Again, the observation that, the politicians act as the architects of foreign policy and that in Ghana, the foreign policy direction is often influenced by many factors including the manifesto of the ruling party confirms the fact that, the President can best be described as the chief diplomat and hence is responsible for the foreign policy direction of the country as pointed out by Bose, (2011).

However, it was acknowledged that even though administrators were the main implementers of foreign policy, the political class sometimes participate in the implementation process. This often leads to interference in the mandate of the administrators during the conduct of foreign policy. Thus, it was observed that, political influence in the conduct of Ghana's foreign policy is pervasive. Therefore, despite the influence of Pan-Africanism in Ghana's foreign policy and the guidelines given by the constitution, the politicians often have significant influence in the conduct of foreign policy. Moreover, even though it is the responsibility of administrators to proffer advice to the political masters, in certain instances, the political masters do not heed to such advice. Such situations sometimes lead to friction between the administrators and political masters. However, since the political class is not required by law to adopt such advice, it is the politicians who often have their way. Consequently, administrators at the Ministry are bound to comply to with the directives of politicians. This finding above also agrees with the observation made by Kumah-Abiwu, (2016) that, the trait of the political leader influences the conduct of Ghana's foreign policy as political actors often have enormous influence in the foreign policy decision making process. The finding also confirms the observation of Thompson, (1969) that, the changes in the regime of a particular political leader in Ghana like the period of Dr Kwame Nkrumah and the following military regimes often led to significant changes in foreign policy approach. This corroboration reveals the extent of political influence in Ghana's foreign policy.

To the question of complementarity or dichotomy in the conduct of Ghana's foreign policy, it was unanimously agreed by participants that, Ghana's politics-administration in the conduct of foreign policy is complementary. This means that politicians and administrators work together to achieve the goals of Ghana's foreign policy and by promoting her interest internationally. Thus, the study found that Ghana's foreign policy conduct is complementary as administrators and politicians work interdependently at the ministry and its foreign missions. This is the case because most often than not, the views or advice of the administrators or technocrats are in line with the ideals of the politicians thereby leading to a more harmonious working relationship. It was therefore found that, politicians and administrators cannot work independent of each other in the conduct of Ghana's foreign policy since they interdepend on each other when executing their roles. This finding of complementary confirms that of Ohemeng & Anebo, (2012) who argued that the nature of politics administration in Ghana civil service is complementary. As a result, since the administrators at the MFARI are also part of the civil service of Ghana, the code of conduct of the service also applies accordingly. However, the finding above disagrees with Azunu (2015) who alleges that there exist some amount of dichotomy in the Ghanaian civil service. In terms of other jurisdictions, the result of complementarity as found in this study also confirms the position of Jakobson and Manuel, (2016) regarding the politics-administration in China's foreign policy. Thus, as found above, Jakobson and Manuel, (2016) also argued that, the politics-administration in the Chinese foreign policy is complementary. This position was also taken by Guo (2019).



Finally, the question of challenges associated with politics-administration revealed that, comprise is the approach to resolving challenges such as differences (frictions) that arise between politicians and administrators during the conduct of foreign policy and administrators

cannot do much regarding political interference because, in the end, the political masters are the final decision makers. Thus, regarding the challenges in foreign policy conduct at the Ministry and how issues are resolved between administrators and politicians in the conduct of foreign policy, it was observed that, a compromise is often reached between politicians and administrators. This contrast with the observation of Gutmann & Thompson, (2010) that it is often very difficult for political actors to reach a compromise in the case of the United States of America. However, in many instances, it is politicians who have the upper hand since administrators are merely required to proffer advice and implement approved policies.

4.2 Conclusions

From the discussions of the findings above, it can be concluded that Ghana's politics-administration in the conduct of foreign policy at the ministry of foreign affairs and regional integration is complementary. This means that both politicians who act as architects and administrators who serve as technocrats in the conduct of foreign policy work interdependently to promote and protect of the interest of the country.

Also, it can be concluded that, even though the politicians and administrators work complementarily in the conduct of Ghana's foreign policy, the political actors often have more influence in the conduct of foreign policy. This explains why the political class especially the Minister of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration and the President of the country are often responsible for the foreign policy direction of the country at a given period of time.

