

**THE ROLE OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS IN GLOBAL DEVELOPMENT:  
THE CASE OF BRITISH COUNCIL AND GHANA**

ROSE WILLIAMS

STUDENT CODE: **3401185**

UNIVERSIDAD MILITAR NUEVA GRANADA

MASTER OF SCIENCE IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND BUSINESS

BOGOTA, D. C.

2012

**THE ROLE OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS IN GLOBAL  
DEVELOPMENT: THE CASE OF BRITISH COUNCIL AND GHANA**

ROSE WILLIAMS

STUDENT CODE: **3401185**

Monograph presented to the Faculty of International Relations, Strategy and  
Security in fulfillment of the requirements for a Master of Science Degree in  
International Relations and Business

Thesis Director: William Vargas

UNIVERSIDAD MILITAR NUEVA GRANADA  
MASTER OF SCIENCE IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND BUSINESS  
BOGOTA, D. C.

2012



**Acceptance Note**

---

---

**President of the Jury**

---

**Jury**

---

**Jury**

**Bogotá D. C.** \_\_\_\_\_

**DEDICATION**

FOR DAD

## **AKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

My heartfelt gratitude to:

The entire body of lectures who generously shared their knowledge in this past two years period of study especially Dr. Beatriz Tuisaba and William Vargas who assisted me with the development of this paper, my course mates Richard and Katerine who became my friends, academic cohorts and constructive critics in this process of expansion of knowledge and to the British Council Ghana and friends who aided with information for this monograph.

## CONTENT

	pg.
Dedication	iv
Acknowledgements	v
List of Tables	viii
List of Figures	ix
Acronyms	x
Abstract	1
<b>Chapter 1</b>	
1.1 Introduction	3
1.2 Statement of Problem	4
1.3 Objectives	6
1.4. Background to Research	7
1.5 Theoretical Framework	13
1.6 Methodology	16
1.7 Justification	18
<b>Chapter 2</b>	
2.0 Global Development and International Organisations	20
2.1 Historical Context: Ghana and the UK	28
2.2 Development Challenges in Ghana	32
2.3 Meeting Development Challenges: British Council Work in Ghana	42
<b>Chapter 3</b>	
3.0 Impact of the Council's Work in Ghana and the Region	53
<b>Chapter 4</b>	
4.0 Summary, Conclusions	59

Bibliography	68
Footnotes	72



## LIST OF TABLES

pg.

Table 1: World Bank Indicators - Ghana - Official Development Assistance (ODA) 2007	39
--	----

## LIST OF FIGURES

	pg.
Figure 1: Fiscal Adjustment under 2009 Program	8
Figure 2: Norway Human Development Index: Trends 1980 – 2011	22
Figure 3: Ghana Human Development Index: Trends 1980 – 2011	23
Figure 4: Ghana Human Development Index: Health, Education and Income	24
Figure 5: Comparative Aid Dependency Ratios (2000)	27
Figure 6: Total Ghanaian Government Revenue (Millions of Ghanaian Cedis)	36
Figure 7: British Council Funding to Africa 2010-2011	45
Figure 8: British Council Simplified Participant and Audience Types for 2011-2012	50
Figure 9: The Changing Geographical Allocation of British Council's Resources	51
Figure 10: Sub-Saharan Africa - Regional Performance	54
Figure 11: British Council Global Performance 2008 – 2011	58
Figure 12: The British Council's Income from Sponsorship and Commercial Partnerships	63

## **ACRONYMS**

1. AU: African Union
2. AIDS: Acquired Immune Deficiency Virus
3. CBO: Community Based Organizations
4. CEPA Ghana: Centre for Policy Analysis, Ghana
5. CPP: Convention People's Party
6. BBC: British Broadcasting Corporation
7. BC: British Council / The Council
8. DAC: Development Assistance Committee
9. DFID: United Kingdom Department for International Development
10. DONGO: Donor Organized Non-Governmental Organizations
11. ECA: Economic Commission for Africa
12. FCO: Foreign Commonwealth Office (UK)
13. GONGO: Government Organized Non-Governmental Organizations
14. HIV: Human Immunodeficiency Virus
15. HDI: Human Development Index
16. IELTS: International English Language Testing System
17. MDGs: Millennium Development Goals
18. NDC: New Democratic Congress

19. NEPAD: New Partnership for Africa's Development
20. NGO: Non-Governmental Organizations
21. NGDO: Non-Governmental Development Organizations
22. NPO: Non-Profit Organizations
23. NPP: New Patriotic Party
24. OAU: Organization of African Unity
25. ODA: Official Development Assistance
26. OECD: Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
27. PDO: Private Development Organizations
28. PSO: Public Service Organizations
29. PVO: Private Voluntary Organizations
30. TGSS: Tullow Group Scholarship Scheme
31. UK: United Kingdom
32. UN: United Nations
33. UNECA: United Nations Economic Commission for Africa
34. UNDP: United Nations Development Program
35. USAID: United States Aid for International Development
36. VO: Voluntary Organizations
37. WFP: World Food Program

## **ABSTRACT**

The British Council has operated in Ghana since 1943, continuing with its role of building long term relations between the people of Ghana and the UK through their work in education and culture with the aim of enhancing learning opportunities and promoting understanding between Africa and the global community. Over the years, however, the role of the Council, an international charity organization representing the interests of the United Kingdom in Ghana, have evolved encompassing not only education and culture, but entering into the world of business concentrating on boosting their performance by creating a link between this and the sector of knowledge. The question however, is, are these objectives set by the council in Ghana and the Sub-Saharan region being met and do they really factor into its overall development. This paper therefore seeks to investigate the current role of this institution in the growth of Ghana in specific and the region in general and how this has impacted on the foreign relations with the United Kingdom in terms of building cooperation or generating dependence.

**Key Words:** Dependency, Development, Cooperation.

## RESUMEN

El Consejo Británico ha operado en Ghana desde 1943, continuando con su papel de construir relaciones de largo plazo entre el pueblo de Ghana y el Reino Unido a través de su trabajo en la educación y la cultura con el objetivo de mejorar las oportunidades de aprendizaje y promover el entendimiento entre África y la comunidad mundial. Con los años, sin embargo, el papel del Consejo, una organización de caridad internacional que representa los intereses del Reino Unido en Ghana, se ha desarrollado hacia áreas que abarcan no sólo la educación y la cultura, sino el mundo de los negocios concentrando su atención en aumentar su rendimiento mediante la creación de un enlace entre éste y el sector del conocimiento. La cuestión es sin embargo, si estos objetivos fijados por el Consejo en Ghana y la región sur del Sahara se han logrado y si realmente componen un factor de desarrollo global. Este documento por lo tanto, tiene por objeto investigar el papel actual de esta institución en el crecimiento de Ghana a nivel local y en la región de manera global así como el impacto en las relaciones internacionales con el Reino Unido en términos de construcción de cooperación o generación de dependencia.

**Palabras Clave:** Desarrollo, Dependencia, Cooperación.

## **CHAPTER ONE**

### **1.0 PROBLEM STATEMENT AND METHODOLOGY**

#### **1.1 INTRODUCTION**

This monograph focuses on the role of the British Council in international development with specific attention on their work in Ghana as well as a general overview within the region. The problem of development has been an ongoing occurrence and issue of great concern within the region, of which Ghana is no exception. Challenges with levels of formal education, health, unemployment, low income levels, democracy, security, governance and corruption, just to mention a few, have been attributed to the slow growth in economies of most countries in Sub-Saharan Africa.

The challenge, however, doesn't lie only in the labour force, but in the resources of the nation which will support and provide relief for its people. The low levels of capital injection in the industrial sectors, which might be the engine for expansion of this economy hasn't received the right amount of attention, so no matter how qualified the labour force may be, it might not necessarily equate to prosperity.

Most of the issues previously mentioned, however, can be directly linked to low levels of education which has had a domino effect on all aspects of development. In this regard, therefore, on an international level, countries, organizations both governmental and non-government as well as individuals have worked in various ways to increase this through aid and offers of partnership and cooperation for development. In Ghana, organizations such as United Nations, Habitat for Humanity, International Red Cross, the British Council, the Japan International

Cooperation Agency (JICA) and the Department for International Development (DFID) amongst others have provided support over the years with the hope of boosting the economy especially through its labour force.

The support lent, may not necessarily be adequate for what Ghana or other countries in the region needs for sustainable long term growth. Perhaps, all the loans, debt relief, training and literal gifting of items to some sectors of the economy, not only builds idleness and short term rest from problems, but also a certain dependence on foreign aid, which brings up the main point of discussion in this paper, with respect to the role these international institutions play in development, their visible impacts as well as possible effects such as dependence which breeds a lackadaisical attitude in all including local governing bodies.

## **1.2 PROBLEM STATEMENT**

This paper researches the problem of dependency of Ghana on international aid/ assistance and whether it has been brought about by international bodies and NGOs constant exuberance in lending a hand with minimum items instead of helping the country resolve deep rooted problems which can speed up its development. The investigation will be done using the case of the British Council's work between 2007 and 2008 juxtaposing to that of 2012 in Ghana, exploring its relations as well as that of the UK government with the local community and its impacts. In this regard, therefore, aspects of foreign assistance and whether it's been a blessing or curse for this country in terms of fulfilling its main objectives within Ghana will become one of the main focuses of discussion.

The development of Ghana has for many years been supported by external agents and in recent years, this support has expanded to include that received from



foreign Non-Governmental Organisation (NGOs) especially European based ones and other International Organizations. This support, which is usually transmitted through the government bodies as well as local civil societies to the community brings to mind issues of their effectiveness in relation to impact and accountability, which these bodies usually advocate using the terms, “transparency, good governance and dialogue”.

So while the main focus of this investigation seeks to discuss the role of these agencies, with specific attention to the British Council in the global development using Ghana as a focal point, it will also delve into the question of monitoring systems in place within civil society and how accountable they are to their stakeholders. It will discuss the institutions impact on Ghana, with respects to social, economic and political change as well as their changing roles within other developing countries. The relationship between stakeholder, the Council and the government of Ghana will be clarified at the end of the investigation.

To assess their role, impact and establish the relationship between the British Council and Ghana as a whole, the following questions will form part of the discussion in the investigative process in reaching objectives stated in 1.3:

- *What has been the perceived role of NGO’s and International Organizations (focus on British council) in Ghana’s economic development and how have these evolved over the years?*
- *What is the relationship between the British Council, government of Ghana and UK as well as other local stakeholders?*
- *Will Ghana’s economy and society survive without the support from these organizations?*
- *Is there a hidden interest on these organizations in establishing a support role in Ghana?*

### **1.3 OBJECTIVES**

This research hopes to through more light on the state of development in Ghana, in relation to development aid or assistance given by international bodies and NGOs and how this has affected development policies. More specifically, it will seek to explore the role of the British Council in the region, with specific attention to Ghana as well as its impacts.

***In this regard, therefore, the General Objectives are as classified as follows:***

- Describe the role of international organizations in Global development.
- Discover the real interest of international organizations in lending aid to developing countries.

***The Specific Objectives are:***

- Identify the role of British Council in the development of Ghana
- Assess the general impact of the Council's work in Ghana and the region.
- Determine if there is an increment in dependence on foreign aid and how this has influenced decision making on a higher level.

## 1.4 BACKGROUND TO RESEARCH

Formed from the merger of the British colony of the Gold Coast and the Togoland Trust Territory, Ghana was the first country in Sub-Saharan Africa to be visited by the Europeans for trade and later, on 6<sup>th</sup> March 1957, became the first country within that region to gain its independence. With thoughts of industrialization in the back of their minds, the leaders of Ghana, like many in Africa, had dreams of building the country to match and overpass that of its colonial masters. Many factors, including political instability, low levels of education and lack of manufacturing industries, has however, stilled the progress which was meant for this nation.

Ghana's government has undergone evolutions since its independence to its currently stable democratic state which is made up of a decentralized system of power to regional, district, local and unit levels across the country. This country consisting of 10 regions and 138 district administrative set ups and assemblies is rich in natural resources with agriculture forming about <sup>i</sup>1/3<sup>rd</sup> of its <sup>ii</sup>GDP. In June 2007, 600 million barrels of light oil were discovered offshore from Ghana which is expected to boost the economy of the country which had experienced many challenges over the years, resulting in the country having to seek debt relief under the Heavily Indebted Poor Country (HIPC) program in 2002 as well as the Multilateral Debt Relief Initiative that took effect in 2006. In the same year, the government signed a Millennium Challenge Corporation (MCC) Compact in 2006 towards transforming Ghana's agricultural sector which employs a majority of its nationals.

All these interventions, seemingly, weren't enough to keep the country out of debt and on a positive path of growth and so in 2009 a three-year Poverty Reduction and Growth Facility was signed with the International Monetary Fund (IMF)<sup>iii</sup> to increase macroeconomic stability, private sector competitiveness, human resource

development, and good governance and civic responsibility. Table 1 (Fiscal Adjustment under 2009 Program) shows the 2009 budget targeting a deficit of 9.4% of GDP based on spending cuts and higher grant receipts from International Aid Organisations. Capital spending was also reduced by 3% of Ghana's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) after the completion of power sectors and other investments.

Despite these savings however, the existence of high interest costs and a large provision for clearing domestic balance of payment deficits counterbalanced the positive effect that this should have had on the GDP. To compound these growing concerns, the Ghanaian government still struggles with the problem of unemployment which has been made even more complex by growing numbers of refugees who seek a safe haven from the conflicts in their own countries (such as Ivory Coast, Liberia etc.) and hence an persistent reliance on foreign assistance and cooperation.

**FIGURE 1: FISCAL ADJUSTMENT UNDER 2009 PROGRAM<sup>iv</sup>**

(Percent of GDP)	2008	<u>2009</u> budget	<u>2009</u> program	Adjust- ment 1/
Revenues	22.8	23.7	23.9	1.1
Grants	4.7	6.1	6.0	1.3
Total expenditure, of which:	42.0	39.3	39.4	-2.6
Wages and salaries 2/	11.3	10.9	10.9	-0.4
Subsidies	1.5	0.3	0.3	-1.2
Interest costs	3.9	3.9	4.3	0.4
Capital spending	15.7	12.9	12.6	-3.1
Arrears clearance	1.0	2.7	2.7	1.7
Fiscal deficit	14.5	9.4	9.4	-5.1

Source: International Monetary Fund: Country Report No. 09/256, August 2009, p7

Over the years, the global community has benefited from the immense contributions made by International Organizations and NGOs in terms of poverty reduction usually through transmission of knowledge, right down to financial support to governments and private institutions and individuals. Ghana is a country where the communities, especially less developed ones as well as certain sectors of the economy such as education, health, development of small scale industries, have grown heavily dependent on overseas funding as well as technical support, especially those provided through these external institutions. Hence, gradually some international organizations have developed and built a relationship with local communities as well as the government which may sometimes be considered as a partnership which occasionally extends to playing roles of policy advisors.

Non-Governmental Organizations and international bodies have been present in international affairs since the second half of the nineteenth century. In 1840, these organizations used their influence during the World Anti-Slavery Convention<sup>v</sup> to promote an international mobilization towards end the slave trade. These organizations currently work on various global causes in the areas of science, religion, finance, sustainable development, health, education, emergency aid and humanitarian affairs among others. The United Nations, <sup>vi</sup>JICA, Christian Aid, Care International, the International Red Cross, OXFAM, SOS Association of African Universities, Habitat for Humanity and the British Council are some examples of institutions working in these areas and have become an important aspect of international relations influencing national and multinational policies.

The British Council<sup>vii</sup> Ghana, which is the central theme of discussion, has a somewhat different perspective in terms of their role in Ghana: education and culture. As a registered charity, this organization, does not give direct monetary aid to the country, but works through a series of various branches of activities to make an indirect impact on the local community mostly through influencing its people. As

to whether this service which they give is currently relevant or not is another issue for contemplation. They have however, worked on the basis that the human resources are the most important for the development of a nation with education as the key and so use programs such as Connecting Classrooms, Chevening Scholarships to further this course.

There is, however, the question of the effectiveness of support lent to developing countries including Ghana, especially with regards to different modalities involved and the impacts of external agendas on within the local community. There is also an issue of their relationship as mentioned earlier in this paper which may be associated with the establishment of partnerships and international networks which has led to a series of questions about their roles and responsibilities.

Development will form a brief supporting theory behind this investigation, looking at how this idea has evolved in the area of international relations with regards to the international cooperation towards growth in less developed areas of the world. International Development in its very meaning is geared towards colonies that gained independence who through self governance sought to construct their free states in order for its inhabitants or citizens to freedom from poverty, hunger, and insecurity. International development theory emerged as a separate idea in the past century, that is, the second half of the 20th century also known as the 'era of development', from an elitist point of view of solving problems of the poor globally. (Rotberg, Robert I.: Failed States, Collapsed States, Weak States: Causes and Indicators, Chp1) In this regard, while looking at the case of Ghana, how the country has developed and whether the British Council has contributed to this growth through its activities will be discussed.

