

**UNIVERSITY OF GHANA**

**COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES**

**GHANA'S RELATIONS WITH THE COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS UNDER  
THE FOURTH REPUBLIC.**

**BY**

**MUBARAK ADAMS**

**(ID. NO. 10526529)**

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## DECLARATION

I, Mubarak Adams, do hereby declare that except for the works of other scholars properly acknowledged, this research is the result of my ingenuity study under the supervision of Prof. Kwame Boafo-Arthur and Dr. Charles Amo-Agyemang towards the award of MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY IN POLITICAL SCIENCE. Thus, I accept full responsibility for any gaps, small or large, that may be found in this work.

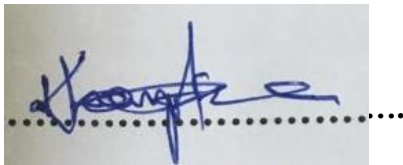


28/09/21

**MUBARAK ADAMS**

**Date**

**(Student, ID: 10526529)**

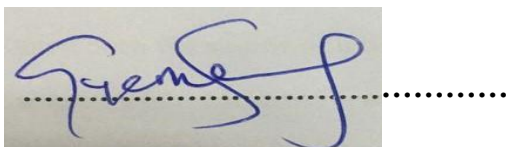


28/09/21

**PROF. KWAME BOAFO-ARTHUR**

**Date**

**(Principal Supervisor)**



28/09/21

**DR. CHARLES AMO-AGYEMANG**

**Date**

**(Co-Supervisor)**

## **ABSTRACT**

One major global impact after the end of the Cold War is the emergence of International Organizations and reconfiguration of their policies. One such organization is the Commonwealth of Nations. Even though the Commonwealth of Nations predates the Cold War, it has been very vital in the promotion of world peace, security, human right, democracy, and prosperity for all member states in modern-day politics. The Commonwealth of Nations' role in securing a stable political and progressive economic world for member countries cannot be easily ignored. Ghana's relations with the Commonwealth of Nations date back to 1957 when Dr. Kwame Nkrumah and his CPP gained independence from British colonial rule. Since then, Ghana has maintained close links with its former colonial master Britain till today. Unsurprisingly, many African leaders and scholars have expressed mixed feelings and reactions to the formation of the Commonwealth of Nations. Not far from the truth, these radical African leaders such as Dr. Kwame Nkrumah viewed the Commonwealth as a deliberate attempt for the continuation of British colonial exploitation of her former colonies. Though Nkrumah knew that the Commonwealth of Nations is a relic of colonial legacy, he was more than willing to join the Commonwealth after independence owing to the circumstances during that epoch. Therefore, the study sought to interrogate the factors that have been the source of incentives for Ghana's membership in the Commonwealth of Nations since 1957. Moreover, the study sought to also interrogate the implications of the Commonwealth of Nations on Ghana's foreign policy; investigate the role of the Commonwealth of Nations under Ghana's Fourth Republic; assess the benefits Ghana has derived from the Commonwealth of Nations before and during the Fourth Republic, and to examine the challenges and prospects of Ghana's relations with the Commonwealth of Nations under the Fourth Republic. Due to the nature of the study, the purposive sampling method was adopted in the selection of respondents. Primary data were collected from

academics and diplomats via semi-structured interviews. The findings of the study revealed that political and economic factors were the major incentives for Ghana's Commonwealth membership in 1957. Moreover, the study discovered that the Commonwealth of Nations amplifies Ghana's voice in the international community. Again, the study revealed that aside from Zimbabwe, Ghana is the second country that benefits more from the Commonwealth of Nations. Finally, climate change, overlapping of membership, diseases, migration, the decline in democratic values, extremism, and poverty are the challenges confronting Ghana's relations with the Commonwealth of Nations under the Fourth Republic. There are large trade and investment prospects for Ghana in the Commonwealth of Nations as a result of common language and history. It is recommended in the study that; Ghana needs to harness the opportunities within the Commonwealth of Nations and draw homegrown policies out of the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting (CHOGM) to overcome the country's socio-economic challenges to benefit its citizens.

## **DEDICATION**

Unto God, I dedicate this work.

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>DECLARATION .....</b>	<b>i</b>
<b>ABSTRACT.....</b>	<b>ii</b>
<b>DEDICATION .....</b>	<b>iv</b>
<b>ACKNOWLEDGEMENT.....</b>	<b>v</b>
<b>TABLE OF CONTENTS .....</b>	<b>vi</b>
<b>LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS .....</b>	<b>x</b>
<b>CHAPTER ONE .....</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>1.0 INTRODUCTION .....</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>1.01 BRIEF SYNOPSIS OF THE 1991 HARARE DECLARATION.....</b>	<b>8</b>
<b>1.1 STATEMENT OF RESEARCH PROBLEM.....</b>	<b>9</b>
<b>1.2 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY .....</b>	<b>11</b>
<b>1.3 RESEARCH QUESTIONS .....</b>	<b>12</b>
<b>1.4 RATIONALE OF THE STUDY .....</b>	<b>12</b>
<b>1.5 THE SCOPE OF THE STUDY .....</b>	<b>13</b>
<b>1.6 ARRANGEMENTS OF CHAPTERS .....</b>	<b>13</b>
<b>CHAPTER TWO .....</b>	<b>15</b>
<b>LITERATURE REVIEW .....</b>	<b>15</b>
<b>1.0 INTRODUCTION .....</b>	<b>15</b>
<b>2.1 EVOLUTION OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS.....</b>	<b>15</b>
<b>2.2 AFRICA AND THE COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS.....</b>	<b>19</b>

<b>2.3 BENEFITS AND CHALLENGES OF THE COMMONWEALTH</b> .....	32
<b>CHAPTER THREE</b> .....	52
<b>THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK</b> .....	52
<b>3.0 INTRODUCTION</b> .....	52
<b>3.1 THE CONCEPT OF AN INSTITUTION</b> .....	52
<b>3.1.1 DEFINITION OF INSTITUTIONALIZATION</b> .....	53
<b>3.2 INSTITUTIONAL THEORY</b> .....	55
<b>3.2.1 ASSUMPTIONS OF INSTITUTIONAL THEORY</b> .....	57
<b>3.2.2 STRENGTHS OF INSTITUTIONAL THEORY</b> .....	61
<b>3.2.3 CRITICISMS OF INSTITUTIONAL THEORY</b> .....	64
<b>3.3 CONCLUSION</b> .....	65
<b>CHAPTER FOUR</b> .....	66
<b>RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND SOURCES OF DATA</b> .....	66
<b>4.0 INTRODUCTION</b> .....	66
<b>4.1 PHILOSOPHICAL WORLDVIEW</b> .....	66
<b>4.2 RESEARCH APPROACH</b> .....	68
<b>4.2.0 SOURCES OF DATA COLLECTION</b> .....	70
<b>4.2.1 PRIMARY AND SECONDARY DATA</b> .....	70
<b>4.2.2 SAMPLING TECHNIQUE</b> .....	71
<b>4.2.3 SAMPLING SIZE</b> .....	72
<b>4.2.4 RESEARCH INSTRUMENTS</b> .....	72

<b>4.3 METHOD OF DATA ANALYSIS .....</b>	<b>73</b>
<b>4.4 ETHICAL CONSIDERATION IN RESEARCH .....</b>	<b>74</b>
<b>4.5 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY.....</b>	<b>74</b>
<b>4.6 CONCLUSION.....</b>	<b>75</b>
<b>CHAPTER FIVE .....</b>	<b>76</b>
<b>DATA PRESENTATION ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION .....</b>	<b>76</b>
<b>5.0 INTRODUCTION .....</b>	<b>76</b>
<b>5.1 REASONS FOR GHANA’S MEMBERSHIP IN THE COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS IMMEDIATELY AFTER INDEPENDENCE IN 1957.....</b>	<b>76</b>
<b>5.2 IMPLICATIONS OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS ON GHANA’S FOREIGN POLICY.....</b>	<b>81</b>
<b>5.3 THE ROLE OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS UNDER GHANA’S FOURTH REPUBLIC.....</b>	<b>85</b>
<b>5.4 BENEFITS GHANA HAS DERIVED FROM THE COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS BEFORE AND DURING THE FOURTH REPUBLIC.....</b>	<b>92</b>
<b>5.5 THE CHALLENGES AND PROSPECTS OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS UNDER GHANA’S FOURTH REPUBLIC.....</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>5.6 CONCLUSION.....</b>	<b>107</b>
<b>CHAPTER SIX .....</b>	<b>109</b>
<b>SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION, AND RECOMMENDATION .....</b>	<b>109</b>
<b>6.0 INTRODUCTION .....</b>	<b>109</b>
<b>6.1 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS .....</b>	<b>109</b>

<b>6.1.1 REASONS FOR GHANA’S MEMBERSHIP IN THE COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS IMMEDIATELY AFTER INDEPENDENCE IN 1957.....</b>	<b>110</b>
<b>6.1.2 IMPLICATIONS OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS ON GHANA’S FOREIGN POLICY.....</b>	<b>111</b>
<b>6.1.3 THE ROLE OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS UNDER GHANA’S FOURTH REPUBLIC.....</b>	<b>112</b>
<b>6.1.4 BENEFITS GHANA HAS DERIVED FROM THE COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS BEFORE AND DURING THE FOURTH REPUBLIC.....</b>	<b>113</b>
<b>6.1.5 THE CHALLENGES AND PROSPECTS OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS UNDER GHANA’S FOURTH REPUBLIC.....</b>	<b>114</b>
<b>6.2 CONCLUSION.....</b>	<b>116</b>
<b>6.3 RECOMMENDATIONS.....</b>	<b>117</b>
<b>BIBLIOGRAPHY.....</b>	<b>120</b>
<b>APPENDIX A: INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR DIPLOMATS AND HIGH COMMISSIONERS.....</b>	<b>128</b>
<b>APPENDIX B: INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR THOSE IN ACADEMIA.....</b>	<b>129</b>

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<b>CAA</b>	Commonwealth Association of Architects
<b>CFM</b>	Commonwealth Finance Ministers
<b>CWIEC</b>	Commonwealth Enterprise and Investment Council
<b>CAP</b>	Commonwealth Association of Planners
<b>EU</b>	European Union
<b>EEC</b>	European Economic Community
<b>CALC</b>	Commonwealth Association of Legal Counsel
<b>CSDP</b>	Common Security and Defense Policy
<b>CYC</b>	Commonwealth Youth Council
<b>EPA</b>	Environmental Protection Agency
<b>WTO</b>	World Trade Organization
<b>IO</b>	International Organization
<b>IGO</b>	Intergovernmental Organization
<b>IR</b>	International Relation
<b>BBC</b>	British Broadcasting Corporation
<b>UDI</b>	Unilateral Declaration of Independence
<b>OAU</b>	Organization of African Unity
<b>AU</b>	African Union

<b>CPP</b>	Convention People's Party
<b>NLC</b>	National Liberation Council
<b>NRC</b>	National Redemption Council
<b>AFRC</b>	Armed Forces Revolutionary Council
<b>PNDC</b>	Provisional National Defense Council
<b>ECOWAS</b>	Economic Community of West African States
<b>COG</b>	Commonwealth Observer Group
<b>CHOGM</b>	Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting
<b>CMAG</b>	Commonwealth Ministerial Action Group
<b>CFTC</b>	Commonwealth Fund for Technical Cooperation
<b>HGM</b>	Heads of Government Meeting
<b>UK</b>	United Kingdom
<b>NIEC</b>	New International Economic Order
<b>GNI</b>	Gross National Index
<b>CENTO</b>	Central Treaty Organization
<b>TAG</b>	Technical Assistance Group
<b>ANZUS</b>	Australia, New Zealand, and United States Security Treaty
<b>ANC</b>	African National Congress
<b>CCFMSA</b>	Commonwealth Committee of Foreign Ministers on South Africa
<b>UN</b>	United Nations

<b>HIPC</b>	Heavily indebted poor countries
<b>NGO</b>	Non-governmental organization
<b>NATO</b>	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
<b>SEATO</b>	Southeast Asia Treaty Organization
<b>UNDP</b>	United Nation’s Development Programme
<b>ADEA</b>	Association for the Development of Education in Africa
<b>YAPLP</b>	Youth Ambassadors for Positive Living Programme
<b>NEPAD</b>	New Partnership for Africa’s Development
<b>SCAAP</b>	Special Commonwealth African Assistance Plan
<b>APF</b>	African Peace Facility
<b>APSA</b>	African Peace and Security Architecture
<b>FDI</b>	Foreign Direct Investment
<b>WB</b>	World Bank
<b>IMF</b>	International Monetary Fund
<b>FCDO</b>	Foreign, Commonwealth, and Development Office
<b>CHRI</b>	Commonwealth Human Right Initiative

# CHAPTER ONE

## 1.0 INTRODUCTION

The shady nature of the international system with its uncertainties before, during, and after the end of the Cold War in 1991 has called for a rigorous and vigorous academic debate among scholars and policy actors to interrogate post-cold war politics of countries and international organizations (IO's) or international institutions. According to Simmons and Martins (2001), international institutions have become a progressively common event of global life. The widespread creation of international organizations, increase in treaty establishments among countries and the strengthening of regional unification activities in Europe constitute official declarations of how global politics has become legitimized (Simmons & Martins, 2001).

McCormick and Khil (1979), also aver that the evolution of intergovernmental organizations (IGOs) has been remarkable following the end of World War II. According to them, this evolution has happened not only in terms of the geographical distribution of such organizations but also in terms of functional issues with which the organization deals. According to McCormick (1980), international organizations are progressively an important feature of global politics today. Simmons and Martins (2001), also argue that international organizations remain the central linchpin of research, particularly after the end of the Cold War. These associations intend to adjust innumerable social, political, and economic challenges inside the domain of nation-states. They further stated that "International Organizations deserve attention at least in part because they have agency, agenda-setting influence and potentially important socializing influences" (Simmons & Martins, 2001, p. 193). In support of the arguments raised by other scholars, Duffield (2007), suggests that international institutions are the vital pivot of international relations as well as policy-making and regulatory efforts all over human society.

International Relations (IR) scholars have long grappled with a precise definition for international institutions. Young (cited in Duffield, 2007), defines international institutions as social norms or establishments that govern the activities of individuals in the international society. Simmons and Martin (2001), argue that some scholars have come to consider international institutions as sets of laws intended to control global activities in a manner that the laws are regularly regarded as declarations that ban, necessitate, or grant certain types of actions or behaviors.

It is as a result of these that, “The Commonwealth” has not been an exception of a reputable international organization or institution that controls and regulates the behaviors of its members in the conduct of economic, political, legal, diplomatic, and social relations in the international system. According to Kirby (2010), the Commonwealth of Nations was born out of British colonialism which was by far the largest in human history. The Commonwealth is a multicultural union of 54 equal and sovereign countries of the former British empire united by common history, values, and language. Out of the 54 member states, two do not have any historical link with Britain (Mozambique [1995] and Rwanda [2009]).

Ugwukah (2014), traces the evolution of the Commonwealth to 15 November 1926, when a major meeting was held in London between Britain and her five colonies to brainstorm on future relations. Five years later, Britain organized another meeting at Westminster on 11 December 1931. It is due to these two major proceedings that; led to the birth of the Commonwealth of Nations. Respectively, the Balfour Declaration in 1926 and the Statute of Westminster in 1931 guaranteed the colonies self-autonomy, equality status, and independence in their internal affairs within the British Commonwealth (Kirby;2010, Ugwukah;2014). Kirby (2010), asserts that the 1931 Statute of Westminster declared that the British Crown is a representation of loose organizations unified by their common loyalty to the Crown.

However, Akinjide Osuntokun (cited in Ugwukah, 2014), sets the origins of the Commonwealth at 1867, when Canada attained her independence from Britain. Likewise, Obi (cited in Ugwukah,2014), says that in terms of evolution, the Commonwealth began with the introduction of self-government in Canada in the 1840s, with Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa following suit just before the First World War. He debates, that the modern commonwealth began with the entry of India and Pakistan in 1947 and Sri Lanka in 1948. In 1949, when India decided to become a republic, the Commonwealth Heads of Government agreed to replace allegiance to the British Crown with recognition of the British monarch as Head of the Commonwealth as a condition for membership (Obi cited in Ugwukah,2014).

Bourne (2010), also claims that the Commonwealth's roots can be found in the old British Kingdom, which ended in the 1960s. In his view, the Commonwealth was not initiated by a treaty, but by a sequence of the exhortative proclamation of values, of which the most remarkable was made in Singapore in 1971 and Harare in 1991.

Today, the Commonwealth contains 30 percent of the entire global population which is over 2.4 billion of the 7.5 billion people globally (The Commonwealth, 2021). Commonwealth member states comprise both small island states, developed, developing, and underdeveloped economies found across all the continents of the world with shared institutional, cultural, and historical experiences with the British Empire (The Commonwealth, 2021).

Emmet (1963), asserts that the Commonwealth has no written constitution but there are core and unique bonds beyond economic benefits, that unite Commonwealth members. The use of English as a common dialect links all Commonwealth states to the British Crown or Queen. The Commonwealth's commitment to rule of law, human rights and dignity, democracy, and support for gender equality are also critical ties for Commonwealth states (The Commonwealth, 2021).

According to Akinrinade (1989), African states which came into independence from years of imperial rule, oppression, and exploitation, played a leading role in the various global institutions notably the Commonwealth of Nations. Deliberations at the international level in the early 1950s-60s were African, particularly during Commonwealth Prime Ministers Meeting.

On 6<sup>th</sup> March 1957, Ghana the then Gold Coast became the first black nation in Sub-Sahara Africa to gain her independence from British imperial rule. Ghana's long march to freedom was important to all African people and other countries under the western imperial regime. Ghana's actions after her independence were strictly observed by the world particularly the opposing powers of the Cold War (Cayton, 1957). Undeniably, Ghana's independence inspired greater optimism to all other African countries under imperial rule to deepen their fights for their emancipation. This optimism paved way for the political independence of Nigeria, Togo, Congo, Nyasaland (Malawi), Tanganyika (Tanzania), Kenya, Cameroon (Cayton, 1957). Gebe (2008), similarly avers that Ghana's independence in 1957 demonstrated an important landmark, not only for Gold Coasters but, for the total people of Africa and the black race in the diaspora. Ghana's freedom deepened the fight for Africa's total freedom and liberation from imperial and oppressive control. The independence of Ghana had huge implications on the Commonwealth of Nations which for many years was full of whites. The admission of India, Pakistan, Ceylon, and Burma altered the racial composition of the Commonwealth with progressively dark skin states. The major issue to "The British Commonwealth" was how to receive a pure Black African nation Ghana (Cayton, 1957). Cayton (1957, p. 79-80), further contends that; the questions therefore were:

How the Commonwealth will deal with this new dark member, undeniably a forerunner for other dark nations would determine whether the Commonwealth itself, can survive; whether this once proud and powerful empire now crumbling under the impact of a far-flung national movement among the darker peoples would be able to adapt itself to a system that will fully satisfy the aspirations of those who have for so long been subject of its colonial policy. The extent to which Ghana lines up with the anti-colonial countries especially the non-white ones will be important, in that it might set a precedent for

other subjected peoples yet to be liberated. The significance of Ghana to the continent of Africa is vital in the growing crisis of color and communism, a significance which exceeds its members in population, its size in square miles (Cayton, 1957, p. 79-80).

Thompson (1969), states that Ghana's external relations with Britain and the Commonwealth of Nations date back to her independence on 6<sup>th</sup> March 1957. Ghana's diplomatic relations with the western powers were purely based on the economic development of Ghana. In Thompson's view, Ghana made every attempt to establish diplomatic relations with the old Commonwealth members such as Canada, South Africa, India, etc. Ghana's membership with the Commonwealth of Nations was seen by Nkrumah as a big stage to fight two issues confronting Africa. These were: Apartheid and Economic inequalities.

Aqui (2017), opines that in 1961, Ghana became suspicious of Britain's request to join the European Economic Community (EEC), with President Kwame Nkrumah strongly objecting to Harold Macmillan's directive to join the EEC. Nkrumah's main concern was that Britain's application to join EEC would negatively influence Ghana and Africa's freedom and autonomy. Nkrumah also emphasized that EEC membership would pave the way for Europe to exploit Africa's economic resources. To Nkrumah, the EEC would design a neo-colonial order, in which Africa could not be truly sovereign (Aqui, 2017). Concerns were raised by leaders of the "Old Commonwealth" particularly Australia, Canada, and New Zealand on how their economies would be crippled with Britain's admission into the European Economic Community. These countries exported 23.9 percent, 15.8 percent, and 50.7 percent of their commodities to the United Kingdom respectively in the 1960s. Out of frustration, Canadian Prime Minister John Diefenbaker blamed Macmillan's government for betraying the Commonwealth of Nations (Aqui, 2017).

However, Ludlow (2016), argues that Britain's decision to join EEC was motivated by economic and political factors. Economically, Britain wanted to enjoy the benefits of a single European market and long-term economic growth whilst politically, Britain wanted to

reassert its influence as a major global actor/player as a result of the collapse of its Empire so that it would not be marginalized in global affairs. Unfortunately, Britain's application to join the EEC was vetoed by French Charles de Gaulle in 1963. This altered Ghana's external relations with Britain and contributed to the already tense atmosphere in London and the world as to how Britain would engage the Commonwealth when accepted into the EEC (Aqui, 2017).

In 1965, Kwame Nkrumah withdrew Ghana's membership from the Commonwealth over the cruel apartheid regime in South Africa fuelled by Britain's inaction against the oppressive white minority (Thompson, 1969; Armah, 2004). The situation in South Africa and Rhodesia made Nkrumah who from the beginning had supported civil disobedience and peaceful strikes, call for military action to bring to an end the decades of racism and segregation in South Africa (Armah, 2004). In Thompson's (1969) description, to enhance Ghana's position in Africa, Ghana broke diplomatic ties with Britain in 1965 in support of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) resolution over Rhodesia when Ian Smith unilaterally declared independence (UDI). However, Nkrumah and his Conventions Peoples Party (CPP) were deposed in the following year.

Upon the overthrow of Nkrumah's regime on 24<sup>th</sup> February 1966 by the National Liberation Council (NLC), Ghana's foreign policy principles shifted due to leadership and ideological factors forcing the NLC to quickly restore diplomatic relations with Britain. Economic sanctions imposed on Ian Smith's Rhodesia were relegated to the background by the National Liberation Council (NLC) regime (Boafo-Arthur, 1998). Boafo-Arthur (1999), reasons that Ghana's foreign policy orientations which Busia inherited from the NLC junta did not change. He developed friendly relations with the Western Financial Institutions and Western states especially Britain.

Boafo-Arthur (1989), observes that since the 24<sup>th</sup> February 1966 military coup which toppled Nkrumah's regime, successive regime's foreign policy orientations changed due to ideology or leadership. Ghana's foreign policy from independence to today has not changed in its basic doctrine (www.mfa.gov.gh,2021). All various regimes have shown commitment to Nonalignment, decolonization, Pan-Africanism, and an end to racism (Boafo-Arthur, 1989; www.mfa.gov.gh,2021). These tenets embody the basis of Ghana's foreign policy in respect to the outside world specifically the superpowers. Of course, Nkrumah's practical, rational and leadership skills accounted for Ghana's foreign policy achievements (Boafo-Arthur, 1989). Nkrumah's foreign policy achievements made it impracticable for all administrations after him to pursue different foreign policies. His foreign policy style has become the standard and medium of analysis of all governments (Boafo-Arthur, 1989).

Ghana came under the severe grips of the Provisional National Defense Council (PNDC) controlled by Flt. Lt. Jerry Rawlings, the Chairman of the PNDC after the 31<sup>st</sup> December 1981 revolution. Since then, the PNDC ruled Ghana by decrees and became a consistent violator of basic human rights (Human Right Watch Report, 1991). The consequences of the 31<sup>st</sup> December revolution were that Ghana lost its membership in the Commonwealth Parliament Association and the immediate termination of the Canadian Armed Forces Training Team in Ghana by the Canadian government (CAFTTG) in 1982 (U.S. Library of Congress).

UK's foreign aid to Africa and particularly Ghana in the 1980s-90s aimed at promoting human rights, democratic values, and good governance (Killick, 2013). States which accepted political multiplicity, public accountability, rule of law, respect for human rights, and open-market economy were acknowledged. Oppressive regimes, corrupt states, and state-led economies were discouraged and denied external support from the UK (Douglas Hurd cited in Killick,2013).

Indisputably, the fall of the Eastern European communist/socialist rule had an immense ramification on the PNDC and other oppressive regimes everywhere in Africa. All around the continent, almost every government was not spared from the wave of democratic transition or democratic model (Haynes, 1993). The PNDC military junta was confronted with domestic and external pressure to return the country into a civilian regime, liberalize trade and promote multi-party democracy. External aids were directly tied to democratic principles and respect for human rights (Gyimah-Boadi, 1991). The regime's inability to do away with western financial aids gave way to multi-party democracy and political reforms in 1992 (Gyimah-Boadi, 1991).

The 1992 Constitution explicitly indicates Ghana's foreign policy objectives as Ghana transitioned into constitutional rule led by the Provisional National Defense Council (PNDC) and the National Democratic Congress (NDC) under the Fourth Republic. Chapter six (6) article 40 and chapter eight (8) article 73, 74, 75 provide the broad principles of Ghana's external relations which are: 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 and 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, the Non-Aligned Movement and any other International organization of which Ghana is a member.

### **1.01 BRIEF SYNOPSIS OF THE 1991 HARARE DECLARATION**

Twenty years after the Singapore Declaration of 1971, the Commonwealth of Nations adopted the Harare Declaration of 1991. The Singapore Declaration was a statement of shared beliefs which Commonwealth members proclaim to. However, the Harare Declaration of 1991 was a statement of a code of conduct available for the Commonwealth countries to

adhere to (Gruenbaum, 2016). October 20, 1991, Harare Declaration was a testament to the Commonwealth of Nations' preparedness to face the challenges of the 21<sup>st</sup> century and beyond (The Commonwealth, 2021). Anyaoku (cited in Gruenbaum,2016), emphasizes that the Harare Declaration undoubtedly marked the Commonwealth out as a people-based association with democracy, human rights, and development at its core. The Harare Declaration revived the Commonwealth and gave it a new direction and purpose. Mayall (1997), stresses that the Harare Declaration of 1991 was a turning point for the Commonwealth. It was a courageous step towards changing the Commonwealth in a post-Cold War world into a force for democracy, good governance, and a more active medium for the promotion of sustainable development (Mayall,1997; Bourne,2010).