Moreover, the influence of the political actors, as seen from the comments of both administrators and the politician interviewed explain the fact that the executive especially the president is seen as the chief diplomat of the nation.

4.3 Recommendations

In view of the findings above, the following are recommended for the purposes of policy at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration as well as in Ghana Missions abroad.

It is recommended that, although Ghana's foreign policy is captured in the constitution, there is a need for a separate and comprehensive national policy document on foreign relations that will instruct successive governments on the conduct of Ghana's foreign policy with the aim of always yielding the best outcome for Ghana. The document should clearly define Ghana's interest, the Ghanaian identity as well as how Ghana intends to position itself as a force in international politics through relations and alliances. Through this, there would be consistency in the pursuit of foreign policy in Ghana.

Also, since it was found that political actors often have significant influence in the conduct of Ghana's foreign policy and hence may interfere in the role of administrators, it is important that each group does not overstep its boundaries. Also, as revealed by participants that, politicians sometimes participate in the implementation process, it is important a clear distinction of roles is established in that regard. Further, since some political actors are often new in matters of foreign policy, it is important that regular seminars and trainings are organized for them to ensure that, political actors like Ambassadors (political diplomats) and Ministers are made to understand their roles to reduce problems that arise out of behaviours of such appointees especially in Ghana Missions abroad. This will reduce the level of interference and instead promote and strengthen the complementary relationship of politics-administration in Ghana.

Additionally, since administrators work as technocrats with a high level of competence and vast experience the conduct of foreign policy, political actors who are engaged in the conduct of foreign policy are encouraged create more room for the acceptance of professional opinions

of administrators. This will encourage and motivate administrators in proffering the best advice and recommendations that promote the interest of the country.

Finally, this research is important for the purposes of future research in the area of foreign policy making and the politics-administration in the conduct of Ghana's foreign policy. Thus, this research is a guide to future research and hence the study recommends that, future research in the area of foreign policy should focus on the roles of the executive and the legislature in the conduct of Ghana's foreign policy and the relationship that exists between them.



A. BOOKS

Asmeron, Haile K., and Eliza P. Reis, eds. 1996. *Democratization and Political Neutrality*.

London: Macmillan

Beach, D., & Pedersen, R. B. (2019). *Analyzing foreign policy*. Red Globe Press.

Coffelt, T. A. (2017). Confidentiality and anonymity of participants. In M. Allen (Ed.), *The SAGE Encyclopedia of Communication Research Methods*. Thousand Oaks

- Gatti, M. (2016). *European External Action Service: Promoting Coherence through Autonomy and Coordination*. Brill.
- Kupchan, C. A. (2020). *Isolationism: A History of America's Efforts to Shield Itself from the World*. Oxford University Press, USA.
- Macfarlane, B. (2010). *Researching with integrity: The ethics of academic enquiry*. Routledge.
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In *Decision-Making in Deng's China*, Routledge, 91-100.
- Patton, M. Q. (2014). *Qualitative research & evaluation methods: Integrating theory and practice*. Sage publications
- Svara, James H. (1999b). *U.S. City Managers and Administrators in a Global Perspective. The Municipal Year Book 1999*. Washington, DC: International City Management Association. 25– 3
- Thompson, W. S. (2015). *Ghana's Foreign Policy, 1957-1966*. Princeton University Press
- Waldo, Dwight. (1948). *The Administrative State*. New York: Ronald Press.
- Willoughby, W. F. (1927). *Principles of Public Administration*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.

B. CONFERENCE PAPERS AND DOCUMENTS

- Lawrence, S. V. (2011). 'Perspectives on Chinese Foreign Policy. *Congressional Research Service, Testimony before the US-China Economic and Security Review Commission Hearing on "China's Foreign Policy: Challenges and Players"*, Washington DC, 13.