In this regard, therefore, the research will also be looking at how the government of Ghana, in its bid to develop the nation, has come to rely on foreign institutions to support the 3 sectors previously mentioned in this section. Therefore, the agenda

of the Council in the country and region will be examined in an attempt to determine whether it's purely assistance/cooperation without strings attached or whether it's to try and re-tie a former "colonial" connection with Ghana and countries in similar positions, a contrast to a statement by Harry S. Truman, 1949: *"We must embark on a bold new program for making the benefits of our scientific advances and industrial progress available for the improvement and growth of underdeveloped areas. The old imperialism - exploitation for foreign profit - has no place in our plans. What we envisage is a program of development based on the concept of democratic fair dealing."*<sup>viii</sup>

Whiles discussing this particular topic, conditions under which cooperation is likely to emerge such as those mentioned earlier in this paper, especially the need for social, economic and political growth will be looked at. Interest-based schools of thoughts on cooperation will form part of the discussions of this monograph. Here, the Interest-based theories of cooperation will focus on the ability of self-interested rational agents, in this case the Government of Ghana, to overcome situations where cooperation avoids suboptimal outcomes for the cooperators and so is considered to be rational utility-maximizer with given preferences. Attention will also be given to Ghana's role in shaping these preferences in order to facilitate cooperation with the Council as well as the United Kingdom.

As is the case of most cooperative projects, the result might end up breeding interdependence of recipient country towards aids from donor bodies. The theory of <sup>ix</sup>complex interdependence developed by Robert Keohane and Joseph Nye refers to the fact that states and their fortunes are inextricably tied together and recognizes the increasing complex transnational connections and interdependencies between states and societies. This perhaps might not be the case of the British Council and Ghana, since there is more of the possibility of dependence of the recipient nation, in this case Ghana, on aid given from the

donor bodies, in this case the British Council which influences on national development policies.

Historically, dependency can “shape a certain structure of the world economy such that it favors some countries to the detriment of others and limits the development possibilities of the subordinate economics...a situation in which the economy of a certain group of countries is conditioned by the development and expansion of another economy, to which their own is subjected”<sup>x</sup>.

On this basis, dependency explains the international system as consisting of two sets of states, the dominant/dependent and center/periphery, where the dominant states are the advanced industrial nations in the Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) while the dependent states are those within Latin America, Asia, and Africa, with low per capita incomes and relatively low economic growths. In this case, external forces such as multinational corporations, international commodity markets, foreign assistance etc., are of great importance to the economic development within the dependent states. These forces are however the channel by which these 1<sup>st</sup> world countries spread their economic interests abroad. Dependency, therefore, implies a dynamic relationship between dominant and dependent states because their interactions reinforce and intensify the unequal patterns. (Ferraro, Vincent: *Dependency Theory: An Introduction*," in *The Development Economics Reader*, 2008, pp. 58-64)

The investigation works towards finding the impacts of such “solutions” given by main actors in their collaborative efforts in the various areas that need assistance. It is hoped that, through its multidisciplinary faceted approach, this project will use knowledge in the fields of History, Human-rights, Economics, Political Science, and International Cooperation to enhance and enrich its content and perhaps contribute to those areas of studies. Here, attention will be on International Aid as a tool for



development in 3<sup>rd</sup> World countries, its success, challenges and areas for improvement.

## 1.5 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The topic of this research seeks to answer the question: “What is the role of international organizations in global development in relation to the case of Ghana and the British Council?” The following represents the theoretical framework which form the basis of this paper, based on the theory of dependency due aid received from immense external cooperation.

This theory, works on 3 main premises which are<sup>xi</sup>:

1. Poor nations provide natural resources, cheap labour, a destination for obsolete technology, and markets for developed nations, without which the latter could not have the standard of living they enjoy.
2. Wealthy nations actively perpetuate a state of dependence by various means. This influence may be multifaceted, involving economics, media control, politics, banking and finance, education, culture, sport, and all aspects of human resource development (including recruitment and training of workers).
3. Wealthy nations actively counter attempts by dependent nations to resist their influences by means of economic sanctions and/or the use of military force.

According to Che Guevara, Marxist revolutionary, <sup>xii</sup>*The inflow of capital from the developed countries is the prerequisite for the establishment of economic dependence. This inflow takes various forms: loans granted on onerous terms; investments that place a given country in the power of the investors; almost total*

*technological subordination of the dependent country to the developed country; control of a country's foreign trade by the big international monopolies; and in extreme cases, the use of force as an economic weapon in support of the other forms of exploitation."*

For the purposes of this research, role of the British Council can be defined as the specific part played by this organization in national development of Ghana. In this case therefore, all support lent will be considered as having made a sort of impact within the recipient country. It could be in the form of knowledge transfer, direct and indirect financing and any other means by which the Council offers support.

Whiles examining their role, the impact of these bodies on the development of Ghana, as well as within the region, as a focus of the research will be defined broadly to include not only the final results that can be measured or observed from the work of this external entity, but also all the series of event which have led to any discernable development changes. In this regard, therefore, impact as an effect of the work done by the Council in Ghana will be defined as the results of activities which will include development impacts, outcomes, reach and any unanticipated results. According to Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, <sup>xiii</sup>*"the result of neo-colonialism is that foreign capital is used for the exploitation rather than for the development of the less developed parts of the world. Investment under neo-colonialism increases rather than decreases the gap between the rich and poor countries of the world"*. For him, therefore, after Ghana's independence from the British Colonial rule, affairs of Africans should be left to the Africans, with as minimal foreign interference as possible.

In addition to this, since the reason for the British Council's activities is to benefit some sectors of the economy of the recipient country Ghana, in this case, social, economic and political, observable impacts which will form the basis of

measurement of the effectiveness of their role are highlighted below in the different categories:

- **Development impact at the national and community level.**

In this case, measuring any major and sustainable changes in the sectors and beneficiaries through:

- The introduction of new technology, processes and knowledge or the adaptation of existing ones currently used by a community to address a development challenge.
- Influencing a positive change in community behaviour and actions toward the problem identified in the context of the aid/support project.
- Contribution to poverty alleviation or increasing community well-being through activities that increase job availability, reduce unemployment and eventually enhance purchasing power.

- **Policy influence at the national level**

- Fundamental re-design of development programs or policies.
- Capacity building within policy development sectors.
- Stimulating dialogue amongst policy makers.

- **Reach of activities of the British Council**

This aspect refers to which actors were influenced as a result of their interaction with the either the activities and/or results of the Council. So here, all the different stakeholders involved are also being looked at. In this case would be the government of Ghana, the people (participants/beneficiaries) within the community,

as well as the various local NGOs who were involved in the planning and implementation of activities. Hence, the elements below should also be considered.

- Who was reached how many people; how have they been reached?
- How was reach measured or manifested? That is, evidence that recipients are acting, speaking, thinking differently as a result of activities.
- Do these manifestations suggest relevant potential influence towards development goals?

## **1.6 METHODOLOGY**

This topic has been investigated using the work of the British Council in Ghana as a case study, as well as through a documentary process (literature reviews) where existing information about similar phenomenon will be analyzed and juxtaposed to occurrences in Ghana. In addition to this, more qualitative than quantitative method will be used in analyzing data related to this investigation, even though both will have relevance, depending on information to be used.

Most of the data and information for this investigation will be from literature reviews, existing statistics, new information that crops up in the course of the development of this topic and any other documented information regarding topic.

Important variables in this research are:

- Recognizable impact of the British Council in Ghana and the region.
- Changing interests of the Council due to global financial crises and foreign policies.
- Ghana government development agenda.

This methodology will help to give a more wholesome picture of how Ghana's economy as well as the relationship that has developed over the years with the Council perhaps, throwing more light on pertinent social, economic and political issues that arise from this, hence helping to fulfill the objective of this investigation as stated earlier in this document.

Interviews with certain members of the Council will help to determine the extent of their work.

The main international organization that forms the basis of this research will be:

- British Council Ghana

The first part of the research will be towards identifying the development challenges in Ghana, then establishing the historical context between Ghana and the UK with a look at the work of the British Council in enhancing this through their programs and their impacts with analysis of information based on reviews of secondary literature, interviews etc.

The exploratory method of research will be used, with literature reviews and qualitative approaches such as informal discussions stakeholders. The internet will be used to as an interactive media for up to date information on RSS feeds. This method is being applied to this particular information, because even though this problem exists, access to data can be a delicate issue, especially with the external bodies.

This work is written using data and information on economic development, foreign aid/support, impact of international organizations on global development from the year 2007 till 2011. It does, however, use comparative data from other periods to measure development growth

Even though the results of this work is not directly meant to influence decision making in this area, it might provide some insight into the actual situation of the role of international bodies in Ghana in the area of development.

## **1.7 JUSTIFICATION**

This research has the purpose of throwing more light on the influence of International organizations in global development using the case of Ghana. It is hoped that at the end of this work, though not fully answering all questions outlined in the problem description stated above, will provide the basis for further investigation in this area as well as through more light on these issues in Ghana. It will seek answers to why international aid breeds dependence within the recipient nation, which are 3<sup>rd</sup> world countries that rather need to develop a self-sufficiency.

It is also hoped that proper attention will be given to certain sectors of the economy of Ghana, by its government in terms of developing and building capacities towards self-sufficiency, which will eventually minimize the dependency on external assistance in national growth.

With regards to the area of International Relations, this paper seeks to broaden the perspective on what is currently known as development or greater quality of life for humans, which is being measured by an internationally set United Nations index, though not necessarily applicable to the zones in question. Areas such as foreign aid, governance, healthcare, education, poverty reduction, gender equality,

disaster preparedness, infrastructure, economics, human rights and environment which has become a focal point in the development of 3<sup>rd</sup> World Decolonized Nations after the 2<sup>nd</sup> World War will be discussed in this paper whiles discussing the development agendas of the British Council which seem to be aimed at transformative projects in a hope of solving an identified problem globally as well as within the Ghanaian society in particular.

## CHAPTER TWO

### 2.0 GLOBAL DEVELOPMENT AND INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS

There are a variety of international organizations worldwide working in various aspects such as good governance and development and so, define their roles based on areas of specialization. In this regard, therefore, the main ones may be grouped as: international governmental organizations (IGOs) which are mostly multilateral and have a high level of institutionalization as well as judicialization; non-profit international non-governmental organizations (INGOs or NGOs) who work in three different categories, firstly based on legal and institutional features, secondly based on social dimensions and composition as in the case of civil societies and thirdly based on political dimensions and the role they play in international relations as well as world politics; and multinational corporations (MNCs) who are not under government policies and work for profit.<sup>xiv</sup> In this case, therefore, according to DeMars, NGOs can be defined as nonprofit organizations that operate in the field of world politics in different issue areas, claiming to defend a vulnerable part or to protect a particular common or collective good-promising a better future.<sup>xv</sup>

On the other hand, according to <sup>xvi</sup>Dr. Manju Lata, various classifications of NGO's may be defined as groups and institutions that are entirely or largely independent of government and have primarily humanitarian or cooperative rather than commercial objectives, in order to make a distinction between their roles and that of international organizations if any. Dr. Lata therefore classifies NGOs according to their organizational and operational frameworks into the groups below:

1. CBO: Community Based Organizations
2. DONGO: Donor Organized Non-Governmental Organizations
3. GONGO: Government Organized Non-Governmental Organizations



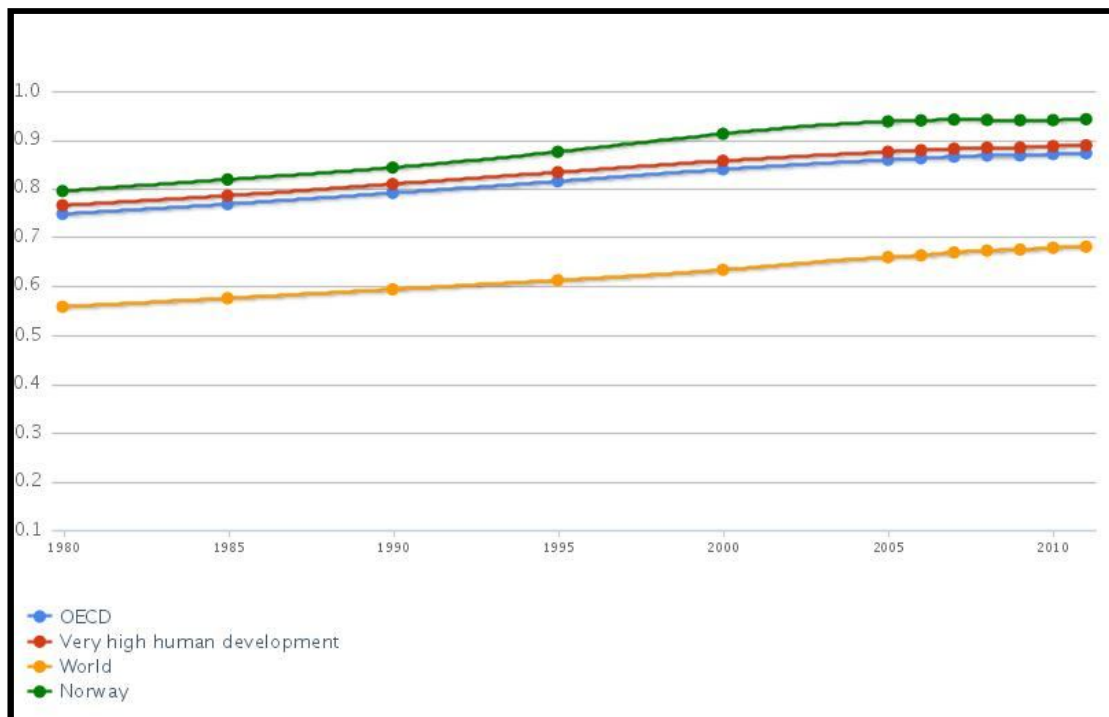
4. NGO: Non-Governmental Organizations
5. NGDO: Non-Governmental Development Organizations
6. NPO: Non-Profit Organizations
7. PDO: Private Development Organizations
8. PSO: Public Service Organizations
9. PVO: Private Voluntary Organizations
10. QANGO: Quasi Non-Governmental Organizations
11. VALG: Voluntary Agency/Organizations
12. VO: Voluntary Organizations

The description of International Organizations<sup>xvii</sup>, therefore, helps in identifying their specific roles in global development, a concept which is difficult to pin-down, but never-the-less refers to the overall well-being of world citizens in terms of having an improved quality of life. Countries of the world have been categorized by levels of development, with most developed ones found in some parts of Europe, Asia and America whilst less developed or underdeveloped ones are found in Africa, Latin America. The determination of what can be considered as development has been a widely debated topic, but Ronald H. Chilcote, in his book *Development in Theory and Practice: Latin American Perspectives* (2003, p1), mentions how this aspect can be examined through its multi dimensional operations at individual and societal levels, *“thus political development will be associated with democracy in its various forms, economic development with planning for improving the standards of living, social development with people’s basic needs, such as food and shelter, healthcare, education and employment; cultural development with the fostering of collaboration, solidarity, selflessness, political consciousness and social responsibility.”*

In this case, therefore, countries such as Norway, Australia and Netherlands, ranked top three in UNDP’s 2011 Human Development Index (HDI) Report fall in the category of advanced nations. As can be observed from figure 2 below,

Norway's HDI which was 0.943 as at 2010, makes it the top out of 187 countries with comparable data while within the region, the HDI of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) increased from 0.749 in 1980 to 0.873 today, placing Norway above the OECD regional average.

