

https://dspace.org/

Political regimes and economic development in Ghana's Fourth Republic

Ayisi-Boateng, George

2021
https://hdl.handle.net/10539/32675

Downloaded from a DSpace repository. https://dspace.org/

Political regimes and economic development in Ghana's Fourth Republic

By

George Ayisi-Boateng





A Doctoral Thesis Submitted in Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Award of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in the field of

POLITICAL ECONOMY

at

The Graduate School of Business Administration

UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND

Supervised by Professor Imhotep Paul Alagidede

June 2021

Abstract

This study contributes to the state of knowledge on the role of political regimes in the development of Ghana from 1993-2020. It positions the discourse in terms of how political regimes facilitate, and/or inhibit the economic development process since the dawn of the Fourth Republic. Drawing on the critical realist research framework, the study examines the impact of the two dominant political parties that have held power since 1992: the New Patriotic Party (NPP) and the National Democratic Congress (NDC). It specifically examines the nature of economic policies, their implementation and out turns. The findings indicate that the two political parties tend to devote much of their attention to addressing the negative propaganda narratives from opposing camps. This type of "communication war" finds expression in the manifestos and development plans, and has been the bane of Ghana's development trajectory over the past three decades. The study argues that, although significant amount of sound policies have been written on paper, implementation challenges have been the Achilles' heels of both regimes. Within the global context, Ghana's multi-party democracy has been applauded and, whilst some of the development agenda have been home-grown, the political regimes have borrowed policies from other developed economies. In the economic sphere, we identify a plethora of policy slippages in relation to job creation and entrepreneurial development, ranging from lack of political will, to putting square pegs in round holes, and widespread mismanagement. Among other things, the study highlights how the political parties could begin to find ways of working together in the area of development plan formulation and implementation. The idea is that the consultative / participatory approach to addressing the development problems of the country has the potential to put an end to the current fragmented, short term and unpredictable nature of the "national" development plans. It is hoped this study will provide utility for further academic and policy research and help answer important questions surrounding the current and future state of business development in Ghana and countries of similar circumstances.

Keywords: Political regimes; Fourth Republic; Critical realist theory; Ghana's business sector, Integrated development planning.

Jel Classification: D72; F59; O17; O18; P16; P40; P48; P51.

Extracted Research Outputs

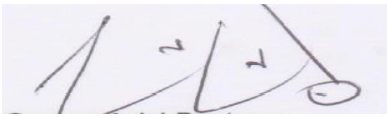
Prior to the submission of the thesis, two articles were extracted for publication in peer reviewed journals.

1. (With Imhotep Paul Alagidede and Yirenkyi-Boateng). Positioning the political parties of Africa within the critical realist discourse. Submitted to the *Journal of Critical Realist Theory*.
2. (With Imhotep Paul Alagidede and Yirenkyi-Boateng). Promoting the business sector in Ghana: A critical realist perspective. Submitted to the *Ghanaian Journal of Economics*.

Declaration

I, **George Ayisi-Boateng**, hereby declare that this research report is my work in both design and accomplishment except as indicated in the references and acknowledgements. It is submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the award of Doctor of Philosophy degree in the field of Political Economy at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in this or any other university.

George Ayisi-Boateng
Doctoral research candidate
(Candidate's number: 2262218)



Signed on June 4, 2020

Dedication

I heartily dedicate this work to my dear wife, Mrs. Linda Ayisi-Boateng for sacrificing her marital comfort for me to pursue this academic program. I also dedicate this work to my Son, Dr. Nana Kwame Ofori Ayisi-Boateng and my dear daughter, Awura Akua Ayisi-Boateng for their immense support and encouragement.

Acknowledgement

Special thanks to Prof. Imhotep Paul Alagidede, a very intelligent, personable, and telegenic academician who supervised this thesis. His learned art of criticising and encouraging helped me a lot. Thanks as well to Prof. Yirenkyi Boateng of University of South Africa (UNISA), always patient, always wise, who stuck with me through the research and the many, many drafts. This would not be the success story without Prof. Yirenkyi Boateng's help and inspiration.

To Maurice Omane-Adjepong, a fellow PhD candidate, of the University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, who kept me on "schedule and on the mark". I also to wish to extend my special appreciation to the hardworking staff of the newly established Ministry of Business Development in Accra who gave me tremendous support in this study. Their willingness to provide me with volumes of information including the evaluations they have conducted on the beneficiaries of their many programmes helped to add so much value to my work.