C. JOURNAL ARTICLES

- Alasdir, Roberts (2019). Shaking hands with Hitler: the politics administration dichotomy and engagement with fascism. *Public administration review* , 267-276.
- Alford, J., Hartley, J., Yates, S., & Hughes, O. (2017). Into the purple zone: Deconstructing the politics/administration distinction. *The American Review of Public Administration*, 47(7), 752-763.
- Ayee, J. R. (2011). Manifestos and elections in Ghana's Fourth Republic. *South African Journal of International Affairs*, 18(3), 367-384.
- Braga, P. (2017). Human rights and the origin of myths of post-apartheid South African foreign policy. *The Strategic Review for Southern Africa*, 39(2).
- Cho, M. K., Magnus, D., & Wilfond, B. S. (2015). Informed consent for research on medical practices. *Annals of internal medicine*, 163(9), 725-726.
- Chris Landsberg (2010). The foreign policy of the Zuma government: pursuing the national interest? *South African Journal of International Affairs* 17(3), 273-293
<https://doi.org/10.1080/10220461.2010.533890>
- Dahl, Robert A. 1947. The Science of Public Administration: Three Problems. *Public Administration Review* 7(1): 1–11.
- Etikan, I., Musa, S. A., & Alkassim, R. S. (2016). Comparison of convenience sampling and purposive sampling. *American journal of theoretical and applied statistics*, 5(1), 1-4.
- Fink, J. S. (1982). The foreign policy role of the president: Origins and limitations. *Hofstra L. Rev.*, 11, 773.

- Fook, L. L. (2019). International Department and China's foreign policy. In *The Chinese Communist Party in Action*, 243-267. Routledge.
- Gebe, B. Y. (2008). Ghana's Foreign Policy at Independence and Implications for the 1966 Coup D'état. *The Journal of Pan African Studies*, 2(3), 160- 186.
- Goertzen, M. J. (2017). Introduction to quantitative research and data. *Library Technology Reports*, 53(4), 12-18.
- Guo, S. (2019). Political-administrative dichotomy: Its sources, logic and debates. *Open Journal of Social Sciences*, 7(03), 356.
- Hartley, J., Alford, J., Hughes, O., & Yates, S. (2015). Public value and political astuteness in the work of public managers: The art of the possible. *Public Administration*, 93(1), 195-211.
- Jakobson, L., & Manuel, R. (2016). How are foreign policy decisions made in China?. *Asia & the Pacific Policy Studies*, 3(1), 101-110.
- Kumah-Abiwu, F. (2016). Leadership traits and Ghana's foreign policy: The case of Jerry Rawlings' foreign economic policy of the 1980s. *The Round Table*, 105(3), 297-310
- Landsberg, C. (2012). Towards a post-apartheid South African foreign policy review. *South African Foreign Policy Review*, 1, 1-17.
- Milner, H. V., & Tingley, D. (2013). The choice for multilateralism: Foreign aid and American foreign policy. *The Review of International Organizations*, 8(3), 313-341.
- Morrison, M. (2012). China's foreign policy research institutes: influence on decision-making and the 5th generation Communist Party leadership. *Yale Journal of International Affairs* 77(7).
- Naveh, C. (2002). The Role of the Media in Foreign Policy Decision-Making: A Theoretical Framework. *Conflict & communication*, 1(2).

- Ohemeng, F. K., & Anebo, F. K. (2012). The politics of administrative reforms in Ghana: Perspectives from path dependency and punctuated equilibrium theories. *International Journal of Public Administration*, 35(3), 161-176.
- Palmer, C., & Bolderston, A. (2006). A brief introduction to qualitative research. *Canadian Journal of Medical Radiation Technology*, 37(1), 16- 19.
- Qingmin, Z. (2016). Bureaucratic politics and Chinese foreign policy-making. *The Chinese Journal of International Politics*, 9(4), 435-458.
- Rahman, M. S. (2017). The Advantages and Disadvantages of Using Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches and Methods in Language" Testing and Assessment" Research: A Literature Review. *Journal of Education and Learning*, 6(1), 102-112.
- Rittsberger Volker. (2004). Approaches to the study of foreign policy derived from international relations theories. *Tübingen 2004*, ISBN 3-927604-43- 7
- Rolf, J. N. (2021). Donald Trump's Jacksonian and Jeffersonian Foreign Policy. *Policy Studies*, 1-20.
- Ross, A. (2011). Digital diplomacy and US foreign policy. *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy*, 6(3-4), 451-455.
- Sayre, Wallace S. 1954. The General Manager Idea for Large Cities. *Public Administration Review* 14(4), 253-8.
- Sayre, Wallace S. (1951). Trends of a Decade in Administrative Values. *Public Administration Review* 11(1), 1-9.
- Sayre, Wallace S. 1958. Premises of Public Administration: Past and Emerging. *Public Administration Review* 18(2), 102-5.