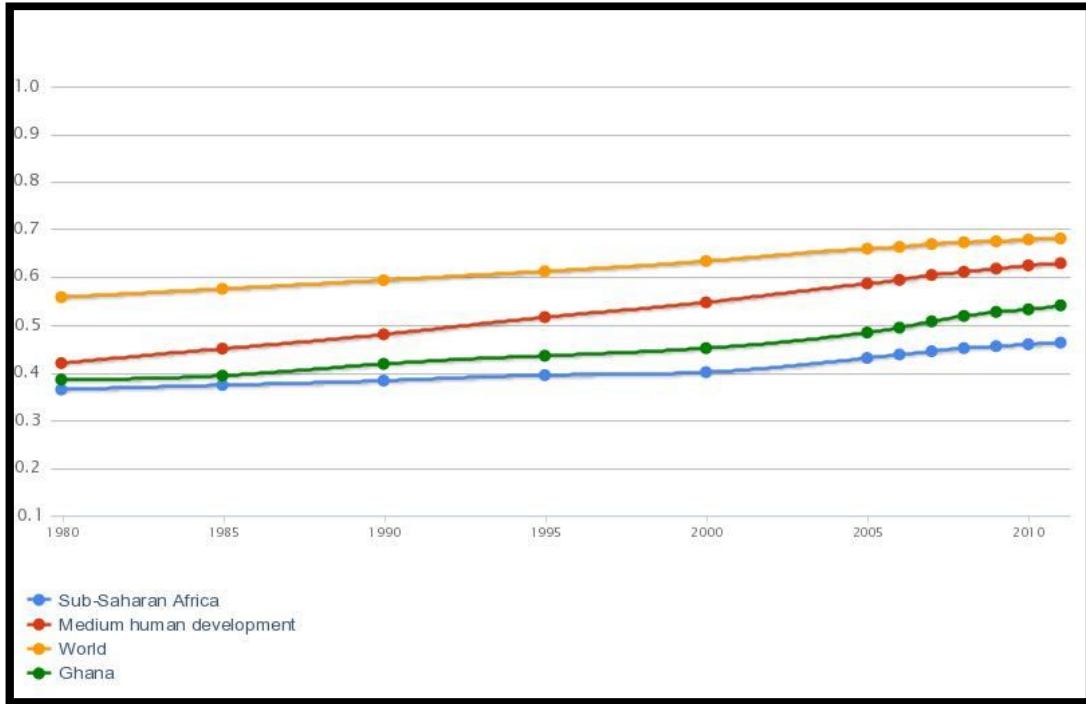
**FIGURE 2: NORWAY HUMAN DEVELOPMENT INDEX: TRENDS 1980 - 2011**



Source: UNDP: Human Development Report 2011, "Sustainability and Equity: A Better Future for All. <http://hdr.undp.org/en/reports/global/hdr2011/>

If one wants to compare these statistics to that of Ghana with an HDI of 0.541 (see *figure 3*) which even though above the average of 0.463 of Sub-Saharan Africa, it is still very low and so in this case, both on a national and regional levels, there still very large gaps that exists that still divides a currently highly interconnected world.

**FIGURE 3: GHANA HUMAN DEVELOPMENT INDEX: TRENDS 1980 - 2011**

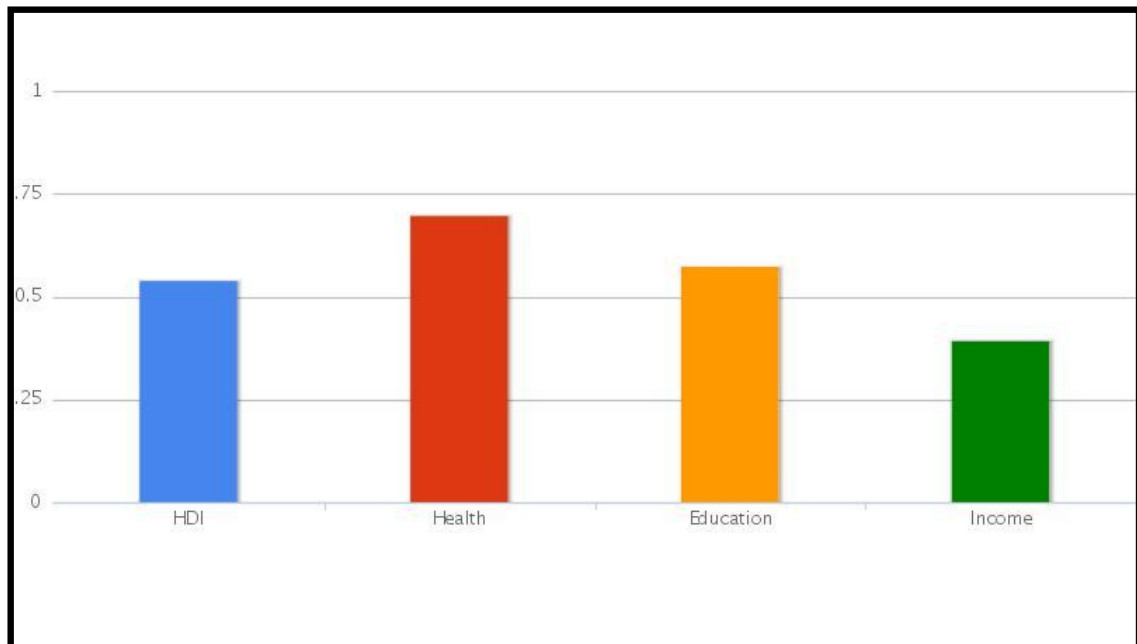


Source: UNDP: Human Development Report 2011, "Sustainability and Equity: A Better Future for All. <http://hdrstats.undp.org/en/countries/profiles/GHA.html>

Figure 4 (Ghana Human Development Index: Health, Education and Income) below also shows the three major areas of concern, namely education, health and income levels which also directly affect Ghana's economic development. As can be observed, education has the highest index of 0.698 which might not necessarily be a reflection of the 4.3% of Ghana's GDP to this sector, since in addition to this are other inputs made by private individuals or organisations both on a local and international level to eradicate high mortality rates. High cost of health and education also limit the accessibility to these services since income levels are rather on the low side and concentrated in the urban zone, which is why certain

non-profit organizations such as the British Council, have dedicated resources to contribute towards their improvement.

**FIGURE 4: GHANA HUMAN DEVELOPMENT INDEX: HEALTH, EDUCATION AND INCOME**



Source: UNDP: Human Development Report 2011, "Sustainability and Equity: A Better Future for All. <http://hdr.undp.org/en/reports/global/hdr2011/>

Development, therefore, is a combination of not only the three aspects of health and education, but also good governance, human rights, eradicating poverty and environmental protection amongst others. The UN Secretary-General BAN Ki-moon, mentioned that, "*Eradicating extreme poverty continues to be one of the main challenges of our time, and is a major concern of the international community. Ending this scourge will require the combined efforts of all, governments, civil society organizations and the private sector, in the context of a stronger and more effective global partnership for development. The Millennium Development Goals set time-bound targets, by which progress in reducing income poverty, hunger,*

*disease, lack of adequate shelter and exclusion — while promoting gender equality, health, education and environmental sustainability — can be measured. They also embody basic human rights — the rights of each person on the planet to health, education, shelter and security. The Goals are ambitious but feasible and, together with the comprehensive United Nations development agenda, set the course for the world’s efforts to alleviate extreme poverty by 2015.* <sup>xviii</sup>

These MDGs as mentioned above, has been included in Ghana’s long-term minimum set of socio-economic development objectives that have influencing the determination of the country’s strategic priorities<sup>xix</sup> for national development in the areas of eradication of poverty and hunger as well as improvement of its human development indicators, since the adoption of the UN Millennium Declaration in 2000. These goals are internationally accepted as a common development framework to improve upon the lives of people living in poverty with targets that are to be achieved by countries involved by 2015 or 2020.<sup>xx</sup> This action has also affected the strategic line of work of most international organizations including those which work in Ghana, such as the British Council, who have tackled some previous projects such as Africa 2007 (a three-year program designed to commemorate the 200<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Abolition of the Slave Trade Act, passed in the UK in 1807<sup>xxi</sup>) in collaboration with the government of Ghana who were also celebrating 50years of independence as well as the United Nations. Another British Council project called “Debate to Action” (launched in 2006) which is implemented in Ghana and the UK in partnership with the World Bank seeks to enhance the capacity of young people to become active and effective in helping to achieve the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), as well as their country’s goals for development, through their work at the local and state levels<sup>xxii</sup>.

In this case, therefore, the British Council works in creating UK cultural awareness through the promotion of English Language acquisition and Higher Level Education

in the hope of aiding in the increase chances of job acquisition, hence, alleviating poverty and improving living conditions in previously colonized countries such as Nigeria, Kenya and Ghana in Africa. Unfortunately, most of NGOs or international organisations work giving short term solutions to development problems in needy countries instead of attacking such issues from its source, which are mostly related to unemployment which is linked on some occasions to low levels of education. As to whether the Council is providing quick-fixes or long term sustainable solutions with its cultural-educational projects in terms of creating or giving the necessary tools and capacities for these countries to grow without the constant need for international aid is further discussed later in this document.

There are other International Non-Profit Organizations playing a crucial role in this West African country's growth both on a social and economic level such as the World Health Organization, which have been indispensable in terms of reducing mortality rate in Ghana through combating of the spread of Yellow Fever, Malaria and HIV/AIDS with immunization programs as well as educations campaigns among others, which normally come at a very expensive rate that Ghanaians below the middle class are unable to afford. Whilst their aid to Ghana and their importance is acknowledged, it would be interesting to see how this country can cope without this external assistance, a reason behind Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, Ghana's first Prime Minister's agitation for independence and a resistance of a deep connection as well as dependence on external support of any sort.

Ghana, due to its willingness to implement reforms, structural adjustments and pursue democracy in its governance, enjoyed the benevolence of the international aid community in the early 1980's and 1990's and has remained one of the aid community's favourite countries in the West African sub-region for a long time, despite additional historic and geopolitical considerations which had previously acted as incentives for aid inflows between 1960s and 1970s. This continued into the new millennium (see Table 2.0 where Ghana's Net aid was 52% of Gross

Capital Formation in 2000 in comparison to the 23% in Sub-Saharan Africa) where there was a successful transfer of power from one elected government under ex-President Jerry John Rawlings (National Democratic Congress) to the other John Agyekum Kuffour (for the New Patriotic Party) in 2000 and a continuous commitment by succeeding government to the implementation of rule of law and democratic governance, poverty reduction and growth as well as improvements in corporate governance and private sector led-growth. (Tuffour, J. A., Ghana - Multi-Donor Direct Budget Support in Ghana: The Implications for Aid Delivery and Aid Effectiveness, CEPA Issue Paper No. 11, 2005 pg 3)

Despite continuous effort by both local Ghanaian government and international aid agencies to boost economic growth, there were high budget deficits and debt as well as increase in money supply which caused high levels of inflation, unstable exchange rate and unfavourable terms of trade in the 1990's. This however, slowly changed at the start of 2001 due to relief on external debt, improved revenues on export, better attention to growth and the alleviation of poverty, a better fiscal and monetary management as well as the availability of development assistance from international aid agencies. (Tuffour, J. A., CEPA Issue Paper No. 11, 2005 pg 3)

**FIGURE 5: COMPARATIVE AID DEPENDENCY RATIOS (2000)**

	Ghana	Sub-Saharan Africa
Net aid as % of gross national income	13	4
Net aid as % of gross capital formation	52	23
Net aid as % of imports	18	11
Net aid per capita (\$)	32	20

Source: Evaluation of the Comprehensive Development Framework (CDF), World Bank, Ghana Case Study, Working Paper series, undated.

According to the data given in figure 5 (Comparative Aid Dependency Ratios – 2000) above, Ghana has received a comparatively higher ratio of development aid with respect to national incomes, capital accumulation and imports than the other countries in Sub-Saharan Africa. This support from multilateral and bilateral agencies has been made through aid pledges which became quiet unstable and unpredictable in the 1990s. However, in between 1989 and 1999, disbursements as percent of total pledges ranged between 29% and 81% and averaged about 64% which increased the country's dependence on development aid. (Tuffour, J. A., 2005 pg 3) This data also goes to prove that Ghana, despite the high level of aid inflows, has been unable to turn around its economy and continues to wallow in the same problems it has had since after its independence in 1957. It might also imply a problem that economy has become accustomed to receiving such aid and so no visible efforts are being made on sustainable local projects, or perhaps that is the intention behind some of the support being lent from foreign international bodies to make the country more dependant on these resources and keep these ties of superiority over the developing nation.

## **2.1 HISTORICAL CONTEXT: GHANA AND THE UK**

Ghana, formally known as the Gold Coast and the United Kingdom evolved in their relationship over the years, starting from that of the latter being colonized by the British to gaining independence from them under the leadership of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah in 1957. Earlier on the 6<sup>th</sup> March 1957, the British Prime Minister, Harold Macmillan, made a speech welcoming Ghana's move to independence. "The government and people of Ghana have set their hands to a great task. We are



confident whatever may be the difficulties which will face them they will maintain and develop the principles of tolerance and freedom which are inherent in our parliamentary system. We shall give them all the help we can."<sup>xxiii</sup>

Ghana, a name acquired after its independence, symbolized the historic achievement of the Africans. Its history today is perceived from the arrival of the Europeans in the 1400s, with the first contact being made by the Portuguese around 1470. The 1<sup>st</sup> English contact was however, made by people on English trading voyages to the Gold Coast around 1553. Later in 1821 the British took control of the Gold Coast, in 1844 the British signed an agreement with the local chief of the Fanti tribe; this made it legal for the Gold Coast to become a British colony<sup>xxiv</sup>, an act which Kwame Nkrumah argues as the manipulations of the tribe by the British with promises of a better life, which was not the case since the underlying motive was the British intention of gaining cheap labour and resources. This signing of the Colony Agreement, according to Nkrumah, was to the detriment of the Gold Coast (Nkrumah, 1975).

Today, 55years later, this relationship was described by the British High Commissioner to Ghana, Peter Jones on Friday 29th July 2011 as that of "two equal countries, with equal importance and equal status"<sup>xxv</sup>. This was however, not the case when the British rulers signed the Bond of 1844<sup>xxvi</sup> at Fomena-Adansi, currently in the Ashanti Region of Ghana, which allowed them to usurp judicial authority from African courts formally controlled by Chiefs/traditional leaders. By making no claim to any rights to the land on the Gold Coast, the British were able to expand their judicial control with little resistance from the unenthusiastic local people, hence, ensuring that the coastal people remained under their control. The Bond allowed the British to strengthen their influence in the area, giving the local people along the coast the impression of receiving protection. (Bourret, F. M, 1960. pg 17) Perhaps this was the beginning of the gentle persuasion used by this country to slowly weave their way into gaining people of Ghana's trust.

In 1902, the British annexed Ashanti and Northern territories and later declared Ashanti, Northern territories protectorate and the territory of Togoland (which was mandated to the British after World War One) which were known geographically as "The Gold Coast," a crown colony. However, this foreign control began to cause unrest among the locals and so in the 1920s nationalist opposition began to form after Great Britain introduced indirect rule to traditional authorities. This agitation gained momentum after police opened fire in Accra (capital of Ghana) on a large contingent of former service men who were peacefully carrying a petition to the Governor to seek redress of their grievances in the 1940s. In addition to this, Joseph Danquah and other leading nationalists founded the United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC) in August 1947 and invited Kwame Nkrumah, the first president of Ghana, to lead the group's campaign for representative self-government (but Nkrumah and Danquah were jailed after troops fired on demonstrators and a riot erupted in 1948).<sup>xxvii</sup> All these efforts go a long way in describing the sort of relationship that existed between the British colonial masters and its colony, which was not exactly a friendly one within these periods mentioned in the past.

Despite this, however, the British aided in the drafting of the constitution of the Gold Coast in 1951 and within the same period also created an executive council made up of three ex-office members appointed by the governor responsible for the formation of policies. Kwame Nkrumah argues, however, that although this council was created for the locals to make policies, they still did not have the right of self governance (Nkrumah, 1975)<sup>xxviii</sup>. It was due to this that Nkrumah canalized the discontent of the people of the former Gold Coast Colony into the highly organized mass movement of protests against British rule with the Convention People's Party (CPP) in 1949. This move might have also been propelled by the significant changes to the balance of global power caused by the Second World War which had decreased the imperial power that Britain formerly enjoyed in 1945, especially

on the high seas. This aided in this sudden launches of struggle for independence, especially since the head of the new superpower, US President Franklin Roosevelt insisted on liberation for the colonies, something that a now weak Britain, then headed by Prime Minister Winston Churchill could not refuse.