I am equally grateful to my ten (10) Research Assistants who travelled the length and breadth of the entire administrative districts of Ghana to administer and collect the research questionnaires timeously, particularly, Nana Yaw Ofori Gyamfi of Ghana's One District One Factory (IDIF) Secretariat. Finally, I wish to express my gratitude to Mr. Muhammad Adam (Minister/Political and Economic), Ms. Lethukuthula Xaba (Social Secretary) and Mrs Regina Kyei-Yamoah, Confidential Secretary, all of the Ghana High Commission in Pretoria for their invaluable contributions in the researching and typing of my project work.

List of Tables

Table 2.1: Key areas of assessment of the performance of the post-1993 political regimes **040**

Table 2.2: The manifesto titles/themes of the NDC and NPP governments **056**

Table 3.1: Terminologies associated with the MELD model **069**

Table 4.1: Regions and districts in Ghana **076**

Table 4.2: The nature of information collected to address the objectives of the study **085**

Table 4.3: Validity and reliability issues **086**

Table 4.4: An outline of the 24 Likert-based statements **087**

Table 4.5: List of the 220 research participants **097**

Table 4.6: List of the leading political parties of Ghana as of 1 January, 2019 **105**

Table 4.7: Job creation and entrepreneurship development in Ghana **106**

Table 5.1: NPP and NDC policy/plan documents on the promotion of Ghanaian businesses **115**

Table 5.2: Ranking of the poverty situation in the districts of Ghana **116**

Table 5.3: Matrix of the 24 responses from the 220 respondents (RGO to HDB) **121**

Table 5.4: Outline of the correlation matrix of the 16 variables **122**

Table 5.5: Summary measures of observed variables **123**

Table 5.6: Matrix table of three factor loadings under orthogonal transformation **126**

Table 5.7: The statements associated with Factor One **127**

Table 5.8: The statements associated with Factor Two **128**

Table 5.9: The statements associated with Factor Three **129**

Table 5.10: The residuals of the three factor loadings under the orthogonal transformation **130**

Table 5.11: Distribution of the factors scores **130**

Table 5.12: Clustering the 220 respondents in terms of their scores on the 3 factors **132**

Table 5.13: Factor One – Difference in entrepreneurship development **132**

Table 5.14: Factor Two – The differences in government plans **134**

Table 5.15: The respondents who associated with Factor Three **135**

Table 5.16: Findings in terms of 5 key areas **136**

Table 5.17: The regime periods **137**

Table 5.18: Philosophies of post-1993 political regimes on entrepreneurship **151**

Table 5.19: Some key features of Ghana's post-1993 business promotion programmes **152**

Table 5.20: Open Coding factors on the problems facing the business promotion programmes **157**

Table 5.21: A classification of the problems emanating from the accounts of the respondents **166**

Table 6.1: A summary of the public education strategies **180**

Table 6.2: Plan formulation tasks/problems to be assigned to the 16 planning teams **185**

List of Figures

Figure 1.1: Real GDP Growth Trends and Political Regimes in Ghana (1993 to 2019) **006**

Figure 1.2: Real GDP per capita Trends and Political Regimes in Ghana (1992 to 2019) **006**

Figure 2.1: Gap analysis perspective on the challenge of implementing political party development plans **031**

Figure 2.2: An outline of the elements of good governance **036**

Figure 2.3: A wave or cycle-based model on political governance legacies **042**

Figure 2.4: A wave cycle model of political governance **042**

Figure 2.5: Application of the critical realist model in the study **047**

Figure 3.1: Outline of stakeholder's information **064**

Figure 3.2: A reconceptualization of the gap concept used in the study **066**

Figure 3.3: Outline of the role of the MELD model in tackling practical problems linked to the business promotion initiatives **067**

Figure 3.4: A stratification model of MELD indicating the 4 phases in the social transformation process **070**

Figure 4.1: Outline of the research design **075**

Figure 4.2: Map indicating the geographical locations of the districts of Ghana **078**

Figure 4.3: The three-tiered ontology model of critical realism 1**04**

Figure 4.4: Key steps in the application of the grounded theory research design process **110**

Figure 6.1: The MELD model applied in the analysis of the Ghanaian businesses **177**

Figure 6.2: Transformation model for the Ghanaian business promotion process (3L and 4D) **178**