### **1.1 STATEMENT OF RESEARCH PROBLEM**

The hasty decision by former British African colonies to join the Commonwealth of Nations after their independence has generated much interest and debates among International Relations (IR) experts. There is limited literature on the factors that influenced Ghana's Commonwealth membership which has become incentives for her continuous stay in an association with colonial legacies. This has informed this particular study to interrogate why Ghana joined the Commonwealth of Nations after gaining her independence in 1957 and the possible benefits Ghana has derived from the Commonwealth of Nations before and during the Fourth Republic. Much of the research work on Ghana's foreign policy concentrates on the historical chronicles of Ghana's struggle for independence and the role it played to shape the bipolar global politics in general and Africa in particular (Asante;1997, Armah;2004, Gebe;2008). The attention has always been on Kwame Nkrumah's selfless efforts and personal charisma in drafting a forceful foreign policy for Ghana immediately after gaining independence in 1957 in an era of intensified Cold War (Cone,1961; Thompson;1969; Aluko,1975; Asante,1997; Boafo-Arthur,1999; Armah,2004; Gebe;2008).

Aluko (1975), postulates that Ghana had her independence in an era when the Cold War was at its peak. Hence, Nkrumah had to pursue a foreign policy of non-alignment as a pragmatic solution to Cold War politics. Boafo-Arthur (1998), equally argues that Ghana's external policy alignment was influenced by the effigies or exigencies of the Cold War and the decolonization of Africa which Kwame Nkrumah had to deal with.

Nkrumah after independence consciously and tactfully allied with the rest of the world by joining various major international organizations. Ghana, with the help of Commonwealth affiliates, became the 81<sup>st</sup> member of the United Nations (Thompson, 1969).

According to Boafo-Arthur (1999), Nkrumah, quickly rationalized state resources and diplomatic creativities in the fight for the total liberation of Africa. External relations were aimed at making Ghana the headquarters of Africa's fight against colonialism. Alliance was formed with other poor states to make the voices of poor nations around the world heard (Boafo-Arthur,1999). Armah (2004, p. 15-16) avers that Ghana's external relations under Nkrumah were directed by the following fundamental core objectives: the campaign against colonialism and neo-colonialism; the advocacy for Africa Unity with the espousal of a common foreign policy; the creation of a Joint African High Command; an African Common Market; an overall continental economic planning including a more equitable system of international trade and the belief of non-alignment states which would not depend on the east or west; and which will have a definite and concerted policy of its own.

Ghana's external relations with the Commonwealth of Nations are a fascinating area for investigation. The reason is that Ghana was once a colony of Great Britain and the first in Sub-Sahara Africa to gain self-autonomy. Looking at the politics during the era Ghana got her freedom and today, it would be appropriate to understand the factors that necessitated Ghana's decision to join the Commonwealth immediately after her independence, its

continuous relations, and the benefits of such unmitigated relations. Some experts have argued that it was economic and political factors that made many African states join international associations (Akinrinade;1989, Torrent;2015). Hence, this work seeks to find the factors which made Ghana opt to join the Commonwealth of Nations in 1957, the rationale for the continuous relations, the benefits Ghana has derived from the Commonwealth of Nations, the challenges of those relations before and during the Fourth Republic.

The inquiry into the beneficial effects of Ghana's membership of the Commonwealth is more compelling by the fact that some people feel that the Commonwealth of Nations as an international organization is anachronistic, dead, and a waste of time for nations to associate with in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

## **1.2 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY**

The principal research objective of this study is to interrogate Ghana's continuous relations with the Commonwealth of Nations immediately after independence. To achieve this objective, the study will attempt to examine the following research objectives:

- To interrogate the implications of the Commonwealth of Nations on Ghana's foreign policy.
- To investigate the role of the Commonwealth of Nations under Ghana's Fourth Republic.
- To assess the benefits Ghana has derived from the Commonwealth of Nations before and during the Fourth Republic.
- To examine the challenges and prospects of Ghana's relations with the Commonwealth of Nations under the Fourth Republic.

### **1.3 RESEARCH QUESTIONS**

The primary research question posed by this study is: Why did Ghana join the Commonwealth of Nations immediately after independence?

The subsequent research questions are:

- What are the implications of the Commonwealth of Nations on Ghana's foreign policy?
- What is (are) the role (s) of the Commonwealth of Nations under Ghana's Fourth Republic?
- What benefits has Ghana derived from the Commonwealth of Nations before and during the Fourth Republic?
- What are the challenges and prospects of the Commonwealth of Nations under Ghana's Fourth Republic?

### **1.4 RATIONALE OF THE STUDY**

There has been international and domestic pessimism about the evolution of the Commonwealth of Nations. These pessimisms mainly focus on Britain's impact on the Commonwealth especially financial, trade, economic, political, migration policy, security, and technological benefits that the poorest members of the Commonwealth get. The concern was heightened even more when Britain applied to join the European Economic Community (EEC) now European Union (EU). The fear was that Britain's move will destroy the future of the Commonwealth of Nations. The Commonwealth's member states particularly Ghana under Nkrumah objected to Britain's new foreign policy to join EEC. The decision was largely seen as a betrayal and denial of the Commonwealth of Nations on the part of Britain. Ever since Britain joined the European Union (EU), Britain trade more with its European neighbors and has more sense of attachment to Europe than Commonwealth member states.

This is a matter of great concern. As an association, many believe Britain is the biggest force that moves the Commonwealth on the world stage with a strong voice. In this manner, Britain's decision on the world stage is seen as a Commonwealth decision. However, when the Cold War ended in 1991, scholars have become more skeptical of the relevance, benefits, and actual role of the Commonwealth of Nations to international affairs and its members especially Ghana.

The findings from this study will provide much understanding of the role, benefits, and relevance of Ghana's relations with the Commonwealth of Nations under the Fourth Republic. The findings will inform policy actors both domestic and international as a whole concerning the appropriate measures and mechanisms to put in place to mitigate the challenges/threats that face both parties under the Fourth Republic. The study will also be a modest contribution to the broad body of knowledge and existing literature on issues on regional groupings, Commonwealth studies, and International Relations.

### **1.5 THE SCOPE OF THE STUDY**

This is a study on Ghana's external relations with the Commonwealth of Nations under the Fourth Republic (1992). The study, therefore, looks at the reason why Ghana joined the Commonwealth of Nations, the benefits derived from the Commonwealth of Nations, and the challenges encountered before and during the Fourth Republic. Consequently, this study will use economic and political variables as the guiding principles of Ghana's membership in the Commonwealth of Nations.

### **1.6 ARRANGEMENTS OF CHAPTERS**

The study is arranged into six (6) chapters. Chapter one consists of the introduction which comprises the background to the problem, brief synopsis of the 1991 Harare Declaration,

statement of the research problem, objectives of the research, research questions, rationale of the study, the scope of the study, and finally an arrangement of chapters.

The second chapter covers the review of literature appropriate to the study. It takes into account the diverse assessments and opinions of writers, diplomats, and scholars on the Commonwealth of Nations during the Cold War era and today with a special emphasis on Ghana. It also looks at establishing/identifying gaps in the existing materials or writing to add to the existing body of knowledge.

The third chapter deals with the theoretical framework. The chapter starts with an introduction explaining the concept of theory, institution, institutionalization, institutional theory. The chapter equally looked at the assumptions of institutional theory, strengths of institutional theory, and the criticisms of institutional theory.

Chapter four focuses on the methodology used in the study. It begins with an introduction that explains the meaning of research methodology. It also discusses philosophical worldview, research approach, sources of data, sampling techniques, sampling size, research instrument, method of data analysis, as well as the limitations of the study. Ethical consideration in research is critically considered in this chapter.

Chapter five analyses and discusses the findings under the research questions asked to reflect the objectives of the research. Finally, Chapter six contains the summary of the findings, conclusion, and recommendations.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW**

#### **1.0 INTRODUCTION**

Many scholars have different means of conducting a literature review. Randolph (2009), proclaims that conducting a literature review is a way of indicating an author's idea or familiarity about a specific field of study. Also, Hart (1998), claims that literature review is to reveal the researcher's skill in library exploration; to exhibit the expertise of the subject area and understanding of the problem; to validate the research topic, strategy, and procedure.

Therefore, a literature review is a core part of empirical academic research by offering a structure within which a researcher situates and validates his/her work in the milieu of available research works. This chapter gives a review of the existing literature on the evolution of the Commonwealth, Africa and the Commonwealth, challenges, and benefits of the Commonwealth of Nations.

#### **2.1 EVOLUTION OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS**

In an article written by British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) in 2017 titled, *Profile: Commonwealth of Nations*, BBC claims that the Commonwealth of Nations was in the past called the "British Commonwealth". In the article, BBC opines that the Commonwealth is a loose entity that consists of former colonies of Britain and other states which do not share any cultural or historical links with Britain. According to BBC, today's Commonwealth of Nation's origin started from an Imperial Meetings in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries after some dominions gained their independence. As soon as some colonies gained their independence, Britain made a plan to foster greater relations with her former colonies. Today's Commonwealth acquired its name only after India and Pakistan had their autonomy. As a result of India and Pakistan's freedom, the "British Commonwealth" was changed to the

Commonwealth of Nations. The Commonwealth's member states show allegiance to the British crown. According to BBC, the British monarch continues to be the authorized head of the Commonwealth. The Commonwealth has no written constitution but rather has a charter accepted in 2012 which obligates all member states to adhere to 16 principles including democracy, gender equality, sustainable development, and international peace and security. BBC stated that every two years, the Commonwealth holds Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting (CHOGM) to deliberate on matters mutual to the interest of all Commonwealth members. According to BBC, the Commonwealth's leadership structure comprises the Queen of Britain who is the recognized head and represents a 'symbol of free association'. In her absence, Prince Charles becomes the heir of the Commonwealth of Nations. Next is the Secretary-General who is the chief executive officer of the Commonwealth elected by Commonwealth diplomats and foreign ministers for a period of two-four years tenure. In the article, BBC argues that the Commonwealth of Nations has been disparaged as a post-colonial organization which makes Britain continue to dominate over her former colonies. However, to BBC, the Commonwealth is voluntary and its members are solely sovereign states committed to values of democracy, good governance, human rights, and economic developments. In the view of BBC, the Commonwealth is criticized for having less influence in the world. BBC in their article argues that the Commonwealth is not a bloc in global affairs hence, it does not influence countries that are not members. BBC claims that the impact on members is derived from assistance which members get from development support and cooperation on the global objectives. The Commonwealth is not like the UN and member states do not have contractual responsibilities; however, members are united based on common beliefs stated in the 2012 charter. According to the article by BBC, Commonwealth in response to its commitment to the Harare Declaration in 1991 set up the Commonwealth Ministerial Action Group (CMAG) which consists of eight ministers to deal

with member states which violate the 1991 Harare Declaration. CMAG recommends to the Commonwealth to impose economic sanctions or suspend a member which does not uphold the principles of the Commonwealth. Upon such recommendations from CMAG, the Commonwealth suspended Nigeria in 1995 after Abacha violated democratic principles regarding elections and the killing of Ken Saro-Wiwa and other activists. Fiji was equally suspended after the military ousted a democratically elected government. The Commonwealth in 2002 also suspended Zimbabwe over electoral intimidations and violations reported by the Commonwealth's election observer group.

This article by BBC is very critical to my study since it states the actions taken by the Commonwealth of Nations to ensure respect for democratic values and promotion of human rights in member states when those states violated the provisions of Harare declarations. However, the article did not focus on Ghana and this is the gap this study seeks to fill.

In Alexander C. Ugwukah's work, *The Relevance of the Commonwealth of Nations in Today's World*, he traced the evolution of the Commonwealth of Nations and indicated it is one of the oldest voluntary global associations in human history. Setting the evolution of the Commonwealth, Ugwukah argues that the Commonwealth was formed as a result of two major events namely: the Balfour Declaration of 1926 and the Statute of Westminster of 1931. The Balfour Declaration stated that all members were independent and equal within the Commonwealth whilst the Statute of Westminster gave the colonies internal independence. The name "British Commonwealth" was altered to the Commonwealth after the end of World War II (WWII) in 1945 due to new entrants who do not have any historical link with Britain.

His work indicated that the bonds between the Commonwealth are very diverse. According to him, the conjugal relationship between the Commonwealth's citizens gives emotional attachment to Britain. The common educational system, legal system, and the use of English

as an official language of the Commonwealth strongly bind all members to Britain. Ugwukah avers that trade, investment, currency/financial plan, population, migration, and sport have strengthened the bond between the Commonwealth's member states.

Ugwukah highlights the relevance of the Commonwealth in this modern era stating that the Commonwealth gives solidarity support to its member states going through a political crisis. An example is the Nigerian political impasse in 1993 when Abacha annulled the general election which was won by Abiola and the execution of nine Ogoni activists notably Saro-Wiwa. The Commonwealth took a bold step to compel Nigeria to respect the 1991 Harare Declaration. Abacha's refusal to return Nigeria to civilian rule led to the country's suspension from the Commonwealth. Upon approval from the Commonwealth Ministerial Action Group, further sanctions including an arms embargo, sports sanctions, freezing of the government's account, and boycott of Nigerian oil were imposed in 1996. According to the author, the Commonwealth is highly relevant in the 21<sup>st</sup> century because it involved itself in peace and conflict resolution among member states in the Solomon Islands, Papua New Guinea, Lesotho, Tanzania, and Zimbabwe. It also participates in election observation and monitoring in member states notably Kenya, Pakistan, and Nigeria to ensure democratic values are firmly followed. On economic development, the Commonwealth through its Commonwealth Fund for Technical Cooperation (CFTC) has engaged in poverty alleviation among its poor countries. CFTC also provides technical support for its members through debit reconciliation and negotiation for its members. His work perfectly highlighted the current challenges faced by Commonwealth member states particularly the poor states. Such challenges in his assessment are HIV/AIDS, migration, poverty, terrorism, human trafficking, unemployment, gender inequality among others. His work is very critical to my study because it touches on the core issues which my research would tackle. However, his work failed to highlight the

role the Commonwealth has played in Ghana's political system. This is the gap that this study seeks to fill.

## **2.2 AFRICA AND THE COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS**

Akinrinade, in his article titled "*Africa and the Commonwealth, 1960-80: Trends, Achievements, and Policy Implications*" investigates the general implications of the Commonwealth for African foreign policy and the role of international organizations generally as instruments of policy for developing states. The author avows that those African states that came out of colonialism and joined the Commonwealth played a crucial role in its activities. From the early 1960s, issues raised at the Commonwealth for deliberations were political and African. In the 1970s, Rhodesia and South Africa issues were the major problems within the Commonwealth which nearly endangered the survival of the Commonwealth. The pursuit of membership by African states to the Commonwealth remained basically: political and economic. Politically, African states used the Commonwealth as a medium for the continuation of their independence struggle, the freedom of their lands, and the elimination of apartheid and racism in South Africa and everywhere it existed on the African continent. The withdrawal of South Africa from the Commonwealth in 1961 signified the first political achievement of African states within the Commonwealth. However, this achievement did not last long as some Commonwealth African states like Malawi reinforced their diplomatic relations with South Africa. Irrefutably, African countries within the Commonwealth played a central role in the withdrawal of South Africa. But, without the effort of Canada, such withdrawal would not have materialized. Because, Britain, Australia, and New Zealand supported South Africa's constant enjoyment of Commonwealth membership and were regretful for seeing South Africa leaving the Commonwealth. Britain's firm position to continue the sale of arms to South Africa left Nkrumah and other African leaders in the Commonwealth uncertain of what appropriate actions to adopt against the

apartheid regime in South Africa. Julius Nyerere's statement which suggests that his country cannot be in the same association with South Africa motivated Nkrumah and Sir Abubakar to take a pragmatic decision on South Africa. The actions of Britain regarding the political tensions in South Africa confirmed how less important was Africa's problems to Britain. Enhanced volumes of trade and economic backing to the government in South Africa, made most African states believe that Britain was one of the supporters keeping the apartheid rule in power. With Rhodesia, the Lusaka treaty was seen as the affirmation of the Commonwealth's relevance in global politics. African leaders kept the issues of Rhodesia alive in Commonwealth discussions and debates. It was as a result of those pressures that forced the Commonwealth of Nations in 1979 Heads of Government Meeting (HGM) to agree on a constitutional modality which led to Zimbabwe's independence. Moreover, Commonwealth extremely influenced the political negotiation that led to the independence of Mozambique a former Portuguese colony. After gaining their political freedom, the Mozambique government played a serious role in putting pressure on the oppressive regime in Rhodesia. Mozambique continuously closed its borders with Rhodesia in compliance with UN sanctions. This motivated Commonwealth countries like UK, Canada, Nigeria, Tanzania, Zambia to send technical and financial aid to Mozambique to cope with the losses accrued from their border closure with Rhodesia. When Zimbabwe had her independence, Namibia became the only African country under imperial rule. The Commonwealth intensified its criticism of the government in South Africa to grant Namibia self-rule. The Commonwealth noticed that the people of Namibia were deprived of skilled labor and technocrats to manage their affairs should South Africa grant them independence immediately. Upon realization of the poor level of trained personnel in Namibia, Commonwealth arranged an assistance program for the people of Namibia as it was organized for the people of Zimbabwe before their autonomy in April 1980. The economic aspect for African countries' membership of the

Commonwealth was as a result of the pursuit of good trade policies, aid, and technical assistance in their development attempts. The search for good economic policies, trade, aid, and technical assistance by African states within the Commonwealth accounted for the strange relations and rejections of Britain's bid to join the European Economic Community (EEC). Britain's action to join the EEC triggered reactions from Commonwealth member states mainly those from Africa particularly Nigeria, Tanzania, Uganda, and Kenya to negotiate their trade policy with EEC. In acknowledgment of Africa's special demands for development assistance, the Commonwealth of Nations introduced the Special Commonwealth African Assistance Plan (SCAAP). The introduction of this assistance plan meant that the Commonwealth was ready to address the economic needs and aspirations of the Commonwealth's developing nations. Within this assistance agenda, Africa has attracted more aid. For instance, Commonwealth Fund for Technical Cooperation (CFTC) in regional calculations stated that 39 percent of CFTC disbursement went to Africa, 9.7 percent went to Asia, 13.9 percent went to Pacific and 27.9 percent went to the Caribbean and Atlantic in 1985 to 1986. From this indication, CFTC has helped in meeting the economic needs and aspirations of Commonwealth countries, not only those from the African continent.

On the implications of the Commonwealth on the foreign policy of Africa states, Akinrinade observes that it is obvious that global organizations can serve as regulators of state actions. However, in the African context, there is no evidence to show that the Commonwealth influences its foreign policy. In his assertion, Africa's relations with the Commonwealth had been from the position of weakness. Africans have used the Commonwealth as a forum to influence Britain to carry out certain policies which, left alone African states could not have been able to achieve. They used the Commonwealth to push other members to bring changes in South Africa and Rhodesia, to secure better trade policies, and to contribute towards development attempts. By participating in the Commonwealth, African states have changed

the attitude of other states, mainly Britain. Akinrinade is of the view that, despite the poor handling of many political issues which confronted Africa's relations with the Commonwealth of Nations, it is proven that the Commonwealth of Nations has given African countries the special opportunity to exert direct influence on Britain and other developed Commonwealth countries policies. The author claims that African countries which joined the Commonwealth after independence saw the Commonwealth as an instrument through which they could extend their foreign policy goals. They used the Commonwealth's platform as a forum to discuss their development needs and the Commonwealth has made African states committed to the implementation of decisions arrived at the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting (CHOGM).

He proposes that Africa's future with the Commonwealth greatly depends on its relations with Britain. African countries have continuously used the Commonwealth as the means to pressurize Britain and those advanced countries to demand changes in their policies. Fears of withdrawal from the Commonwealth on disputed issues, mainly with Britain surround Africa's future relations with the Commonwealth of Nations. For the Commonwealth to survive and see the participation of African states, it must adapt to the physical, social, environmental changes and projection of new sets of identity and goals. The author proclaims that the issues that made African states join the Commonwealth in the 1950s and 1960s are not the same as today. He contends that the office of the independent Secretary-General and the rotation of Commonwealth meetings have helped to create some sense of identity among member states. He declares that the rotation of Commonwealth summits will strengthen the development cooperation of other regions such as Asia, the Pacific, and Africa. Akinrinade concludes by saying that, the Commonwealth is not a useless organization as long as it continues to perform its responsibilities without fuss. Akinrinade's article is very relevant to my work as it deals with the very aspects that my research seeks to unearth. However, his

article failed to narrow his study, particularly on Ghana. This is the gap that this study seeks to fill.

In his work written in 2007, *After Abuja: Africa and the Commonwealth*, Don Mckinnon claims that there are many fables about Africa and the Commonwealth. In his description, such delusion of the union is that it is a ‘vestige of an Empire’ an institution that accomplishes no meaningful role in contemporary global affairs. In McKinnon’s assertion, the Commonwealth remains an important global association that gives its member states a global forum to articulate their views in international affairs and make their voices heard. The Commonwealth’s members do not only share one identity, however, basic ideas and a feeling of purpose. The relation linking Africa and the Commonwealth of Nations is long-lasting and rich. He opines that African states comprise a colossal geographical grouping within the Commonwealth. Africa’s immense cultural endowment and multiplicity enhance the Commonwealth’s image and give it global recognition. The Commonwealth’s strength is derived from its history which is not rooted in an artificial blueprint or bureaucratic pattern. However, today’s Commonwealth emerged out of history which has converted colonialism into a unique friendship rooted in trust, cooperation, and sovereign equality. Africa’s role in this transformation cannot be overlooked. Kwame Nkrumah called for the establishment of the Commonwealth Secretariat in 1965 to conduct all the affairs of the Commonwealth which was then handled by British civil servants. This recommendation by Kwame Nkrumah was backed by his African counterparts within the Commonwealth at that time specifically Nigeria and Uganda.

African states within the Commonwealth are most dedicated and vigorous. Nigeria, South Africa, and Zambia have all held Commonwealth Heads of Government Meetings (CHOGM). Some have held ministerial and senior officials’ meetings of which Ghana chairs the Commonwealth’s Board of Governors. Africa has always been at the heart of political

transformations that have molded the identity of the Commonwealth. African states within the Commonwealth for years stood against apartheid in South Africa which was sometimes in conflict with Britain's decision on the matter. Numerous declarations which are very core to the Commonwealth were influenced by Africa's knowledge of political liberalization/colonialism. The Lusaka Declaration in 1979 on Racism and Racial Prejudice was the foundation of motivation for many African states resisting discrimination, inequality, and injustices.

Don McKinnon states that the Harare Declaration of 1991 symbolizes the essential political values of the Commonwealth. Adherence and regard to the 1991 Harare values have become the central requirement of Commonwealth membership. These shared commitments to democratic principles and economic growth cannot be underrated. Dedication to the 1991 Harare Principles was reiterated and reinforced through the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting in December 2003 in Nigeria. CHOGM in Abuja was a depiction of robust cooperation allying the Commonwealth and its African member states. Abuja CHOGM was effective and helpful in impacting the future of Africa and its citizens. A major outcome of the Abuja CHOGM was the pronouncement by the Commonwealth's leadership to create a Commonwealth Ministerial Trade Mission aimed at putting the Doha trade dialog back to action. Abuja CHOGM also reinforced the connection between democracy and development. McKinnon stresses that there cannot be economic development without democracy. Throughout the meeting, Commonwealth states re-echoed their commitment towards strengthening their democratic institutions.

Notwithstanding many years of political hindrances in Africa, the Commonwealth has accomplished much. Don McKinnon's work outlines Commonwealth's effort in promoting democracy and development in Africa. The Commonwealth is heavily involved in the election and political support programs in Malawi, Cameroon, Sierra Leone, and

Mozambique. According to him, Africa has made tremendous progress especially Commonwealth members in ensuring political stability. African states within the Commonwealth have managed to come out of years of autocratic regimes and military rule. Botswana has over the years been a stronghold of democratic values. War-torn Commonwealth states like Sierra Leone have tried to free themselves from the ravages of civil war. Sierra Leone coming out of civil war managed to organize peaceful and democratic elections in 2002 with 14 percent women elected as members of parliament, a record more than the Commonwealth's requirement. Ghana's elections in 2001 and Kenya's 2002 elections indicate that peaceful democratic transition is possible regardless of one party being in power for many years.

The Commonwealth of Nations is equally involved in strengthening the judicial system in its African member states particularly in The Gambia and Sierra Leone. Moreover, the Commonwealth is deeply involved in solving the internal political issues of its member states. Currently, the Commonwealth of Nations participates in election management, human rights, and rule of law reforms in Cameroon. In Swaziland, the Commonwealth actively influenced the verdict to permit professional and public input into the constitutional review process. The Commonwealth of Nations' devotion to democracy and development is important, particularly from the African perspective. To the Commonwealth of Nations, democracy is linked with economic development when democracy receives popular support. Commonwealth is committed to supporting democracy and democratic transition and institutions in Africa's member states. This is because the Commonwealth of Nations believes democratic accountability and good governance come with extensive profits.

The Commonwealth of Nations continues to be active in socio-economic development. With regards to trade, the £17 million project was launched by Commonwealth which would be financed by the European Commission to provide trade advice to Commonwealth and Africa,

Caribbean, and Pacific aiming to ensure effective trade deals from global trade negotiations (McKinnon, 2007, p. 408). The Commonwealth of Nations also advised governments on how to attract investment to exploit natural resources. As a result of this, the Commonwealth of Nations has helped the government of Namibia on the petroleum sector to thrash out agreements with international oil firms for offshore exploration projects valued at over \$100 million (McKinnon, 2007, p. 408-409). The New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) continues to receive funding from the Commonwealth through the Commonwealth's strategic teamwork on matters of political and economic interest, particularly on the NEPAD Peer Review Mechanism.

Don McKinnon's work emphasized that Africa is not exempted from the dangers of the world. Of course, Africa has received its portion of genocide, war and many of its regions are plagued with absolute poverty and deadly diseases such as HIV/AIDS. Commonwealth's attention in Africa is also focused on health. In fighting HIV/AIDS, Uganda has adopted effective policies to control the disease. Since 1990, the country has witnessed a drop to 6 percent from a 14 percent HIV infection rate. Through the Commonwealth's Youth Ambassadors for Positive Living Programme (YAPLP), the institution contributes to the prevention and spread of HIV/AIDS. The initiative began in Zambia which makes young people living with HIV inform and educate the public on the prevention of the disease. Over 200 Commonwealth Youth Ambassadors are working in six countries in Africa, the Caribbean, and Asia.

Don McKinnon asserts that Commonwealth provides tremendous support to its African members in education. The Commonwealth gives training programs for teachers in partnership with the Association for the Development of Education in Africa (ADEA) which offers training materials, programs, and help in improving teaching conditions in Commonwealth Africa.