A new constitution was later introduced by Nkrumah's government to provide direct election by universal suffrage in 1954. Prime Minister Nkrumah's Gold Coast government (of CPP) issued a white paper containing proposals for Gold Coast independence within the British Commonwealth in May 1956. The British government agreed to a firm date for independence when a majority of British Togoland residents voted for unification with an independent Gold Coast so on 18 September 1956 the British set 6 March 1957, the 113th anniversary of the Bond of 1844, as the date the former British colony of the Gold Coast was to become the independent state of Ghana, and the nation's Legislative Assembly was to become the National Assembly.<sup>xxix</sup> On March 6, 1957, the state of Ghana, named after the medieval West African empire, became an independent country within the Commonwealth of Nations. (Appiah, K. & Gates, H.: The encyclopedia of the African and African-American Experience, 1999, pp. 830-833)

Kwame Nkrumah continued after this period as prime minister, and Queen Elizabeth II as monarch, represented in the former colony by a governor general, Sir Charles Noble Arden-Clarke. This status of Ghana as a Commonwealth realm continued till 1960, when after a national referendum, Ghana was declared a republic.(McLaughlin & Owusu-Ansah: Independent Ghana, 1994) Since this period, Ghana has developed its relations with the United Kingdom evolving from that of the colonized into more of a partnering governments with the latter playing the role of fostering growth in the Ghanaian economy. In this case therefore, the British High Commission in Accra, Ghana (regional hub for West Africa) has been responsible for the UK Government's relations with, and activities in, Ghana, Cote

d'Ivoire, Togo and Burkina Faso. Its work is also supported by the Department for International Development (DFID), the branch responsible for aid programmes, as well as the British Council which works on the educational, social and cultural co-operation front. These organisations have been working towards a modern relationship with Ghana, and since the early 2005 – 2006 have made an effort to be more efficient in their delivery of improved services with fewer resources as explained further in chapter 2.3 (2010 Annual Report: <http://ukinghana.fco.gov.uk/en/about-us/working-with-ghana/annual-report/annual-report/> )

## **2.2 DEVELOPMENT CHALLENGES IN GHANA**

According to Yvonne Mhango's report, "Economics Ghana: Annual Economic Outlook - The eve of Oil Production published by Standard Chartered Bank in April 2010, there's been a slow rate of economic growth of about 4.7% in 2009 in comparison to the 7.3% in 2008. This, she attributed to less activity in the non-agricultural sectors such as commerce, transport and communications, hospitality and real estate, which used to be the pillar of acceleration for the Ghanaian economy between 2003 and 2008. Based on this information, it is quiet evident that the growth and sustainability of Ghana's economy has been fluctuating for years and a long term plan needs to be carefully developed to ensure that this once bountiful country can regain some of its glory.

Despite most Ghanaians' beliefs that the country is better off without foreign interference or rule, there is no denying the significant progress that was made in social, economic, and educational development during the 20<sup>th</sup> century of British

administration of the Gold Coast, among them the improvement of communications and railroads, introduction of new cash crops such as cocoa from the new World in 1879 by Tetteh Quashie which slowly peaked in export income with a high record of 11.7 million pounds sterling by 1928 making it a major part of Gold Coast's/Ghana's economy. (Hallett, R: Africa Since 1875, pp 327-328) In addition to this was the export of gold and timber which brought in the much needed revenue from exports to finance internal improvements in infrastructure and social services within the colony. With the exportation of minerals including bauxite and diamonds, the foundation of the most advanced British-style educational system in West Africa increased the desires of the new Ghanaian elite to strive for independence. These groups of people were also educated in missionary schools in the earlier part of the 20th century in the country's first secondary schools and institute of higher learning.(McLaughlin & Owusu-Ansah: Economic and Social Development, 1994)

These economic and social growths experienced in the Gold Coast around this period as well as during the early part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century were also attributed to the ambitious ten-year development program introduced by Canadian-born British governor Gordon Guggisberg who administrated this colony from 1919 to 1927. (Hallett, R: Africa Since 1875: A Modern History, pp 303) It was his efforts that saw the first improvements of priority areas such as transportation, water supply, drainage, hydroelectric projects, public buildings, town improvements, schools, hospitals, prisons, communication lines, and other services. He also worked towards the employment of trained Africans for half of the colony's technical positions with Africans.

This former Gold Coast or Ghanaian economy was considered one of the prosperous ones during that era. Obviously, there were also the interests of the British to be considered as well since the support leant was paid by local

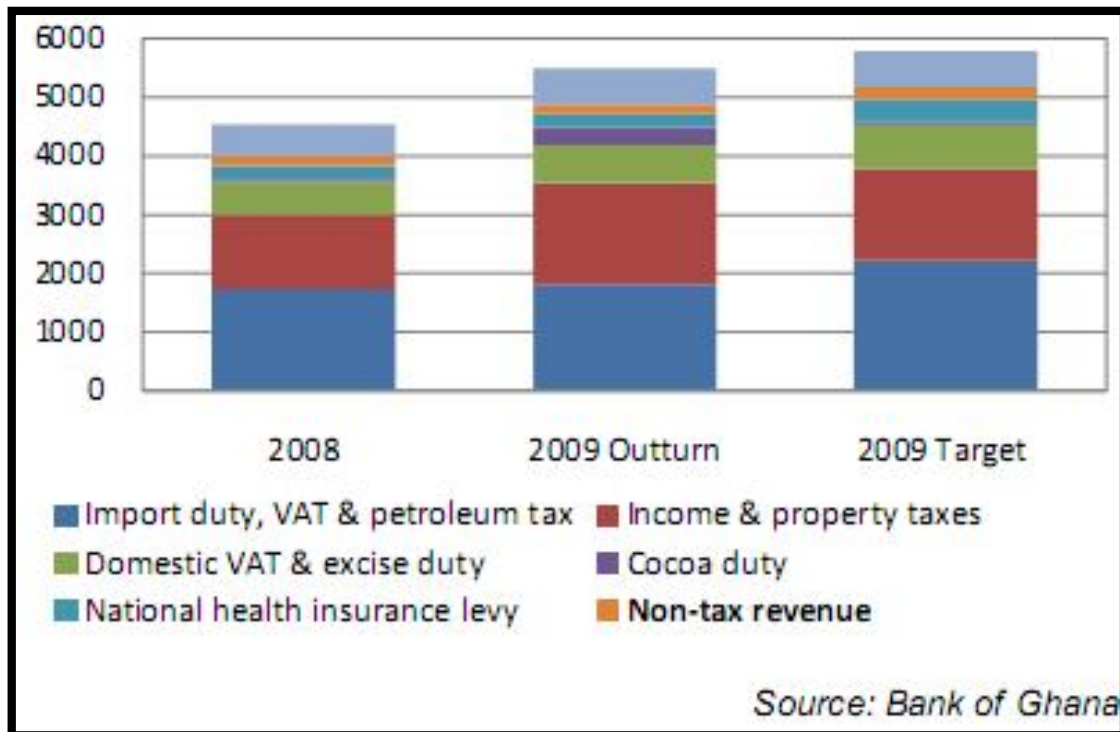
community such as seen in the assistance lent by the colony to the British during World War I and II. This situation however, also broadened the horizons of returned veterans who wanted similar freedom/liberty for their own motherland as they had seen during their time spent at war and so spurred agitations for freedom and jobs for the local people among others. (McLaughlin & Owusu-Ansah, 1994) Hence, when Kwame Nkrumah declared Ghana independent on 6th March 1957 after eight years of struggle, his Big Push strategy, a 7-Year Plan set for 1964 to 1970 brought on wide-spread industry reforms under a socialist framework within the country. This Plan sought to focus increase capital formation through domestic production of import-substitutes in state-owned enterprises. This plan was perhaps not entirely thought through as to its implementation, hence the problems that followed after it was put in place. Since Ghana was not exactly in a position to jump-start such a revolutionary it, huge investments that were made in certain sectors such as corrupt hide-leather-shoe complex, were not successful and led to a political unrest that finally culminated in a military coup that led to his overthrow on 24th February 1966 and the commencement a 20-year period of political instability and economic decline. (Meng, Joyce: Ghana, Miracle or Mirage, 2004 pg 1)

Much later, on December 31, 1981, Jerry Rawlings seized control of Ghana through a military coup and established the Provisional National Defense Council (PNDC) which also came with the same objective of promoting long-term economic growth and democracy. He successfully obtained International Monetary Fund (IMF) loans and popularized the Economic Recovery Program (ERP) with his connection to the locals and countries such as Libya, Cuba, and Eastern Europe during the era of Cold War. His Program had a more neo-liberal outlook and was based on the Structural Adjustment Programs of the World Bank and International Monetary Fund. (Osei, Akwasi: Ghana - Recurrence and Change in a Post-Independence African State, 1999)

When looking at this information therefore, there is clear evidence that Ghana was among the privileged countries in after the period of colonialism because of a relatively stable regime filled with a high quality of human capital, valuable natural resources and a leader who worked towards the acquisition of international financial support which should have formed the pillars towards a highly developed and rich economy. This however, was not the case as six important occurrences in history, mainly surplus demand, currency overvaluation, foreign dependence, ineffective policies, high state involvement in local district issues and bottlenecks in the financial sector prevented this country from capitalizing on its strengths towards sustainable development.

Due to these reasons mentioned, therefore, Ghana as at 2009 was still facing considerable development challenges according to the World Bank<sup>xxx</sup> estimates which shows that 54% of the country's population lives below the \$2-a-day poverty line (2006 estimate); Life expectancy is 60 years in comparison to the world average of 69 years as well as the 79years in high income countries (2007 estimate); 20% of Ghanaians not have access to improved water sources; 15%; urban population has access to improved sanitation facilities (2006 estimates); less than half of all roads are paved (2005 estimate); only 65% of adults over 15years are literate (2007 estimate). In addition to this are the health concerns, including the prevalence of HIV/AIDS in about 2% of adults (2007 World Health Organization estimate), there are also 1/3rd of deaths caused by Malaria among children younger than five years. In addition to this, the World Bank Report issued 5 years ago, estimated that the combined reduction in output from the Mining and Manufacturing sub-sectors as a result of the power crisis and lower water levels would lead to a reduction in overall growth of real Gross Domestic Product (GDP) by 0.7 to 0.9% in 2006<sup>xxxi</sup>.

**FIGURE 6: TOTAL GHANAIAN GOVERNMENT REVENUE (MILLIONS OF GHANAIAN CEDIS)**



Source: Mhango, Yvonne: Economics Ghana - Annual Economic Outlook. The Eve of Oil Production, April 2010, pg 7

The slow down in the development process based on economic growth rates, however, may also be attributed to the reduction of foreign grants which constituted about 13-14% of the Ghanaian government's total revenue. (See figure 6 above). This contribution however fell by 1% in 2009 due to fiscal challenges by donor countries, especially those located in Europe and the Euro-zone who had to concentrate finances on solving their own countries financial problems. In this case



therefore, the heavy dependence on foreign assistance had a toll on Ghana's economy during the periods of harsh financial challenges that rocked Europe.<sup>xxxii</sup>

To meet this rather long list of developmental challenges in Ghana, the local government's poverty reduction strategy has mostly focused on achieving middle income status through human resource development, the increase the competitiveness of private sector through the modernization of agriculture and infrastructure as well as promoting good governance. The current National Democratic Congress (NDC) administration had three pillars in their 2008 campaign which were as follow<sup>xxxiii</sup>:

- **Economy:** Towards the increase of public savings; improvement in the efficiency of public service delivery; accelerating public investments in energy, transport, infrastructure, telecommunications and water resources; modernizing agriculture and improving investment climate.
- **Education:** Towards the improvement of the quality of education through teacher training and distance learning; encouragement of private sector investment in education.
- **Health:** Towards preventive care against targeted diseases; improvement of improving "curative" medical care to international standards.

All these efforts were however in vain since as to date, this current government has been unable to combat the domino effect of declining economy which was set forth by the first group of leaders. The Ghana Budget Statement and Economic Policy for 2007 saw the need importance of working towards stability combined with economic growth. In this case, therefore, the government of Ghana had to device a way of making the most of the currently insufficient funding and so the substantial development assistance received from development partners in the form of debt

relief and aid was a highly welcome treat which are used to create more infrastructure and sort out other essential sectors that are in need of financing. Unfortunately, as is the case of many less developed countries like Ghana, levels of corruption tends to be high and so the disbursement of external aid may be highly inconsistent and inefficient. Finances may be diverted to sectors which are not on the priority list or contracts may be falsified just so that certain individuals may fatten their pockets with money intended to strengthen economy. In this case therefore, despite huge investments (over 1 billion USD in official development assistance as at 2007) made by the international aid community towards boosting Ghana's economy, the competition for development resources in the country is still predominant. In 2007 alone, foreign aid constituted more that a quarter of the government expenditure.

As can be observed in Table 1 below, the net official development assistance and official aid received in Ghana was US\$1,264,920,000 as at 2007 whilst net bilateral aid flows from Development Assistance Committee (DAC) donors was a also USD\$844,180,000 within the same period. These amounts are considerably high and should have made an impact on alleviating some of the financial issues that Ghana is currently dealing with, but unfortunately, as current figures shows, this is not the case. In this same table, United Kingdom, a DAC donor made a contribution of US\$150,770,000 in the period 2007 to boost growth in Ghana's. Most of their contributions went towards education which is supposed to be the engine that spurs on development. With higher literacy levels, it was hoped that all sectors of the economy such as health, service delivery and production will become more efficient and profitable.

As at 2010, a slightly higher amount than was received in 2007 of US\$166,580,000<sup>xxxiv</sup> of bilateral aid was donated by the United Kingdom to Ghana, a country with one of the highest Gross Domestic Product (GDP) per capita in

West Africa and a rich resource base with gold, timber, cocoa and diamond the most important sources of foreign trade income. In 2007, an oilfield which may contain up to 3 billion barrels of light oil was discovered near Takoradi in the Western Region. Despite these high advantages, over a quarter of the nation's population lives below the poverty line.

**TABLE 1: WORLD BANK INDICATORS - GHANA - OFFICIAL DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE (ODA) 2007<sup>xxxv</sup>**

	Previous	Last
Debt forgiveness grants (US dollar) in Ghana	9750000.0	9110000.0
IDA grants (US dollar) in Ghana	9501885.0	16354774.3
Net bilateral aid flows from DAC donors; Australia (US dollar) in Ghana	350000.0	160000.0
Net bilateral aid flows from DAC donors; Austria (US dollar) in Ghana	150000.0	180000.0
Net bilateral aid flows from DAC donors; Belgium (US dollar) in Ghana	13140000.0	20110000.0
Net bilateral aid flows from DAC donors; Canada (US dollar) in Ghana	78570000.0	74010000.0
Net bilateral aid flows from DAC donors; Denmark (US dollar) in Ghana	72130000.0	77850000.0
Net bilateral aid flows from DAC donors; European Commission (US dollar) in Ghana	85220000.0	118490000.0
Net bilateral aid flows from DAC donors; Finland (US dollar) in Ghana	560000.0	150000.0
Net bilateral aid flows from DAC donors; France (US dollar) in Ghana	41600000.0	42980000.0
Net bilateral aid flows from DAC donors; Germany (US dollar) in Ghana	52700000.0	71690000.0
Net bilateral aid flows from DAC donors; Greece (US dollar) in Ghana	160000.0	140000.0
Net bilateral aid flows from DAC donors; Ireland (US dollar) in Ghana	3740000.0	930000.0
Net bilateral aid flows from DAC donors; Italy (US dollar) in Ghana	11080000.0	3450000.0

Net bilateral aid flows from DAC donors; Japan (US dollar) in Ghana	46480000.0	54030000.0
Net bilateral aid flows from DAC donors; Luxembourg (US dollar) in Ghana	60000.0	60000.0
Net bilateral aid flows from DAC donors; Netherlands (US dollar) in Ghana	142230000.0	120220000.0
Net bilateral aid flows from DAC donors; New Zealand (US dollar) in Ghana	120000.0	190000.0
Net bilateral aid flows from DAC donors; Norway (US dollar) in Ghana	1210000.0	990000.0
Net bilateral aid flows from DAC donors; Portugal (US dollar) in Ghana	0.0	0.0
Net bilateral aid flows from DAC donors; Spain (US dollar) in Ghana	5770000.0	16080000.0
Net bilateral aid flows from DAC donors; Sweden (US dollar) in Ghana	1650000.0	1340000.0
Net bilateral aid flows from DAC donors; Switzerland (US dollar) in Ghana	13830000.0	8320000.0
Net bilateral aid flows from DAC donors; Total (US dollar) in Ghana	794970000.0	844180000.0
Net bilateral aid flows from DAC donors; United Kingdom (US dollar) in Ghana	152000000.0	150770000.0
Net bilateral aid flows from DAC donors; United States (US dollar) in Ghana	70660000.0	79530000.0
Net ODA received per capita (US dollar) in Ghana	51.3	56.2
Net ODA received (% of central government expense) in Ghana	26.5	22.3
Net ODA received (% of GNI) in Ghana	5.5	5.2
Net ODA received (% of gross capital formation) in Ghana	23.5	21.4
Net ODA received (% of imports of goods and services) in Ghana	11.1	10.3
Net official development assistance and official aid received (constant 2007 US dollar) in Ghana	1,180,390,000.0	1,264,920,000.0
Net official development assistance and official aid received (US dollar) in Ghana	1165210000.0	1306930000.0
Net official development assistance received (US dollar) in Ghana	1165210000.0	1306930000.0
Net official flows from UN agencies; IFAD (US dollar) in Ghana	2900000.0	3110000.0
Net official flows from UN agencies; UNAIDS (US dollar) in Ghana	660000.0	430000.0
Net official flows from UN agencies; UNDP (US	6090000.0	7780000.0

dollar) in Ghana		
Net official flows from UN agencies; UNFPA (US dollar) in Ghana	2220000.0	3190000.0
Net official flows from UN agencies; UNHCR (US dollar) in Ghana	2380000.0	2480000.0
Net official flows from UN agencies; UNICEF (US dollar) in Ghana	7670000.0	9380000.0
Net official flows from UN agencies; UNRWA (US dollar) in Ghana	0.0	0.0
Net official flows from UN agencies; UNTA (US dollar) in Ghana	2080000.0	900000.0
Net official flows from UN agencies; WFP (US dollar) in Ghana	2790000.0	4350000.0

Source: <http://www.tradingeconomics.com/ghana/net-official-development-assistance-received-constant-2007-us-dollar-wb-data.html>

In this regard, therefore, the way in which these resources mentioned above are used to improve Ghana's economic growth through increased competitiveness with reduced levels of inflation would be perhaps to maximise profit margins in production. Unfortunately, due to the high levels of foreign aid inflows has made the country more susceptible to cutting corners instead of addressing the main issues. Short term fixes are put in place which does not really aid the either public or private sector production units. There has been very little attention paid to priority sectors like Education and Health and public expenditure have not focused on infrastructural developments.