List of Appendices

Appendix 1: Survey instruments **210**

List of Abbreviations

AU	The African Union
BSR	Business Social Responsibility
CR	Critical Realism
DCR	Dialectical Critical Realism
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
FA	Factor Analysis
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GT	Grounded Theory
HDI	Human Development Index
MELD	1st **M**oment, 2nd **E**dge, 3rd **L**evel, 4th **D**imension
NDC	National Democratic Congress
NPP	New Patriotic Party
NDPC	National Development Planning Commission
NEPAD	New Partnership for African Development
PNDC	Provisional National Defence Council
RT	Regime Theory
SAP	Structural Adjustment Programme
TNCs	Transnational Corporations
UNCTAD	United Nations Centre for Trade and Development
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme

Table of Content

Abstract i

Extracted Research Outputs ii

Declaration iii

Dedication iv

Acknowledgement v

List of Tables vi

List of Figures x

List of Appendices ix

List of Abbreviations x

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Problem statement 001

1.2 The rationale for the study 003

1.3 Some key problematic areas of Ghana's development 009

1.3.1 The dualistic nature of the economy: urban/rural and informal/formal sectors **009**

1.3.2 Infrastructure development and provision of social services **010**

1.4 The role of government policies and plans 012

1.5 Research questions 016

1.6 Research objectives 017

1.7 Conclusion 018

1.8 Definitions of key concepts 018

1.9 Limitations of the study 021

1.10 Structure of the Thesis 022

Chapter 2

Literature review

2.1 Introduction 024

2.2 The neoclassical model of enterprise development 026

2.3 Dealing with the undesirable outcomes of business operations 027

2.4 Gap analysis in the context of programme implementation challenges 030

2.5 The relations between political regimes and opposition parties 032

2.6 Political parties and the business class 034

2.7 Democratic governance 035

2.8 Regime theory 039

2.9 Critical Realist approach: synthesizing the ideas 044

2.10 Other publications on Ghana 052

2.10.1 Appreciative inquiry publications **052**

2.10.2 Transition to democracy **053**

2.10.3 Ideology of the political parties **053**

2.10.4 Political elections **053**

2.10.5 Information on public speeches **054**

2.10.6 Rivalries between the political parties **054**

2.10.7 The State of the Nation Addresses **057**

2.10.8 Publications by the media houses of Ghana and research organizations **059**

2.11 Conclusion 060

Chapter 3

Theoretical framework

3.1 Introduction 062

3.2 Some propositions for the study 062

3.3 The propositions in the context of management and governance 064

3.4 Gap Analysis in the governance sphere 065

3.5 From gap identification to transformation: A MELD perspective 068

3.6 Conclusion **072**

Chapter 4

Research methodology

4.1 Introduction **074**

4.2 The research design **075**

4.3 Nature and sources of information **075**

4.3.1 Units of observation **075**

4.4 Brief socio-economic profiles of the regions **079**

4.5 Sources of information for the study **084**

4.5.1 Research instruments: Secondary sources of data **084**

4.5.2 Primary sources of data **084**

4.6 Nature of the information collected to address the objectives of the study **085**

4.7 Validity and reliability issues **085**

4.7.1 Validity underpinning the 24 Likert- based statements **087**

4.7.2 Validity of the open-ended questions **094**

4.7.3 Validity for the selection of the research participants **095**

4.7.3.1 The state sector **095**

4.7.3.2 The Ghanaian civil society **095**

4.7.3.3 The business sector **096**

4.7.3.4 Justification for selecting the 220 research participants **98**

4.7.4 Validity for the choice of the critical realist research approach **104**

4.8 Data collection scope **105**

4.8.1 Entrepreneurship development problems and political party manifestos **105**

4.8.2 Political regimes and job creation **107**

4.8.3 Failures of the political regimes **107**

4.9 Data Analysis **107**

4.10 Conclusion **112**

Chapter 5

Results and Discussions

5.1 Introduction 114

5.2 Policy and development plans on entrepreneurship development since 1993 114

5.3 The poverty problem in Ghana 115

5.4 Findings from the 16 Likert scale-based statements 119

5.4.1 The raw data **120**

5.4.2 The correlation matrix **120**

5.4.3 Outline of the variations **123**

5.4.4 Outline of the factor loadings **126**

5.4.5 Structure of the factor scores **130**

5.5 Discussing the respondents in terms of their scores on the 3 factors 131

5.6 The study findings in the context of the five thematic areas 136

5.6.1 The NDC 1 period (1993-2000) **138**

5.6.2 Entrepreneurship development under the NPP 1 regime (2001-2008) **144**

5.6.3 Entrepreneurship development under the NDC 2 (2009-2016) **147**

5.6.4 Entrepreneurship development under the NPP 2 (since 2017) **148**