On the issue of corruption and economic development, African states are making meaningful gains by tackling corruption. Nigeria has made many efforts in rooting out corruption in her oil and gas industry through transparent policies and raising accountability standards. Ghana is equally enjoying moderate levels of economic sustainability and growth through the liberalization of her economy. According to the author, Commonwealth leaders have taken steps in dealing with corruption through shared teamwork in the repatriation of unlawfully gained state assets. Concerns are growing within the Commonwealth on the need for public accountability and fiscal responsibility which were raised in the Aso Rock Declaration Abuja, Nigeria, 2003.

On land reforms, the Commonwealth has also played a major role in the Zimbabwean crisis which at the core of it is the issue of land ownership. Commonwealth gave support towards land reforms and redistribution policies in partnership with the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) in Zimbabwe. The Commonwealth is concerned with just land reforms which will also give much concern to the Harare Declaration in 1991 by respecting human rights and democratic principles. The United Kingdom (UK) pledged £35 million to UNDP agreed land reform program in Zimbabwe. However, the government of Zimbabwe rejected all attempts made by the UK in ensuring equitable, transparent, and sustainable land reforms measures accepted in the Abuja Agreement. President Robert Mugabe in 2001 rejected an offer to send a Ministerial Mission to engage with the government to offer Commonwealth assistance during the crisis. His work is relevant to my study because it highlights on key contributions of the Commonwealth of Nations in Ghana's election. Therefore, this study seeks to complement Don McKinnon's work.

According to John Holmes in his work, *The Impact on the Commonwealth of the Emergence of Africa*, he stresses that before Africa appeared with unanticipated alacrity as an independent political power in the world, the Family of Nations was already in the process of

changing itself due to the radical emergence of India in the Commonwealth of Nations. Africa's impact on the Commonwealth was not revolutionary according to John Holmes because, before Africa joined the Commonwealth, the revolution had started long ago in Asia with India and Pakistan's membership in 1947.

According to Holmes, the impact of Africa's emergence on the Commonwealth has been upsetting and inspiring. To him, it was not necessarily revolutionary in itself because the revolution had already taken place. Africa only confirmed the revolution within the Commonwealth by giving it a new sense of purpose with African energy. He argues that there was growing opinion on the significance/relevance of the Commonwealth by its citizens. Many people especially those in the "Old Commonwealth" will have to come to terms with the significance of the "Old Commonwealth" when it metamorphosed to "The Commonwealth of Nations". Members of the "British Commonwealth" had to come to the full realization of the looming prospect that would be when the white members would be of minority" (Holmes, 1962, p.291).

To Holmes, as the British Empire declined and fell drastically, the new notion of the Commonwealth was highly eulogized in public speeches and communique issued by the Commonwealth. However, the overall perception of the Commonwealth of Nations on equality was doubted particularly by the new African entrants and Asian countries. These countries were not in the position to accept that the Commonwealth members were equal. The white population also had the opinion that the Commonwealth of Nations was anachronistic.

Holmes avers that the Commonwealth has always been in the mood of adjustment to meet recurrent events and situations. He claims that the "British Commonwealth" which comprised white colonies lasted until WWII. The new Commonwealth emerged as a result of

a voluntary adjustment in affiliation between Britain and Canada to ensure equality and independence in concert with political bonds. The Commonwealth's membership, according to Holmes, was adjusted and extended to include other races when India and Pakistan in 1949 requested to remain a part of the Commonwealth. This adjustment to the Commonwealth's membership, de-Briticised the Commonwealth and completely altered the balance of power within the Commonwealth council.

In Holmes' view, the revolution of the Commonwealth was obvious long before African countries joined the Commonwealth. He continued to argue that, a major impact on the Commonwealth with regards to Africa's emergence is that, it created more passion for Centre-Left and less Centre-Right which was a reactionary force. He also argues that there is still growing support for the existence of the Commonwealth of which Canada continues to stress on the Commonwealth's importance. Canada's influence strengthens the Commonwealth and puts more gist on the continuous existence of the Commonwealth of Nations. He opines that Canada sees the Commonwealth of Nations as a large diplomatic stage relevant for middle powers. Canada, Australia, and India's assertiveness over the years signify that the Commonwealth has become less Anglocentric and diplomatically strong. He stressed that Britain continues to be the fulcrum, powerhouse, and inspiration for Commonwealth member states however, the growth in economic and diplomatic resources of other Commonwealth member states has resulted in drastic decline and over-reliance on London for help.

Holmes claims that individual Commonwealth states have fashioned out their own political, economic, and diplomatic relations with other nations which sometimes are in sharp contrast with the values and views of Britain. In his view, this pattern is shown by the emergence of Ghana and Nigeria in their external relations with the outside world.

According to the author, differences in political, economic, and diplomatic relations among Commonwealth member states, mean that consultation has become an important tool for the Commonwealth. In his assertion, diplomacy has exposed the African, Asian, and European thinking within the Commonwealth of Nations. Britain's planned entry into the European Economic Community (EEC) exposed further the notion of economic and regional attachment of Britain to her European neighbors than the Commonwealth. Commonwealth states particularly African countries viewed the EEC with uneasiness. They saw the EEC as an evil move of the Europeans led by France to revive their power and reimpose their domination over Africa forcing them to produce cheap raw materials for European companies. African states' objections to EEC were more politically skewed than economic. Commonwealth members were furious with British entry into the European market not that it was disastrous for their economies but it was an act of betrayal. This raised the concern of whether the Commonwealth would survive without Britain.

Though differences exist in the Commonwealth of Nations, there is a sense of solidarity among the Commonwealth's members according to Holmes. The sense of solidarity was evident in the 1950s when there was a consensus between India, UK, Canada, and New Zealand on how to effectively handle China in Korea. The degree of consensus taken by Commonwealth members was in sharp contrast to that of the United States of America. To Holmes, the general level of the Commonwealth's consensus/consultation has been severely impacted by the differences with the Commonwealth's nonaligned, aligned, anti-colonialist, North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and The Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) members. Holmes avers that differences do exist in the Commonwealth but, consultation gives the Commonwealth of Nations its significance.

The author argues that long before Africans came into the Commonwealth of Nations the role of the British monarch had been settled. To him, in 1949, it was agreed that membership to

the Commonwealth is as a result of a Republican status and afterward, the monarch would no longer be recognized as a constitutional head of the Commonwealth. In Holmes' view, the position of the Queen remains only symbolic. The symbolic nature of the Queen's position only inspires respect and affection to the Commonwealth rather than a symbol of British continuation of colonial domination over her subjects.

The author equally claims that the Commonwealth of Nations is not a military association due to the decline in Britain's economic and military powers. The decline of Britain's colonial values mainly economic and the military was quickly felt after the end of WWII. The withdrawal of Britain from the Suez and for, the defense of India crumbled the perception of the Commonwealth as a symbol of defense/military bloc. Britain's economic and military decline has ushered in Canada to take an active role in the Commonwealth by providing military training and economic assistance to Commonwealth members like Ghana upon request.

According to Holmes, Africa's membership demilitarized the Commonwealth and strengthened the belief in its nonalignment nature. Holmes further claims that it will be a great misconception for the Commonwealth to be considered a "Neutralist" organization and it will also be a misjudgment to think that the Commonwealth is a tool of the West. In his view, the entrance into the Commonwealth by Ghana, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Tanzania (Tanganyika), and others made the Commonwealth sincerely multicultural and transnational. Africa's emergence strengthened the Commonwealth's role, added a new force and dimension into the Commonwealth which calmed the old tensions and altered the whole structure of the Commonwealth to be outstanding and more flexible. He emphasizes that the Commonwealth must be seen as harmonizing its association and should not be an impediment to development but rather a catalyst. In his view, the period of transition in Africa is not yet over and the Commonwealth of Nations has a vital function to play. Holmes'

work is very vital to my study because it touches on the core issues which my research seeks to unearth. This study will complement Holme's work.

### **2.3 BENEFITS AND CHALLENGES OF THE COMMONWEALTH**

In Chief Olusegun Obasanjo's lecture, *The Commonwealth in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century: Prospects and Challenges*, Obasanjo points out that the Commonwealth of Nations since its inception continues to play a major role in the international scene. He clearly stated how important the Commonwealth has been to Nigeria especially in the country's civil war in 1967. According to Obasanjo, the Family of Nations was the first global organization to come to the aid of Nigeria in finding a long-lasting solution to the crisis. In pursuit of Nigeria's foreign policy, the Commonwealth of Nations has always played an important part. Obasanjo avers that, when the Commonwealth was formed, many African leaders saw it as an extension of British imperial rule and the attempt to carry on or pursue western ascendancy in diverse ways. However, the freedom of Namibia, Zimbabwe, and the end of apartheid in South Africa put an end to that feeling. He praises the Commonwealth's role in ending the brutish apartheid regime in South Africa and creating a non-racial government in South Africa as the greatest achievement of the Commonwealth. Obasanjo again lauds the Reconstruction and Development Programme which the Commonwealth undertook in 1994 to enable South Africa to take off and have a good beginning. According to Obasanjo, the strength of the Commonwealth comes from its tradition, diversity, origin, and the method of its operations. To him, this makes the Commonwealth a unique global body. To Obasanjo, Post-Cold War has offered a new set of problems and challenges to the world, particularly poor countries. He argues that, during the cold war era, weaker states felt protected. However, to President Obasanjo, some developing countries within the Commonwealth are currently faced with the problem of safeguarding their security and how to ensure that the equality which is known to exist between all sovereign nations whatever the size and resources, does not become in

practice a mere official/liturgical expression. His work is useful to my study because it clearly stated the values and principles of the Commonwealth which should be seen as a force to reckon with in the 21<sup>st</sup> century for the promotion of peace, democracy, good governance, gender equality, human rights, rule of law, etc. Chief Obasanjo's article failed to focus on Ghana stating the challenges and prospects of Ghana-Commonwealth relations. This is the gap this study seeks to fill under the Fourth Republic.

In an article written by Richard Bourne titled, *The Commonwealth: Problem Solving in our Globalized Era*, he bemoans that the Commonwealth is mostly overlooked by today's students of international relations. Though, the Commonwealth plays a major role in this indeterminate and unsecured world. In his estimation, the achievements of the Commonwealth outweigh the praise it receives particularly in terms of business, ethical norms, the environment, conflict resolution, education, etc. Bourne raised six problems that confront the Commonwealth of Nations in this modern-day. First among the issues is migration which is triggered by economic inequalities in standards of living existing among nations. The second issue is the virtual weakness of governments/states about business entities, media, and civil society. Poor countries have become susceptible to the extraction of foreign investment or aid, high-interest rates, unsuitable policies which have ended in high education and health services due to lobbying from business agencies and MNCs. Poor countries have become defenseless at the expense of big powers and their agencies whose influence on poor states renders them helpless in making policies that meet the needs of their citizens. These agencies are authoritative to the extent that, looking at the global scene, it appears they have installed order but below the surface, the global world is full of chaos. The third issue is the growing radical values and differences in the world today. Promotion and protection of human rights have been rejected by the majority of persons in the world today and taken some values which they accept as true and good. Secularism, which grew

effectively in the 20<sup>th</sup> century in Europe is under siege by born-again Christians, radical Muslims, and belligerent Buddhist groups. These groups' actions have resulted in deadly carnage in Iraq, Afghanistan, Yugoslavia, Rwanda, and Darfur. Peaceful values and negotiations have become lethal because weapons of mass destruction go into the hands of persons who do not value peace and basic human rights. The fourth issue is environmental change and global warming. Bourne declares that global warming is at the heart of international discussions and debates by both wealthy nations and poor nations. To combat global warming, he emphasizes that everyone has a role to play including NGOs, the private sector, governments, citizens, and the media. The fifth issue is the world becoming smaller and interconnected. In his assumption, the world is smaller not because it has fewer inhabitants but because of the wave in communication, technology, and expansion of human knowledge about the world. The implication of this is that people must be careful of their actions towards others. The smaller nature of the world must inspire respect towards humanity, race, and ethnicity because, if one is not measured in his or her communication, his behavior may trigger global unrest. The last issue is the decline or feebleness of democratic politics in this globalized world. This challenge is necessitated by a short-term electoral cycle, mainly four years practiced by most Commonwealth nations. He is of the notion that the majority of the problems raised such as migration, real economic development, changes in attitudes, climate change, etc need adequate time and inter-party commitment to overcome. The short-term electoral cycle has rendered these efforts ineffective. Decision-making is from top to down instead of down to top. The effect of this top-down approach is the lack of inclusiveness in the governance process and distribution of responsibilities.

On the role of the Commonwealth, Richard Bourne rationalizes what the Commonwealth has accomplished in terms of the six problems raised. On migration, which is spearheaded by economic disproportions among nations, Bourne avers that since the inception of the

Commonwealth Secretariate in 1965, it has focused on encouraging development so that citizens can have some level of sound standard of living in their nations. In doing so, Commonwealth has helped to write off the debts of heavily indebted poor countries (HIPC); encouraging democracy as a means to development; addressing the challenges of Commonwealth small states, and presenting the claims of African states at G8 summits. On the virtual weakness of states, the Commonwealth has helped to strengthen the administrative capabilities of member states through Commonwealth aid agencies. Even though economic liberalization has weakened some states, the Commonwealth continues to throw its support for international organizations like the United Nations (UN) on major economic reforms and negotiations such as the Law of the Sea. The Commonwealth does not identify with or negotiate with non-state actors whose actions are in contrast with weak states. The growing radical values and differences among states have led to the death of millions and frustrating peace efforts around the world. The Commonwealth is working towards ensuring peace through the office of the Secretary-General. Behind closed doors, the Commonwealth is working towards achieving peace in ethical and religiously diverse countries like Bangladesh and Guyana. Commonwealth of Nations has shown concern about climate change and the environment. In 1989 through Shridath Ramphal, a member of the Brundtland Commission introduced the Iwokrama rainforest project in Guyana. Through the Commonwealth Conference of Meteorologists and the Commonwealth Human Ecology Council, the Commonwealth has offered expert knowledge on climate change and the environment. Commonwealth continues to give unique attention to fish stocks, the oceans, low-lying Islands, effects of sea-level rise on coastlines, and people living in floodplains in Bangladesh, Guyana, and East London. The Commonwealth again has played a major role in promoting acceptable behavior around the world. Though this task is extremely tedious in this modern world, the union inspires its members to respect the fundamental rights of others, reject

totalitarianism, autocracy, and the use of nuclear weapons. Commonwealth of Nations is equally promoting better education through the Commonwealth Education Ministers. To achieve better education, there should be better policing and with this, the Commonwealth admonishes its leaders to put up an Expert Group on policing during the Commonwealth Peoples Forum in 2005 at Valletta. Finally, Commonwealth has helped to promote and popularize democratic practices, electoral cycle, and conflict resolution within member states. The Commonwealth has suspended abusive regimes and helped to promote and protect human rights in member states. These have been successful through the Commonwealth Ministerial Action Group, Commonwealth Expert Group, Commonwealth Parliamentary Association, and the Commonwealth Human Rights Initiative by raising concerns on issues of human rights. Bourne postulates that Commonwealth has contributed immensely towards the end of apartheid in South Africa. In earning this feat, the Commonwealth worked closely with the media, governments of other nations, NGO's and other global agencies to stop white rule and oppression. The UK government gave its total support to the opposition by moving global attention towards the crisis in South Africa.

Bourne's article contributes significantly to the work under study by revealing some of the challenges/issues and the roles of the Commonwealth of Nations in our globalized era. Nevertheless, his work failed to scrutinize the challenges/issues that have mired Ghana's relations with the Commonwealth of Nations and the role the Commonwealth has played in Ghana's development before and during the Fourth Republic. This is the gap this study seeks to fill.

In Harry G. Johnson's work, *Trade Challenges Confronting Commonwealth Countries*, he asserts that the Commonwealth in a modern world cannot be regarded as a trading bloc that has developed a close trade relationship with its members. More dangerous for the Commonwealth is that Canada is more comfortable trading with the United State of America

than any of her Commonwealth members. Developing countries and members of the Commonwealth have become reliant on the United States as a fount of economic relief. Moreover, they have aligned with non-Commonwealth developing countries to demand changes in the current global trade structures favorable in promoting their economic growth and industrialization. More serious of it all is that Britain trades more with her EU members than countries within the Commonwealth of Nations. According to the author, trade liberalization and free-market accessibility are one of the major challenges facing the Commonwealth of Nations. Such a challenge is a result of heavy tariffs and quotas on goods coming from developing countries within the Commonwealth. The writer argues that the Commonwealth has been able to survive throughout these years because of its flexibility and capacity for accommodating all diverse views, interests, and peaceful resolution of conflicts using civilized and rational means.

Harry G. Johnson's work is important to my research. His study failed to focus on trade challenges facing Ghana and the Commonwealth of Nations. Hence, this work seeks to fill that gap under the Fourth Republic.

In James Mayall's book, *Democratizing the Commonwealth*, he argues that the Harare Declaration of 1991 set out the new future for an association credible like the Commonwealth of Nations in a Post-Cold War era. According to the author, the 1991 Harare Declaration made the Family of Nations an effective promoter of sustainable development, democracy, and good governance in world politics. He stressed that CHOGM in October 1997 in Edinburgh was an affirmation of the Commonwealth's vision of the Harare Declaration in setting out the clear goals of the Commonwealth of Nations in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century. To the writer, CHOGM Edinburgh in October 1997 reenforced the two major aims of the Commonwealth which are: Economic and Democratic freedoms for all member states.

James Mayall avers in his work that International Organizations cannot gain more than their members wish them to do. Hence, the Commonwealth of Nations' members has not had a common financial, political and economic oneness since its inception. He continues to argue that due to the absence of political and economic oneness of the Commonwealth, the Commonwealth has experienced three withdrawals of membership by South Africa (1961) due to oppressive apartheid, Pakistan due to the acceptance of Bangladesh and Fiji in 1987.

To James Mayall, the Commonwealth faces fundamental problems, but the benefits or merits of being a member of an organization so critical like the Commonwealth of Nations outweigh its demerits. He argues that the benefits are not always material. Member states of an organization such as the Commonwealth of Nations give diplomatic, political support and a common stage to pursue each other's unique interests. James Mayall again argues that being a member of the Commonwealth of Nations also comes with intangible merits, being access to technical assistance and aid funds during critical moments.

James Mayall in his work indicates that poor countries within the Commonwealth of Nations have been marginalized in this era of globalization. According to him, world politics in this era of globalization is characterized by investment and trade competition. In his view, the unfair competition in this era continues to erode small or developing states within the Commonwealth of their economic sovereignty. To the author, the Commonwealth of Nations should not ignore its relatively poor states which have fundamental problems of adjusting to the competitive global market economy and are opened up to destabilization due to drug trafficking, money laundering, and global criminal challenges/crisis.

To the author, the end of the Cold War has revealed the challenges of democratic and constitutional values faced by intergovernmental organizations (IGOs) on account of the concept of state sovereignty. To James, civil wars and human rights violations among

member states have rendered the idea of state sovereignty not absolute and exclusive. James made a comparison between the United Nations (UN) and the Commonwealth. He claims that before the United Nation (UN) mingles itself in the internal politics of a country where human rights and freedoms are treated with contempt, the UN Security Council vote on such matter and declare it poses a threat to international peace and security. James continued to say that after the end of the Cold War in 1991, the UN Security Council especially its five permanent members continue to act on behalf of persons whose rights have been abused. However, to James, the Commonwealth of Nations does not have a security council to have a common resolution on human rights violations which will compel all member states to obey. To him, this has made the Commonwealth powerless ineffective peacekeeping missions in member states or peace enforcement. James Mayall continued to argue that the Commonwealth of Nations efforts are only limited to combative/contentious areas of informal preventive diplomacy and provision of political support to its member states in conflict. According to James Mayall, the Commonwealth of Nations' major challenge is the notion of sovereignty and democracy. To him, the Commonwealth of Nations lacks a universal and written charter that should reflect a world body however, the Commonwealth relies on consensus, diplomacy, and consultation. To him, this has made the Commonwealth's head silent on issues such as the India-Pakistan conflict over Kashmir. Commonwealth leaders in 1995 at the New Zealand summit drew up an action policy on the Harare Declaration 1991. The policy called for the enhancement of the Secretariat's capacity to give advice, training, technical reforms, institutional building, election monitoring, public sector reforms, judicial training, legal and constitutional reforms, and effective parliamentary practices. These were key to the Commonwealth because there are transitional challenges within the Commonwealth Africa from one-party or military rule to multiparty democracy. In February 1997, Heads of government of Commonwealth Africa held a meeting in Botswana

in support of the Harare Declaration. Within that period Nigeria and Sierra Leone were the only military regimes left in the Commonwealth. Institutionalizing democracy was a major problem to Commonwealth's Africa states than any other region within the Commonwealth. To fulfill and uphold democratic values the Commonwealth adopted collective measures in response to the violations of the Harare Declaration. The Commonwealth adopted the exclusion and suspension of authoritative governments from both ministerial meetings and the CHOGM until full restoration of democracy. Nigeria was expelled from the Commonwealth of Nations when the government violated the principles of the Harare Declaration by refusing to move the country into a full democratic or constitutional regime and the gross violation of human rights notably the execution of Saro-Wiwa and other activists. In 1995, the Commonwealth Ministerial Action Group (CMAG) was formed to deal with the persistent violation of the 1991 Harare Declaration. General Abacha refused to accept CMAG in 1996 which resulted in the inability of the Mission to see Chief Abiola who was tortured and denied presidential victory in 1993 by Sani Abacha. Commonwealth Ministerial Action Group (CMAG) was instrumental in ensuring Nigeria's return to civilian rule in 1998 which was the official date set by the ruling government. CMAG equally monitored the violations of the Harare Declaration by the government of Gambia and Sierra Leone. These matters took a centre stage in the Commonwealth on human rights violations. In Sierra Leone, the CMAG ensured the maligning of the military regime which toppled the elected president Tejan Kabbah in May 1997. CMAG engaged Kabbah wholly in all Commonwealth meetings as the democratically elected president of Sierra Leone. The Commonwealth rendered its support to Nigeria to find a political solution to the crisis in Sierra Leone which Nigeria had started through ECOWAS in support of democratic government within the sub-region.

Mayall's work contributes importantly to the topic under study by revealing some contributions made by Commonwealth and CMAG to democratic transitions in Nigeria and Sierra Leone. However, his work fails to analyze the contribution of the Commonwealth in Ghana's democratic transition under the Fourth Republic. This gap is what this study seeks to fill.

In Sue Onslow's article, *The Commonwealth and the Cold War, Neutralism, and Non-Alignment*, he argues that the Commonwealth of Nations during the Cold War personified 'soft/smart' power. The Commonwealth during the Cold War from 1949-1990 carved an identity that was directed towards decolonization and developmental requirements of its members particularly those in the global north. The two major tasks of the Commonwealth during the Cold War were how to ensure racial equality in Rhodesia and South Africa and lastly, promotion of economic development in the Commonwealth's newly independent states. The Commonwealth had organizational structures and bureaucratic provisions which joined economic, financial, technical, education, scientific, and diplomacy roles with the aid of the Secretary-General in meeting the needs of member states during the Cold War era. Onslow claims that the creation of the Secretary-General in 1965 equally provided a diplomatic unit that played a key role during the Cold War period which has been unnoticed. During the leadership of Arnold Smith (1965-75) and Shridath Ramphal (1975-90) as Secretaries-General, the Commonwealth of Nations rejected to follow the Cold War rifts of East/West and rather formed an alliance of West/ South and South/South on a variety of power-political and developmental issues. To the author, the Commonwealth of Nations forged out a well-defined identity that was treasured by governments of its middle-ranking powers mostly, African and Asian newly independent nations, and Pacific and Caribbean small island states. The General secretary as a diplomatic structure contributed significantly to the resolution of the Rhodesia crisis and South Africa's apartheid which were tainted with

Cold War dynamics, promotion of nuclear disarmament, and stiff position of non-alignment in the ensuing Cold War politics. With apartheid, the General-Secretary as a well-structured bureaucratic organ, established the Commonwealth Committee of Foreign Ministers on Southern Africa (CCFMSA) to impose sanctions on the South Africa government. The General-Secretary again formed the Eminent Persons Group to offset any political crisis among Commonwealth member states. The group visited South Africa in 1989 to strike a negotiation between the African National Congress (ANC) and P.W. Botha government on reforms. The Commonwealth Secretary-General was heavily involved in the internal crisis in Nigeria. In finding Commonwealth solutions in the Biafra civil war, the office used a top Nigerian diplomat Chief Emeka Anyaoku as a fact-finding and intelligence agency to ascertain the concerns of the people. In terms of mediation, the Secretary-General under Smith mediated the Pakistan crisis in 1970 which resulted in the creation of Bangladesh. This resulted in a feud when the Commonwealth recognized the independence of the new state Bangladesh. Pakistan left the Commonwealth in 1972 in response to the Commonwealth's recognition of Bangladesh as an independent state.

On an ideological stance, the Commonwealth was not involved in Cold War politics however, individual countries within the Commonwealth took sides. Individual members of the Commonwealth like Britain and Canada were active members of NATO, Australia and New Zealand (ANZUS), India and Pakistan (CENTO and SEATO) whilst some countries like Ghana joined the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM). This reflected the tense nature of geopolitics and how ideology influenced alliance within Commonwealth states with their external relations. Though tensions were high during the Cold War, the General-Secretary's periodic meetings with the Commonwealth's heads of governments provided an international platform to share ideas, discuss and respond to the issues of the Cold War. This insulated the Commonwealth from the ensuing Cold War politics.

In Onslow's view, economic diplomacy and development were another core issue of the Commonwealth during the Cold War era. To tackle this issue, the Commonwealth Fund for Technical Cooperation (CFTC) and the Technical Assistance Group (TAG) was established to assist small and developing countries within the Commonwealth. To show commitment towards economic development and technical assistance to poor Commonwealth states, Canada and Britain contributed \$1 million in 1971 and by 1990 it was increased to \$44 million. Despite this support, the economies of many Commonwealth countries particularly Africa were under serious threat due to colonial legacies. These African states which emerged from colonialism were only producers of monocropping or mono-minerals. This reduced the power of African states to effectively influence the international economy. However, partnership with the Commonwealth and Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) gave a better voice to Commonwealth states mostly African countries in global politics.

According to Onslow, Commonwealth members have contributed significantly to the evolution of the New International Economic Order (NIEO) with Canada, Australia, and Britain debating strongly on the need to change the basics of international political economy. Onslow asserts that the existing economic order threatened the relations between the global south and global north countries during the Cold War period. Individual Commonwealth countries pursued their economic development agenda by courting the East during the Cold War era. Even though the Commonwealth was not an active participant in the Cold War, it was a dissociation that depicted both soft and hard power. Sue Onslow's work is very important to my study however, his work failed to focus on Ghana's role during and after the cold war period within the Commonwealth of Nations. This is the gap that this study seeks to fill.