In this regards, therefore, assuming the Government maintains its present commitment to sound economic and fiscal policies, Ghana can expect similar growth in incomes in the near future. If the business environment can be further improved, and public investments made more efficient, economic growth in the medium term could be in the 6-8% range. In turn, this would improve Government revenues, which together with the savings in the fuel subsidy and reduction in domestic debt repayments, should create the fiscal space necessary to accommodate further poverty-reducing expenditures, the pressure for which is

growing, particularly in the education and health sectors. Strong growth would also facilitate the Government's program of public sector reform. (CEPA: Ghana - Current State of the Ghanaian Economy. Selected Economic Issues No. 14, 2007 pg 58)<sup>xxxvi</sup>

### **2.3 MEETING DEVELOPMENT CHALLENGES: BRITISH COUNCIL WORK IN GHANA**

As seen in previous discussions in Chapter 2.3, Ghana has been the recipient of large amounts of foreign aid which have been in the forms of commodity aid, technical assistance as well as project and program aid to meet developmental challenges and boost sustainable growth. They may form part of a program aid, grants or loans which may be directed towards stand-alone national projects or linked to some specific sectors such as such as education, health, water, sanitation and energy, or towards specific groups of people in specific geographical areas that might need specific issues addressed with or without matching fund contributions from the benefactors. Due to the fact that most of this support is distributed not only to government bodies, but to private individuals and organization in Ghana, it has been quiet challenging to track down the specific amounts of either monetary, commodity or technical assistance that has been lent, how it has been utilized and whether it was efficient in delivering the set objectives.

In this case therefore, donors have been seeking new methods of development cooperation that will make the most use of support lent in the sector that needs it most which in Ghana's case is poverty reduction. The 1<sup>st</sup> National Patriotic Party (NPP) government's Consultative Group meeting held in April 2002 in Accra

reached that same conclusion of the urgent need to implement medium-term poverty reduction strategies that will also meet international development targets. Additionally, there are the same growing necessity boost domestic revenues towards increasing public expenditure budgets in poverty stricken areas which could be alleviated with external funding.<sup>xxxvii</sup>

In most cases, the donors in their disbursement of any kind of support will focus on areas where efficiency will be most evident as well as areas or sectors that are on top of the priority list and may affect the behaviour of recipient country, the donor-recipient relationships as well as the quality and depth of development dialogue. Usually, donors have an agenda which may be a combination of political and strategic interests, historical factors or colonial links. According to the Report of the Commission for Africa published in March 2005 much of the evidence on aid reflects not necessarily the need for growth but rather past geo-political considerations. In the case of Ghana's relationship with the UK government as well as the British Council's work in locally, it might be safe to say that is more due to previous historical context colonial relationship than anything else. Of course, determining the agenda of this country towards Ghana is challenging since the UK's past and present actions have been seen as providing support to achieve the local government's development objectives.

The British Council, a registered charity organisation in the United Kingdom which operates under Royal Charter under the patronage of Her Majesty the Queen, engages in activities in different countries globally including Ghana, based on those countries' economic development and their openness, internally and externally, to people, knowledge and ideas from other cultures.

On the establishment of the British Council in 1934, Europe was not exactly stable and so this decision to spread and strengthen influence through the development of cultural relations a great visionary move on the part of the British. Though in

current times, many other countries and institutions have also entered into the business of language and cultural relations, the British created a niche within this line of work and have since its creation expanded to over 191 offices in more than 110 countries and territories with over 7,000 employees around the world. They currently operate in 21 countries in Africa, including Ghana. <http://www.britishcouncil.org/about/history>

Due to this reason, the BC has to be selective in the specific zones that they choose to work in and so categorizes countries into six<sup>xxxviii</sup> types as indicated below:

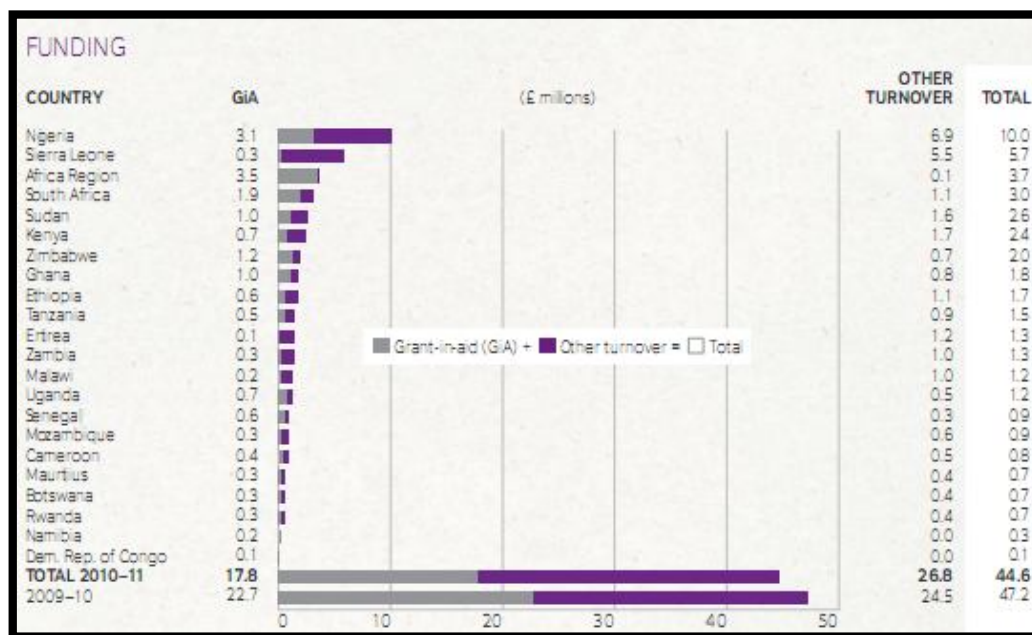
- Low–middle income/less open countries (e.g. Pakistan, Iraq, Sudan)
- Low income countries (e.g. Indonesia, Nigeria, **Ghana**, Philippines)
- Middle income countries (e.g. Turkey, Thailand, Mexico)
- High growth developing countries (e.g. China, India, Russia)
- High income/less open countries (e.g. Saudi Arabia, Israel, Trinidad and Tobago)
- High income/more open countries (e.g. USA, France, Japan)

On the basis of this division, countries may receive funding or support for specific strategic projects. As can be seen in Figure 7 (British Council Funding to Africa 2010-2011) below the total grant-in-aid to African region was 17.8% of global disbursement in the financial year 2010-11 and out of this Ghana received 1.0%. It is quite interesting to note, however, that, South Africa whose economic growth has surpassed most countries in Africa had received a higher percentage of disbursement than a country like Democratic Republic of Congo (who received 0.1%) which due to its political instability, has had a repressed economic growth in



the past couple of years. Its also important to note that these disbursements were matched with turnovers in a majority of these countries which also hints at the direction in which the Council, a non-profit organisation has taken in terms of its delivery of projects which is discussed later in chapter 3 of this paper. This also brings to mind the objective or strategic agenda behind these grants-in-aid in the African region, and especially in Ghana which is the major question behind this paper.

**FIGURE 7: BRITISH COUNCIL FUNDING TO AFRICA 2010-2011**



Source: British Council Annual Report 2010-11, pg 65

In order to find out this, it's important to examine the areas of work and focus of the Council in Ghana since the commencement of its operations in 1943, before this country's independence with a singular focus of improving relation between Ghana and the United Kingdom, creating and enhancing learning opportunities and

building access and understanding between Africa and the global community<sup>xxxix</sup>. This sounds like an ambitious project which is quiet difficult to achieve and perhaps also not entirely tackling the developmental challenges that Ghana and other developing countries.

The British Council's global operations have been mostly focused in less developed and post-conflict zones to aid in their development process through the enhancement of skills by teaching English language<sup>xl</sup> and providing support to educational local systems as well as civil society activities to increase development on an international scale. Hence, the provisions of English learning programs on radio, Television (most popular on BBC), websites as well as on mobile phone has helped boost levels of English in these areas<sup>xli</sup>. Afghanistan, for example, continues to benefit from the British Council's school programmes which have reached over 11,000 students and teachers in joint curriculum projects with UK schools despite attack on the British Council office in Kabul in August 2011. Their military staff and Ministry of Education also receive English training whilst civil society organisations were supported through a £23 million programme to increase the Afghan government's accountability and respect for human rights.

In 2012, a new British Council office was also opened in South Sudan (North Africa) to aid in partnerships with the European Union (EU), Department for International Development (DFID) and the local Ministry of Defense through the delivery of projects aimed at the prevention of conflict, enhancement of security and democratisation. Unfortunately, there've been challenges in recent years to deliver these programs to the regions that need it most due to the global financial crises and perhaps, the targeted £97.9million which forms about 66% of UK grant-funded programmes will be difficult to raise by the year 2014/15. (British Council,

Session                      2010                      –                      12,                      Nov                      2011

<http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201012/cmselect/cmcaff/writev/fco/m38.htm>

The Council has all of its global projects, therefore, targeting three main groups outside the UK namely:

- LEADERS of societies and communities are people who bring about educational and cultural policy change and enable the Council to connect with more people.
- INFLUENCERS are career professionals, educators, artists, scientists and business leaders who we work with to maximise the impact of work.
- ASPIRANTS are generally younger people who are in education or starting out in their careers. They are opinion-formers with their own networks and they have the potential to become the next generation of leaders and influencers.

In this case, therefore, the British Council uses all of its projects to work with different groups within each country with an adaptation based on their individual contexts and challenges. A majority of their work however, is in the field of teaching and offering examination services for English language, though, due to political reasons they also work highly with federal and regional leaders in order to develop each nation's education systems. Their main global agenda, as is seen in their mission statement is to improve the external perception of the UK using the arts as a medium. In the specific case of Ghana, Education and library services were the first services to be offered by the Council due to its previous specific needs in the post-colonial/early independence era.

The British Council's world-wide work, due to its charitable nature is supported by UK stakeholders and partners as well as other international organizations who not

only provide expertise in their various fields, but also funding which is necessary to expand their cultural relations on a global scale which is meant to create links and build foundations for UK trade and business. So in this case, their work, though charitable, does in the end, develop fully lucrative connections with global economies on a larger scale.<sup>xliii</sup> In this case, therefore, the British Council's work in Ghana depends on UK government grant and partnership funds from organisations such as the UK's Department for International Development (DFID), World Bank, the United Nations and the European Union as well as incomes earned from clients who pay for services received.

In light of this, therefore, the work of the Council in Ghana is categorized into three main groups with the view of fulfilling this country's specific needs towards sustainable development in the various sectors, especially Education. With respect to their work in the area of Arts in general, the British Council works with a global team using British artistic and creative talent to develop innovative, high-quality events with collaborations that focuses on connecting artists and cultural institutions around the world with ones in the UK (Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland and England). Through this area, the UK's hope is to promote nation building and international development by sharing expertise and building capacities of artists and cultural leaders from all over, especially in developing countries like Ghana. As at 2010 and 2011, the British Council had worked with 3,650 Arts Policy Makers and Ministers worldwide and at least 14.2 million attendees at exhibitions and performances. (British Council: Annual Report 2010-11 pg 28-29) Specific arts projects in Ghana has included, Bring-the-Noise focused at young upcoming musicians, International Young Fashion Entrepreneur (IYFE) and International Young Communications Entrepreneur (IYCE) which engage fashion designers and youth in the communications sector who are given some training in the UK to improve prospects in Ghana.

In the areas of Education and Society, work done is focused on promoting UK's leadership in the scope of international education as well as a stronger global citizenship. In this case therefore, projects such as Education UK, Chevening Scholarships and Tullow Group Scholarship Scheme (TGSS)<sup>xliii</sup> aim at improving the quality of higher education among Ghanaian citizens whilst offering access to UK's institutions of higher learning.<sup>xliv</sup> In this case, through a competitive scholarship program, Ghanaians who fit the profile are given the opportunity to study in England with the condition of returning to their home country with expertise in their various fields. There are also projects such as Connecting Classrooms which work with local schools creating a link with schools in the United Kingdom to increase capacities of teachers as well as broaden educational perspectives of students. It is interesting, however, to note that the numbers of actual individuals touched or reached by these sorts of projects are just a handful each year and the expected ripple effects are minimal to make a huge difference in Ghana's overall development.

Projects such as InterAction also worked towards reaching local influencers such as government ministers, district heads etc., or potential ones through capacity and leadership building programs, some of which are offered at a fee and by both local and international trainers<sup>xlv</sup>. These may also focus on aiding towards the development of national policies towards minimizing the causes and effects of climate change. This is hoped to make an impact of decision making at a higher national level which will thereby lead to positive development. Debate to Action<sup>xlvi</sup> on the other hand, which was implemented in some parts of the Northern Regions of Ghana such as Tamale, a zone which is considered less deprived in terms of levels of education and high unemployment, works as a project to improve participants' earning abilities through the enhancing their training skills. This same project also uses intercultural dialogue, sport, art, vocational training as a platform

to expand the message of peaceful co-existence amongst the different tribal groups<sup>xlvii</sup>.

English Language has been the official mode of communication in Ghana since it was colonized by the British. This seems, however, to have become a source of income for this same European country in Ghana since its commencement of the application of English level examinations and teaching support for IELTS (International English Language Testing System) which has now become a requirement for working in any part of the world.<sup>xlviii</sup> British Council in Ghana also works with the Ministry of Education and local community leaders in developing policies that will improve capacities of teachers as well as the educational systems which can then build a greater connection to the international community. In addition to this, services administered by the Council in Ghana also include Cambridge International Examinations (CIE) such as GCEO, Chartered Institute of Purchasing and Supply (CIPS), Chartered Institute of Management Accountants (CIMA) and Chartered Institute of Marketing among others. These certifications have gradually become popular among the employment community in Ghana and elsewhere. (British Council Annual Report 2010-11, p26 -27)

As can be observed in Figure 8 below, the British Council has increased its reach in terms of face-to-face interaction with its clients world-wide from 5.6% between 2009 and 2010 to 7.7% between 2010 and 2011. This could be attributed to exhibitions and attendances at other activities organized. However, digital reach also increase from 0.3% to 2.3% between 2010 and 2011. This increment in audiences have also been experienced in Ghana, mostly due to the Council's activities with local artists at concerts which draw in thousands of people as well as education fairs. On whole however, though the numbers reached are a great percentage of the population in Ghana, the overall impact has not been felt as rapidly as should have been, especially considering the long duration of their operations in Ghana and other West African countries.

**FIGURE 8: BRITISH COUNCIL SIMPLIFIED PARTICIPANT AND AUDIENCE TYPES FOR 2011-2012**

SIMPLIFIED PARTICIPANT AND AUDIENCE TYPES FOR 2011-12		
	2010-11	2009-10
	RESULT	RESULT
<b>OVERSEAS</b>		
Total face to face	7.7	5.6
Exhibitions, fairs, festivals	19.4	7.4
Digital interaction	2.3	0.3
Digital audience	100.8	82.6
Publication and broadcast	477.2	569.3
<b>UNITED KINGDOM</b>		
Total face to face	2.6	1.4
Exhibitions, fairs, festivals	0.4	0.6
Digital interaction	0.2	0.0
Digital audience	2.9	3.5
Publication and broadcast	5.6	4.8

Source: British Council Annual Report 2010-11 p 50

Due to the nature of work of the British Council globally as a charitable organisation, its most of its projects are implemented without seeking profit or any sort of return up until around 2007 when their global focus shifted towards increasing efficiency with fewer staff members as well as resources. Since most of their investment in developing economies came from the UK tax payer, this change in perspective was aimed at raking in some returns (surplus) on specific projects in order to keep the entity running, to expand or inject into other newer projects planned for the future. This clearly has also affected the manner in which projects and programs are introduced into the local community, especially since they have been viewed in Ghana in the past as an organization that is focused on bringing education to the less privileged, an image that is slowly being changed to one that offers some services for a fee.