5.7 Application of the Grounded Theory method in business promotion programmes 153

5.7.1 Introduction **153**

5.7.2 Critical theory **154**

5.7.3 A summary of their views on the political regime business promotion problems **155**

5.7.4 The 16 axial codes **166**

5.8 Validating the study findings in the context of the 10 propositions of the study 171

5.9 Conclusion 173

Chapter 6

Recommendations and conclusion

6.1 Introduction 175

6.2 From problem identification to action 175

6.3 Applying the 3L and 4D steps 178

6.4 Educating the public about the existence of the problems 179

6.5 Formulating the policies and plans on the 16 problems 185

6.6 Step 4, Implementing the 16 plans (Phase 4D of the MELD model) 187

6.7 The benefits to be derived by implementing the above recommendations 187

6.7.1 Introduction **187**

6.7.2 The political benefit **187**

6.7.3 Enhanced opportunities for formal and informal sectors **188**

6.7.4 Output of businesses **188**

6.7.5 Culture perspective **188**

6.7.6 The environmental conservation benefits **188**

6.7.7 The benefits to the business management training programmes **189**

6.7.8 Sustainable transformation through co-operation **189**

6.8 Future research areas 189

6.9 Concluding remarks 190

References 195

Appendices 210

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

1.1 Problem statement

The past two decades have witnessed increased attention devoted to the development of multi-political party systems in Africa. The monopolistic single party socialist governance models that characterized the early phases of political independence in Africa have given way to multi-party systems in which issues such as the positive developmental legacies left by the ruling governments of the day constitute one central measuring indicator in development discourse on the continent. In some countries such as Uganda, experiments have ranged from 'One Party' to 'No Party' and now to 'Multi Party' system of governance. At the moment, a large number of countries have adopted the latter system on the argument that the electorate have much space to evaluate the performance of the elected governments in terms of the opportunities which they have of voting the ruling governments out of power during elections. They constantly use the changes in their living conditions as the central indicator in deciding how they measure the performance of the governments of the day. Whatever the system of government adopted, political regimes do change. Even under the 'No Party' system, the regime may come to an end through sheer exhaustion of its energies until another one of its kind takes over or an entirely new system emerges to replace it. The idea of examining development through the lenses of the political regime that instigates it is a fairly new phenomenon in the literature in Ghana. In fact, to the best of our knowledge, there is no academic and practitioner literature on a subject so important as regime behavior, design and economic, social and political imperatives.

Mushtaq H Khan, a Professor of Economics at SOAS, University of London, postulates that outcomes of policies depend on the geographical area, and initiatives introduced in capitalist economy may have poorer results in under-resourced countries. In African countries, in particular, the political regime plays a crucial role.

To the electorate, the material condition of living is central in any attempt at coming to terms with the performance of the political regime. The international community also continues to assess the performance of African economies not in terms of the natural resource endowments but from the manner in which the regimes provide the enabling environment for the effective management of those resources for the benefit of the citizens. The nature of leadership in governments has much to do with the management of the affairs of the citizens. In this regard, an assessment of the political regime becomes an important barometer for gauging performance. As noted by Przeworski and Limongi (1993) and Gunther and Diamond (2001), the desires, objectives, and intentions of the government in power thus constitute the independent variable for assessing their impact on the living conditions of the citizenry.

A review of the literature indicates that the entrepreneurship sector of Ghana has attracted the particular attention of the post-1993 political regimes of the country (National Development Planning Commission, 2005). The electioneering campaigns, the manifestos, the development policies and other pronouncements of the political parties have been dominated by pronouncements on how the ruling government intend to use the business sector to raise the living conditions of Ghanaians. The campaigns are invariably couched in terms of job creation, poverty alleviation and income generation through entrepreneurship development.