In Nicholas Bayne's article, *Globalization and the Commonwealth*, he postulates that globalization has caused a wide-open and competitive global market economy in the Post-

Cold War Era. He interrogated the Post-Cold War World and how Commonwealth states can shape or reshape it, have full control of the Post-Cold War economy, and how the Commonwealth can help each member state. His work took a massive detour from existing literature that spoke on trade and investment promotion. Rather, he directed his attention to economic policies and international institutions like World Trade Organization (WTO), International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Bank (WB). To him, these organizations have not done much for Commonwealth underdeveloped countries. He claims that, even though private investment has increased four times in the Post-Cold War world, it is unevenly distributed. His work stated that IMF conditionalities are toughened and stiffened for all countries but very toughened for Africa particularly Commonwealth countries. Bayne noticed that many Commonwealth countries particularly poor states were highly indebted to global financial institutions IMF/WB without any relief available. He argues that the Commonwealth's debt relief initiatives for its developing countries introduced in Trinidad 1990 and Malta 1994 by Commonwealth finance ministers have become an important part of IMF and WB policies for debt relief.

Bayne indicates that globalization has caused the promotion of regional economic groupings such as the European Union (EU), African, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP), North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA), Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). These regional groupings have made it flexible for their member states to trade with their nearest neighbors and easily remove trade-restricted quotas and tariffs. These groupings benefit more than the world groupings. He asserts that regional groupings today have disturbed the Commonwealth by taking away her populous members like India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka. To him, Africa and Pacific countries of the Commonwealth are at a serious disadvantage because these countries have consumer or patron relationships with the EU and China.

Bayne urges the Commonwealth to implement a common policy on debt cancellation, debt relief, and trade prospects for its underprivileged states in the global south on open regionalism and a new round of World Trade Organization (WTO) negotiations. In Bayne's opinion, that would carry weight. In his view, the Commonwealth can do more for its members than the global institutions in some respects. The author posits that the Commonwealth of Nations work by direct exchange of experience and helps by common traditions in government. In Bayne's view, the Commonwealth can cover the politics of economic reform and has a strong non-governmental component. In all, the Commonwealth is accessible to its smallest members. The Commonwealth of Nations works by persuasion and example, not by compulsion. Bayne argues that the Commonwealth does not have the power to influence the economic policies of its member states. However, it provides advisory roles to its members and examples to track.

Bayne's analysis is important to my work since it exposes the imbalance of the global economic order which mostly affects developing states within the Commonwealth. His work did not focus on Ghana with regards to how the Commonwealth has helped in Ghana's debt/economic relief to the IMF/WB under the Fourth Republic. This is yet another lacuna this study seeks to fill.

In Maurice Foley's work titled, *Some Problems Facing the Commonwealth To-Day*, he begins by giving a firm definition and distinction of the Commonwealth. He argues that the Commonwealth of Nations sometimes is referred to as the 'old' Commonwealth and the 'new' Commonwealth which to him can also be termed 'white Commonwealth and the 'colonial' Commonwealth. According to Foley, the Commonwealth is a multiracial organization of sovereign states each having absolute freedom to make its own decisions and pursue its policies in a manner that will not affect the basic interest of other states. This notion of the Commonwealth sometimes falls short of its ethics whereby some states interest

affects other member's interest notably India-Pakistan struggles and Tanzania and Zambia's acknowledgment of secessionist Biafra independence from Nigeria (1967-1970). The Commonwealth of Nations is an organization that represents a paradox in a manner whereby the Commonwealth's foundation is built on equality. However, it has great inequality in terms of power, wealth, experience possessed by Britain. Foley avows that the issue of equality of race was the major problem which the Commonwealth faced. Such racial inequality forced South Africa to leave the Commonwealth. Racial discrimination and deprivation in South Africa were felt in all spheres of life among the black majority, particularly in economics and politics. The black majority suffered not because of what they have done but rather based on who they are as Black people. Foley echoes that Britain opposed apartheid and on the other hand her attitude empowered the government in its practice of apartheid. Foley reveals that the Commonwealth was confronted with two major challenges during the cold war period which were: race issues in South Africa and Rhodesia which it was feared would pave the way for China to take the lead in speaking for non-white people humiliated and discriminated against in the world if not properly addressed by the Commonwealth. He identified the second problem facing the Commonwealth as the issue of underdevelopment. This issue of underdevelopment is a major threat to all third world countries particularly those in the Commonwealth. Many third world countries within the Commonwealth are battling the following:

1. Population: He explains that every 28 years the population of many states within the Commonwealth doubles. He argues that many children from Commonwealth states are malnourished. Governments do not see the need to improve nutrition which is causing massive deaths of children.

2. Education is another challenge identified by Foley. To him, more than 70% of children and youths are school dropouts. Most of the education models by Commonwealth states are designed based on the colonial system.
3. Unemployment: Foley argues that 20 to 25% of the labor force in both the rural and urban communities are unemployed. This situation will result in enhanced rural-urban migration. He emphasizes that industrialized economies of the world must decide to change the trend of global trade to grant greater justice to peripheral states. It is evident that trade between developing countries and developed countries keeps deteriorating. Whilst 85% of goods exported into the developed world by developing countries are mostly raw materials, the advanced world imports sophisticated and capital equipment. This to Foley means inversely, real resources are transferred from developing countries into the economies of advanced countries. Foley bemoans that trade liberalization in the advanced world has deep effects on the economies of peripheral countries. To him, Commonwealth has overlooked these economic inequalities and has not responded to this important issue of trade imbalance in the world.
4. Political Instability: many Commonwealth countries which fought for their independence were not fully prepared. Upon their independence, the reality dawned on them with less trained administrators, tribal differences, economic and social inequality, and improper consultation for their independence. These issues have paved the way for continuous military takeovers making it difficult to consolidate democracy in most Commonwealth countries.

Foley's work contributes immensely to the study by revealing some of the challenges facing the Commonwealth of Nations today. However, due to the time at which his work was written some of the issues might have changed. Therefore, this work will seek to examine the

problems facing Ghana's relations with the Commonwealth of Nations under the Fourth Republic.

In Dirk Kohnert's article titled, *More Equitable Britain-Africa Relation Post-Brexit: Doomed to Fail?* the author opines that Brexit is surrounded by a lot of misconceptions and skepticism. This misconception is heightened and exacerbated by Britain's policy of "Global Britain" driven by the UK's desire to reunite and collaborate with her former colonies within the Commonwealth of Nations. He emphasizes that the major goal of the policy is to strengthen trade ties with the Commonwealth of Nations in Post-Brexit particularly African states in the Commonwealth. Kohnert wonders about, what new thing Britain will give to Africa in Post-Brexit which China is not providing. Kohnert stresses that the impact of Brexit will not only be felt by Britain however, but the impact will also alter trade cooperation between UK and EU and Africa and the EU and UK and Africa. Kohnert's article focused on 16 African states which include Ghana.

In his view, post-Brexit impacts on Africa are market accessibility, foreign direct investment (FDI), aid, security, and partnership. In Kohnert's assertion on market accessibility, he argues that the UK remains the biggest trade destination for Africa Commonwealth states. He claims that Brexit will lead to unfair treatment of English Commonwealth countries in terms of trade accessibility to the EU market compared to Francophone and Lusophone countries. In his view, English Commonwealth states will have to renegotiate trade agreements with the EU after Brexit. He claims that, in a hard or "no deal" Brexit, African states within the Commonwealth will not have preferential access to the UK market. In his view, this denial of preferential treatment of the UK will not only affect UK's economy but all signatories of the EPA, participants of the EU free trade agreement, and the EU general system of preferences which includes duty-free and quota-free market, etc. In Kohnert's view, Africa will be affected massively.

Kohnert claims that from 2005 to 2014 UK's FDI increased from GBP 20.8billion to GBP 42.5billion. Out of UK's total FDI to Africa, South Africa received the biggest share which is 29.8 percent. The volume of amount of UK's FDI to South Africa went into mining, industry, and financial sectors. He stresses that the mining and industry sector received close to about 54.4 percent and the financial sector had 34.3 percent of the UK's total FDI in 2014 only. According to him, Britain seeks to boost the integration of Africa into a global common financial market in post-Brexit. In his view, Britain's aid to Africa is tied to UK's trade and financial policy. He asserts that UK's Post-Brexit focus on Africa is purely trade-related and not aid aiming to support private sector growth. He added that in 2017 Theresa May announced the reduction of the UK's foreign aid to Africa to 0.7 percent of their GNI. In Kohnert view, that percent will reduce citing the corrupt practices, mismanagement, and ineffectiveness of UK aid agencies like OXFAM and other development NGO's which has resulted in anti-aid sentiment in the UK. He postulates that UK aid to Africa will see a dramatic reduction due to Brexit. Kohnert asserts that Brexit will impact the performance of UK sterling significantly. In his view, the fall of the sterling will reduce UK's GNI and that will make it impossible for Britain to carry out her aid obligation in Africa. Kohnert argues that the UK will focus on bilateral aid and trade agreements in post-Brexit than multilateral aid development in Africa. In his assertion, this will affect the EU's budget because of UK's contribution towards the EU's development assistant around the world. To him, since UK is the biggest contributor to the EU's development aid, Brexit means such contributions from the UK would no longer be available.

On Africa's security, Kohnert argues that the EU is the major donor to the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA) and the African Peace Facility (APF). He stresses that APSA is the vital conduit the EU uses to support AU and African Regional Economic Communities' efforts in promoting peace and security on the continent. According to Kohnert, the EU has

contributed more than EUR 2.7 billion to Africa's peace and security since 2014. In his view, Britain contributed only 3 percent in her bilateral partnership with APSA in 2014 to Africa's peace and security. He argues that UK claims it is the biggest donor to the EU's defense expenditure and as a result, Britain has contributed to most EU missions and operations for Common Security and Defense Policy (CSDP). Kohnert asserts that the UK only exaggerates her contribution to peace and security in the EU to bargain for a new post-Brexit security agreement with the EU. Kohnert claims that the UK only contributes just 2.3 percent of the EU's total expenditure of CSDP operations and missions in Africa. In Kohnert view, UK's contribution cannot be compared to that of France, Spain, and Italy to Africa's peace and security. He opines that the UK has not contributed significantly to security missions in Africa. In his view, UK's security contribution in Africa was at the horn of Africa whereby the UK secured a seaway from Europe to Asia. He avers that France is the only EU member playing a major role in Africa's security.

On the partnership, Kohnert argues that many African countries who advocated for Brexit see that as a golden movement for effective partnership between the UK and the Commonwealth of Nations particularly its African states. He argues that governments of African Commonwealth countries believe that Brexit will lead to the protection of their infant/domestic markets. However, Kohnert asserts that that will only materialize in sectors where UK's commodities or goods do not compete with African goods. UK's partnership with Africa particularly Commonwealth countries will not generate a win-win condition. In his view, Britain will gain more in post-Brexit partnership with Commonwealth member states. He asserts that Brexit does not pose a threat to the EU-UK partnership rather, Brexit poses a threat to Africa's regional integration effort.

Kohnert's article is important to my study because he highlighted major issues that Brexit can create for Africa Commonwealth countries. However, his article did not specifically focus on Ghana. This is the gap that this research seeks to fill.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

#### **3.0 INTRODUCTION**

International Relations (IR) experts have given different interpretations to theory. In the view of Suddaby (2010), there is nothing so valuable as a good theory. Kaufman (2013, p.35), defined theory as ‘‘a linked set of propositions or ideas that simplify the complex reality so that we can describe events that have happened, explain why they happened, and predict what might happen in the future’’. In Kaufman’s assessment, theory offers the background that guides our understanding of the innumerable events that occur within our complex society. To understand the complex nature of the world one must appreciate the essence of the theory. This research is grounded on Institutional Theory. However, to understand the institutional theory, one must also come to terms with the concept of an institution and institutionalization.

#### **3.1 THE CONCEPT OF AN INSTITUTION**

Scholars have given various definitions to the concept of institution. Meyer and Rowan (1977), state that institutions unavoidably comprise normative responsibilities which go into social life mostly as realities that are considered by actors. Institutions have laid down rules both formal or informal that direct or order social roles, limit actions, and design social beliefs and hopes (Keohane & Martin, 2014). In Meyer and Rowan’s description, institutions are formal blueprints that coordinate and control the activities of members in an organization or society to ensure conformity. Peters (2000), postulates that institutions produce the foreseeable systematic behavior required for a peaceful and effective political system. Moreover, Scott (2005), states that institutions comprise of customs, guidelines, rules, normative and cultural-cognitive elements that offer steadiness and meaning to social life. He emphasizes that institution is about power and power is what separates institutions from other

social establishments. Lawrence and Buchanan (cited in Munir, 2019), argue that institutions exist to the degree that they are authoritative in a manner that influences the actions, principles, and prospects of individuals, groups, organizations, and societies. Hodgson (2006), understands institutions to be systems and entrenched social values that define social relations. As stated in DiMaggio (cited in Zilber, 2012, p. 90), institutional instability emanates from mostly three sources. He further explained that:

First, institutions are social constructions collectively developed through the interactions among their constituents in a cyclic process of structuration. Second, the institutional order is characterized by the simultaneous existence of several logic and meaning systems, complementing or competing with each other. Finally, institutions are embedded within larger environments which inflict on them various exogenous shocks and jolts that introduce potentials for change. Because various actors with various interests compete to turn their constructions into “reality,” and do so in the face of constant pressures from the outside, the institutional order is necessarily a work in progress, an ongoing process that requires constant reproduction and maintenance, especially in times of turmoil and turbulence” (DiMaggio cited in Zilber, 2012, p. 90).

### **3.1.1 DEFINITION OF INSTITUTIONALIZATION**

According to (Encyclopaedia Britannica, Oct. 12, 2017), Institutionalization is the process planned to control or normalize societal actions or an individual behavior within an association. Peters (2000), argues that institutionalization is the process whereby organizations imitate themselves by fraternizing their members into the standards that describe the organization. In his view, structures (institutions) produce greater homogeneity and orderliness of human actions. Meyer and Rowan (1977, p. 341), argue that “institutionalization involves the processes by which social processes, obligations, or actualities come to take on a rule-like status in social thought and action”. Scott (cited in Mohamed, 2017, p. 153), claims that institutionalization is the “social process that makes individuals agree on a shared definition of social realities”. Dacin (1997), observes that institutionalization is the system by which societal ideas of suitable organizational deeds impact the arrangement and behavior of organizations in a certain manner. Generally, organizations comply with instructions or orders based on diverse institutional standards to

become acceptable or isomorphic with their normative environment. Mohamed (2017), contends that institutionalization has three steps which are externalization, objectivities, and internalization. In the externalization step, institutions exist autonomously of any specific person. In the objectivity phase, institutions turn out to be appreciable or observable social realities for the reason that they appear neutral this makes their existence unquestionable. At the final stage, institutions personalize and co-opt their existence as essential and obligatory aspects of the society therefore, society begins to consider them (Mohamed, 2017).

In the description of Samuel Huntington (cited in Peters,2000), he argues that there are four aspects we can measure the institutionalization of any organization we can observe. These dimensions are autonomy, adaptability, complexity, and coherence. He further explained that:

Autonomy represents a concern with the capacity of institutions to make and implement their own decisions. Arguably, to the extent that they are not dependent upon another organization or institution they can be said to be institutionalized. This concept might be operationalized in terms of budgets and autonomous sources of revenue.

Adaptability taps the extent to which an institution is capable of adapting to changes in the environment, or more importantly capable of molding that environment. As with open systems approaches to social life the institution should be able to continue to import needed resources despite changes in the relevant environment.

Complexity demonstrates the capacity of the institution to construct internal structures to fulfill its goals and to cope with the environment. Again, this conception is analogous to thinking in systems theory and structural-functionalism that discussed the importance of structural differentiation (see Almond and Powell, 1967).

Coherence represents the capacity of the institution to manage its workload and to develop procedures to process tasks in a timely a reasonable manner. This also represents the capacity of the institution to make decisions about its core tasks and beliefs and to filter out diversions from those (Peters, 2000, p. 8).

Oliver (cited in Dacin, Goodstein, & Scott, 2002), recognizes three causes of pressure on institutionalized norms or practices; functional, political, and social sources. Functional pressures emanate from seeming problems with institutionalized performance. Functional pressures are linked to the extensive alternations in the environment, such as the increased struggle for resources. The political pressures are those largely necessitated by changes in interest and power-sharing among agencies that have aided, maintained, and legalized existing institutional establishment. Lastly, social pressures are related to the social diversities of people, groups, conflicting opinions, customs, values, and the modifications of

rules or social hopes that have the potential of hampering the continuation of certain social values Oliver (cited in Dacin, Goodstein, & Scott, 2002).

### **3.2 INSTITUTIONAL THEORY**

The complexities of the international system in concert with actions/behaviors of state, non-state actors, and IGOs make Institutional Theory (IT) a major theory upon which this study is grounded. Since this study is focusing on Ghana's relations with the Commonwealth of Nations, Institutional Theory better explains the foundational processes upon which the Commonwealth of Nations member states operate or behave in the international community. The theory reveals why certain rules, norms, and ideas of an organization reputable as the Commonwealth of Nations have been legitimately accepted globally.

In the late 1970s, Institutional Theory (IT) was propounded by John Meyer and Brian Rowan to discover or to determine how organizations fit or relate to and are molded by their societal, state, national and global environment. Institutional theory concentrates on activities that define rationalized formal rules (Meyer & Rowan, 1977). Moreover, the theory aims to determine how organizations' actions are shaped by societal norms, state, national or global setting (Institutional Theory: Environment & Social Structure, 2017). The theory seeks to comprehend the existence of global institutions and by what means they function (Keohane & Martin, 2014). Institutional Theory (IT) intends to understand “why organizations engage in activities that are legitimate in the symbolic realm rather than the material one; why organizations adopt behaviors that conform to normative demands but conflict with the rational attainment of economic goals or how purely technical or productive objects becomes infused with meaning and significance far beyond their utility value” (Suddaby, 2010, p. 15).

According to Marx and Weber (cited in Mohamed, 2017), the institutional theory is associated with power and interest. They argue that social stakeholders make sure that their

interests are always served by the given arrangements. Munir (2019) equally argues that power is central to institutional theory. Suddaby (2010), posits that the core secret of institutional theory is to understand why and how organizations accept behaviors and rules for their meaning relatively than their productive value.

According to Scott (2004), institutional theory concentrates more on the resilient aspects of social constructions or establishments. It studies the procedures by which structures, including conceptions, rules, customs, and habits, become recognized as authoritative guidelines for social conduct. The theory questions by what means these principles are formed, circulated, accepted, and altered over space and time; and how they deteriorate and are abandoned. Institutional Theory (IT) stresses the environmental practices of an organization mainly general canons and constraints that the organization must conform to in order to obtain legitimacy, acceptability, and assistance either external or domestic. The institutional theory depends heavily on the social ideas or behaviors that have been created and accepted over time to help define the structure and processes of a certain organization (Institutional Theory: Environment & Social Structure, 2017). Zilber (2012), claims that institutional theory stresses the cultural impacts on organizations and how they must conform and legalize their social activities consistent with the broader social settings. He stresses that the theory may help us appreciate organizational culture in its broader settings and link intra and inter-organizational stages of inquiry.

DiMaggio and Powell (cited in Zilber, 2012), demonstrate that with the conceptualization of institutional theory, there are institutional pressures and mechanisms which emanate from the institutional environment that affect organizational cultures. In their revelation, these pressures are coercive, normative, and mimetic. Coercive institutional pressures comprise overt controlling procedures, rule-setting, monitoring, and sanctioning activities. Normative pressures encompass values and norms that present a prescriptive, evaluative, and obligatory

dimension to social life. Mimetic pressures stem from the shared conceptions that constitute the nature of social reality and the frames through which meaning is made (DiMaggio & Powell cited in Zilber, 2012). Mohamed (2017), agrees with the claims that organizations face three types of pressures. One is coercive pressure which emanates from partner associations or stakeholders they rely on. Two is mimetic pressure which comes from other effective organizations and lastly, normative pressures which emanate from professional groups or associations. Institutional pressure strengthens homogeneity inside the organizational establishment of any institution because organizations familiarise themselves with certain principles (DiMaggio & Powell, cited in Mohamed, 2017).

### **3.2.1 ASSUMPTIONS OF INSTITUTIONAL THEORY**

Institutional Theory (IT) was founded on a set of beliefs or principles that hovers on the concept of social construction or constructivism. These social notions or ideas are the subjective meanings that individuals within or outside an organization give to their actions (Raynard, Johnson & Greenwood, 2015). In other words, the internal and external worldview of an organization is that which is subjectively understood or perceived by members within the association. Organizational norms and values influence the way members react or behave. In effect, individuals within an association create a world in line with their observations or beliefs (Keohane & Martin, 2014; Raynard, Johnson & Greenwood, 2015).

The core principles or assumptions of Institutional Theory (IT) in this chapter demonstrate how it relates to the vital subject of this study under Ghana's Fourth Republic.

1. Institutional theory's major assumption is that there are variations in information in the international system. The theory, therefore, sees information as a variable that can be altered by human activities. The institutional theory recognizes that information is rare in the international community and thus, the insufficiency of information

obstructs states' determination in fostering collaboration with other states or agencies (Keohane & Martin, 2014). States create institutions to boost both their information regarding others as well as their credibility. The institutional theory stresses the role of institutions in enhancing the informational environment. The theory claims that states may be afraid of giving information concerning themselves, thus this hampers strengthening their credibility and the worth of their obligations or devotion to institutional laws (Keohane & Martin, 2014). Since information is scarce to come by in the institutional environment, states and organizations take the desired actions to better the informational environment mainly if the lack of the information is hindering the realization of meaningful shared benefits from association (Keohane & Martin, 2014). States in their quest to gain information from others monitor the actions of other countries through cooperation. It is because of this assumption that the Commonwealth of Nations in collaboration with relevant actors can gather relevant information on Ghana's activities in the domestic and international community since her independence to the Fourth Republic.

2. Members of an organization are not autonomous agents: Institutional environment provides opportunities for members to take full advantage of the economic prospects however, these prospects are established within rules or norms that limit and outline the choices of members. The sovereignty of members is not absolute because their actions are subject to the social norms that prescribe collective and appropriate actions (Raynard, Johnson & Greenwood, 2015). Ghana being a member of the Commonwealth of Nations put a restriction on the choices that she makes within the organizational arena. Her autonomy/sovereignty in determining appropriate policies in Ghana's interest is linked with the norms that the Commonwealth finds legitimate.

3. Institutional legitimacy: Organizations endlessly show actions that have indications of legitimacy just to demonstrate that their activities are grounded in honesty/integrity. Organizations become relevant and survive long only when their actions are legitimate (Mohamed, 2017). Haack (2012), argued that legitimacy unravels the perception about what societal actions are acceptable or appropriate within a constructed system of norms. It is critical for the survival of any socially constructed organization. In his opinion, legitimacy is the major reason that encourages organizations to implement recognized and standard policies. Legitimacy demonstrates that organizations are acting on collective values in a manner whereby their actions are not questioned (Meyer & Rowan, 1977). In the case of Ghana, the Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC) military regime led by J.J Rawlings which ousted the democratically elected Hilla Limann's government on 31<sup>st</sup> December 1981 was met with fury in the international community. Both the regime's political and economic policies defied the standards and recognized values of the Commonwealth of Nations and Ghana's external partners. The regime's actions were largely recognized as illegitimate by the international community until 1992 when the regime could not withstand both domestic and external pressures and therefore ushered Ghana into constitutional rule and multiparty democracy (Gyimah-Boadi, 1991).
4. Social prescriptions are spread to organizations through agencies such as the state, professional groups, media, and other carriers of ideas and beliefs about suitable managerial conduct. Meyer and Rowan (1977), claim that acceptable formal rules are not only created by the relationship between organizations in the social milieu, but also that, legitimate social realities or standards are enforced by the views of public opinions, pressure groups, schools, media, and courts, etc. These elements of formal

constructions are indicators of authoritative institutional laws which operate as rationalized myths that commit specific groups to standard behavior. Fast-forward, Ghana under the PNDC military junta led by J.J Rawlings was pressured by external forces including the western media and, local media, pressure groups, student and trade unions to commit his regime's actions to appropriate democratic values and principles recognized by the Commonwealth of Nations in the 1991 Harare Declarations.

5. Institutional conformity: Organizations exist and operate within a common legal system or structure. The existence of a common legal framework influences structures and behaviors of an organization. This legal framework which in most cases is contract law becomes the control mechanism that forces members to honor their legal obligation (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). The institutional environment within which organizations operate forces them to conform to social prescriptions, beliefs, or norms in order to gain legitimacy. Organizational conformity happens through powerful external, internal, or professional agents who have laid down certain principles that suit their interests and defines their actions. Rewards and support incentives are given to members who follow those rules. Deviations from the norms attract discomfort and activate attempts to nullify a member's action as illegitimate (Raynard, Johnson & Greenwood, 2015). As described by Zuckerman (cited in Raynard, Johnson & Greenwood, 2015, p. 5) "Organizational actions/activities that deviate too far from social expectations or the boundaries of what constitutes 'acceptable' behavior, lead to penalties and the loss of external support which can threaten organizational survival over the longer term". Since 1992, when Ghana once again returned to democracy, her political and economic actions conform with the principles of the Commonwealth of Nations. Ghana's commitment towards accepted norms of the Commonwealth of

Nations, makes her receive supports and grants from Canada, UK, and other Commonwealth nations during her elections.

6. Institutional isomorphism: A member working within a population in an institutional or organizational environment over some time resembles each other in structure, form, or shape. The similarities that exist between members force them to adopt equal measures to tackle a common set of environmental threats (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). Hannan and Freeman (cited in DiMaggio and Powell, 1983), postulated that institutional isomorphism makes policy actors/players adopt suitable responses and adjust their conduct accordingly. It is in this vein that institutional isomorphism perfectly explains in detail why Ghana's political, economic, legal, and educational practices are fashioned out like Commonwealth member states. Ghana's democratic principles since 1992 resemble that of Britain and all other Commonwealth states. The country since 1992 is committed to free and fair elections, judicial independence, freedom of the press, and tolerance of individual freedom. These political development since 1992 are a result of the Commonwealth's standard values which its members are obliged to practice.