**FIGURE 9: THE CHANGING GEOGRAPHICAL ALLOCATION OF BRITISH COUNCIL'S RESOURCES**

British Council Regions	2000-01	2006-07	2008-09	Net movement	
	£m	£m	£m	£m	
West Europe & Americas	14.7	13.4	11.4	-3.4	↓
North & Central Europe	10.8	10.5	8.5	-2.4	↓
East Asia	13.7	11.9	12.2	-1.5	↓
Russia	3.7	5.2	2.3	-1.4	↓
Latin America	8.5	8.2	8.5	0.0	↔
South East Europe	9.5	14	12.4	2.9	↑
China & Hong Kong	6.1	5.6	9.0	2.9	↑
India & Sri Lanka	4	5.8	7.4	3.4	↑
Southern Africa	4.7	6.3	8.1	3.4	↑
East & West Africa	7.2	10.8	11.9	4.7	↑
Middle East	3.2	7.1	10.0	6.8	↑
Near East & North Africa	4.5	7	11.9	7.4	↑
Central & Southern Asia	2.7	5.5	10.5	7.8	↑
<b>Total</b>	<b>93.3</b>	<b>111.3</b>	<b>124.1</b>	<b>30.8</b>	

Source: House of Commons Public Accounts Committee - British Council: Achieving Impact. Fifty-sixth Report of Session 2007-08, pg 10)

The Council has been flexible in moving its resources, both between countries and within its own organisation. It is currently shifting resources away from Europe and into the Islamic world, Indian subcontinent and the Far East which are either in conflict or post-conflict periods (Figure 9 - The Changing Geographical Allocation of British Council's Resources). The budget for the Middle East region grew from £3.2 million in 2000-01 to £10 million in 2007-08, an increase of over 300%. To achieve this rapid shift, the Council has had to expand its operations in priority countries by recruiting staff and scaling up its existing programmes, as well as developing new ones. The allocation to East and West Africa, where Ghana is located has been increased from £7.2million to £11.9million from 2000 to 2009. Global economic conditions, rates of inflation as well as valuation of the pound



against the Ghanaian cedi must be considered in this adjustment to the budget. So this increment might not necessarily be making a difference considering the local exchange rates and increase in prices.

In the same figure 9 above, there's a reduction of resources in Europe which meant closure of offices and a movement from local public presence unless under conditions where funding is made by the public in terms of payments for services offered. These also implied a reduction in numbers of staff in Europe and other regions affected. This change was implemented in regions of operation in an effort to become more efficient with less UK tax funding and so led to the criticism of the British Council's leadership and vision in the 2006–07 survey of staff. This change implied a lower focus on local projects in 110 countries to widely delivered regional programs (12 regions in all) to minimize duplication of effort and generating larger impact through bigger projects. In this case, Interaction, an African leadership project, has been switched over to a regional programme which has helped to reduce costs per trainee by 50% to £4,000. (British Council Annual Report 2010-11, pg 6)

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **3.0 IMPACT OF THE COUNCIL'S WORK IN GHANA AND THE REGION**

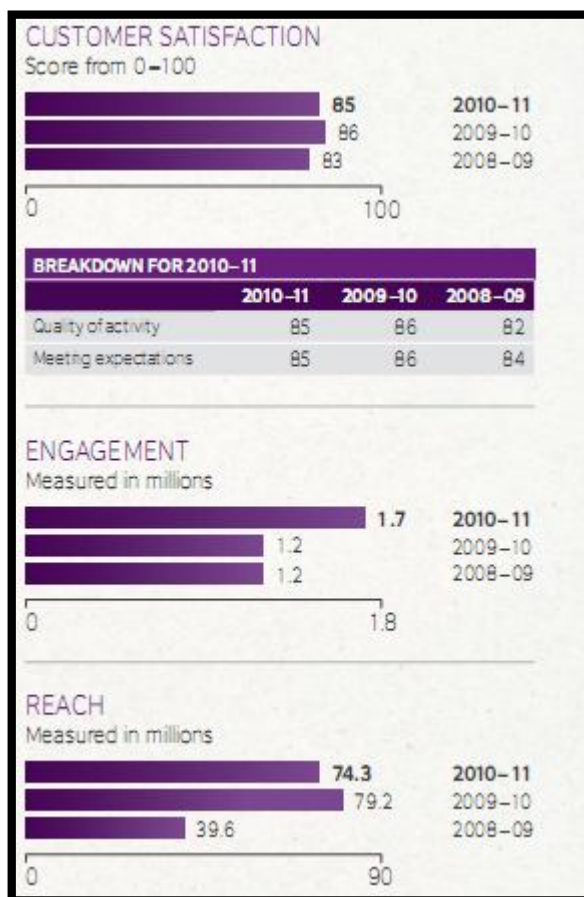
The British Council's work as explained in Chapter 2 of this paper, engages different sectors of the economy as well as people with different profiles. On a global scale, the impact is on a very high scale with over 30 million people worldwide in 2011, an increase of over 10 million from 2010. On a local scale in Ghana, over 11,000 people were reached in just one launching activity in the Northern region 2008 and activities such as WAPI (which draws local artists to exhibit their work draws in over 32,000 people a year. It must also be taken into account the number of schools, students, teachers, business and individuals that the British Council touches with their daily work. In this regard, even though the service of the library was withdrawn in late 2006, it has changed the way in which it delivers projects to make a greater impact.

In the Sub-Saharan African region, whose growth is determined by mining, retail, banking and telecoms, economies were forecasted to grow by 7% a year over the next 2 decades but due to unstable and poor leadership as well as weak rule of law, most of its states has been classified as failed states in 2010. In this case therefore, the work of civil societies have become very important in creating awareness and making governments more accountable in these sorts of environments. Though not directly involved in improving economic development in these countries, the British Council has provided over 600,000 young people with opportunities to develop leadership, entrepreneurial and other work-related skills which will perhaps help make a dent in the levels of unemployment in Africa.

With the increment to 3,000 in the number of higher education/further education links over 5.5 million young people were reached through the DFID Global School

Partnerships and Connecting Classrooms programs. English programmes that were launched also reached about 13 million learners and teachers of English across much of francophone Africa, Sudan and the Horn of Africa. In countries like Sierra Leone, Nigeria and Sudan, justice and security projects are implemented on behalf of DFID which have had a direct impact on the lives of millions of citizens.

**FIGURE 10: SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA - REGIONAL PERFORMANCE**



Source: British Council Annual Report 2010-11 pg 64

Figure 10 above shows that 1.7million people were engaged with by the British Council in Sub-Saharan Africa in 2010 and 2011, a 2 million rise than what was

experienced between 2008 and 2010 with an 85% customer satisfaction registered within the same period. On the other hand, their reach (extended impact) was at a lower end of 39.6million between 2008 and 2009 and this later experienced a huge leap in 2009 to 79.2million people but this fell again by 4.9million in 2010/2011. Perhaps this fluctuation and increase in reach and engagement can be largely attributed to the Council's shift in focus to concentrate on smaller, more expensive projects that have create the possibility of reaching the maximum numbers of people.

Measuring the impact of the Council in Ghana, is a challenging task due to the numerous amounts of smaller projects as well as long term programs that are delivered. It is safe to say, however that, based on the type of audiences they engage with, this level of impact does not necessarily reach the grassroots of Ghana where development pace is at its slowest and where assistance is needed the most. Though education has been identified as the key to growth in Ghana and other developing countries in the region, the type of educational services offered by the council only reaches those who are already in schools, those who have the financial capacities to pay for taking an examination or those who have already been to the university and are seeking support towards further studies abroad. These people who are offered scholarships are chosen from a crop of Ghanaians who are already influential in their field of study or work and so are not necessarily underprivileged bunch who need this sort of assistance.

Chevening Scholarships for example, are given to a maximum of two people a year. This year, however, with the Tullow Scholarship Scheme, at least 50 more people will be given this opportunity. Training programs in leadership has been given to youth in various districts in Ghana, but as to whether this has had a long term impact on those areas is hard to tell, since these are also individuals who are selected with the hope that they would share knowledge with other's in the society.

Perhaps, work done with civil societies through their leaders, such as Great Foundation, are more effective in this regard.

Recent global financial crises<sup>xlix</sup> which wreaked havoc in Europe also affected the work of the British Council in terms of the amount of funding received from the UK government (26% cut in annual funding budget) and other international/local partners. This was also compounded by the problem of the declining value of the British Pound Sterling which affected overseas purchasing power and led to the Council's major transformation program which saved £21 million between 2009 and 2011 through a large revamp of support services and UK operations, the creation of Global Shared Services Centre in India, the increasing the role of regional hubs and reduction of UK staff numbers by 30%.

This implied that work done in Ghana was also affected in the form in which it was implemented as well as the funding that was dedicated. Some programs such as Belongings, Bring-the-Noise, Dreams and Teams as well as Global School Partnerships were stopped in order to focus on different projects that, in the Council's opinion were relevant to the country and could be applied on a regional scale. These sorts of actions are projected to save £70 million by 2014/15. The implication for this cut in funding is that services will now attract more and higher costs for beneficiaries in Ghana. Services such as English and exams bring in more income for the British Council Ghana than any other project. It is expected that in the next four years these plans are projected to increase earnings by 55% to £748 million globally. Though cost are high, there is still a high demand for access to UK Culture, educational opportunities and qualifications in Ghana and so people are willing to pay for services even if they are acquired through loans. The current cost of English exam registration of GH¢480 is excessively high for an average Ghanaian with a minimum wage of GH¢4.48.<sup>1</sup> This also implies that most of the British Council's services and hence their impact are directly targeted at the elite in

the society and so the rural areas and production sectors, which form the basis of development in Ghana has been ignored in most of these projects and restricted the organisation in terms of reach. (House of Commons Public Accounts Committee - British Council: Achieving Impact. Fifty–sixth Report of Session 2007–08, pg 7)

Figure 11 which shows the British Council's global performance from 2008 to 2011 further indicates an overall increase in the perspective of change that has been caused by the British Council's work world-wide. On the other hand, countries within which this organisation operates are also beginning to see far beyond the English language services to what is absolute necessity and a priority in their national development and so engage with other entities that provide these sorts of assistance to sectors that drive growth in economies. Ghana is not an exception and seeks support from countries and organisations such as the United Nations and USAID to aid.

*'...the essential importance of the work of the British Council... gives Britain an unrivalled platform for the projection of the appeal of our culture and the sharing of our values.'* Foreign Secretary, William Hague, July 2010. This statement also shows the real nature of the work of the Council in Ghana, which though essentially makes some sort of impact, though not directly towards economic development, in the end, is for the benefit of the British government.

**FIGURE 11: BRITISH COUNCIL GLOBAL PERFORMANCE 2008 - 2011**

GLOBAL PERFORMANCE RESULTS			
	2010-11	2009-10	2008-09
<b>IMPACT PERSPECTIVE</b>			
Overall assessment by high-level decision-makers/ leaders and mature career professionals (ELTO)	80*	78*	77*
Strengthening of ties with the UK resulting from new or continuing engagement with the British Council	73*	70*	69*
Personal beneficial changes resulting from new or continuing engagement with the British Council	84*	83*	81*
Organisational beneficial changes resulting from new or continuing engagement with the British Council	82*	82*	81*
Foreign and Commonwealth Office assessment of British Council impact and value for money	82	81	79
<b>REPUTATION AND SATISFACTION PERSPECTIVE: QUALITY</b>			
Overall customer satisfaction with their engagement with the British Council	82*	83*	81*
• Quality of engagement	83*	83*	
• Engagement met expectations	82*	83*	
Customers perceive the British Council as a leader in its field	83*	83*	82*
Customers would recommend the British Council (net advocacy)	59%*	50%*	47%*
<b>PARTICIPATION AND AUDIENCE PERSPECTIVE: SCALE AND SCOPE</b>			
Engagement (millions)	29.4	18.4	13.2
• High-level decision-makers/leaders engaged (thousands)	14	13	9
• Mature career professionals engaged (thousands)	719	443	282
• Younger people starting out their careers engaged (millions)	28.7	18	13
Reach through broadcast, online and publications (millions)	578	652	221
International students in UK higher education	n/a**	455,660	415,585
International students in UK further education	n/a**	63,415	77,165
Teaching centre students and examination candidates (millions)	2.2	1.8	1.9

\* Weighted score. In response to NAO feedback, we have weighted the score to reflect the numbers of people with whom we work in different regions.  
 \*\* Not yet available.

Source: British Council Annual Report 2010-11 p50

## CHAPTER 4

### 4.0 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

For all practical purposes, international development assistance is a mix of gift-giving and loan. Aid benefactors actively seek both. Guided by their preferences, donors identify “deserving recipients and decide on the amount, the mix and the mechanisms of delivery of the assistance. What is in aid packages and the delivery mechanisms are less talked about but are vitally important for the effectiveness of development assistance. There is growing realization that the limited effectiveness of aid may be partly the result of the mechanisms of aid delivery and the transactions costs associated with them. Although less aid is explicitly tied than used to be the case, perceptions are strong that aid “quality is not good enough”. Delivery mechanism influence the quality of aid because of their potential impact on the underlying institution environment. Recent diagnosis of aid effectiveness has kindled interest in these matter prompting the question whether some foreign aid delivery mechanisms work better than others. (Tuffour, J. A., Ghana - Multi-Donor Direct Budget Support in Ghana: The Implications for Aid Delivery and Aid Effectiveness, CEPA Issue Paper No. 11, 2005 pg1)

According to the Human Development Report, despite improvements in human development in Ghana, social exclusion persists and is particularly affecting women, the rural poor, and socially and culturally marginalized groups. In this case, therefore, for Ghana to continue to improve human development and achieve Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) targets, efforts need to be made to empower the socially excluded and encourage them to participate in decision making that affects their lives. Spatial and socio-cultural barriers to inclusion, such as geographic isolation and cultural discrimination, need to be further addressed.



(Donato, Jennifer: Human Development Reports and Indigenous Peoples. A Desk Review, 2009 pg 11) It is here, the some aspect of the Council's work with civil society come into play.

British Council's work in Ghana since 1943 has been focused mostly on education and later expansions were made into the area of Art and Society with support being granted in forms of training programs and access to UK's learning institutions. In the course of this paper, the role that this organisation has played in Ghana's economic development has been put up for debate. Chapters 2 and 3 briefly mention the connections that exist between these two countries, first because of their Colonial past and second because of the British Council's work in this country. Though on from all points of view, the relations have been cordial since Ghana's independence, it raises a lot of questions as to the interest of this country in Ghana and why they continue to offer these sorts of services, which do not necessarily serve the specific development needs of Ghana, even in the area of education, which is the organisation's field of expertise.

In this case, therefore, the UK is raking in enormous benefits by engaging in these sorts of activities on a global scale such as the generation of over £6 for every £1 invested by UK taxpayers, a value of £1.2 billion earned by the British Council for the UK economy. In addition to this is the creation of an attractive international image for the UK, through the British Council's work which has created an environment for success for UK businesses. Chatham House's research in 2012 placed English language, education and culture as the top three factors that boost UK's overseas reputation which obviously has an impact on tourism and attraction to UK educational institutes. In 2011, over 400,000 international students were recruited to the UK which adds an annual value £9.8 billion to the UK economy whilst exams provide £50 million in export earnings for UK exam boards.

Activities such as *UK-Brasi* (Olympic games 2012 handover) which is due to be launched in 2012, though not directly a British Council work, will be used as the UK government's opportunity to extend relations with Brazil with the British Foreign Commonwealth Office (FCO) support. The British Council however, took advantage of this year's Olympic season to work with UNICEF and UK Sport on a project called *International Inspiration* which exceeded 2012 target of reaching 12 million young people in 20 countries. (British Council, Session 2010 – 12, Nov 2011

<http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201012/cmselect/cmfaff/writew/fco/m38.htm>)

Efficient resource management has been one of the concerns of the British Council in its delivery of programs in the various countries including Ghana and as previously discussed in Chapter 3, the global financial crises had an impact on this. A majority of the Council's funded projects rely heavily on government funds and grants due to its charitable nature but this will represent just 16% of overall income by 2014/15. It also receives direct donations from other international organisations to maintain their operations and changes in these sources of revenue have also influenced the reliability or predictability with which the organization can hire and retain staff, sustain facilities, create programs, or maintain tax-exempt status. Hence, all of these affected the Council and impelled it towards a shift which involved a change program in all regions including Africa. The Ghana office was one of those affected with a laying-off/retirement of a majority of workers, a reduction in UK staff employed locally, and finally a reduction in number of programs implemented locally.