The selection of the entrepreneurship sector in this study as an engine of development flows from its practical relevance to the development of Ghana. Bob-Milliar and Obeng-Odoom (2011) and Obeng-Odoom (2015, 2017), among others, have emphasized the importance of this sector in the development of Ghana. The findings from this study enable us understand the nature of the processes underpinning the changes witnessed in the entrepreneurship sector of the country over the 27-year period. For this study, the role of the post-1993 political regimes have been selected as the explanatory variable. The study is therefore very much agency-based with the focus to determine how the behaviours, meanings, and concrete actions of the government of the day do influence the workings and impacts of the private business sector. The findings of such a study would help to bring into the picture how the political classes of the country have used the business sector to influence the living conditions of Ghanaians since 1993.

1.2 The rationale for the study

A study of the post-independence economic history of Ghana indicates that job creation and poverty alleviation through enterprise development has been a recurring theme in the various policies and development of the political regimes. It is therefore important, as argued by Aryeetey, Harrington and Currey (2000), that attention continues to focus on the current state of affairs in this area of the country's development.

At independence in 1957, Ghana's economy was vibrant and was listed among the top ten Commonwealth countries. In the West African sub-region, Ghana was the destination of migrant workers from the savannah regions who flocked to the country to work in the cocoa farms and the

mines. Barely a decade later, however, the economy begun to show signs of stagnation as the prices of its exports begun to plummet reducing the investment potentials of the country.

The works of Nyanteng (1997) and Alagidede, Baah-Boateng and Nketia-Amponsah (2013), among others, indicate that a number of conditions could be drawn upon to characterize the nature of the economy of Ghana since independence. Mention has been made of problems such as the dualistic nature of the economy as reflected in the divisions between the urban and rural sectors and the formal and informal sectors, among others. In addition, the heavy reliance of the economy on imported consumables and capital goods, and export of primary products, increasing foreign debts, the lack of self-sufficiency in food production, and the tendency of the public relying heavily on government as entrepreneur, investor and innovator are common problems acknowledged by Aryeetey, Harrington and Currey (2000), Ghana Statistical Service (2000), UNDP and NDPC (2012), NDPC (2015), Sparreboom and Gomis (2015), and Aryeetey and Baah-Boateng (2016).

A central feature of the development problems of Ghana concerns the persistence of the structural imbalances in the economy (Jedwab and Darko-Osei, 2012). Getting out of such an integrated structural system and creating the conditions for the country to propel itself in a direction towards the category of a middle income and subsequently, a high-income industrialised economy is one challenge which stands out in the various post-independence development plans of the country. Killick (1978), Nyanteng (1997), Ninsin and Drah, (1993) and Morrison (2004) have presented this overarching goal as one challenge which has faced successive governments of post-independence Ghana. They point out that achieving this goal demands the removal of certain structural constraints which characterize the development of the country, however, none of the

literature reviewed on the subject specifically lends itself to investigating the challenge of the political regimes in empowering the business sector to address the problems of poverty, job creation and income generation in Ghana.

The Fourth Republic has provided one of the longest periods of unbroken political serenity in the midst of change. There have been at least seven presidential and parliamentary elections since 1992, and three changes in regime. This long period provides a good laboratory for testing the impact of the political regime in the development process of the country.

This study seeks to exploit the rich dataset available on key economic and social indicators on the subject and their corresponding evolution along the political cycle and regimes. Figs 1.1 and 1.2 give a snapshot of real GDP growth and its per capita trends over the 1993 to 2019 period. The two graphs demarcate the various political regimes, epitomizing the theme of our research, i.e., the interaction of the political and economic cycles, and how each regime has performed. While the graphs depict aggregate performance, they nonetheless lead the reader to a good place to make a case for the study.