### **3.2.2 STRENGTHS OF INSTITUTIONAL THEORY**

Actions and reactions of international institutions in global affairs create a certain trend of perceptions, ideas, and interpretations into the intentions behind their operations, activities, and interests. One of those institutions is the Commonwealth of Nations. The Commonwealth of Nations as an international institution has created certain images, rules, and standards for itself which have become the sine qua non for membership since the 1991 Harare Declaration. Due to this, institutional theory better explains the behavior of the Commonwealth of Nations member countries in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

1. Despite, the level of criticisms against institutional theory, the theory is praised for the extent of conformity it brings to organizations. Dacin (1997), emphatically argues that conformity to institutional norms, values, beliefs and systems create structural similarities. With conformity as institutional theory's major principle, it bridges the gap between societal norms and organization's norms. Organizational Managements are more conscious of social ideas, opinions, etc, and willing to integrate societal norms and expectations, rules, regulations, and requirements in the organization's day-to-day activities. Conformity within an organization ensures rationality and sense of purpose (Meyer & Rowan, 1977). It makes members within an organization pursue common interests and social norms which are acceptable and endorsed by all. When there is conformity in an organization, members inside an organization see each other as one family for the reason that, they begin to recognize common social, climate, economic and political challenges.
2. Moreover, the institutional theory is noted for stabilization in the institutional environment. The conducts of organizations, states, trade unions, professional unions, manufacturing firms, etc either domestic or foreign are brought under the authority of institutional meanings and control. Meyer and Rowan (1977), emphasize that stabilization is achieved as a result of associations becoming part of the broader collective social arrangement. In their view, an institutionally controlled environment safeguards organizations from disorder. Moreover, states or actors become conscious of their actions due to the presence of acceptable or formal rules and punishment. Actions of states that destabilize or have the potential of creating instabilities in the institutional environment attract instant sanctions.
3. Again, institutional theory has been credited with isomorphism. Dacin (1997), argues that with institutional isomorphism, the disparity in organizational arrangements

replicates the diversity of the environment. Organizations inside similar environments facing the same conditions mimic each other in forms, systems, values, and structures. Therefore, organizations will come to bear a resemblance to their environment and each other over time. Suddaby (2010), claims that members of organizations become isomorphic with each other over some time when, members become identical or similar in form, shape, or structure. This isomorphic nature of the theory prevents any unnecessary competition among member states in the same organization. Rather, members of an organization unite to address a common threat to the organization's survival. Institutional Theory, therefore, reveals the isomorphic nature of Ghana's relations with the Commonwealth of Nations.

4. Finally, proponents of Institutional Theory argue that the theory places a premium on all stakeholders or society as a whole and the role they play in the organization to ensure its acceptability and legitimacy. They continue to argue that, stakeholders have powers in the operations of day-to-day activities of the association. Mohamed (2017, p.155), added to the argument by stating that "institutional theory is linked with power and interest. For both, understanding the emergence, functioning, and institutional change entailed understanding the ability of particular social stakeholders to ensure that their interests were served by given arrangements". Many international relations theories such as "realism" do not give equal powers to their participants or members in developing standards of acceptable norms or rules. This theory is crucial to my study because it examines the capabilities of an association as important as the Commonwealth of Nations' mission, goals, vision, strategic plans that fit well in world affairs. The theory is very appropriate to the explanation of my work due to its limited disadvantages and high-level cooperation, conformity, isomorphism, mutuality, stability, etc that exist among members of the Commonwealth of Nations.

### **3.2.3 CRITICISMS OF INSTITUTIONAL THEORY**

An international institution like the Commonwealth of Nations is perceived as an association of sovereign equal states. However, it has major flaws. These flaws of the Commonwealth are well pronounced in the logic of the institutional theory.

1. Institutional theory has been criticized by some scholars (Peters, 2000; Suddaby,2010; Zilber,2012; Munir,2019) that, it puts limitations or constraints on countries within an organization to conform to certain standards, rules, norms, behaviors, traditions, and customs which sometimes does not reflect the domestic aspirations and values of that country. To the critics, when this constraint becomes a norm, it prohibits flexibility, creativity, and diversity in a certain area of societal and organizational management.
2. Institutional change is another critique raised against the institutional theory. Peters (2000), argues that one major disadvantage of institutional theory has been that it is fundamentally steady even though the world of politics, which it tries to explain, is intrinsically dynamic. Peters (2000), identifies two forms of organizational change: One is the internal development of the institution or a process of institutionalization and a change in the values and/or structures that are assumed to characterize the institutions. He stresses that institutions can remain well-institutionalized but changing the incentives being offered can alter its nature and its impact on the individuals with which it interacts. Hence, it becomes difficult to change the structures, systems, values, and beliefs of institutions that they have practiced and adopted over a long period. Munir (2019), emphasizes that institutional change revolves around the notion of ‘institutional entrepreneurship’, through which agents periodically marshal or organize materials available to them to carry out a change in an institution or to create a new one.

3. Munir (2019), argues that institutional theorists are averse to recognize the very systems of control within which they operate. He says that institutional theorists are not critical and for the theory to be critical, then, institutional theorists need to search for and explain structures of coercion and control and be dedicated to the idea of ousting those structures. In Munir's argument, there is an imbalance of power within structures and systems put in place by institutional theorists. According to Munir (2019), powerful actors within an institution operate in a manner that suits their interests and regularises practices in their specific ways. He postulates that this is the case in a 'postcolonial milieu, where the ideals of the colonial power are habitually advantaged in formulating, explaining, and addressing problems.

### **3.3 CONCLUSION**

The chapter is made up of the theoretical framework upon which this study is situated, and how it aided in the explanation and comprehension of the various issues the study seeks to investigate. The basic assumption of the institutional theory is that members of an association become identical (isomorphic) over time in systems and structures. In the same vein, members of associations see similar threats or prospects and work towards finding a solution to those threats. Actions of members of an organization become legitimate, internalized as a result of formal prescribed rules which shape the conduct of individual members within an organization. Formal rules accepted by all members of an association promote uniformity and conformity in terms of decision choices and benefits gained from those choices. The focus is on Ghana whereby the theory helps in understanding the reason why Ghana joined the Commonwealth of Nations immediately after her independence and the benefits Ghana has derived from the Commonwealth of Nations before and during the Fourth Republic.

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND SOURCES OF DATA**

#### **4.0 INTRODUCTION**

This chapter discusses in detail the techniques or processes used for the conduct of the inquiry in this study. To conduct valid research, a researcher needs to follow some procedures in data collecting, analyzing data, and understand the issues being studied. Igwenagu (2016), claims that methodology is the orderly and theoretical analysis of the methods convenient to a discipline of scholarship. The methodology comprises the conceptual examination of the body of procedures and ethics associated with the branch of knowledge. Schwardt (2007), also asserts that research methodology is an assumption of how an investigation ought to begin. In his view, such includes investigation of the guesses, philosophies, and strategies in a specific approach of investigation. This, therefore, implies that research methodology serves as a guide to the researcher throughout the conduct of an academic study.

#### **4.1 PHILOSOPHICAL WORLDVIEW**

Many times, researchers and students often disregard philosophical worldview which is an essential component of every empirical research in their study. In the conduct of any empirical research, it should be grounded on a philosophical premise about what constitutes valid research and what techniques are appropriate to the development of knowledge in a study. Many scholars have given diverse names to philosophical worldviews. Some call it ontology, paradigm, or epistemology. Creswell (2009, p. 6), calls it worldview. In his definition of worldview, he avows that ‘it is a basic set of beliefs that guide action’. Petersen and Gencel (2013), identify four major worldviews namely: Positivist/Post-Positivist, Constructivist/Interpretivist, advocacy/Participatory, and Pragmatist.

For this study, a Constructivist or Interpretivism worldview was adopted. Constructivist worldview is a method for qualitative research. In a Constructivist worldview, people try to understand the world in which they live and work. People understand the world based on their subjective experiences (Creswell, 2009). Experiences and individual conceptions of social realities are different, this directs researchers towards finding the complexity of interpretations rather than limiting social realities to small groups of notions. The goal of the research depends exclusively on the ideas of the members under study (Creswell, 2009). It calls for more open-ended questions in an interactive form to give the participant enough time to create his or her understanding of an event. The researcher is committed to interpreting the meanings people create about the world. This helps the researcher to appreciate both the historical and cultural milieu of the participants (Creswell, 2009).

According to Glover (2015), individuals give their meanings of reality or the world. For a researcher to understand the actions of groups of people, the researcher must consult the perspective of the participants. Interpretivism searches for relative/individual truth, created by how human beings view and understand the world in their framework. Hence, the reality is not universally absolute but subjective in explanation (Petersen & Gencel, 2013).

Constructivist worldview holds the assumptions that, people make their interpretations of the world they engage in. In doing so, qualitative researchers often use open-ended questions to extract more ideas from participants (Crotty cited in Creswell, 2009). Again, individuals make meanings of the world due to their historical, cultural, and social experiences. Therefore, qualitative researchers visit participants personally in their settings to understand their perspectives by collecting data. Researchers interpret their findings which shapes their own experiences (Crotty cited in Creswell, 2009). Finally, meanings are socially constructed by interactions with the human community. The method of qualitative research is purely

inductive, whereby the questioner makes meanings from the data gathered from the field (Crotty cited in Creswell, 2009).

The Commonwealth of Nations is an association of autonomous, sovereign and equal states according to Kirby (2010). However, members of the Commonwealth particularly African states have the view that the institution was created to continue Britain's colonial domination over its former colonies. It is in the view of this assertion that a philosophical worldview is suitable for this study since it unearths the meanings and realities that members of the Commonwealth of Nations give to the association. Constructive worldview further enhances the institutional theory for this study.

#### **4.2 RESEARCH APPROACH**

The research methodology used in this study is purely qualitative which is an exploratory research method. Qualitative research is intended to give the researcher thought of a situation by observing or cooperating with the participants of the study. Those who use the qualitative research method are concerned with exploring and explaining certain events as they happen in natural settings (Boru, 2018). In qualitative research, researchers examine objects in their original situations, trying to create a sense of, or explain, events in terms of the meanings people bring to them (Borus, 2018). In his view, the qualitative research method has the tenacity to produce a vital description of participants' belief procedures and is inclined to focus on reasons why an event has happened.

Also, Palmer and Bolderston (2006), posit that qualitative research is a descriptive method, aimed at getting an understanding of the exact meanings and actions practiced in a particular social context through the personal knowledge of the participants. According to them, researchers ask questions such as why and how in order to build abstracts, concepts, hypotheses, or theories. According to Creswell (2009), qualitative research is

investigative/exploratory and is suitable to researchers when they cannot recognize the vital variables to observe. He stresses that this kind of method may be desirable because the topic is new, the topic has never been addressed with a certain sample or group of people, and existing theories do not apply with the particular sample or group under study with exploratory research method, one better understands the situation at hand.

Boru (2018), defines exploratory research as the method of examining a problem that has not been studied thoroughly and considered in the past. Exploratory research deals with issues on which little or no earlier research has been conducted. He further argued that exploratory research seeks for sources and motives of an action and therefore provides evidence to back or reject an explanation or predictions. Exploratory research is mostly conducted to have a better understanding of the existing problem. This method was used because of its flexibility in discovering new avenues of obtaining data without any stringent limitations and applications compared to quantitative research design. Oftentimes, the exploratory design depends on secondary data such as reviewing existing materials or literature, conducting extensive interviews, doing case studies, and others. In exploratory research method, it helps the researcher to do a critical examination or evaluation of the research problem without any biases or personnel subjectivities. The reason is that the method allowed the assessment or interrogation of the topic understudy holistically without adding one's opinion. Moreover, the study used a descriptive research method in describing Ghana's relations with the Commonwealth of Nations under the Fourth Republic unearthing the relevance and the role of the Commonwealth. The descriptive design was used to establish facts and relationships between Commonwealth members. In conclusion, the data gathered through the secondary data was evaluated through Institutional Theory as a theoretical framework to give the research an intellectual touch rather than just a history.

#### **4.2.0 SOURCES OF DATA COLLECTION**

The study depended on both primary and secondary sources of data. Primary data were gathered from field interviews using semi-structured interview guides prepared by the researcher to acquire vital information on the subject under study. On secondary data collection, the researcher made use of articles, journals, books, and magazines relevant to the field of study. Also, the researcher made use of the University of Ghana Balme Library and the Department of Political Science library.

#### **4.2.1 PRIMARY AND SECONDARY DATA**

Persaud (2012, p. 2), argues that a primary data source is the ‘‘original data that is, one in which the data are collected first-hand by the researcher for a specific research purpose or project’’. Here, the researcher collected first-hand information from the field from persons with direct connections with the subject matter.

Ajayi (2017, p.2), defines secondary data as the ‘‘data already collected or produced by others. Secondary data is the interpretation and analysis of the primary data’’. In Johnston’s (2014) view, secondary data are sources of data collected outside primary data or first-hand sources. In this source, already existing materials properly interrogated by researchers are relied on by new researchers to extract information from scholars who have researched in the same field. This secondary source of data is retrieved from analyzed and reviewed articles, books, journals, magazines, the 1992 Constitution of Ghana, and other published materials from experienced scholars in the field. In all, secondary data collection involves a comprehensive and extensive evaluation of previously collected data in one’s area of interest. Johnston (2014), says that secondary data techniques come with some degree of merits to the researcher which is cost-effectiveness and convenience, secondary data techniques give researchers the chance to test new ideas, theories, framework and models of research design,

and finally, the use of secondary data or existing materials hasten the pace of research which is not time-consuming. In Johnston's view, secondary data also comes with its constraints. He avers that those who use secondary data do not participate in the data collection process. This makes them not familiar with the methodology of data collection and problems such as low response rate and misunderstanding of specific survey questions.

#### **4.2.2 SAMPLING TECHNIQUE**

The study used the purposive sampling technique which is also called selective or judgment sampling which is a non-probability sampling method. Tongco (2007), argues that purposive sampling is the careful selection of respondents due to the qualities the informant holds. In other words, the researcher selects what needs to be known and goes out to find people who can and are willing to provide the information by the understanding or experience of the interviewee.

The non-probability technique is mostly linked with case study research strategy and qualitative research. In using the purposive sampling technique, knowledgeable persons with expert ideas on the subject matter were contacted or selected (Taherdoot, 2016). With this method of non-probability sampling, a certain group of persons or participants are consciously chosen to give essential data that cannot be gotten from other persons according to Maxwell (cited in Taherdoot, 2016). Battaglia (2011), opines that the core goal of a purposive sample is to create an illustration that can be analytically presumed to be representative of the population. Purposive sampling is frequently achieved by using expert knowledge of the population to select in a non-random manner a sample of elements that embodies a cross-section of the people.

### **4.2.3 SAMPLING SIZE**

It is virtually impossible to study or contact the whole population during a survey. The size of the population sample contacted is critical in every empirical or valid research. For research to gain validity, it is mostly based on the sample size which represents the true reflections of the people's view in a research finding. Taherdoost (2016), states that picking a subsection from a selected sampling frame or the whole population is called sampling. Sampling can be used to make an interpretation about a population or to make generalizations about existing theory. Choosing a small group of persons from the whole population, reduces the cost, workload and makes it easier for the researcher to gather high-quality data. According to Shapiro (2011), the sample size of a study simply represents the sum of units that were selected from which data were collected.

For this study, the sample size used was thirty (30). Thirty (30) interviews were conducted.

The composition of the sample size is as follows:

- Fifteen (15) lecturers from the University of Ghana, Department of Political Science, Ghana Armed Forces Command and Staff College (GAF CSC), Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Center (KAIPTC), and Legon Center for International Affairs and Diplomacy (LECIAD).
- Fifteen (15) officials from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration and Diplomats from Commonwealth countries. This is to give a wide perspective of the Commonwealth of Nations and understand the narratives member countries have particularly under Ghana's Fourth Republic.

### **4.2.4 RESEARCH INSTRUMENTS**

The primary data for the conduct of this study was done using interviews. Information was recorded using a cell phone voice recorder. There are three forms of interviews recognized by

researchers. These are structured-interview, semi-structured interviews, and unstructured interviews. The semi-structured interview was adopted in the collection of primary data for this study. This was done by using a semi-structured interview guide. Cohen (2006, p.1), argues that “Semi-structured interviews are often preceded by observation, informal and unstructured interviewing to allow the researchers to develop a keen understanding of the topic of interest necessary for developing relevant and meaningful semi-structured questions”. This means that with the semi-structured interview, the interviewer does not follow a formalized list of questions. Instead, more open-ended questions were allowed for the discussion with the interviewee rather than a straightforward question and answer format. Cohen (2006), identifies some merits of the semi-structured interviews for researchers. To him, questions can be prepared ahead of time. This makes the interrogator prepare and appears capable during the interview. Also, the semi-structured interview gives the interviewees the freedom to express their opinions on their terms, and finally, semi-structured interviews offer consistent and comparable qualitative data.

#### **4.3 METHOD OF DATA ANALYSIS**

The information collected from both primary and secondary data on the field was examined and analyzed using the content analysis technique. Krippendorff (1980, p. 18), argued that “content analysis is a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from texts (or other meaningful matter) to the contexts of their use”. Kyngas and Elo (2008), stressed that content analysis is a process of examining inscribed, oral or graphic communication messages. Audio and video recordings were transcribed. The information transcribed was grouped based on the thematic areas that this research created.

#### **4.4 ETHICAL CONSIDERATION IN RESEARCH**

In the conduct of this study, the researcher took a permission letter from the Head of Political Science Department before going to the field. The researcher made it clear to the participants that the research is purely for academic purposes and participants' anonymity/identity is assured. The participants were also at liberty to withdraw from the interview whenever they feel to. All consulted literature was equally acknowledged to avoid the incidence of accidental plagiarism.

#### **4.5 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY**

Due to the Covid-19 pandemic, restrictions on movement, lockdowns, time and resource constraints, the researcher was unable to travel to the Commonwealth of Nations Secretariat in London to collect field data which would have helped to authenticate, examine and assess Ghana's relations with the Commonwealth of Nations and benefits Ghana has derived before and during Ghana's Fourth Republic. Therefore, evaluation and assessment were largely based on secondary data harmonized with minimum information from top diplomats, officials of the Ghana Government, lecturers, and Representatives of the Commonwealth of Nations in Ghana during the period under review. Again, it was difficult to have access to some of the respondents to honor the interview as planned. They complained about the lack of time on their part, their busy schedules, and official meetings. This led to the cancellation of my meetings with many of the respondents. So, findings from this study will not reflect the exact issues confronting Ghana's relations with the Commonwealth of Nations but could give an understanding for vital measures to be taken by Ghana's policymakers and stakeholders in their dealings with the Commonwealth of Nations as well as other regional blocs.

## **4.6 CONCLUSION**

This chapter expounded on the research method adopted and their validations. The chapter gave an overview of how data was gathered; the instruments and medium used as well as the means the data was analyzed. The importance of ethical considerations and the limitations in the conduct of the research work were equally emphasized in this chapter.

## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **DATA PRESENTATION ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION**

#### **5.0 INTRODUCTION**

This chapter deals with the analysis of data collected from the field. It is inspired primarily to obtain empirical answers to the research questions that underpin this study. It is imperative to recognize that this chapter forms the heart of this study that empirically examines Ghana's relations with the Commonwealth of Nations under the Fourth Republic. The findings of the research were gotten from the expressions and ideas of technocrats, academics, and diplomats through interviews and secondary data sources. This chapter is designed based on the following themes to mimic the research objectives.

#### **5.1 REASONS FOR GHANA'S MEMBERSHIP IN THE COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS IMMEDIATELY AFTER INDEPENDENCE IN 1957.**

This theme corresponds to the main research question of the study as the central objective of the research. Since independence, Ghana has been an active member of the Commonwealth of Nations and she has adhered to the principles of all organizations to which she is a member as stated in Chapter Six Article forty (40) under the Directive Principles of State Policy of the 1992 constitution. Therefore, this becomes imperative to interrogate why Ghana joined the Commonwealth of Nations immediately after independence in 1957. This interrogation is fundamental because it will help the student of international relations to understand the motivation behind Ghana's foreign policy and appreciate the tools which have become the source of incentives for Ghana's continuous membership in the Commonwealth of Nations believed to be a legacy of colonial exploitation and slavery. In a way to give greater consideration to research ethics and guaranteeing anonymity, the respondents were coded Organization X and Y. Where Organization X represents lecturers from the University of Ghana, Department of Political Science, Ghana Armed Forces Command and Staff College

(GAFSCS), Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Center (KAIPTC), and Legon Center for International Affairs and Diplomacy (LECIAD) whilst Organization Y represent officials from Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration and Diplomats from other Commonwealth countries. According to Emini and Marleku (2016), economic advantages that countries get by being part of international associations predominately influence their membership. Confirming this statement, a respondent from organization X observes that:

I think African leaders like Kwame Nkrumah were eager to join the Commonwealth of Nations to avail themselves of an important international forum through which he could promote the political and economic interests of his country and, at the same time, push for African unity. In this international community, Kwame Nkrumah stood on an equal footing with his European and Asian counterparts. Thus, an international forum such as that provided by the Commonwealth was an important laboratory for him to learn about good government, international relations, and procedures for promoting economic development in his country Ghana (**FIELDWORK, 01/04/2021, ACCRA**).

Similarly, another senior official from organization Y says that:

Well, to some extent, Nkrumah saw the Commonwealth, at least initially, as an organization that was distinguishable from the British Empire. Nkrumah felt he could join such an organization and have a forum to promote the political and economic objectives of Ghana. Nkrumah felt that the Commonwealth could offer him a foundation to amplify his voice in the international community to promote his pan-African agenda. Nkrumah also recognized that each member of the Commonwealth had equal voting rights at its meetings, and thus saw an opportunity to censure South Africa and eventually vote it out of the Commonwealth if the former continued to maintain its perverse racial policies (**FIELDWORK, 07/04/2021, ACCRA**).

Correspondingly, a senior official from organization X opines that:

In the political sense, I believe Ghana's membership in the Commonwealth was to showcase her to the world as a legitimate, equal global player to fight against neocolonialism, and contribute to global affairs. Economically, it was obvious that as a new nation coming out of colonialism, Ghana needed some economic base to enhance its development agenda. So, Ghana became a member of the Commonwealth in order to benefit from the organization's large pool of economic aid and legitimately transact business with the rest of the world. This was strategically done to attract trade investment, foreign aid, technical aid, and fair trade from rich member states like UK, Canada, and Australia. It was obvious that Ghana's membership with the Commonwealth influenced business partners from Canada and the USA to fund the Akosombo dam project (**FIELDWORK, 19/04/2021, ACCRA**).

To juxtapose the responses obtained from the field to the reviewed literature, it was consistent with Boafo-Arthur's (1989) argument that Nkrumah's foreign policy alignment was based on his quest for political decolonization of Africa and his clamor for economic development. These two parameters determined the choices Nkrumah made and have since

been the mode of Ghana's foreign policy trajectory by his successors. Equally, Onslow (2015) re-echoes this proclamation by saying that, the Commonwealth of Nations during the Cold War era, turned out to be a symbol of political decolonization and economic development. These factors were the two cornerstones for the Commonwealth's membership enticement for new African states (Onslow, 2015). As the question was asked, the views of the respondents from both organization X and Y mostly replicate the notion of previous studies by scholars such as: (Akinrinade,1989; Boafo-Arthur,1989; Assensoh,1993; Torrent,2015;). These scholars perceive that African states after independence rushed to join international organizations as a result of two major factors which were: Political and Economic. Politically, independent Africa states that joined international organizations aimed to end colonialism, apartheid, and racism. African states' membership with international organizations offered them the platform to advocate, educate, inform and discuss issues that confronted the continent. Economically, Africa states which came out of colonial rule to join the Commonwealth of Nations were as the rest of their search for decent trade policies, financial support in addition to technical assistance in their development efforts. The pursuit for good economic policies, trade, financial support, and technical aid determined the kind of alliance and friendship African leaders made after emerging from the imperial rule (Akinrinade,1989; Boafo-Arthur,1989; Torrent,2015). For Ghana to conduct legitimate business with the rest of the world during the time of her independence as said by some of the respondents, is also in connection with the assumption of the institutional theory which emphasizes organizational legitimacy. Meyer and Rowan (1997), contend that members of an organization act according to the values and norms of their organization to gain or maintain legitimacy within the institutional environment. Therefore, one will agree that it was logical for Ghana under Nkrumah as a newly independent state to legitimize Ghana's political and economic interest in the global financial and economic market as an equal and sovereign state

whose economic relations are genuine and valid to that of every free nation by aligning with the Commonwealth of Nations.

Historical and cultural considerations were another revealing motivation for Ghana's Commonwealth membership gathered from the field. This was consistent with Hall's (1953), assertion that the distinctiveness of the Commonwealth stems from its historical continuity, the commitment of its members to one another, and its unity on critical issues of mutual interest. This is in line with (Kirby's, 2010; The Commonwealth's, 2021) argument that since the evolution of the Commonwealth of Nations, membership of the organization is influenced by the cultural and historical bond between Britain and its former colonies. Although there have been some countries that have joined the Commonwealth of Nations in recent times that did not have any historical and cultural link with Great Britain (Kirby, 2010; The Commonwealth, 2021). However, on the part of Ghana, there exist this historical and cultural familiarity with the United Kingdom as a result of the United Kingdom's active years of slavery and colonial expedition in Africa in general and Ghana in particular. To justify this assertion, a senior member from organization Y says that:

Ghana's desire to join the Commonwealth was more of historical considerations. I believe that Ghana was historically more connected to Britain than any other colonial country before and after independence. It is this historical bond that has glued Ghana to Britain and the Commonwealth. Therefore, it was not surprising that Ghana became a member of the Commonwealth in 1957. The reception given to Queen Elizabeth's visit to Ghana in 1961 indicated the level of historical friendship between Ghana and the Commonwealth. The Commonwealth facilitated Ghana's effort to speed the liberation struggle on the continent and fight apartheid in South Africa. Ghana equally saw the Commonwealth as an important trade partner to smoothen its trade and investment relations with other parts of the world. Ghana being a member of the Commonwealth made her a credible country to transact business within the international community of nations (**FIELDWORK, 28/04/2021, ACCRA**).

Consistently, a senior member from organization X re-echoes that:

Our historical and cultural lineage is similar to the Brits even the language we speak, our legal system, and administrative structures. This made it easier for Ghana to cooperate and leverage with the Commonwealth and the rest of the world. The issue of economic aid likewise influenced the talks for Commonwealth membership, which synchronized with crucial years in the economic decolonization of Africa. Nkrumah in his assessment wanted to use the Commonwealth to get concessions from Britain, particularly, the extension of Colonial Development and Welfare (CD&W) assistance after independence (**FIELDWORK, 29/04/2021, ACCRA**).

Undeniably, these factors are also consistent with McKinnon's (2004) view that Africa's immense cultural endowment and multiplicity enhance the Commonwealth's image and give it global recognition. The Commonwealth's strength is derived from its history which is not rooted in an artificial blueprint or bureaucratic pattern. However, today's Commonwealth emerged out of history which has converted colonialism into a unique friendship rooted in trust, cooperation, and sovereign equality (Schreuder,2002; McKinnon,2004).