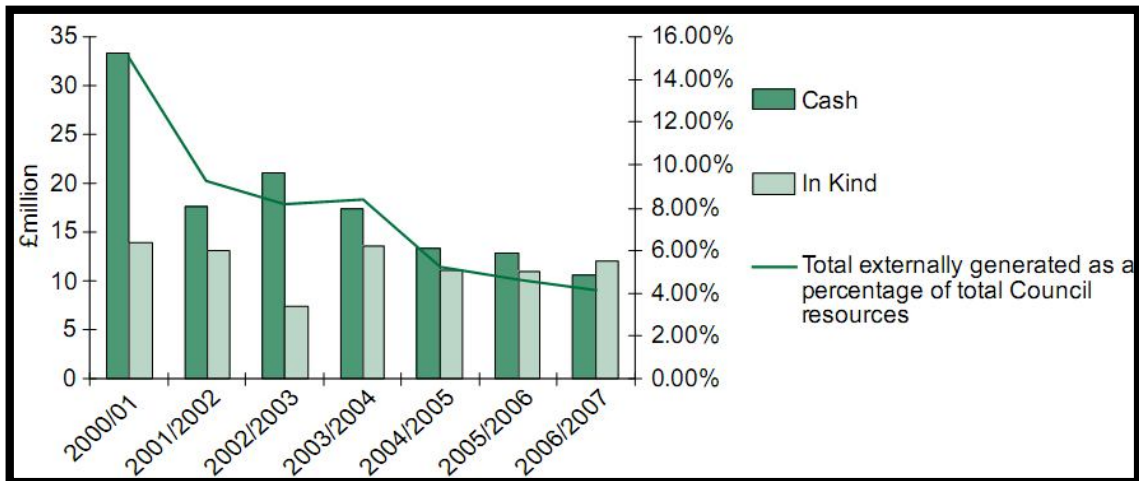
There was also the need to become more efficient and make the most of scarce resources, with a large impact in areas of implementation and so certain programs were offered at a fee as well as higher need to search for funding/implementing

partners to subsidize costs in order to increase income from paid for services by between 9 and 15% annually.<sup>li</sup> Some services such as public relations and media management were outsourced to reduce running costs, whilst others were centralized such as the transition of IT and Finance services to a new global delivery model in May 2011. All these actions are hoped to reduce global platform costs by 20% in 2015.

Unfortunately, there's been a decline in income from external sponsorship and commercial partnerships over the last seven years (See Figure 12 below). Cash contributions dropped from about 33million pounds in 2000/2001 to about 12million pounds in 2007 right around the period of the commencement of the economic crises in Europe. In addition to this, support in kind has also fluctuated between 6% and 3% between 2000 and 2003 till 2007. This situation of seeking external partnership also implies that the objectives of those donors have to be kept in mind in the delivery of programs and this might not necessarily be in line with the beneficiary country's development plan. The government of Ghana, in this case, has also been quite remiss in adhering to implementation plan of most developmental projects supported by foreign international organisations and subsequently, budgets have not been transparently or efficiently managed to meet goals,

In conclusion therefore, though international organisations in general have aided in Ghana's development, especially through direct funding towards achieving government development goals, not all have been exactly directed in sectors where the aid is needed the most. This constant influx of foreign aid has also led to dependency and hence a lack of necessary focus by the government in sectors such as production and education which will lead to a long term growth in the economy.

**FIGURE 12: THE BRITISH COUNCIL'S INCOME FROM SPONSORSHIP AND COMMERCIAL PARTNERSHIPS**



Source: (House of Commons Public Accounts Committee - British Council: Achieving Impact. Fifty-sixth Report of Session 2007-08, pg 11)

The British Council's work in Ghana, though important, especially in the area of education, is slowly becoming irrelevant due to the focus and types of projects that are implemented as well as the types of audiences (target groups) that are reached. Projects are mostly not reaching the grass roots where education will make an impact in terms of broadening perspectives, increasing capacities and reducing ethnic conflicts. Most projects are directed towards the elite or well-off citizens who can afford the services that are being offered. Others, which are open to all legible members of the society, for example IYFE send only one upcoming fashion entrepreneur for capacity building in the UK. Though this opens doors for this particular individual, it does not necessarily widen the scope of the fashion industry in Ghana. Schools that are involved in School Partnerships might also not necessarily be the poorest schools found in rural areas whose students need a ray of hope for the future.

In other instances like the efforts being made by the Government of Ghana to reduce brain drain within the country, propagandas by the British Council of better economic prospects, higher educational standards, culture etc in the UK, promotes the exact opposite. Education UK fairs and scholarships take promising young people out of the country and what usually happens is that these young people fail to return to their home country or return and then move on to other developed countries in search of greener pastures.

Though hard to acknowledge, some huge investments have been made by the British Council in programs such as Reflections (a commemorative program held at Elmina Castle in Ghana in 2007 to mark 200 years of the abolishment of slave trade by the British in 1802) which have not exactly been of significant relevance to Ghana's development and only served as a publicity platform for the British image in the world. Unfortunately, the inhabitants of Elmina in the Central region of Ghana, which is one of the zones where slave trade took place, were not exactly pleased with this event which was patronized by the Ghana@50 committee.

As an international organisation and a development actor, the British Council in Ghana has become one of the main service providers in a country where the government is unable to fulfill its traditional role, especially in the education sector and so has played a role of both 'gap-filling" capacity building which are aimed towards developing skills and tools for strengthening society. Due to this as well as a positive public image created, the Council developed and built on good relations with government. These relations, however, need to be moved in the direction of becoming partners with the Ghanaian government and not competitors in which case all efforts made, especially in the area of capacity-building, will continue to be stunted. Under normal circumstances, an international organisation works towards demand that governmental priorities are moved to focus more attention on citizens that have not yet been reached and in this case, therefore, act therefore as

innovators, critics, advocates and policy partners. The British Council's role in this respect has not been reached despite 68 years of operation in Ghana.

In line of all discussions therefore, it is obvious that the government of Ghana needs to focus its strengths and resources in improving the sector of production, especially in refining raw materials that are in abundance to increase its value and hence export revenues. This can also be aided by concentrating on the educative sector and training more people in Science and technology. Vocational and employable skills are also necessary to enhance entrepreneurial skills which will reduce the level of unemployment in Ghana.

With respect to the work of international organisations such as the British Council, USAID, all organs of the United Nations, just to mention a few, it is of absolute importance that the government clearly defines the areas of priority where foreign developmental support can best be applied for maximum impact. In relation to this, therefore is the need to extensively, but carefully plan and control expenditure on projects to avoid wastage or failure as has been the case in previous years. In the specific case of the British Council, project will be best delivered when tailored to specific needs of Ghana as stated in the paragraph above since their current regional projects which were rolled out between 2007-2008 poses a risk of jeopardizing local trust earned.

On a general perspective, however, both multilateral and bilateral donors have contributed to an active budget support in Ghana and on grants basis especially the United Kingdom. The results of these have been mixed and lessons learnt about general policy shortfalls requiring waivers, low reporting and accountability by sectors, lack of commitment on the side of the Ghanaian government in matching donor funding, high administrative and transactions costs, delays on donor disbursement and donor competition/rivalries which can be used to improve performance of developmental projects. (Tuffour, J. A., Ghana - Multi-Donor Direct

Budget Support in Ghana: The Implications for Aid Delivery and Aid Effectiveness, CEPA Issue Paper No. 11, 2005 pg 10-11)

It is also important that the Ghanaian government, donor agencies and international organizations which are involved in this nation's development, place more emphasis on building capacities as key to sustainable development in general and in reaching the Education for All (EFA) goals in particular. This also implies a need for assisting the government to become responsible and legitimate actors, willing to assume ownership of their proper development processes. Though the path towards sustainable development in Ghana is a long and arduous one, it's a necessity to increase self-sufficiency of the nation and minimize the excessive dependence on foreign assistance. Good relations with governing bodies of other nations, in this regard, the United Kingdom, despite their obvious hidden interests in maintaining relations with Ghana is of essence, especially in a constantly growing global economy which is closely interconnected due to the need for shared resources.

With regards to major and sustainable changes made by the British Council in the sectors within which they operate in Ghana, there's been no direct introduction of new technology but companies such as the Cocoa Processing Company (CPC) which were involved in the African Knowledge Transfer Partnership (AKTP) program have benefited from improvements in processes and knowledge due to support lent to Associate from similar companies in the United Kingdom<sup>lii</sup>. In terms of influencing a positive change in community behaviour and actions toward the problem identified in the context of the aid/support project, some projects such as DTA have worked with youth in specific parts of Ghana, and though impacts are not a largely measurably, those who were involved have experienced a different way of thinking which should hopefully be spread around in the long term.

The British Council in Ghana, has however, not made a significant contribution to poverty alleviation or increasing community well-being through activities that increase job availability, reduce unemployment and eventually enhance purchasing power since unfortunately, most of the projects as mentioned in Chapters 2 and 3 have been targeted at the elite and concentrated more on increasing the popularity and awareness of the United Kingdom than on solving these issues. On a national level, their ability to influence policy development has been very little, but they have been involved in building capacities through leadership training programs. Their Climate Change programs implemented with the British Foreign Commonwealth Office (FCO) has however made an impact at a national level, though efforts are yet to be made to enforce actions that will make a difference by the government of Ghana.

Ultimately speaking, however, with the current economic situation in Ghana, withdrawing all international donor aid to Ghana will be a recipe for disaster since the country is not sufficiently equipped to manage its own affairs in various sectors. Maintaining this support with adequate levels of control, local buy in as well as monitoring tools will ensure that the levels of dependency are diminished in the long term.



## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- <http://data.worldbank.org/country/ghana>
- 1957: Ghana celebrates independence.  
[http://news.bbc.co.uk/onthisday/hi/dates/stories/march/6/newsid\\_2515000/2515459.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/onthisday/hi/dates/stories/march/6/newsid_2515000/2515459.stm)
- <http://www.fco.gov.uk/en/news/latest-news/?view=Speech&id=555183982>
- <http://www.ghana.gov.gh/>
- <http://www.globalenvision.org/2009/04/20/foreign-aid-helping-or-hurting-africa>
- [http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/british/abolition/africa\\_article\\_01.shtml](http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/british/abolition/africa_article_01.shtml): Adi, Hakim, updated 2011-02-17 - Africa and the Transatlantic Slave Trade
- <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/business/6764549.stm>
- <http://ngo-db.unesco.org/s/or/en>
- <http://www.ngopulse.org/group/civil-society>
- (<http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201012/cmselect/cmfaff/writev/fco/m38.htm>, British Council, UK Parliament, Session 2010 – 12, Nov 2011)
- <http://www.tulloil.com/index.asp?pageid=137&newsid=725> : Launch of the Tullow Group Scholarship Scheme (TGSS) in partnership with the British Council, 25 Jan 2012
- <http://www.un-ngls.org/orf/ngorelations.htm>
- [http://www.usaid.gov/our\\_work/democracy\\_and\\_governance/technical\\_areas/civil\\_society/angosi/](http://www.usaid.gov/our_work/democracy_and_governance/technical_areas/civil_society/angosi/)
- <http://www.vso.org.uk/what-we-do/>
- Appiah, Kwame and Henry Gates, JR, Ed. *Africana: The encyclopedia of the African and African-American Experience*. (1999) pp. 830-833.
- Chilcote, Ronald H.: *Development in Theory and Practice: Latin American Perspectives*, 2003 p1, 4 –

- Dogbevi K. Emmanuel: Ghana and UK are equal partners – High Commissioner, 29 July 2011 <http://www.ghanabusinessnews.com>
- Angotti, Thomas, 1981: The Political Implications of Dependency Theory - *Latin American Perspectives*, Vol. 8, No. 3/4, Dependency and Marxism pp. 124-137
- Badu, A. Yaw & Parker, Andrew: The Role of Non-governmental Organizations in Rural Development: The Case of the Voluntary Work-camps Association of Ghana (Journal of Social Development in Africa (1994). 9.1. 27-39)
- Bourret, F. M.: Ghana, the Road to Independence, 1919-1957. 1960 pg 17
- British Council, Annual Report, 2010 – 2011 pg 50
- British Council DELPHE: The Case Studies 2010 – Transforming Ghana's Land Policy
- British Council: Royal Charter and By-Laws. Objects, 1993
- CEPA: Ghana - Current State of the Ghanaian Economy. Selected Economic Issues No. 14, 2007
- Donato, Jennifer, Human Development Reports and Indigenous Peoples A Desk Review, 2009 pg 9-11
- Ferraro, Vincent: Dependency Theory: An Introduction," in *The Development Economics Reader*, 2008, pp. 58-64
- Ghana Statistical Service (GSS), Oct 2011: Quarterly Gross Domestic Product -2<sup>nd</sup> Quarter 2011 Reviewed - <http://www.statsghana.gov.gh/>
- Gocking, Roger: The History of Ghana. 2005
- Hallett, R: Africa Since 1875, pp 327-328
- Hochschild, Adam: Bury the Chains. Prophets and Rebels in the Fight to Free an Empire's Slaves. 2005, pg 174, 194, 221

- House of Commons Public Accounts Committee - British Council: Achieving Impact. Fifty–sixth Report of Session 2007–08, pg 1-14
- Howard, Rhoda, 1978: Colonialism and Underdevelopment in Ghana
- Hudock, C. Ann, 1999: NGOs and Civil Societies: Democracy by Proxy?
- International Monetary Fund: Country Report No. 09/256, August 2009
- Lata, Manju, 2007: Changing Role of NGOs in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century pg 1 – 3
- Meng, Joyce Dec 2004, Ghana, Miracle or Mirage
- Mhango, Yvonne: Economics Ghana - Annual economic outlook. The eve of oil production, April 2010, pg 1
- National Audit Office, Great Britain, June 2008: The British Council – Achieving Impact
- Nkrumah, Kwame, 1965: Neo-Colonialism, the Last Stage of Imperialism.
- Nye, Joseph; Robert Keohane (1977): Power and Interdependence - World Politics in Transition
- Osei, Akwasi: Ghana - Recurrence and Change in a Post-Independence African State. Peter Lang Publishing, 1999
- Pannu Parveen & Tomar Yuki A.: ICT4D Information Communication Technology for Development, 2010 pg 44
- Radelet, Steven: Aid Effectiveness and the Millennium Development Goals. Working Paper Number 39, 2004
- Rotberg, Robert I.: Failed States, Collapsed States, Weak States: Causes and Indicators, Chp1
- Text of the Speech in Department of State Bulletin, January 30, 1949, p. 123
- The World Bank - The role of NGOs and Communities in Post-conflict Reconstruction of HD Services - HD Learning Week November 6 – 2006

- The World Bank Group: World Development Indicators Database, April 2009
- Tuffour, J. A.: Ghana - Multi-Donor Direct Budget Support in Ghana: The Implications for Aid Delivery and Aid Effectiveness, CEPA Issue Paper No. 11, 2005 pg 1-12
- Ulleberg, Inger: The Role and Impact of NGOs in Capacity Development. From Replacing the State to Reinvigorating Education. Paris, 2009
- United Nations, 2009: Economic Report on Africa 2009 - Developing African Agriculture through Regional Value Chains (Chp. 3 - Current and Emerging Development Challenges for Africa in 2008)
- UN Economic & Social Council, Economic Commission for Africa: Meeting Africa's New Development Challenges in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century: Issues Paper, March 2008
- Walt, Stephen M.: The Relationship between Theory and Policy in International Relations (Annu. Rev. Polit. Sci. 2005. 8:23–48)