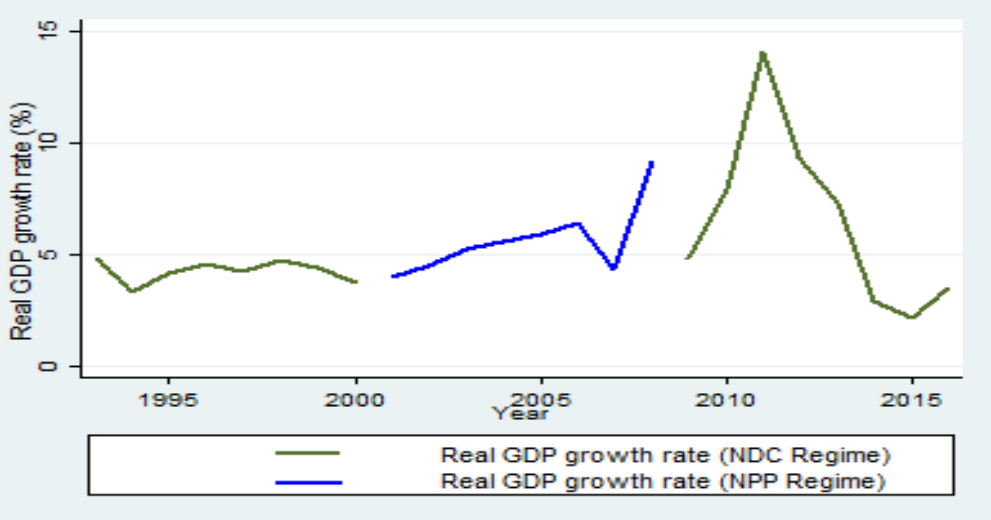


Figure 1.1: Real GDP Growth Trends and Political Regimes in Ghana (1993 to 2019)
(**Source:** Authors' Construct using World Development Indicators)

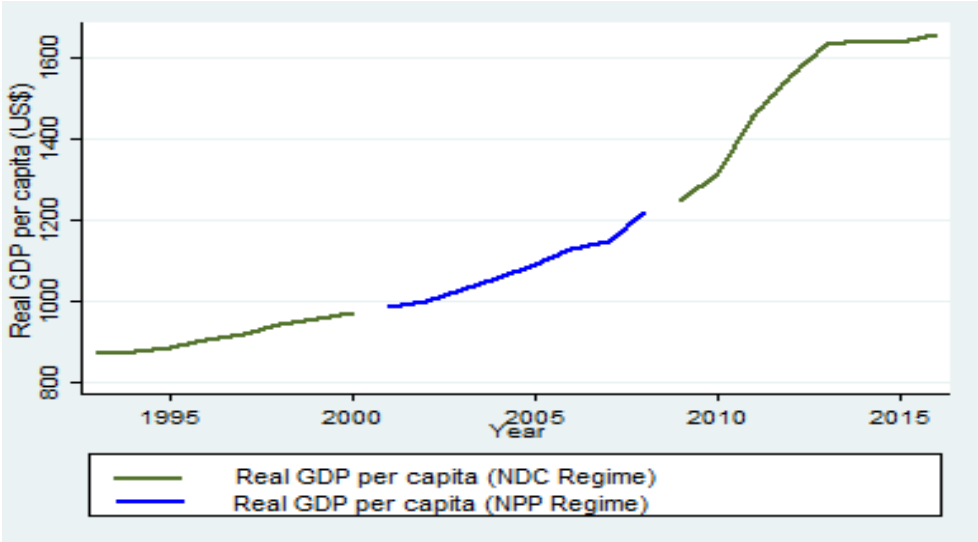


Figure 1.2: Real GDP per capita Trends and Political Regimes in Ghana (1992 to 2019)
(**Source:** Authors' Construct using data from World Development Indicators)

For the period 1993-2000, Ghana was ruled by the National Democratic Congress (NDC) and as seen from the plot of real GDP growth during the period was generally low and steady, averaged below 5%. In 2000, there was a decline in real GDP growth to 3.7%. According to OECD/AfDB (2002), the poor performance of growth in 2000 was largely attributed to terms of trade deterioration. Thus, while the price of Ghana's main export commodities (gold and cocoa) fell, price of crude oil as the nation's main import commodity rose rapidly. During this same regime, per capita GDP increased from US$ 869.07 in 1993 to US$ 969.23 in 2000 (see, Fig 1.2), representing an average growth rate of about 1.6% per annum. Growth performance during this period is unsurprising because most macroeconomic targets were not achieved.

In 2001, real GDP growth began to increase after a decline from 4.4% in 1999 to 3.7% in 2000, with the National Democratic Congress transferring power to the New Patriotic Party (NPP). Thereafter, real GDP growth increased persistently until a decline in 2007, despite rise in crude oil prices in the international market. There was a major turnaround in 2008 with real GDP growth reaching 9.1%, one of the highest at the time since the beginning of Fourth Republic in Ghana. Additionally, real GDP per capita continued to soar higher reaching US$ 1,220 in 2008. On average, per capita GDP grew tremendously by 3.1% per year between 2001 and 2008. This is 1.5% higher than the rate recorded under the first political regime. This clearly suggest that per capita GDP growth performance under the NPP regime was relatively better than the first regime governed by the NDC, which recorded an average annual growth rate of about 1.6%.