Another, revealing incentive for Ghana's Commonwealth membership from the field shows that ideological factors also influenced the talks for Ghana's bid to join the Commonwealth and any other relevant international organization after independence. This clue supports the views expressed by (Thompson, 1969; Armah, 2004, Onslow, 2015). These scholars argue that, during the Cold War period, ideology determined the country's alliances and friendship to safeguard their national interests. Arguably, the Commonwealth of Nations in the Cold War period epitomized a neutral organization that did not align with the ideological blocs (Onslow,2015). However, its countries took sides. Britain and Canada supported the ideological West and aligned with the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), Australia and New Zealand affiliated with Australia, New Zealand, and the United States Security (ANZUS), Pakistan and the United Kingdom aligned with the Central Treaty Organization (CENTO) and India, New Zealand, Pakistan also aligned with the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) whilst most of Commonwealth Africa states also became pro East (Onslow, 2015). On the part of Ghana, the tense nature of the Cold War at the time of Ghana's independence influenced the country's connections with the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) and the Commonwealth of Nations. To find whether this notion is true, a senior official from organization X acknowledges that:

The political climate around the time of Ghana's independence in 1957 was very tense that states had to either align or remain neutral to the bipolar power struggle between the US and the USSR for hegemonic power. Therefore, Nkrumah saw the Commonwealth as a neutral bloc that did not side with the two ideological parties. To protect Ghana's sovereignty and her newly found statehood and conduct business with the rest of the world by attracting aid and investment from the two superpowers, Ghana ideologically joined neutral bodies like the Commonwealth and the Non-aligned Movement (NAM). Kwame Nkrumah tactfully did that to secure needed funds from both sides for his development visions and projects for the new state of Ghana (**FIELDWORK, 14/06/2021, ACCRA**).

A top official from organization Y also states that:

Ghana opted to join the Commonwealth because of ideological factors. I believe this is because the country was ideologically inclined with British ideas and values due to Ghana's long colonial inheritance past. Ideologically, it is obvious that Ghana's legal, educational and political systems were largely tailored or molded in line with British ideological principles or systems. It was not shocking that immediately after the country got its independence in 1957, Ghana became a member of the Commonwealth (**FIELDWORK, 23/06/2021, ACCRA**).

From the findings and the discussions, it will be fair to conclude that political and economic considerations were not the only inspiring factors that prompted Ghana's membership with the Commonwealth of Nations after independence in 1957. However, ideological, cultural, and historical factors equally played a key role in Ghana's foreign policy alignment with the rest of the world after independence in 1957 particularly the Commonwealth of Nations. These parameters continue to bind Ghana to Britain and the Commonwealth of Nations.

## **5.2 IMPLICATIONS OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS ON GHANA'S FOREIGN POLICY.**

This theme is in line with the subsequent research question of the study aimed to reflect the research objective. Institutions and organizations have greater control and implications on their members' actions in terms of how to respond and react to circumstances both within and outside the institutional environment (Meyer & Rowan, 1997). It is, therefore, necessary to interrogate the implications of the Commonwealth of Nations on Ghana's foreign policy. This is worthy of examination because it will help readers to understand whether Ghana's sovereignty to act as an independent state in her capacity and national interest within the international community and the Commonwealth is absolute or limited. It is also important

because it will aid us to appreciate how Ghana's foreign policy choices are shaped or influenced in the international community as a result of Ghana's membership of the Commonwealth of Nations. According to Foley (1971), the Commonwealth is a multiracial organization of sovereign states each having absolute freedom to make its own decisions and pursue its policies in a manner that will not affect the basic interest of other states. Bayne (1997), similarly argues that the Commonwealth of Nations works by persuasion and example, not by compulsion. The Commonwealth of Nations does not have the power to influence or impact the policies of its member states since it is an association of sovereign states through which each member seeks for its interest (The Commonwealth, 2021). To ascertain these claims as valid, a respondent from organization X asserts that:

I do not think the Commonwealth of Nations has any implication on Ghana's foreign policy. Ghana is a sovereign nation within the Commonwealth of Nations. Ghana's foreign policy architecture, goals, and directions are formulated and implemented by the country's actors to meet the aspirations of its citizens. Ghana is free to aspire for anything it wishes to achieve in the global system. However, Ghana's aspirations and interests should be situated within the context of international law, global peace, and security (**FIELDWORK, 01/04/2021, ACCRA**).

Consistently, a senior member from organization X also affirms that:

I do not see much or any impact or implication of the Commonwealth on Ghana's foreign policy except in the sense that it has tended to facilitate our relationship with the British government. For instance, it makes it easier for Ghana to receive development assistance from the British than any other country which is not a member of the Commonwealth. Ghana has received more aid from the British government than any other Commonwealth country except for Zimbabwe. Being a Commonwealth member creates this sense or idea of common identity; the idea that we are Commonwealth members; one unique family (**FIELDWORK, 07/04/2021, ACCRA**).

Similarly, another member from organization X when contacted declares that:

I strongly believe that there are no direct implications of the Commonwealth on Ghana's foreign policy. In my view, it is rather the African countries that have a greater influence on the Commonwealth from the days of colonial rule, apartheid rule, and in this postcolonial era. When you take off African countries from the Commonwealth, it will become a dead association. As for me, Ghana could be better off without the Commonwealth. This whole idea of Commonwealth positions serves Britain's interest and helps Britain to exert its influence over its borders. We do not need the Commonwealth and Britain to coach us on how to conduct ourselves both locally and internationally (**FIELDWORK, 07/04/2021, ACCRA**).

Writers such as (Holmes,1962; Akinrinade,1989) are of the view that African states which joined the Commonwealth after their independence had greater implications on the Commonwealth. Holmes (1962), thinks Africa's emergence into the Commonwealth of Nations was inspiring. India's membership in the Commonwealth raised issues of color within the predominately "White Commonwealth". African countries which joined the Commonwealth came to affirm and confirm the adjustment within the Commonwealth by giving the Commonwealth a sense of purpose and a new direction (Holmes,1962). This position is affirmed by Cayton (1957), suggesting that Ghana's freedom and membership of the Commonwealth had implications for the Commonwealth which for many years was dominated by whites. Ghana's connection with the Commonwealth raised questions on how Britain will for the first time accept a completely dark skin independent nation like Ghana (Cayton,1957). Akinrinade (1989), believes that international organizations serve as modifiers in the conduct of members' external relations, policy, and actions. However, in Africa's case, there is no proper evidence of the Commonwealth of Nations' implications on their foreign policy. He rather claims that African countries that joined the Commonwealth of Nations fairly impacted the Commonwealth of Nations particularly Britain to alter some of its foreign policy. African countries through the Commonwealth brought changes in South Africa and Rhodesia, and proper economic policies by forcing Britain, Canada, and the other advanced nations within the Commonwealth to carry out important policies in the interest of Africa (Akinrinade, 1989). Members of the Commonwealth of Nations owe no legal or formal obligations to one another; they are bound together by common traditions, institutions, and experiences, as well as economic self-interest (The Commonwealth, 2021).

Some respondents express different feelings about the implications of the Commonwealth of Nations on the foreign policy of Ghana. When the question was asked, an official from organization Y says that:

To some extent, the Commonwealth of Nations shapes Ghana's foreign policy interest in the global system in a way that, Ghana's external policy choices and interests do not affect that of the Commonwealth. The continuous use of diplomacy, dialogue, and consensus-building within the Commonwealth restricts Ghana from making certain domestic and external policy choices that will disturb Commonwealth values. Externally, Ghana's voting pattern in the United Nations is influenced largely by her Commonwealth's membership. Collectively, the association meets to deliberate on matters in the UN General Assembly as a Commonwealth bloc to represent a common stand on certain issues during voting in the UN. Sometimes Commonwealth's position on certain matters in the United Nations contradicts the original position taken by Ghana's representatives in the United Nations. However, due to the Commonwealth, Ghana needs to adjust its voting in the direction of the Commonwealth's viewpoints (**FIELDWORK, 19/04/2021, ACCRA**).

Another member from organization X in a similar fashion attests that:

Since Ghana is an active member of the Commonwealth of Nations and takes part in top-level discussions then, Ghana is bound to implement decisions reached by the Commonwealth including the Commonwealth Ministerial Action Group (CMAG). At Commonwealth summits, the Commonwealth brings together government leaders whose decisions will have an enduring impact on all Commonwealth citizens. As an organization that works in harmony, consultation, and respect, the Commonwealth's soft global power alters Ghana's domestic and international politics in a manner that conforms and imitates the Commonwealth charter and blueprint (**FIELDWORK, 22/04/2021, ACCRA**).

This assertion was backed by another official from organization X who argues that:

The Commonwealth has a bigger economic and investment market value or advantage over the rest of the world. With its 2.4 billion population of the world's 7 billion people, the implication is that Ghana has wide investment, market, and trade options within the Commonwealth. The Commonwealth of Nations stimulates and facilitates Ghana's bilateral and multilateral foreign direct investment (FDI) and trade policies. Commonwealth trade and investment policies have implications on Ghana's economy. The Commonwealth of Nations in 2017, controlled \$10.3 trillion in terms of global GDP. In 2019, the Commonwealth's combined Gross Domestic Product (GDP) was over \$9 trillion. Out of the \$9 trillion combined GDP of Commonwealth member states, 78 percent came from the four biggest economies: India (\$3.010 trillion), U.K (\$2.743 trillion), Canada (\$1.652 trillion), and Australia (\$1.379 trillion). In 2020, the Commonwealth held the largest percentage of the world's GDP. It controlled \$13 trillion of the entire world's GDP. That is massive wealth (**FIELDWORK, 26/04/2021, ACCRA**).

One senior staff from organization Y equally discloses that:

The Commonwealth has some level of implications on Ghana's foreign policy at the bilateral level and the multilateral level. When you look at the 1992 constitution chapter six (6) to be precise, it tells us our obligations, adherence, and commitment towards international laws and conventions. In article forty (40) clause D (iii), the constitution admonishes Ghana to adhere to the principles enshrined in the Commonwealth charter. The Commonwealth charter also makes emphasis on the promotion and protection of human rights, democracy, rule of law, gender equality, good governance, etc. These values as in the Commonwealth charter regulate Ghana's foreign policy. Any diversion from these principles will attract sanctions or suspensions from the association. The Commonwealth places Ghana in conformity with appropriate international laws, behavior, and principles that the association aspires to achieve (**FIELDWORK, 03/05/2021, ACCRA**).

A review of the literature displays that there is no implication of the Commonwealth of Nations on its members' foreign policy goals. But what exists is a minimal modification of a country's policy goals (Akinrinade, 1989). The majority of the responses sustain Kirby's

(2010), claims that the Commonwealth of Nations is an organization of autonomous, sovereign, and equal states whose actions are based on mutual respect, tolerance, and consensus. This is also consistent with Schreuder (2002), who professes that the Commonwealth is a body that can accomplish its goals through dialogue, harmony, and shared action. From all indications, one cannot firmly conclude that Ghana's membership in the Commonwealth of Nations has no implications for the country's foreign policy. The implications though not overwhelming, are far-reaching and mostly in the domains of the nation's voting pattern in the UN, Foreign Direct Investment (FDI), democracy, good governance, human right, security, and education. Linking this with other studies by (Akinrinade, 1989; Kirby, 2010), affirms their notion that the Commonwealth country's external and domestic policies are shaped by the organization's charter and codes. The Commonwealth uses its global soft powers to influence its members' political systems and structures, the Commonwealth facilitates its members' multilateral and bilateral trade and economic relations, the Commonwealth is a means of advocacy for members' to impact the international community (The Commonwealth, 2021).

### **5.3 THE ROLE OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS UNDER GHANA'S FOURTH REPUBLIC.**

This theme looks at the role the Commonwealth of Nations plays under Ghana's Fourth Republic with the focus of achieving the objective of this study. Looking at Ghana's political history from the period of Nkrumah through to the brutish military regime under the Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC) from 1981-1992, it is reasonable to investigate the Commonwealth of Nations' role in Ghana's development. Certainly, one could easily admit that the circumstances which prevailed under Kwame Nkrumah's regime including the Cold War, decolonialism process, and apartheid which made Ghana an active influencer of world politics and policies within the Commonwealth of Nations had changed.

This dispensation of the 21<sup>st</sup> century has its own political, economic, and ideological undercurrents for the world. International organizations such as the Commonwealth of Nations have taken a center stage to effectively navigate policies and programs of its members for a peaceful world. The Commonwealth of Nations has played a pivotal role in Ghana's socio-economic and cultural development since 1992 which marked the early years of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. According to McKinnon (2004), the Commonwealth's role in the 21<sup>st</sup> century is aimed at promoting democracy, climate change, and development in Africa. To authenticate this a respondent from organization Y asserts that:

The Commonwealth offers a possible outline for resolving conflicts among its member countries. If you can recall, the Commonwealth actively participated in bringing peace to South Africa by negotiating with the apartheid regime to transition into a democracy which finally made Mandela and ANC elected into office. You can equally think of Rhodesia where the association advocated for a non-racial system and a proper land reform policy. There have been countless occasions the Commonwealth of Nations has stepped in to ensure peaceful democratic transitions through diplomatic means. For example, Kenya, Uganda, The Gambia, Ghana, South Africa, Namibia, Zambia, etc. The only worst-case scenario was in Zimbabwe which many saw as a failure on the part of the Commonwealth by foreseeing Zimbabwe leaving the Commonwealth (**FIELDWORK, 01/04/2021, ACCRA**).

Congruently, another official from organization X declares that:

Since the restoration of multiparty democracy in 1992, the Commonwealth frequently sends observer missions to monitor and assess Ghana's electoral process. The Commonwealth Observer Group (COG) has been part of our election process and ensures there is peace before, during, and after the elections. In situations where tensions are high between political parties and the Electoral Commission (EC), like in Nigeria, South Africa, Kenya, and The Gambia the Commonwealth Observer Group stepped in to calm tensions so that the people of these countries will continue to enjoy their peace and stability. The attendance or monitoring of Ghana's 2020 elections by the Commonwealth Observer Group gave some international credibility and acceptability to the outcome of the elections (**FIELDWORK, 16/04/2021, ACCRA**).

Speaking to the same issue, a top official from organization Y also affirms that:

Well, I think it's obvious that the Commonwealth of Nations supports Ghana's democracy, peace, and development through shared values and principles. The Commonwealth offers support to Ghana through its technical assistance in building the skills of the Ghana National Peace Council towards a violence-free election. The presence of the Commonwealth Observer Group in the 2020 Presidential and Parliamentary elections in Ghana, boosted the credibility of the democratic and governance process in Ghana. To sustain peace after the 2020 elections, the Commonwealth Observer Group advised Ex-President Mahama to use the legal procedures and call his supporters to order (**FIELDWORK, 19/04/2021, ACCRA**).

Judging from the responses it is obvious that the Commonwealth of Nations has been a key mediator in conflict resolution and democratic transition of the members of its African state. The South African and Rhodesian crises tested the Commonwealth's strength, capacity, and survival in its future relations with its African countries. The Commonwealth of Nations upon realizing the importance of the continuous stay of its African states intensified its responsibility in negotiating a system of racial equality, democracy, and respect for minority groups mainly in South Africa, Zimbabwe, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, and Ghana (The Commonwealth, 2021). This observation is consistent with Anyaoku (2017), who claims that the Commonwealth as part of its effort in promoting a non-racial society and multiparty society increased negotiations with the oppressive regime and the opposition in South Africa for the release of Mandela. Upon Mandela's release from prison, the Commonwealth assisted in the peaceful elections in 1994 that made Mandela the country's first Black president. In answering the same question, one official from organization Y also proclaims that:

In December 2018, the Commonwealth provided Ghana technical help on income, taxation, and risk management in the petroleum industry. Commonwealth assists Ghana in managing its natural resources in the water and on land in a sustainable manner for the benefit of current and future generations. Since Ghana's independence, the Commonwealth has offered technical help and support in the formulation of policies, legislation, fiscal regime design, and building national institutions to achieve the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). The Commonwealth has once again provided the availability of the Connectivity Agenda for Trade and Investment, a platform that allows member countries to share best practices and experiences in trade and investment, as well as internal reforms. Ghana is a member of the Physical and Digital connectivity cluster of the Commonwealth Connectivity Agenda and appreciates the commitment of leaders of the Commonwealth to the vision of increasing intra-Commonwealth trade to US\$ 2 trillion by 2030 (**FIELDWORK, 26/04/2021, ACCRA**).

Another member from organization Y similarly discloses that:

The Commonwealth offers financial support to civil society organizations such as Women Integrated Development Organization (WIDO). On June 3<sup>rd</sup>, 2021, the Commonwealth of Nations approved £28,967 in support of WIDO's project titled "Enhancing citizens' participation in Covid-19 alleviation programming for increased benefits of vulnerable groups". The Commonwealth Secretariat also assists Ghana in effectively engaging the International Seabed Authority (ISA) by providing technical assistance in respect to Ghana's legal duties, International Seabed Authority (ISA) rules, and payment system (**FIELDWORK, 22/04/2021, ACCRA**).

Correspondingly, another official from organization X observes that:

Britain and the Commonwealth contribute to building strong CSO's for proper accountability and democracy in Ghana. Through the Commonwealth, the PNDC regime was convinced to accept liberal democracy as the country's preferred governance system. UK's Department for International Development (DFID) oil and gas program supports the African Centre for Energy Policy, an Accra-based CSO to ensure that oil contracts are transparent, competitive, open to international best practices, and well written into a proper legal framework to manage oil exploration and production in Ghana. The Commonwealth equally assists in Anti-corruption campaigns in Ghana by strengthening the action against corruption programs. This is supported through the STAR-Ghana program and the centrally managed International Action on Anti-Corruption Programme. These programs contribute to strengthening the legal and institutional framework of Ghana. **(FIELDWORK, 14/05/2021, ACCRA).**

The response of many of the respondents is consistent with McKinnon's (2004), who states that the Commonwealth of Nations is heavily involved in the election and political support programs for its member states mainly Malawi, Cameroon, Sierra Leone, Ghana, and Mozambique. Commonwealth has made tremendous progress, especially in Africa in ensuring political stability. African states within the Commonwealth have managed to come out of years of autocratic regimes and military rule (McKinnon, 2004). This agrees with the views of (Ugwukah, 2014; BBC, 2017; McDougall, 2018) that the Commonwealth of Nations most effective role for its member states mostly developing African countries in the 21<sup>st</sup> century is found in the following areas: Election observation, good governance, human rights, technical support and financial assistance, anti-corruption, Support for Civic Society Organizations (CSOs) and debt relief through the Commonwealth Fund for Technical Cooperation (CFTC).

Indeed, the 1991 Harare Declaration redefined the Commonwealth's international aspirations and specified the Commonwealth's commitment to democracy, rule of law, human rights, and freedom (Bourne, 2010). In the case of Ghana, the respondents' views justify Gyimah-Boadi's (1991) assertion that Ghana had no option under the PNDC at that time when democracy and market competition had become the order of the day than to accept multiparty democracy and civil regime. Therefore, Britain in particular lobbied the PNDC junta to amend its external and domestic policies to conform with international values and standards

(Gyimah-Boadi,1991). Ghana's conformity to democratic rule under the Fourth Republic mirrors DiMaggio and Powell's (1983) thinking that the institutional environment within which organizations operate forces members to conform to social prescriptions, beliefs, or norms to gain legitimacy. Organizational conformity happens through powerful external, internal, or professional agents who have laid down certain principles that suit their interests and defines their actions (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). Countries that refused to accept democracy, human rights, free press, and gender equality become subject to rejections or sanctions by the Commonwealth of Nations. This confirms the argument of Kirby (2010), that countries such as Zimbabwe, Fiji, and Nigeria which did not uphold democracy and human rights within the Commonwealth of Nations were suspended or expelled.

Another interesting revelation shows that the Commonwealth assists its member countries in policy setting, debt cancellation, judicial training, budget support, youth development, and environment support via Commonwealth Fund for Technical Co-operation (CFTC). Bayne (1997), noticed that many Commonwealth countries particularly poor states were highly indebted to global financial institutions IMF/WB without any relief available. Commonwealth's debt relief initiatives for its developing countries introduced in Trinidad 1990 and Malta 1994 by Commonwealth finance ministers has become an important part of IMF and WB policies for debt relief and achieving UN sustainable development goals (Bayne, 1997).

When the question was asked on the role of the Commonwealth of Nations under the Fourth Republic, a respondent from organization X avows that:

In the 1980s and '90s, the Commonwealth campaigned for debt relief for some of the world's poorest nations. Since then, the Commonwealth Secretariat supports Ghana to achieve long-term debt sustainability by providing technical advice on institutional reforms, debt financing, debt strategy formulation, and debt restructuring. Commonwealth does these through capacity building in public debt management, advising Ghana on suitable legal and institutional structures; developing government domestic bond markets; formulating and implementing debt strategies within a risk management framework; monitoring and reporting public debt, and supporting in setting up accurate and timely databases covering various debt categories (**FIELDWORK, 05/05/2021, ACCRA**).

Similarly, one top official from organization Y attests that:

Commonwealth has played a massive economic transformational role in Ghana's development either through bilateral aid or UK's multilateral aid spending. UK's multilateral aid spending to multilateral organizations mainly the World Bank (WB) and International Monetary Fund (IMF) helps to cushion Ghana's financial assistance from these agencies. The UK has spent about £2.8 billion in bilateral aid in Ghana over the past two decades. Out of the £2.8 billion, 43 percent was for debt relief or general budget support (**FIELDWORK, 07/05/2021, ACCRA**).

Equally, one senior staff from organization X confirms that:

The Commonwealth sets up policy priorities in critical areas for its member states. Those policy priorities are coded in the Commonwealth charter to ensure policy similarities. Commonwealth priorities for Ghana are mostly in the areas of good governance, anti-corruption, women empowerment, education, and energy. Youth development is another key area the Commonwealth considers. As part of the association's commitment to the development of the Ghanaian youth; it supports youth to participate in politics and promote the professionalization of youth networks via agencies like the Commonwealth Youth Council and the Commonwealth Youth Network (**FIELDWORK, 21/05/2021, ACCRA**).

Almost all the respondents support and applaud the Commonwealth of Nations for its role in Ghana's democratic transition, peace, conflict resolution, election management and observation, legal, finance, technical, climate change, sport, and education. It is generally accepted that international organizations are responsible for the maintenance of global peace and stability, promotion and protection of human rights, protection of the earth, ecosystem, and wildlife. These responsibilities taken by the Commonwealth of Nations are done in the interest of the organization and the ideological pattern that guides the organization's activities. This corresponds to Crockett's (2012) pronouncement that global institutions in their pursuit of a secure harmless world, become more ideological and normative where they imbue their allies with policies that suit their values and principles.

In contributing to Institutional theory, the views of some respondents highly reflect the theory's basic assumptions such as Homogeneity, conformity, legitimacy, and isomorphism. There are significant roles international institutions play in the conduct and behavior of their members towards achieving a common goal. This echoes the case of Ghana and the Commonwealth of Nations. From the theory and respondents' views, the Commonwealth of

Nations' role under Ghana's Fourth Republic mimics the Commonwealth's universal goals in its charter. As the theory suggests, members in the same organizations become homogeneous in actions and behaviors. Institutional homogeneity between members of an organization compels them to adjust their policies and act in line with laid down principles in the interest of the organization (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). This was exactly how Ghana was bound to act in conformity with the principles of the Commonwealth of Nations in the 1990s. The Institutional environment within which organizations operate propels members to conform to the organization's social beliefs, norms and perceptions so that a member's actions can be recognized as legitimate (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Haack, 2012; Mohamed, 2017). For the PNDC to become legitimate administration in the 1990s, the regime's top brass needed to normalize, ease and adjust its operations. The Commonwealth through its powerful states like UK and Canada led this crusade towards respecting international standards. This affirms Raynard, Johnson, and Greenwood's (2015) perception that organizational conformity happens through powerful external, internal, or professional agents who have laid down certain principles that suit their interests and defines their actions. Rewards and support incentives are given to members who follow those rules. Deviations from institutional norms attract discomfort and activate attempts to nullify a member's action as legitimate (Raynard, Johnson & Greenwood, 2015). Meyer and Rowan (1977), precisely opine that legitimacy shows that organizations are acting on collective values in a manner whereby their actions are not probed. The theory has exposed how institutions have severe implications on their members' policies and external reactions. Through the theory, we can confirm that institutions like Commonwealth create foreseeable systematic behavior required for a peaceful and effective political system (Peters, 2000). Lawrence and Buchanan (cited in Munir, 2019), inform us that institutions influence the actions, principles, and prospects of individuals, groups, organizations, and society. These assumptions of institutional theory

justify the very conditions and circumstances under which Ghana relates with the Commonwealth and the rest of the world.

Juxtaposing this revelation from Institutional Theory against the Commonwealth of Nations, makes the researcher conclude that, the Commonwealth plays a major role in Ghana's domestic and external development since the inception of the Fourth Republic through its international soft power. Such powers, mandate Ghana to act and commit to Commonwealth's goals coded in the 1991 Harare Declaration and 2013 Commonwealth charter and any other Blueprint of the Commonwealth which guides the organization's actions. Though, the Commonwealth of Nations plays a major role in global affairs, the growing disregard for the Commonwealth's charter by its members in upholding democratic values and the Commonwealth's inability to enforce its principles make many wonders about the effectiveness of the Commonwealth in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Uganda's 2021 elections and Ghana's 2020 elections saw many citizens and opposition parties repressed, killed, and denied their right to vote. This leaves many to believe that the Commonwealth's role as a laudable association for the promotion of justice, democracy, and human rights is far from impressive. However, the Commonwealth of Nations seems to be stronger, purposive and determined in performing its responsibilities as a soft global power in today's world than it has ever been seen.

#### **5.4 BENEFITS GHANA HAS DERIVED FROM THE COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS BEFORE AND DURING THE FOURTH REPUBLIC.**

The benefits Ghana has derived from its relations with the Commonwealth of Nations before and during the Fourth Republic are examined in this segment. This theme is crucial to the study because it mirrors the research objective. Commonwealth's benefits to African states were highly seen during the days of apartheid in South Africa and colonialism on the African continent. African states after independence well calculated the benefits that global

institutions like Commonwealth could offer them in meeting their domestic needs. Ghana benefits from the Commonwealth of Nations on two levels: On the multilateral level and bilateral level. On the multilateral level, Ghana benefits from the general activities of the Commonwealth and on the bilateral level, Ghana has fashioned its external relations with Commonwealth countries like India, Canada, Australia, United Kingdom, and South Africa. Officials from both Organizations (X and Y) expressed their general opinion on the benefits Ghana has derived from the Commonwealth of Nations. One respondent from organization X when asked about the benefits Ghana has derived from the Commonwealth of Nations before and during the Fourth Republic, says that:

On a large scale, the Commonwealth has helped to exert Ghana's influence in the international community by amplifying its voice. Ghana has benefited from the Commonwealth's international platform to impact the world through its soft power. Ghana uses the Commonwealth as an avenue to strengthen its bilateral relations with key nations like Canada, India, Australia, and the UK. Commonwealth has helped to support Ghana's bid for key international positions. Whenever there is a vacancy in international leadership, where Ghana bids, the Commonwealth rallies behind Ghana's candidate to affirm the association's solidarity towards member states. For a fact, the Commonwealth supported Kofi Annan's bid as UN Secretary-General. All Commonwealth countries came to a consensus to vote for Kofi Annan who twice served as the Secretary-General of the UN. So, through the Commonwealth, Ghanaians have served and held important positions in the world (**FIELDWORK, 01/04/2021, ACCRA**).