- Soleymani, G. (2019). Methodological Obstacles to the Application of Rational Actor Model in Foreign Policy Decision-Making. *The Iranian Research letter of International Politics*, 6(2), 137-160.
- Svara, James H (1999). Complementarity of Politics and Administration as a Legitimate Alternative to the Dichotomy Model. *Administration and Society* 30(6): 676–705.
- Svara, James H. (1998). The Politics-Administration Dichotomy Model as Aberration. *Public Administration Review* 58(1): 51–8.
- Turale, S. (2020). A brief introduction to qualitative description: A research design worth using. *Pacific Rim International Journal of Nursing Research*, 24(3), 289-291.
- van der Kley, D. (2020). An Organisational Approach to the Study of Chinese Foreign Policy in Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan 2006 to 2016.
- Wilson, Woodrow. (1887). The Study of Administration. *Political Science Quarterly* 2(2): 197–222.
- Zhao, Q. (2018). The influence of Confucianism on Chinese politics and foreign policy. *Asian Education and Development Studies*, 7(4), 321-328.

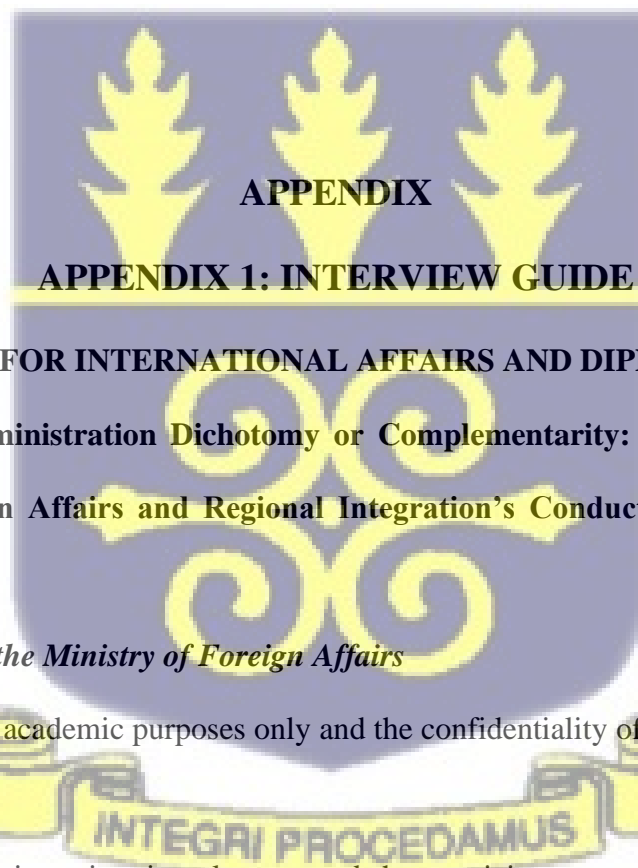
D. THESIS

- Cornelissen, L. (2020). *A Foreign Policy Analytic Approach to European Policy-Making regarding the Joint Com-prehensive Plan of Action.* Raboud University (Master Thesis).
- Farah, I. (2009). *Foreign policy and conflict in Somalia, 1960-1990* (Doctoral dissertation).

Grilli, M. (2015). *African liberation and unity in Nkrumah's Ghana: a study of the role of "Pan-African Institutions" in the making of Ghana's foreign policy, 1957-1966* (Doctoral dissertation, Leiden University).

Gyasi, H. A. (2019). *An Examination of the Influence of Globalization on Ghana's Foreign Policy since the End of the Cold War* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Ghana).

Matano, P. (2016). *Effects Of Media On The Decisions Made By Governments With Regard To Foreign Policy: A Case Of Kenya'S Ministry Of Foreign Affairs* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Nairobi).