## FOOTNOTES

- 
- <sup>i</sup> Ghana Statistical Service (GSS), Oct 2011: Quarterly Gross Domestic Product -2<sup>nd</sup> Quarter 2011 Reviewed - <http://www.statsghana.gov.gh/>
- <sup>ii</sup> GDP of \$38.24 billion (2010 est.)
- <sup>iii</sup> International Monetary Fund: Country Report No. 09/256, August 2009
- <sup>iv</sup> Official Data; and Fund Staff Projections:
1. Fiscal adjustment in program, relative to GDP, including June 2009 measure.
  2. The 2009 data have been adjusted to ensure comparable coverage to 2008
- <sup>v</sup> Hoesch, Adam: Bury the Chains. Prophets And Rebels in the Fight to Free an Empire's Slaves (Macmillan, 2005) pg 174, 194, 221
- <sup>vi</sup> Japan International Cooperation Agency
- <sup>vii</sup> British Council: Royal Charter and By-Laws. 1993, Objects
- <sup>viii</sup> Text of the Speech in Department of State Bulletin, January 30, 1949, p123
- <sup>ix</sup> Nye, Joseph; Robert Keohane (1977). Power and Interdependence: World Politics in Transition
- <sup>x</sup> Theotonio Dos Santos, "The Structure of Dependence," in K.T. Fann and Donald C. Hodges, eds., *Readings in U.S. Imperialism*. Boston: Porter Sargent, 1971, p226
- <sup>xi</sup> See Pannu Parveen & Tomar Yuki A.: ICT4D Information Communication Technology for Development, 2010 pg 44
- <sup>xii</sup> "On Development" by Che Guevara - Plenary session, UN Conference on Trade & Development, Geneva, Switzerland, 25/03/1964
- <sup>xiii</sup> Dr. Kwame Nkrumah - Neo-colonialism: The last Stage of Imperialism, 1965, London.
- <sup>xiv</sup> <http://www.oxfordbibliographiesonline.com/view/document/>
- <sup>xv</sup> DeMars, Williams E.: NGOs and Transnational Networks: Wild Cards in World Politics. London. Pluto, 2005
- <sup>xvi</sup> Lata, Manju: Changing Role of NGOs in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century. 2007 p1 - 3
- <sup>xvii</sup> In this study therefore, reference is being made to international non-profit organizations.
- <sup>xviii</sup> UN Secretary-General BAN Ki-moon: United Nations Millennium Development Goals: <http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/bkgd.shtml>
- <sup>xix</sup> ...such as the successive Medium Term National Development Plans starting with the Ghana Poverty Reduction Strategy (GPRS I) 2003-2005 then the Growth and Poverty Reduction Strategy (GPRS II) 2006-2009, and recently Ghana Shared Growth Development 2010-2013, which is at the final stage of drafting. See MDG Progress in Ghana - <http://www.undp-gha.org/mainpages.php?page=MDG%20Progress>
- <sup>xx</sup> Appiah-Kubi, Kodwo: The Millennium Development Goals: Can Ghana achieve them by 2015? 28 May 2010 <http://www.theghanaijournal.com/2010/05/28/the-millennium-development-goals-can-ghana-achieve-them-by-2015/>
- <sup>xxi</sup> <http://www.britishcouncil.org/ghana-arts-and-culture-africa-2007-reflections.htm>
- <sup>xxii</sup> <http://www.britishcouncil.org/ghana-society-debate-to-action-2.htm>
- <sup>xxiii</sup> 1957: Ghana celebrates independence. [http://news.bbc.co.uk/onthisday/hi/dates/stories/march/6/newsid\\_2515000/2515459.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/onthisday/hi/dates/stories/march/6/newsid_2515000/2515459.stm)
- <sup>xxiv</sup> Nkrumah, Kwame: Handbook of Revolutionary Warfare: A Guide to the Armed Phase of the African Revolution. (Paperback - 1975)

---

<sup>xxv</sup> Dogbevi K. Emmanuel: Ghana and UK are equal partners – High Commissioner, 29 July 2011  
<http://www.ghanabusinessnews.com>

<sup>xxvi</sup> **Bourret, F. M: Ghana, the Road to Independence, 1919-1957. p17**

<sup>xxvii</sup> Appiah, Kwame & Gates, Henry: The Encyclopedia of the African and African-American Experience (New York; Civitas Books, 1999), p830-833.

<sup>xxviii</sup> Nkrumah, Kwame: Handbook of Revolutionary Warfare: A Guide to the Armed Phase of the African Revolution. (Paperback - 1975)

<sup>xxix</sup> <http://select.nytimes.com/mem/archive/pdf?res>

<sup>xxx</sup> The World Bank Group: World Development Indicators Database , April 2009

<sup>xxxi</sup> World Bank: Ghana's Growth Story - How to accelerate growth and achieve MDGs? April 2007, p17

<sup>xxxii</sup> Mhango, Y., April 2010, p1- 7

<sup>xxxiii</sup> Africa Development Research Series: Ghana, 2009 p1-4

<sup>xxxiv</sup> According to World Bank report published in 2012

<sup>xxxv</sup> Net official development assistance (ODA) consists of disbursements of loans made on concessional terms (net of repayments of principal) and grants by official agencies of the members of the Development Assistance Committee (DAC), by multilateral institutions, and by non-DAC countries to promote economic development and welfare in countries and territories in the DAC list of ODA recipients. It includes loans with a grant element of at least 25% (calculated at a rate of discount of 10%).

<sup>xxxvi</sup> Conclusions fro an external review of Public Expenditure Management in Ghana undertaken by the UK (DFID) and the World Bank in 2006.

<sup>xxxvii</sup> Tuffour, J. A., Ghana - Multi-Donor Direct Budget Support in Ghana: The Implications for Aid Delivery and Aid Effectiveness, CEPA Issue Paper No. 11, 2005 pg 1- 4

<sup>xxxviii</sup> British Council Annual Report 2010-11, pg 18

<sup>xxxix</sup> <http://www.britishcouncil.org/africa-gh-contact-us.htm>

<sup>xl</sup> According to a research publication by Euro-monitor in 2012, there exists a link between English language skills and economic benefits as well as a 10–50% salary gap between those who have English and those who don't. There is also a connection between levels of English and overall average earnings, hence a need for English in post-conflict area stabilization. (British Council, Session 2010 – 12, Nov 2011  
<http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201012/cmselect/cmfaff/writew/fco/m38.htm>)

<sup>xli</sup> *TeachingEnglish* Radio series has been broadcasted in Africa to nearly 7 million listeners as of date and 1.5 million SMS subscribers in Asia, Africa and Latin America this year for English on mobile phones. (British Council, Session 2010 – 12, Nov 2011  
<http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201012/cmselect/cmfaff/writew/fco/m38.htm>)

<sup>xlii</sup> British Council Annual Report 2010-11, pg 15

<sup>xliii</sup> See Launch of the \$6million Tullow Group Scholarship Scheme (TGSS) in partnership with the British Council on 25<sup>th</sup> January 2012 which is supposed to benefit 50 Ghanaians each year who

---

meet the criteria. The scholarships aim to support local people to participate in the oil and gas industry, and in other sectors that promote economic diversification.

<http://www.tulloil.com/index.asp?pageid=137&newsid=725>

<sup>xliv</sup> 1.8 million attendees at Education UK fairs with 5,300 schools in school links and 5.8 million participants annually. (British Council Annual Report 2010-11, pg 15)

<sup>xlv</sup> The Council reaches 5,950 policy makers and leaders. British Council Annual Report 2010-11

<sup>xlvi</sup> See Chapter 2.0 of this document, page 26

<sup>xlvii</sup> Part of the Northern Region launch of DTA in 2008, activities like 'I-Ride for Development', which saw more than 900 people mount their bikes in Bolgatanga and a crowd of 19,000 people watching the Northern Legends concert in St John's Park in the same town. (Development in Ghana: Towards the UN's Millennium Development Goals, <http://www.britishcouncil.org/home-about-us-world-of-difference-development-in-ghana.htm>)

<sup>xlviii</sup> The Council works with 1,490 policy makers and administers, 294,000 learners in teaching centres, reach 4.2 million teachers and learners, an online community of 478,000 teachers and learners, 131,000 teachers and coaches in professional development and 1.3 million classroom hours each year globally. (British Council Annual Report 2010-11 pg 26 -27)

<sup>xlix</sup> The 2007–2012 global financial crises as well as 2008 financial crisis which resulted in the threat of total collapse of large financial institutions, the bailout of banks by national governments and downturns in stock markets around the world have been known to be the worst financial crisis since the Great Depression of the 1930s.

<sup>i</sup> See <http://www.ghana.gov.gh/index.php/news/features/10871-workers-get-improved-minimum-wage>: Workers Get Improved Minimum Wage, Feb 2012

<sup>ii</sup> The Council plans to increase income from partnerships by 75% to £65 million by 2015 in order to increased access to intellectual and financial resources as well as build organisational profile, market penetration and delivery capacity.

<sup>iii</sup> AKTP (Africa Knowledge Transfer Partnerships) are partnerships between private sector organisations and higher education institutions in Sub Saharan Africa and the UK. They leverage research, scientific knowledge and skills through innovation. See <http://www.britishcouncil.org/africa-aktp.htm>

- 
- <sup>ii</sup> Ghana Statistical Service (GSS), Oct 2011: Quarterly Gross Domestic Product -2<sup>nd</sup> Quarter 2011 Reviewed - <http://www.statsghana.gov.gh/>
- <sup>iii</sup> GDP of \$38.24 billion (2010 est.)
- <sup>iii</sup> International Monetary Fund: Country Report No. 09/256, August 2009
- <sup>iii</sup> Official Data; and Fund Staff Projections:
1. Fiscal adjustment in program, relative to GDP, including June 2009 measure.
  2. The 2009 data have been adjusted to ensure comparable coverage to 2008
- <sup>iii</sup> Hochschild, Adam: Bury the Chains. Prophets And Rebels in the Fight to Free an Empire's Slaves (Macmillan, 2005) pg 174, 194, 221
- <sup>iii</sup> Japan International Cooperation Agency
- <sup>iii</sup> British Council: Royal Charter and By-Laws. 1993, Objects
- <sup>iii</sup> Text of the Speech in Department of State Bulletin, January 30, 1949, p123
- <sup>iii</sup> Nye, Joseph; Robert Keohane (1977). Power and Interdependence: World Politics in Transition
- <sup>iii</sup> Theotonio Dos Santos, "The Structure of Dependence," in K.T. Fann and Donald C. Hodges, eds., *Readings in U.S. Imperialism*. Boston: Porter Sargent, 1971, p226
- <sup>iii</sup> See Pannu Parveen & Tomar Yuki A.: ICT4D Information Communication Technology for Development, 2010 pg 44
- <sup>iii</sup> "On Development" by Che Guevara - Plenary session, UN Conference on Trade & Development, Geneva, Switzerland, 25/03/1964
- <sup>iii</sup> Dr. Kwame Nkrumah - Neo-colonialism: The last Stage of Imperialism, 1965, London.
- <sup>iii</sup> <http://www.oxfordbibliographiesonline.com/view/document/>
- <sup>iii</sup> DeMars, Williams E.: NGOs and Transnational Networks: Wild Cards in World Politics. London. Pluto, 2005
- <sup>iii</sup> Lata, Manju: Changing Role of NGOs in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century. 2007 p1 - 3
- <sup>iii</sup> In this study therefore, reference is being made to international non-profit organizations.
- <sup>iii</sup> UN Secretary-General BAN Ki-moon: United Nations Millennium Development Goals: <http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/bkgd.shtml>
- <sup>iii</sup> ...such as the successive Medium Term National Development Plans starting with the Ghana Poverty Reduction Strategy (GPRS I) 2003-2005 then the Growth and Poverty Reduction Strategy (GPRS II) 2006-2009, and recently Ghana Shared Growth Development 2010-2013, which is at the final stage of drafting. See MDG Progress in Ghana - <http://www.undp-gha.org/mainpages.php?page=MDG%20Progress>
- <sup>iii</sup> Appiah-Kubi, Kodwo: The Millennium Development Goals: Can Ghana achieve them by 2015? 28 May 2010 <http://www.theghanaijournal.com/2010/05/28/the-millennium-development-goals-can-ghana-achieve-them-by-2015/>
- <sup>iii</sup> <http://www.britishcouncil.org/ghana-arts-and-culture-africa-2007-reflections.htm>
- <sup>iii</sup> <http://www.britishcouncil.org/ghana-society-debate-to-action-2.htm>
- <sup>iii</sup> 1957: Ghana celebrates independence. [http://news.bbc.co.uk/onthisday/hi/dates/stories/march/6/newsid\\_2515000/2515459.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/onthisday/hi/dates/stories/march/6/newsid_2515000/2515459.stm)
- <sup>iii</sup> Nkrumah, Kwame: Handbook of Revolutionary Warfare: A Guide to the Armed Phase of the African Revolution. (Paperback - 1975)
- <sup>iii</sup> Dogbevi K. Emmanuel: Ghana and UK are equal partners – High Commissioner, 29 July 2011 <http://www.ghanabusinessnews.com>
- <sup>iii</sup> **Bourret, F. M: Ghana, the Road to Independence, 1919-1957. p17**
- <sup>iii</sup> Appiah, Kwame & Gates, Henry: The Encyclopedia of the African and African-American Experience (New York; Civitas Books, 1999), p830-833.



- 
- ii Nkrumah, Kwame: Handbook of Revolutionary Warfare: A Guide to the Armed Phase of the African Revolution. (Paperback - 1975)
- iii <http://select.nytimes.com/mem/archive/pdf?res>
- iii The World Bank Group: World Development Indicators Database , April 2009
- iii World Bank: Ghana's Growth Story - How to accelerate growth and achieve MDGs? April 2007, p17
- iii Mhango, Y., April 2010, p1- 7
- iii Africa Development Research Series: Ghana, 2009 p1-4
- iii According to World Bank report published in 2012
- iii Net official development assistance (ODA) consists of disbursements of loans made on concessional terms (net of repayments of principal) and grants by official agencies of the members of the Development Assistance Committee (DAC), by multilateral institutions, and by non-DAC countries to promote economic development and welfare in countries and territories in the DAC list of ODA recipients. It includes loans with a grant element of at least 25% (calculated at a rate of discount of 10%).
- iii Conclusions fro an external review of Public Expenditure Management in Ghana undertaken by the UK (DFID) and the World Bank in 2006.
- ii Tuffour, J. A., Ghana - Multi-Donor Direct Budget Support in Ghana: The Implications for Aid Delivery and Aid Effectiveness, CEPA Issue Paper No. 11, 2005 pg 1- 4
- iii British Council Annual Report 2010-11, pg 18
- iii <http://www.britishcouncil.org/africa-gh-contact-us.htm>
- iii According to a research publication by Euro-monitor in 2012, there exists a link between English language skills and economic benefits as well as a 10–50% salary gap between those who have English and those who don't. There is also a connection between levels of English and overall average earnings, hence a need for English in post-conflict area stabilization. (British Council, Session 2010 – 12, Nov 2011  
<http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201012/cmselect/cmfaaff/writtev/fco/m38.htm>)
- iii *TeachingEnglish* Radio series has been broadcasted in Africa to nearly 7 million listeners as of date and 1.5 million SMS subscribers in Asia, Africa and Latin America this year for English on mobile phones. (British Council, Session 2010 – 12, Nov 2011  
<http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201012/cmselect/cmfaaff/writtev/fco/m38.htm>)
- iii British Council Annual Report 2010-11, pg 15
- iii See Launch of the \$6million Tullow Group Scholarship Scheme (TGSS) in partnership with the British Council on 25<sup>th</sup> January 2012 which is supposed to benefit 50 Ghanaians each year who meet the criteria. The scholarships aim to support local people to participate in the oil and gas industry, and in other sectors that promote economic diversification.  
<http://www.tulloil.com/index.asp?pageid=137&newsid=725>

- 
- <sup>ii</sup> 1.8 million attendees at Education UK fairs with 5,300 schools in school links and 5.8 million participants annually. (British Council Annual Report 2010-11, pg 15)
- <sup>iii</sup> The Council reaches 5,950 policy makers and leaders. British Council Annual Report 2010-11
- <sup>iii</sup> See Chapter 2.0 of this document, page 26
- <sup>iii</sup> Part of the Northern Region launch of DTA in 2008, activities like 'I-Ride for Development', which saw more than 900 people mount their bikes in Bolgatanga and a crowd of 19,000 people watching the Northern Legends concert in St John's Park in the same town. (Development in Ghana: Towards the UN's Millennium Development Goals, <http://www.britishcouncil.org/home-about-us-world-of-difference-development-in-ghana.htm>)
- <sup>iii</sup> The Council works with 1,490 policy makers and administrators, 294,000 learners in teaching centres, reach 4.2 million teachers and learners, an online community of 478,000 teachers and learners, 131,000 teachers and coaches in professional development and 1.3 million classroom hours each year globally. (British Council Annual Report 2010-11 pg 26 -27)
- <sup>iii</sup> The 2007–2012 global financial crises as well as 2008 financial crisis which resulted in the threat of total collapse of large financial institutions, the bailout of banks by national governments and downturns in stock markets around the world have been known to be the worst financial crisis since the Great Depression of the 1930s.
- <sup>iii</sup> See <http://www.ghana.gov.gh/index.php/news/features/10871-workers-get-improved-minimum-wage>: Workers Get Improved Minimum Wage, Feb 2012
- <sup>iii</sup> The Council plans to increase income from partnerships by 75% to £65 million by 2015 in order to increased access to intellectual and financial resources as well as build organisational profile, market penetration and delivery capacity.
- <sup>iii</sup> AKTP (Africa Knowledge Transfer Partnerships) are partnerships between private sector organisations and higher education institutions in Sub Saharan Africa and the UK. They leverage research, scientific knowledge and skills through innovation. See <http://www.britishcouncil.org/africa-aktp.htm>