One official from organization Y also recounts that:

In 1957, Ghana became the first African country to receive development aid from Canada. Canada has provided approximately \$2.5 billion in development aid to Ghana since 1957. Ghana is one of Canada's top recipients of international aid. Canada provided \$14.91 million to Ghana in 2016-2017 through international organizations and Canadian partnerships. This focuses on improving sexual and reproductive health and rights, education, and creating economic opportunities for vulnerable Ghanaians. Ghana also benefits from Canada's regional programming in Africa, which supports sectors like natural resource governance, intra-African trade, inclusive economic growth, infrastructure, and agriculture. In terms of peace and security, the Directorate of Military Training and Cooperation Program offers training to Ghana's Armed Forces. In 2018, through bilateral training and technical support cooperation under the Elsie Initiative for Women in Peace Operations, Canada deployed women from the Ghana Armed Forces to UN peacekeeping missions (**FIELDWORK, 07/04/2021, ACCRA**).

Correspondingly, another member from organization X suggests that:

On a quid pro quo basis, the African members of the Commonwealth believed that the relationship between them and Great Britain would be mutually beneficial. Each member of the organization benefit in the fields of trade, research, development, and to a large extent, education. The economies of Commonwealth African countries benefit from what is referred to as "the British market quota." Under this system, exports from member countries are given preferential treatment in British and other commonwealth markets. The Commonwealth Development Corporation (CDC) since 1990 has provided about \$146 million for new projects in the developing world. In Africa, the CDC's investments in 17 countries amount to a total of US \$900 million, with its biggest investment portfolio going to Zimbabwe and Ghana (**FIELDWORK, 19/04/2021, ACCRA**).

The responses that Ghana benefits from the UK's educational scholarships affirm an expression from the (Commonwealth, 2021; Commonwealth Network, 2021 ) that says, there are substantial educational ties between Commonwealth members that have made it possible for many British scholars to go abroad and many students from the Commonwealth countries travel to the United Kingdom, Canada, and Australia to study. Multilaterally, the Commonwealth has facilitated Ghana's trade relations with rich member countries and aided in sustainable development projects in every sector in Ghana. Relations between Ghana and the Commonwealth are beyond the multilateral level. Ghana through the Commonwealth has formalized political and economic relations with other countries beyond the regional and the African continental level (Commonwealth Network, 2021). Bilaterally, due to shared history, and similarities of language, law, and business practices Ghana maintains strong ties with every member of the Commonwealth. These ties have led to Commonwealth countries having their high commission in another Commonwealth country supporting education, health, sport, technology, trade, and infrastructural development (Commonwealth Network, 2021). A top official from organization Y reveals that:

Indo-Ghana relations have been warm and friendly since 1957 due to our common values through the Commonwealth of Nations. Increased South-South partnership between India and Ghana has improved bilateral relations. India has helped Ghana grow by aiding in the establishment of projects in the spirit of South-South cooperation through the granting of lines of credit or grants. Recent developments include the India-Ghana Kofi Annan Centre of Excellence for ICT, as well as the Flag Staff House, the Pan African E-Network Project, and rural electrification. Several projects are now under various phases of development, covering areas such as fisheries, waste management, railway equipment, agro-processing, fire-fighting, and so on. Ghana has also participated in India's commitment to developing countries' human resource development through initiatives such as the Indian Technical and Economic Cooperation (ITEC) (**FIELDWORK, 26/04/2021, ACCRA**).

Congruently, a top official from organization Y postulates that:

On a bilateral basis, Australia's relation with Ghana is strong due to our Commonwealth membership. Our Training and scholarship programs have provided many opportunities to Ghanaian students through the Australian Awards Scheme to travel to Australia for higher degree courses or studies. The Australian government also gives Ghanaian government officials short-term training on capacity-building activities in law, mining, good governance, trade, and diplomacy. Australia also engages actively in local communities in Ghana through the High Commission's Direct Aid Program. Australia also supports sports development in Ghana in collaboration with Ghana's National Sports Council through the Australian Sports Outreach Program. Australia also supports human rights in Ghana by funding programs to strengthen police accountability through the Australian Human Rights Grant Scheme. Trade cost between Ghana and Australia is less and this has seen a boost in investment and job creation in Ghana. Australian companies operating in Ghana include Adamus Resources Limited, African Mining Services, and African Underground Mining Services, Lycopodium, Castle, Azumah Resources, Noble Gold, Owere Mines Company Ltd, BCM, Barminco, and Perseus Mining Ltd. (**FIELDWORK, 30/04/2021, ACCRA**).

These views expressed by respondents from both organizations X and Y reflect and confirm largely the notion of "Commonwealth advantage" captured by (Dunin-Wasowicz, 2018; Commonwealth Enterprise and Investment Council, 2021) which state that because of shared history, culture, and language ties between Commonwealth countries provide significant trade, business, and investment benefits to one another. These commonalities in values make investment and business about 20 percent cheaper throughout the Commonwealth than trading with non-Commonwealth countries.

In response to the question asked, another member from organization X maintains that:

The Commonwealth Secretariat since its creation in 1965 has helped in building and strengthening Ghana's democratic and governance institutions. The primary area in which the Commonwealth has facilitated engagement on Ghana's democracy include: Countering violent radicalism, conflict resolution, economic development, and election observation. The Commonwealth assists activities of the Ghana National Peace Council (NPC) to strengthen its capacity and operations to inspire violence-free elections through dialogue (**FIELDWORK, 07/05/2021, ACCRA**).

Similarly, another official from organization Y when interviewed on the same matter, opines that:

The Commonwealth is working with the Ghanaian government to enhance youth entrepreneurship policy development. Young entrepreneurs in 17 African countries, including Ghana, were supported by the Commonwealth Secretariat to create a new direction for alliance and agreed on key issues affecting youth employment in the region. Under the Commonwealth Fund for Technical Assistance (CFTC), the Commonwealth Secretariat currently provides technical assistance to Ghana in specific areas including debt management strategy, strengthening the Petroleum Fund as well as the electoral system. The Secretariat launched the Commonwealth Connectivity Agenda for Trade and Investment in 2018. Ghana is a member of the Physical Connectivity cluster that focuses on trade facilitation, identifying and facilitating implementation issues, infrastructure development to reduce physical barriers to trade (**FIELDWORK, 18/05/2021, ACCRA**).

Juxtaposing this response to the relevant literature, it is constituent with (Obasanjo,2005; Ugwukah,2014) who claim that the Commonwealth through its Commonwealth Fund for Technical Cooperation (CFTC) has engaged in poverty alleviation among its poor countries. CFTC also provides technical support for its members through debit reconciliation and negotiation for its members to promote fair trade, free investment as the foundation for economic development and growth. This also supports McDougall's (2018) assertion that the Commonwealth's major concern is to contribute to the sustainable economic development of its poor states through the CFTC, with a revenue of over GBP 19 million.

According to a senior member from organization X when contacted also opines that:

Commonwealth countries benefit from a network of more than 80 intergovernmental, civil, cultural, and professional organizations of which Ghana is a member. The Commonwealth Human Rights Initiative since its inception in Ghana has supported and organized the Coalition on the Right to information with people from the National Media Commission, religious organizations, non-governmental organizations, Ghana Bar Association, and journalists aimed at accountable governance. Through the advocacy of CHRI, President Akufo-Addo signed the Right to Information Act on 22 May 2019. Moreover, CHRI since 2005 has been supporting Ghana police to implement an Independent Police Complaints Commission/Authority (IPCC/A). All of these assistances help Ghana to adhere to standards of international human rights practices (**FIELDWORK, 25/05/2021, ACCRA**).

To satisfy the same question, another senior member from organization X states that:

Ghana benefits from intra-Commonwealth trade. In 2013, intra-Commonwealth trade was valued at \$592 billion and projected to surpass \$1.6 trillion in 2020. The combined intra-Commonwealth foreign direct investment (FDI) in 2017 was over \$700 billion. This created over 1.4 million jobs across the Commonwealth of Nations. This is an indication of the power of the Commonwealth alliance and the benefits that accrue to member states due to Commonwealth advantage. The cost of trade between Ghana and other Commonwealth states is lesser than that of none Commonwealth countries. Intra-Commonwealth trade saves more than 19 percent costs and creates over 10 percent foreign direct investment (FDI) inflows. Tariffs on commodities moving within Commonwealth countries are removed to ensure prosperity for all. Commercial contracts are quickly enforced between Commonwealth states to boost investor confidence in the Commonwealth (**FIELDWORK, 28/05/2021, ACCRA**).

Another important area where Ghana benefits from the Commonwealth is climate change.

The growing devastation of climate change around the world is leaving millions of people homeless and rendering the efforts of the UNSDG useless. Those badly affected by climate change are Small Island countries and developing countries within the Commonwealth. According to McDougall (2018), the Commonwealth successfully

pushed for the implementation of the Paris Agreement in 2015. Since then, the Commonwealth has shown commitment to the implementation of the Paris Agreement by its member states. The Commonwealth gives financial support to its members through the Commonwealth Climate Finance Access Hub. Attesting to this claim, a senior official from organization Y when interviewed declares that:

The Commonwealth Association of Architects works with all Commonwealth members to address the challenge of climate change, rapid urbanization, and sustainable development. Commonwealth Association of Architects (CAA) has linked up with the Commonwealth Association of Planners (CAP) to inculcate planning as an essential tool for good governance and human settlement in policymaking. The Commonwealth Association of Architects is also providing policy direction for Ghana to maintain standard architectural education. Ghana again benefits from the Commonwealth Association of Legislative Counsel (CALC). CALC trains and promote professionals within the Commonwealth of Nations in legislative drafting and cooperates with Ghana in matters of common interest. Commonwealth Learning has equally given youths in Ghana the opportunity to acquire distance learning courses online. Moreover, Commonwealth Foundation provides support to civic societies in Ghana to enhance citizen participation in the democracy and development of Ghana (**FIELDWORK, 05/06/2021, ACCRA**).

From the foregoing discussions, it could be asserted that membership of Ghana in the Commonwealth of Nations is beneficial to the nation as a former colony. One can confidently argue that the benefits Ghana derive from the Commonwealth of Nations are more than what Britain gets. Benefits accrued to Ghana as a Commonwealth member stretches from election observation, legal support, educational support, logistic, technical, security, and financial aid. Ugwukah (2014) captured it correctly by avowing that, the Commonwealth is highly relevant and beneficial to its African states in the 21<sup>st</sup> century because, the Commonwealth involves itself in peace and conflict resolution among member states in the Solomon Islands, Papua New Guinea, Lesotho, Tanzania, and Zimbabwe. It also involved itself in election observation and monitoring in member states notably Kenya, Pakistan, and Nigeria to ensure democratic values are firmly followed (Ugwukah, 2014). This also affirms the Commonwealth (2021) statement that members of the Commonwealth benefit from more than 80 Commonwealth associations. These benefits extend from democracy and peacebuilding, promotion of justice, human rights,

empowering young people, climate change, debt cancellation, amplification of voices of member states, and technical aid.

Several studies from scholars like (Mayall,1998; McKinnon,2004; Kirby; Onslow, 2015,) have also reinforced the same notion that the Commonwealth of Nations since the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century has been of extreme benefits to its member states particularly the African Commonwealth countries. Most of the Commonwealth's funding projects in this modern era go to African Commonwealth states to facilitate socio-economic development, debt cancelation, boost investment, create sustainable jobs and debt relief. This is in tune with Kohnert's (2018) claims that from 2005 to 2014 UK's FDI increased from GBP 20.8billion to GBP 42.5billion. Out of UK's total FDI to Africa, South Africa received the biggest share which is 29.8 percent. The volume of amount of UK's FDI to South Africa went into mining, industry, and financial sectors. He stressed that the mining and industry sector received close to about 54.4 percent and the financial sector had 34.3 percent of the UK's total FDI in 2014 only. Some respondents are of the view that FDI will increase even more in post-Brexit. This is also in harmony with Kohnert's (2018) argument that the UK will focus on bilateral aid and trade agreements in post-Brexit than multilateral aid development in Africa. Britain seeks to boost the integration of Africa into a global common financial market in post-Brexit.

In providing an answer to the same question, a top official from organization Y postulates that:

When you look at Commonwealth Games carefully, Ghana benefits a lot from the Commonwealth games which in my opinion is more popular than the Olympic Games. The Commonwealth Games, boost tourism by showcasing Ghana's unique culture to the world. Ghana uses the occasion to consolidate her friendship with the Commonwealth. (**FIELDWORK, 31/05/2021, ACCRA**).

This response from the field confirms Schreuder's (2002), claims that the Commonwealth Games bring the diverse nations of the former British Empire together to meet and compete on equal terms. Moreover, Kobierecki (2017), also argues that sports diplomacy is perceived as part of public diplomacy and so, could be used as a soft tool to create the desired image of

a country. Ali Mazrui (cited in Kobierecki,2017), defined the Commonwealth Games as an event in which countries that used to be ruled by Great Britain test each other concerning their sports skills. According to Kobierecki (2017), the Commonwealth Games is one of the major pillars used in preserving the bond between Great Britain and its former colonies.

Another misconception of the Commonwealth of Nations and its benefits to its developing countries is that the Commonwealth does not serve the socio-economic needs of its African countries but the advanced member states. Critics of African membership in the Commonwealth have often doubted if the sentiments of the African leaders in the Commonwealth had ever been taken seriously by Britain and the other advanced members (Assensoh, 1993). To authenticate this claim, a top member from Organization X asserts that:

I have not had a positive impression of the Commonwealth. I see the Commonwealth as a legacy of coloniality and an empire that sought to justify the perpetuation of paternalism. The Commonwealth serves to justify the perpetuation of colonialism, race, and power of the colonizer. The purpose of establishing the Commonwealth is to satisfy Britain's interest and not Ghana's interest or any of the former colonies' interests or benefits. So, for me, the Commonwealth should not be an organization of which Ghana must be a member because the Commonwealth is rooted in colonial violence. The Commonwealth is a relic of colonial violence because it was not instituted to benefit African people who were colonized. Colonization laid the foundation for the establishment of the Commonwealth and therefore it was exploitative to the oppressor's (Britain's) national interest. The Commonwealth has made us more of people who have lost our identity and self-respect. Culturally, we have been tagged as being developed and civilized to speaking the Queen's language very well (**FIELDWORK, 07/06/2021, ACCRA**).

This corresponds with Kirby's (2010), who states that the Commonwealth of nations is born out of British colonial experience which by far was the largest in human history. The mixed feelings about the Commonwealth and its benefits to Ghana are seen by some respondents as minimal and a calculated attempt by Britain to further exploit her former colony. These arguments and revelation from the field confirm Obasanjo's (2005), assertion that when the Commonwealth was formed, many African leaders saw it as an extension of British imperial rule and the attempt to carry on or pursue western ascendancy in diverse ways. This claim from Obasanjo is also held by BBC (2017), in their article which says that the

Commonwealth of Nations has been disparaged as a post-colonial organization which makes Britain continue to dominate over her former colonies and satisfies Britain's interest only.

However, evidence from the field seems to disagree with this assertion of some Africans. From the field, majority of the respondents both from Organization X and Y agree with Kirby (2010) who opines that the Commonwealth of Nation is an association of autonomous, sovereign and equal states who benefits from commonly shared values. These shared common values are Democracy, rule of law, human rights, gender equality, etc. This confirms a publication by the British Broadcasting Cooperation in (2017) which suggests that Commonwealth countries get more assistance for development due to their cooperation and mutual objective stated in the Commonwealth 2013 charter. Kohnert (2018), backs this assertion by upholding that African Commonwealth countries gain much from the Commonwealth of Nations due to the huge population the Commonwealth has. FDI inflows within the Commonwealth create jobs for the Commonwealth's developing member countries. In a Post-Brexit, benefits for Africa states will include market accessibility, foreign direct investment (FDI), aid, security, and partnership. For market accessibility, the UK will remain the biggest trade destination for Africa Commonwealth states.

#### **5.5 THE CHALLENGES AND PROSPECTS OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS UNDER GHANA'S FOURTH REPUBLIC.**

This part examines the challenges and prospects of Ghana's relations with the Commonwealth of Nations under the Fourth Republic. The study reveals several challenges and prospects of the Commonwealth of Nations under Ghana's Fourth Republic. Mostly, the challenges have greater consequences for Ghana than the advanced member states within the Commonwealth of Nations. This is because Ghana in particular and the developing African states within the Commonwealth have not built their economic and social systems and capacities properly to absorb the shocks that this new era brings. Some respondents cited

leadership, overlapping regional membership, climate change, inequalities, poverty, political instability, migration as the greatest challenge to the Commonwealth and its member states notably Africa. To deal with these challenges, both Commonwealth and Ghana have some prospects ahead of their relations which is rooted in the population of the Commonwealth's over 2.4 billion people. This huge population of the Commonwealth gives it a trade advantage over any global groupings. Intra-Commonwealth trade has the potential to increase FDI flows, create employment and provide sustainable development and prosperity for Ghana and the Commonwealth. To find the views of respondents on the challenges of the Commonwealth of Nations under Ghana's Fourth Republic, a member from Organization X observes that:

Leadership in the Commonwealth has not been fairly structured particularly, the head of the association which is headed by the Queen. In 2018, the Family of Nations decided on making Prince Charles the successor of the Commonwealth of Nations after Queen Elizabeth II. This does not show a fair representation of leadership within the Commonwealth of Nations. The Queen's hereditary position makes the Commonwealth appear undemocratic. Moreover, anybody who aspires to hold the position of Secretary-General is supposed to hold a UK's working permit, this is used to knock out some member states from holding leadership positions in the Commonwealth. To talk about the prospect, I suppose that could be found in the growing levels of innovation and technology among some of Commonwealth's states. This could be a lesson that other developing Commonwealth countries can learn or borrow through the technological exchange. The Commonwealth is over 2.4 billion people. It offers a great trade, military, technological and educational potential even ahead of the EU to Ghana (**FIELDWORK, 01/04/2021, ACCRA**).

Similarly, another member from Organization X observes that:

If you look at the British queen's position as the head of the Commonwealth of Nations, it helps to justify the perpetuation of colonialism, racism, identity, power, neocolonialism, and empire. The Commonwealth is just an expression of the British power game in internal matters of her former colonies. The Commonwealth is portrayed as though it serves the interest of Africa and Ghana but that is not the case. The Commonwealth serves the interests of the Europeans, Canadians, and Australians at the expense of Africa. It is unfair towards Africa in terms of the leadership structure and positions created. We are overly dependent on the British for aid because of this Commonwealth idea of common interest. I do not think there is any prospect in Ghana's relations with the Commonwealth. The prospect is only in the interest of the British in a post-Brexit (**FIELDWORK, 07/04/2021, ACCRA**).

This issue of leadership gap within the Commonwealth of Nations confirms the studies of (Foley, 1971; Kirby, 2007; Kirby, 2010), which suggest that even though the Commonwealth's right from its formation suggests to be a union of equal and sovereign states. However, such equality does not exist in absolute terms. The Commonwealth of

Nations is an organization that represents a paradox in a manner whereby its foundation is built on equality. However, the Commonwealth has great inequality in terms of leadership, power, wealth, and experience possessed by Britain.

It has been noticed that climate change keeps ravaging the efforts of the world and the Commonwealth of Nations in building a prosperous world devoid of poverty, hunger, and unemployment. Scholars such as (Foley,1971; Obasanjo, 2005; Kirby, 2010; Ugwukah,2014; McDougall,2018) highlight that as a result of climate change, the Commonwealth and its member countries are striving to meet the goals of UN SDGs. For instance, Commonwealth Small and Island countries are constantly threatened with thunderstorms, volcanic eruptions, high rises in sea level, and tsunami in this modern day. Climate change has displaced millions of Commonwealth citizens and triggered migration. The worrying aspect of the effects of climate change is on agriculture which has resulted in a shortage of food, destruction of electricity supply and water systems. To validate this assertion, a respondent from organization Y recalls that:

Climate change is the most challenging issue confronting Ghana and the Commonwealth of Nations. This is not only peculiar to Ghana alone but all Small Island States within the Commonwealth of Nations. Climate change has a serious effect on the Commonwealth's efforts in fighting poverty, diseases, and raising the standard of living of member states' citizens. The consequences of climate change could trigger malnutrition, migration, and famine if not well addressed. The prospect of Ghana's relations with the Commonwealth of Nations is in the shared values, technical support, and population of the association. Ghana stands the chance of gaining more from the Commonwealth of Nations in the future if Ghana commits to the principles stated in the Commonwealth charter by upholding the political freedoms of its people **(FIELDWORK, 16/04/2021, ACCRA)**.

Responding to the same issue, another official from organization Y similarly argues that:

When you look at climate change, it is reversing the progress and gains made by the Commonwealth for its island, small, and developing states like Ghana. Climate change is rendering the Commonwealth's efforts on poverty alleviation, economic growth, and development useless. Evidence shows that Commonwealth's poor countries like Ghana are vulnerable and will suffer the greater consequences of climate change if there is no proper state policy put in place. Ghana's reserved forest and its vegetation have been destroyed due to activities of illegal mining known here as "galamsey". The country's water bodies are almost poisoned. The long-term effect will be a shortage of water, water-borne diseases due to the use of mercury and other dangerous chemicals by illegal miners. The natural landscape of Ghana is currently destroyed by either foreigners or the country's local people. Honestly, it will affect the quality of Ghana's agricultural products. The Commonwealth family is expected to house one-third of the world's youth population. More than half of the population is under the age of 30. Ghana has a huge demographic advantage because many wealthy countries' populations are decreasing and aging **(FIELDWORK, 19/04/2021, ACCRA)**.

An official from organization Y equally avers that:

I will emphasize that climate change is a critical concern for all member countries, many of which face the brunt of its consequences. Increasing global temperatures, rising sea levels, severe weather, and habitat destruction appear to be drastically altering the globe and posing an existential danger to many Commonwealth countries. Ghana in its obligation to tackle climate issues started the Green Ghana project on 11<sup>th</sup> June 2021. Over five million trees were planted nationwide to protect Ghana's environment and regain its lost vegetation. For prospects, it is the diversity of the organization's membership that brings a large pool of ideas. There are numerous potentials for Ghana and the Commonwealth to tap into the skilled human resources of each other to find the solution to emerging global challenges like Covid-19 (**FIELDWORK, 03/05/2021, 2021**).

Another barrier to effective Commonwealth relations under Ghana's Fourth Republic is that both Ghana and Commonwealth affiliates have connections with different international or regional blocs. Membership to different regional blocs limits the zeal and commitment on the part of the Commonwealth's members to uphold the values of the Commonwealth (McDougall, 2018). Sometimes, the values of the Commonwealth conflicts with the values of Ghana an active member of the African Union and the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). Ghana's membership with AU and ECOWAS makes it easy for Ghana to foster trade relations and foresee common values than with Britain or Canada whose values are more Western. According to Bayne (1997), regional groupings have made it flexible for their member states to trade with their nearest neighbors and easily remove trade-restricted quotas and tariffs. These groupings benefit more than the world groupings. He argued that regional groupings today have disturbed the Commonwealth. Some African countries believe that the UK in a post-Brexit will bring more prospects to their economies because the UK will direct its attention in giving the Commonwealth the direction it deserves in terms of trade. However, Kohnert (2018), stresses that UK's partnership with Africa particularly Commonwealth countries will not generate a win-win condition in post-Brexit. Britain will gain more in post-Brexit partnership with Commonwealth member states. He asserts that Brexit does not pose a threat to the EU-UK partnership rather, Brexit poses a threat to Africa's regional integration effort. To authenticate this, a respondent from organization Y observes that:

There is an overlapping membership of Commonwealth member states that remains a real hindrance to the association's assertiveness. The overlapping membership to other international organizations interferes with the activities of the Commonwealth of Nations. Examples are Africa Union (A.U), Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), European Union (E.U), United Nations (U.N), South Africa Development Community (SADC), East African Community (EAC), The Organisation of African, Caribbean and Pacific States (OACPS). The prospect, in my view, is that there is a significant possibility for increasing trade between members, projected to be \$156 billion, or around 34% of existing intra-Commonwealth goods trade. Intra-Commonwealth trade is expected to reach \$2.75 trillion by 2030 under a realistic scenario. If Ghana plays her cards very well and increases intra-trade with Commonwealth countries, that will be a good boost to the economy (**FIELDWORK, 10/05/2021, ACCRA**).

When the same question was asked, a senior member from organization X correspondingly states that:

Ghana's membership in the British Commonwealth has made it difficult for the country to pursue satisfactorily its African objectives in the interests of African unity and the formation of an African government which are Ghana's main objectives. The prospects lie within Ghana focusing on building stronger regional trade with ECOWAS countries and expanding its trade relations to the continental level (**FIELDWORK, 14/05/2021, ACCRA**).

African states within the Commonwealth of Nations since their independence lament over uneven global trade, poor flow of FDI, high tariffs, and lack of market accessibility. The current global financial institutions and arrangements do not favor Africa economies. Surprisingly, the Commonwealth which is praised as a Family of equals does not have a mechanism that ensures even growth and trade development for all member states. Britain, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand benefit more in terms of access to the global market, fair trade deals with IMF/WB, low tariffs, and FDI inflows than Commonwealth Africa. According to Bayne (1997), even though private investment has increased four times in the Post-Cold War world, it is unevenly distributed. IMF/WB conditionalities are toughened and stiffened for all countries but very toughened for Africa particularly Commonwealth countries. Mayall (1998) affirms this by arguing that the unfair competition in this era continues to erode small or developing states within the Commonwealth of their economic sovereignty. The absence of these opportunities for Africa Commonwealth countries has forced them to seek better trade and equal economic opportunities from other countries like China whose financial aid comes with no strings attached. Johnson (1969), says that

developing countries and members of the Commonwealth have become reliant on the United States as a fount of economic relief. Moreover, they have aligned with non-Commonwealth developing countries to demand changes in the current global trade structures favorable in promoting their economic growth and industrialization. Trade liberalization and free-market accessibility are one of the major challenges facing the Commonwealth of Nations. Such a challenge is a result of heavy tariffs and quotas on goods coming from developing countries within the Commonwealth (Johson,1969). This position was confirmed by a respondent from organization X who recounts that:

There is an unfair distribution of wealth and FDI within the Commonwealth. The accumulated FDI stock in the Commonwealth is above \$5 trillion. These huge amounts of dollars have not been fairly transferred and equitably distributed among members of the Commonwealth. Foreign Direct Investment (FDI), resource allocation, and Wealth supply and transfer favor the already developed countries like UK, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand as against the association's African states and Small Island developing states. Though the Commonwealth sees itself as an organization of equal member states, in reality, there is no fairness within the Commonwealth. For prospect, maybe post-Brexit will renew British trade obligation with Ghana to create sustainable jobs and reduce unemployment (**FIELDWORK, 16/05/2021, ACCRA**).