APPENDIX

APPENDIX 1: INTERVIEW GUIDE

LEGON CENTRE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS AND DIPLOMACY

Topic: Politics-Administration Dichotomy or Complementarity: A Case Study of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration's Conduct of Ghana's Foreign Policy.

Interview guide for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs

This interview is for academic purposes only and the confidentiality of the information herein are guaranteed.

Please note that this interview is voluntary and that participants are free to withdraw their participation at any point of the interview.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

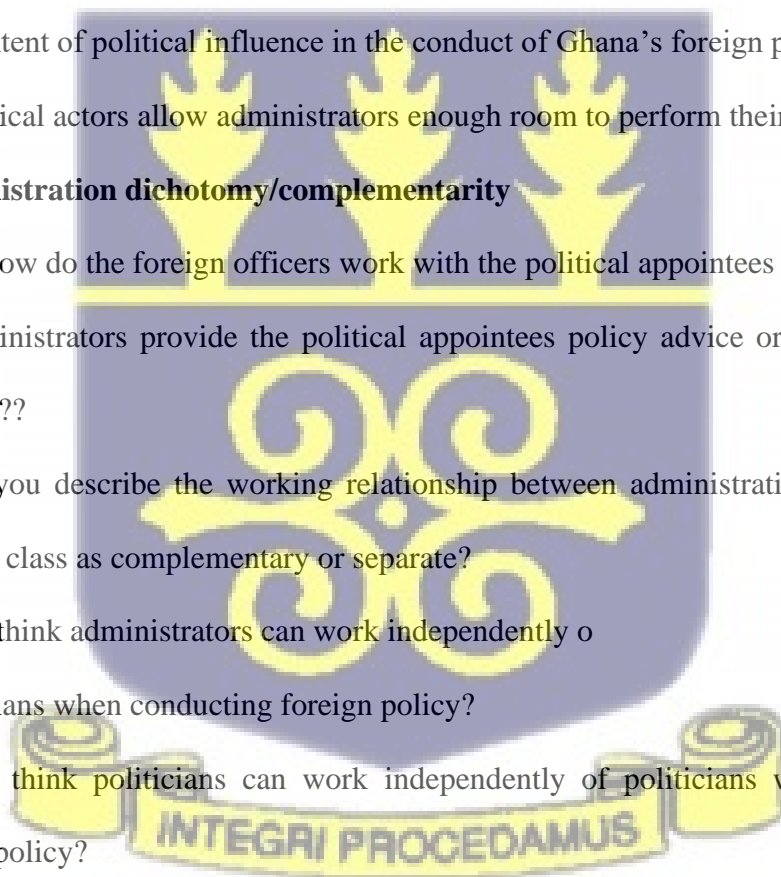
4. How does politics-administration dichotomy or complementarity play out in the conduct of countries foreign policy?
5. Is there is politics-administration dichotomy or complementarity in the conduct of Ghana's foreign policy at the MFA & RA?
6. What are some of the challenges in the politics-administration dichotomy or complementarity in the conduct of Ghana's foreign policy?

Politics- Administration issues in the conduct of countries foreign policy.

1. What role do politicians play in the conduct of Ghana's foreign policy?
2. What role do administrators play in the conduct of Ghana's foreign policy?
3. Is the extent of political influence in the conduct of Ghana's foreign policy pervasive?
4. Do political actors allow administrators enough room to perform their functions?

Politics-Administration dichotomy/complementarity

5. Please how do the foreign officers work with the political appointees in the MFA?
6. Do administrators provide the political appointees policy advice or guide and what happens??
7. Would you describe the working relationship between administrative class and the political class as complementary or separate?
8. Do you think administrators can work independently o
9. f politicians when conducting foreign policy?
10. Do you think politicians can work independently of politicians when conducting foreign policy?



How challenges in the politics-administration dichotomy or complementarity are resolved

11. How do administrators deal with political questions that arise in the course of your duty?
12. How are differences resolved in formulation and implementation of foreign policies between foreign officials and the political appointees in the MFA?
13. What do you think can be done to improve upon the implementation of foreign policy?