Similarly, a top official from organization Y when asked the same question confirms that:

Yes, I will admit that wealth distribution within the Commonwealth is unbalanced, one-sided, and skewed. But, in a post-Brexit, there is countless potential for new trade deals between Commonwealth members who share historic ties in trade, law, and language. The Commonwealth Trade Finance Facility, a commitment of Heads of Government at CHOGM 2015, will enhance trade and investment finance, particularly for small and developing states with limited access to trade finance. The Hubs and Spokes II Programme will provide essential support to national trade ministries and regional economic organizations to assist with negotiating trade relations and agreements (**FIELDWORK, 21/05/2021, ACCRA**).

To some degree, some respondents expressed the uneven FDI flows within the Commonwealth of Nations. However, they foresee many prospects for Commonwealth countries in a post-Brexit where Britain will renegotiate its trade relations with the European Union and focus on increasing its trade relations with Commonwealth countries with whom they share the same values, culture, and language. This is consistent with Dunin-Wasowics' (2018) claims that a major Brexit potential advantage is the United Kingdom's freedom to negotiate its economic deals with the European Union and reengage the Commonwealth of

Nations where trading with the bloc has fewer business costs of 19 percent lower than non-Commonwealth countries.

Some respondents also posit that the real challenge confronting the Commonwealth under Ghana's Fourth Republic is the rise in extremism, decline in democratic values such as respect for minority groups, women, children, electoral violence, and internet attacks. These issues contradict the dreams of the Commonwealth to foster a union of tolerance, peace, security, and respect for all. Scholars like (Foley, 1971; Bourne, 2010; Obasanjo, 2005) are of the view that the 21<sup>st</sup>-century post a strong threat to the Commonwealth values and if not addressed would disintegrate the Commonwealth's effort made over the years. The Commonwealth of Nations does not have a security council to have a common resolution on human rights violations which will compel all member states to obey the values in the Commonwealth charter. This has made the Commonwealth powerless and ineffective in peacekeeping missions in member states or peace enforcement (Mayall,1998). The Commonwealth of Nations members have not had a common financial, political and economic oneness since its inception. The absence of political and economic oneness of the Commonwealth led to three withdrawals by South Africa (1961) due to oppressive apartheid, Pakistan due to the acceptance of Bangladesh and Fiji in 1987 (Mayall, 1998). Confirming this fact, a senior official from Organization Y says that:

The absence of political unification of Commonwealth countries in upholding and tracking their principles has led some member states like Uganda to steal the democratic rights of its citizens under Yoweri Museveni. There is a total disregard for free and fair elections in Uganda and Zimbabwe. This is similar in all Commonwealth African countries. Some African Commonwealth states criminalize the rights and freedoms of LGBTQ. Some face verbal assault and brutalities which violates their basic rights as persons to determine their sexual orientations. The Commonwealth is seeing a rise in far rights or left movements, this shows we are losing our values gradually. Radical groups keep threatening the peace and security in Africa. The growing political insecurity in some Commonwealth states like Nigeria has consequences for Ghana's economy and security. We need a Commonwealth solution for these occurrences. The good aspect is that there lies a potential for the Commonwealth to form a military bloc to combat these menaces (**FIELDWORK, 23/05/2021, ACCRA**).

Similarly, one senior member from organization X emphasizes that:

The problem facing the Commonwealth today is the growing insensitivity of some British politicians over the years towards immigration from Commonwealth developing countries mainly in Africa. Some have blamed the declining British social and economic welfare on the increasing number of Commonwealth immigrants. The alarming aspect is that some British politicians have called for a policy of selective immigration and deportation of some Commonwealth African immigrants back to their home country. This has the potential to destroy the Commonwealth if the values of prosperity and respect for human rights are not adhered to (**FIELDWORK, 28/05/2021, ACCRA**).

Judging from the views of the respondents and the literature review, the rapid economic and political influence of Canada in the Commonwealth and her soft power in the international community has taken off some burdens from the shoulders of Britain as the powerhouse for Commonwealth members wellbeing. Canada, an active player within the Commonwealth of Nations has been beneficial to Ghana and the rest of the Commonwealth world. This assertion re-echoes the views of Holmes (1962) that, Britain continues to be the fulcrum, heart, and inspiration for Commonwealth member states however, the growth in economic and diplomatic resources of other Commonwealth member states has resulted in drastic decline and overreliance on London for help.

## **5.6 CONCLUSION**

The chapter emphasizes primarily the reasons why Ghana joined the Commonwealth of Nations immediately after independence in 1957 and the benefits Ghana has derived from the Commonwealth before and during the Fourth Republic. It highlights the implications of the Commonwealth of Nations on Ghana's foreign policy, the role of the Commonwealth of Nations under the Fourth Republic, and challenges and prospects of Ghana's relations with the Commonwealth of Nations under the Fourth Republic.

The chapter subsequently introduces the findings collected from primary and secondary sources per the research objectives. The study concludes that two major factors that motivated Ghana's decision to join the Commonwealth of Nations after independence were the political and economic benefits that were available within the Commonwealth. Moreover,

historical, cultural, and ideological considerations also influenced the talks for Ghana's Commonwealth membership due to the country's colonial past which was in line with Britain's system. The chapter identifies that the Commonwealth of Nations has implications for Ghana's foreign policy. The Commonwealth modifies Ghana's foreign policy interest, amplifies Ghana's voice in global politics, and stimulates Ghana's foreign direct investment (FDIs). Out of Ghana's membership with the Commonwealth of Nations, the benefits derived are: projection of Ghana's image beyond the borders of Africa, the Commonwealth gave Ghana the voice to advocate for Africa's total freedom, it allows Ghana to meet with other global actors like UK, Canada, Australia to discuss important international issues, access the markets of developed states like UK, Canada, Australia; technical and security assistance from other Commonwealth countries, enhancement and facilitation of Ghana's bilateral relations with other countries, etc.

The section acknowledged that the Commonwealth of Nations' soft international power helps the Commonwealth to undertake important roles like conflict resolution and peacekeeping, support for civil society organizations, election observation, technical support, support for youth development and climate change, and advisory roles among others.

The chapter is completed with an examination of the challenges and prospects of Ghana's relations with the Commonwealth of Nations under the Fourth Republic. An interview with respondents and review of the literature indicated that leadership, overlapping membership with other regional and international organizations, unequal distribution of wealth, climate change, human rights are some of the challenges of Ghana's relations with the Commonwealth of Nations under the Fourth Republic. The prospects were found principally in the huge youthful population of the Commonwealth and the increased trade partnership that post-Brexit will offer.

## **CHAPTER SIX**

### **SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION, AND RECOMMENDATION**

#### **6.0 INTRODUCTION**

Looking at the competitive, chaotic, and dynamic nature of the international system in a Post-Cold War era, it is imperative to interrogate the foreign policy choices of countries to understand the motivation behind their relationship with international organizations. Therefore, a study on Ghana's relations with the Commonwealth of Nations under the Fourth Republic was deemed necessary. The basic goal of this study was to interrogate why Ghana joined the Commonwealth of Nations immediately after independence, assess the benefits Ghana has derived from the Commonwealth of Nations and the challenges that undermine the optimization of benefits. The researcher then conducted interviews using a semi-structured interview guide which was in the form of open-ended questions. On top of this, a wide range of articles, journals, and books was reviewed to decode the various reasons why Ghana joined the Commonwealth of Nations after independence in 1957. The theoretical paradigm used by this study was Institutional Theory. The theoretical model facilitated the design of the research questions which guided this study. The objective of this final chapter is to summarize the findings of the study, make conclusions, and propose recommendations.

#### **6.1 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS**

The following findings below were extracted from the study based on the analysis and discussion as well as the objectives and the research questions.

### **6.1.1 REASONS FOR GHANA'S MEMBERSHIP IN THE COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS IMMEDIATELY AFTER INDEPENDENCE IN 1957.**

The study found out that, political and economic factors were the two main reasons that served as an incentive for Ghana's Commonwealth membership in 1957. Politically, the Commonwealth provided the platform for Nkrumah to champion the course of Africa's liberation, Pan-Africanism, and the fight against all forms of discrimination, racism, and apartheid. Ghana's quest to join the Commonwealth was intended to showcase and project the newly formed nation to the world as an equal global actor and legitimate contributor to international politics. The major economic reason for Ghana's Commonwealth membership was to legally transact business with Commonwealth countries, receive technical aid, and benefit from the large resources from developed countries of the Commonwealth (UK, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand). The study also discovered that historical, cultural, and ideological factors also propelled Ghana's Commonwealth of Nations membership after independence in 1957. Historically, Ghana has a long colonial affiliation with Britain that made the country's educational, legal and cultural systems molded to reflect the British system. The use of the English language as Ghana's official means of communication made it easier for Ghana to relate with the Commonwealth of Nations. In terms of ideological consideration, the study found out that during the period of Ghana's independence, the Cold War was at its peak and the Commonwealth distinguished itself from the two opposing parties of the Cold War. Even though, some individual members of the Commonwealth were either inclined to the West or the East, the Commonwealth as an institution was ideologically neutral during the Cold War. These reasons continue to be the guiding principles for Ghana's external alliance after Kwame Nkrumah.

### **6.1.2 IMPLICATIONS OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS ON GHANA'S FOREIGN POLICY.**

The study found out that, there were obvious implications of the Commonwealth of Nations on Ghana's foreign policy. The Commonwealth of Nations modifies and directs Ghana's behavior in the international community to meet acceptable international norms and standards. The Commonwealth of Nations makes it possible for Britain to exert its influence beyond its borders on its former colonies. Ghana's Commonwealth of Nations membership influences Ghana's voting choices in the United Nations. Due to the Commonwealth bloc in the UN, sometimes Ghana is forced to vote on agreed decisions taken by the bloc. The study discovered that the flow of FDI and economic investment into Ghana are heavily stimulated by fact that Ghana belongs to the Commonwealth. The Commonwealth of Nations makes it easy for Ghana to receive development assistance and funding from other countries. The study revealed that Ghana is a signatory to every treaty and convention of the Commonwealth of Nations. Therefore, these treaties obligate Ghana to hold on to decisions of the CHOGM. Thus, Ghana's 1992 constitution Chapter Six (6) Article Forty (40) admonishes Ghana to respect the laws of international organizations Ghana is a member of including the Commonwealth of Nations. However, the study found out that, due to the Commonwealth of Nations, Ghana is not committed to strengthening its regional bloc (ECOWAS) and the continental bloc (AU). It was also revealed that Ghana is a sovereign nation ruled by its own constitution therefore, there are no implications on its foreign policy by any external organization to act in a manner that does not meet the aspirations and the national interest of its people.

### **6.1.3 THE ROLE OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS UNDER GHANA'S FOURTH REPUBLIC.**

First and foremost, the study established that the Commonwealth of Nations performs many roles under Ghana's Fourth Republic such as conflict resolution, observation of Ghana's election, support for Civil Society Organizations (CSOs), provision of technical support, debt relief, and support for climate change. In terms of conflict resolution, the study discovered that the Commonwealth of Nations offers a possible framework for dispute settlement. The Commonwealth through Ghana National Peace Council works towards violent free elections and admonishes political parties to use the court as the means for electoral disputes resolution. The study found out that, the Commonwealth's most effective role under Ghana's Fourth Republic is electoral monitoring and observation. It was noticed that since 1992, the Commonwealth of Nations sends its observer mission to monitor Ghana's elections. This gives credibility, transparency, and international legitimacy to Ghana's electoral process. The study also discovered that the Commonwealth of Nations is very instrumental in strengthening CSOs for proper accountability and democracy in Ghana. Civil Society Organizations like Star Ghana have been effective in anti-corruption campaign programs in Ghana. The study found out that, the Commonwealth provides technical support for Ghana and debt reliefs to achieve long-term debt sustainability. This is done by the Commonwealth through technical, legal advice, and institutional reforms. Additionally, the study noticed that the Commonwealth offers Ghana policy direction on protecting the human environment, ocean, sea, ecosystem, and conservation of biodiversity. The ravaging effects of climate change in the world have forced the Commonwealth to adopt a blueprint that encourages and supports Ghana to recycle its plastic waste.

#### **6.1.4 BENEFITS GHANA HAS DERIVED FROM THE COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS BEFORE AND DURING THE FOURTH REPUBLIC.**

The study found out that, Ghana benefits from both bilateral and multilateral relations with countries within the Commonwealth. On a bilateral basis, Ghana receives technological, educational, health, and security support from Canada, UK, India, and Australia. It was revealed that Ghana has had a bilateral relation with Canada for over 60 years. Ghana was the first African nation to receive development assistance from Canada in 1957. Moreover, Canada provides military training for Ghana's Armed Forces via the Department of National Defense Military Training and Cooperation Program. It was noticed that the Elsie Initiative Contact Group of Canada increased the deployment of Women in Ghana's Armed Forces to the UN Peace Operation so that they can contribute to international peace and security. The study discovered that Ghanaian students have benefited from scholarship opportunities offered by the UK, Australia, Canada, and India. Particularly, Chevening scholarships have made it possible for many Ghanaians to obtain higher education and skills through the UK's Foreign, Commonwealth, and Development Office (FCDO). The study found out that, the Commonwealth of Nations as a bloc supports and facilitates Ghana's bid for leadership positions in the international community. It was revealed that the Commonwealth facilitated Kofi Annan's bid for the second time to become the UN Secretary-General. The study also disclosed that Ghana benefits from the Commonwealth Games. Through the Commonwealth Games, Ghana is shown to the world and the country uses the Commonwealth Games to consolidate its relations with the Commonwealth of Nations. The study found out that, Ghana benefits from more than 80 networks of intergovernmental, civil, cultural, and professional organizations of the Commonwealth of Nations. Ghana benefits from the Commonwealth Human Rights Initiative which promotes and protects human rights, public accountability, and justice. The Commonwealth Association of Architects and the Commonwealth

Association of Planners equally help Ghana to address the challenges of climate change, rapid urbanization, sustainable development and provides policy direction for Ghana on maintaining standard architectural education. Commonwealth Learning also provides Ghanaian youths the opportunity to acquire distance education online. Ghana again benefits from the Commonwealth Association of Legislative Counsel (CALC) which promotes professional cooperation, training, and legislative drafting. The study found out that, Ghana benefits from intra-Commonwealth trade which is valued at over \$1.6 trillion. With intra-Commonwealth trade, tariffs on commodities and goods from Ghana are removed to ensure prosperity for all Commonwealth countries. In all, the study found out that, Ghana is the second country that has benefited more from the Commonwealth after Zimbabwe. However, the study further found out that, the benefits Ghana receives from the Commonwealth are not enough as compared to the UK and other worthy members. It was revealed that the UK and the other developed nations of the Commonwealth benefit more than the developing countries of the Commonwealth. It was discovered that the Commonwealth was created to serve the interest of Britain and to continue to exploit its former colonies.

#### **6.1.5 THE CHALLENGES AND PROSPECTS OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS UNDER GHANA'S FOURTH REPUBLIC.**

The study found out that, leadership, climate change, overlapping membership of the Commonwealth, unfair distribution of wealth and FDI within the Commonwealth, growth of nationalism, and insensitivity among some British politicians towards immigration from developing Commonwealth countries are the major challenges for the Commonwealth under Ghana's Fourth Republic. In terms of leadership, the hereditary position of the British Queen as the head of the Commonwealth makes the leadership structure of the Commonwealth of Nations undemocratic. A typical example is the Queen's position as the head of the Commonwealth, this helps to justify the continuation of colonialism, race, identity,

neocolonialism, and empire of the UK. Moreover, the requirement of a working permit from member states before holding the Secretary-General position within the Commonwealth is seen as an attempt to knock out some member states from holding that position. With climate change, it was found out that, climate change is eroding the efforts made by the Commonwealth of Nations in fighting poverty and diseases. The consequences of climate change on the Commonwealth of Nations could trigger malnutrition, migration, and famine if not properly addressed. On overlapping membership, the study revealed that Commonwealth countries including Ghana belong to different geographical groupings and these groupings interfere with the activities of the Commonwealth. The overlapping membership of the Commonwealth has weakened its assertiveness in 21<sup>st</sup>-century international politics. It was recognized that Ghana's membership of the Commonwealth of Nations makes it difficult for Ghana to pursue satisfactorily its African objectives in the interest of African unity. The study disclosed that there is an accumulated FDI stock of over \$5 trillion within the Commonwealth. This huge amount of money has not been fairly transferred and equitably distributed among members of the Commonwealth. FDI flows, resources allocation, and wealth supply favor the already developed countries like the UK, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand as against developing Commonwealth states. The study revealed that some UK politicians are advocating for tougher immigration policy towards Commonwealth developing countries mainly those in Africa. This policy has called for the selective deportation of some African Commonwealth citizens back to their home country. The consequence is that such a policy could destroy the values of the Commonwealth towards human rights, prosperity, and equality. The study also found out that, there is a growing decline in democratic values and security of some Commonwealth countries mainly African states. Some African states like Uganda, Zimbabwe, etc. have criminalized LGBTQ rights

which shows a violation of the 1991 Harare Declaration and the 2013 Commonwealth charter.

The study found out that, the prospects of the Commonwealth under Ghana's Fourth Republic were largely in its youthful population. This gives Ghana a trading, technological, human resource, and skill advantage. It was also found out that, in a post-Brexit, Britain will renew its trade and FDI obligation with Ghana and the Commonwealth of Nations to create sustainable jobs and reduced unemployment.

## **6.2 CONCLUSION**

Why did Ghana join the Commonwealth of Nations immediately after independence? This was the principal question that set the basis for this study. The findings indicated that political and economic considerations were the two major factors that necessitated the talks for Ghana's Commonwealth of Nations membership in 1957. In addition, it was revealed that ideological, cultural, and historical factors equally fuelled Ghana's membership to the Commonwealth of Nations in an era where Cold War was intense. There is no doubt that international organizations are very critical in the international system. Membership to these organizations comes with accrued incentives and benefits. Therefore, the benefits Ghana has derived from the Commonwealth of Nations since independence include technical aid, security support, financial assistance, educational aid, international recognition, and youth development. The Commonwealth of Nations has played important role in Ghana's democratic transition, peacebuilding, conflict resolution, anti-corruption crusades, security training, education, sport, human right, rule of law, climate change, combating terrorism, cybercrime, unemployment, and legal support, especially during the Fourth Republic. Moreover, Ghana-Commonwealth relations have equally helped to shape the country's domestic and external policy formulation, implementation, and direction in a manner that

corresponds to the institution's values and standards. Aside from that, the Commonwealth has stimulated Ghana's foreign direct investment under the Fourth Republic. Ghana's relations with the Commonwealth of Nations come with greater challenges. Such challenges include succession or leadership within the Commonwealth, uneven or unfair trade and FDI distribution, climate change, overlapping membership. However, there is hope for future gains or prospects for an organization whose population is more than half of the world's people. The Commonwealth of Nations' multiculturalism, diversity, and multiracialism offer Ghana the opportunity to tap from a wide pool of knowledge to draw lessons from other Commonwealth country's successes. Moreover, Post-Brexit has the potential of redirecting Britain's commitment to intra-Commonwealth trade. The Commonwealth of Nations is not a dead institution looking at the vital role it plays and benefits Ghana gets from the Commonwealth under the Fourth Republic.

### **6.3 RECOMMENDATIONS**

The recommendation of this study certainly goes to those in the academic world and foreign policy actors. The study, after interrogation of Ghana's relations with the Commonwealth of Nations since 1957, discovers that political and economic factors were the major reasons for Ghana's multilateral relations with the Commonwealth of Nations.

Ghana's influence as an active global player has waned progressively under successive regimes after Kwame Nkrumah because the nation has lost its political, economic, and ideological clarity, focus, and bearing in its foreign policy goals under the Fourth Republic. Therefore, it is recommended that current leadership should have clarity in their diplomatic and economic foreign policy goals particularly with the Commonwealth of Nations.

Ghana has not effectively capitalized and utilized the trade, FDI, and investment opportunities that exist in the Commonwealth of Nations like South Africa. Therefore,

Ghana's foreign policy actors especially the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Finance Ministry and Trade Ministry should as a matter of urgency implement programs that would attract more trade benefits to Ghana from the Commonwealth countries.

Ghana again has not been able to successfully draw a home-grown policy out of the Commonwealth of Nations' policies which the nation has signed to. Therefore, Ghana's policy actors should interlace Commonwealth policies with home-grown policies to effectively address Ghana's specific socio-economic challenges.

Ghana's foreign policy actors should focus on building stronger regional blocs and economic relations with AU and ECOWAS because these groupings seem to serve Ghana's interests more than the Commonwealth. Until Ghana build's a viable African regional institution, we cannot impact the world and the African continent positively as a serious African nation.

Future studies should focus on examining Commonwealth of Nations relations with Francophone African states in the Post-Cold War Era. This will help us understand the dynamics of politics, power, and influence that former colonial power like France have on French African states' foreign relations.

Further research is required to establish the reason why the position of the Queen within the Commonwealth is not elected but inherited. This will help unravel the confusion of succession which makes the Commonwealth look like a deliberate attempt for Britain to continue its imperial rule, racism, and hegemony over its former dominions.

Events that forced Ghana to join the Commonwealth of Nations under Nkrumah have changed in this era of globalization. Therefore, Ghana's policymakers must re-assess the country's membership with the Commonwealth to find out whether Ghana's interest is well served or not.

Ghana's continuous relations with the Commonwealth of Nations is highly dependent on the attitude of British politicians and their policies towards citizens of Commonwealth African countries. For Ghana and African countries' continuous relations with the Commonwealth of Nations, Britain must take bold steps to reform its immigration policies, selective deportation, and racial laws. For future Ghana-Commonwealth relations, Britain must also remove or ease its working permit requirement, and visa policies for all Commonwealth citizens.

There seems to be less idea about the Commonwealth of Nations in Ghana, therefore, the study recommends that Ghana and the Commonwealth of Nations should draw an academic course termed "Commonwealth studies" to teach the history, principles, and values of the Commonwealth in the basic, primary, secondary and universities of all member states.

Post-Brexit bilateral and multilateral trade involving the EU is uncertain. However, there is a huge possibility for intra-Commonwealth trade in post-Brexit. For Ghana to benefit from both UK and the EU in post-Brexit global politics, Ghana's policy actors should accelerate the digitalization efforts of its economy and private sector development to boost trade and investment to absorb any long-term, medium-term, or short-term post-Brexit economic shocks.

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## **APPENDICES**

### **APPENDIX A: INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR DIPLOMATS AND HIGH COMMISSIONERS**

#### **INTRODUCTION**

The study seeks to interrogate why Ghana joined the Commonwealth of Nations immediately after independence and the benefits Ghana has derived from the Commonwealth of Nations before and during the Fourth Republic.

#### **INTERVIEW GUIDE (DIPLOMATS AND HIGH COMMISSIONERS)**

1. What are your general views of the Commonwealth of Nations?
2. Do you consider the Commonwealth of Nations as a relic of British colonial rule?
3. What factors motivated Ghana to join the Commonwealth of Nations after independence in your view?
4. What are the implications of the Commonwealth of Nations on Ghana's foreign policy decision-making in your opinion?
5. What role has the Commonwealth of Nations play under Ghana's Fourth Republic?
6. What benefits has Ghana derived from the Commonwealth of Nations before and during the Fourth Republic?
7. In your opinion, what are the challenges of Ghana's relations with the Commonwealth of Nations Under Ghana's Fourth Republic?
8. What are the prospects of Ghana's relations with the Commonwealth of Nations Under Ghana's Fourth Republic?

9. Is the Commonwealth of Nations relevant in the 21st Century? If YES why and if NO why?
10. Do you think the Commonwealth of Nations is anachronistic or outlived its purpose in 21st-century global politics?
11. Will Brexit bring any impact on Britain's relations with Commonwealth countries mainly Ghana?
12. Do you consider Brexit will create the opportunity for Britain to trade more with the Commonwealth of Nations countries particularly Ghana?
13. What measures would you suggest to the Commonwealth of Nations in addressing the challenges in the Commonwealth of Nations in post-Brexit?

## **APPENDIX B: INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR THOSE IN ACADEMIA**

### **INTRODUCTION**

The study seeks to interrogate why Ghana joined the Commonwealth of Nations immediately after independence and the benefits Ghana has derived from the Commonwealth of Nations before and during the Fourth Republic.

### **INTERVIEW GUIDE (ACADEMICS)**

1. What are your general views of the Commonwealth of Nations?
2. Do you consider the Commonwealth of Nations as a relic of British colonial rule?
3. What do you consider as the motivation for Britain's former African colonies decision to join the Commonwealth of Nations?
4. How has the Commonwealth been helpful to its African states?

5. What are the major issues that confronted the “British Commonwealth” and her African colonies?
6. What factors motivated Ghana to join the Commonwealth of Nations after independence in your view?
7. In the context of Ghana, how has the Commonwealth of Nations been helpful?
8. What are the implications of the Commonwealth of Nations on Ghana’s foreign policy decision-making in your opinion?
9. What role has the Commonwealth of Nations play under Ghana’s Fourth Republic?
10. Do you think the Commonwealth of Nations has been beneficial to Ghana before and during the Fourth Republic?
11. In your opinion, what are the challenges of Ghana’s relations with the Commonwealth of Nations Under Ghana’s Fourth Republic?
12. What are the prospects of Ghana’s relations with the Commonwealth of Nations Under Ghana’s Fourth Republic?
13. Do you think the Commonwealth of Nations is anachronistic or has outlived its purpose in 21st-century global politics?
14. Do you think Ghana still needs the Commonwealth of Nations in this modern era?
15. Will Brexit bring any impact on Britain’s relations with Commonwealth countries?
16. Do you consider Brexit will make Britain trade more with Ghana a member of the Commonwealth of Nations?
17. What measures would you suggest to Commonwealth actors in addressing the challenges in the Commonwealth of Nations and post-Brexit?