At the height of the global financial crisis, Ghana's real GDP growth declined to 4.8% in 2009. This development coincided with the re-election of the NDC party into office after losing election to the NPP in 2000 and 2004. As shown in Fig 1.1, growth between 2009 and 2016 was highly volatile and unsustainable. Interestingly, Ghana recorded its highest and lowest real GDP growth rates during this political regime. In 2010, Ghana became a lower middle-income country after rebasing its national accounts from a base year of 1993 to 2006. Following from this, a reasonable high growth rate of 14% was achieved in 2011 and this could largely be attributed to the commencement of oil production in greater quantities in Ghana. This development at the time made Ghana gained visibility as among the fastest growing economies, globally. After growth reaching its peak in 2011, there was a sharp decline in real GDP growth to 2.1% in 2015 and this potentially was attributed to a fall in the international commodity prices as well as the energy and fiscal crisis in Ghana during the period. Following a poor growth performance, real GDP growth

increased slightly to 3.4% in 2016. During this same political regime, real GDP per capita remained relatively higher even though a slight decline can be observed from US$ 1,642 in 2014 to US$ 1,640 in 2015 (see, Fig. 1.2). Averagely, for the period 2009-2016, annual per capita growth was about 4.2%, up by 1.1% from the 3.1% recorded during the NPP regime.

It is important to emphasize that Gross Domestic Product (GDP) growth and its per capita is not a one size fit all indicator for measuring performance over the political cycle. Moreover, the measurement of GDP is fraught with problems. However, as a rough guide, extending the analysis to the micro level gives us more gravitas, and helps one to understand the real factors behind Ghana's growth trajectory over the past two and a half decades, using regime theory as the theoretical framework. The approach adopted in this work further allows us to examine the impact of stated pre-election promises on economic growth objectives and strategise and measure them against outcomes over the life of the regime in power.

Even though such an exercise is of great importance, and has potential large value in enlivening the debate on the role of politics and leadership in the management of an economy, we are unaware of a systematic examination of the performance of the economy around key economic, social and political indicators, especially over the political business cycle. The key issues addressed in this research are centred on some thematic areas in which the comparison of development across political regimes is undertaken. Central in the thematic analysis is the general acknowledgement by the Ghanaian research community of the critical role that businesses play in job creation and income generation (Aryeetey and Baah-Boateng, 2016; Baah-Boateng, 2008; Baah-Boateng and Baffour-Awuah, 2015; and Opoku, 2015). These authorities and the political regimes of Ghana are

in general agreement that relying on the private sector to create jobs and entrepreneurship sectors of the country is central in any attempts at tackling the fundamentals in the development of the country. In addition to doing business for purposes of profit making, businesses can engage in philanthropic activities for raising the living conditions of Ghanaian communities. It is also public knowledge that some business activities can be the source of infrastructure development, urbanization, and social services provision in local communities as the farms, factories and the mines attract such support services to the business growth sites. The benefits from the business sector can therefore emanate from various sources. The difference which businesses could make in the development process can therefore not be underestimated.

1.3 Some key problematic areas of Ghana's development

Attention is now turned to a discussion of the nature of the key problematic areas of Ghana's development and how enterprise development is linked to them.

1.3.1 The dualistic nature of the economy: urban/rural and informal/formal sectors

Killick (1978), Nugent (1995), and Nyanteng (1997) argue that this structural imbalance in the development of Ghana accelerated after political independence in 1957 when the Convention People's Party (CPP) government introduced its economic modernization programme. This entailed the concentration of manufacturing activities at selected growth centres in the country which the government considered as the urban nodal springboards from which growth would trickle down to the peripheral rural regions. Instead of producing balanced development, the common experience is that development became polarized in the nodal points leading to a

widening of the existing inequalities between the urban-rural, agricultural-industrial and also formal-informal sectors of the economy (Sparreboom and Gornis, 2015).

The post-1966 political administrations of Ghana have not succeeded in reversing this trend in the development of the country. Since 1993, both the NDC and NPP governments which have been in power, have put this unbalanced development challenge of the country among the priorities of their manifestos and development plans. Aryeetey, Harrington, and Currey (2000) have provided important accounts concerning the changes made by post-1993 government administrations to address the structural problems in the development of Ghana. Aryeetey, and Baah-Boateng (2016) have also provided similar information on the attempts by previous regimes of government to address the dualistic problems in the development of Ghana. This study seeks to collect empirical data to evaluate the performance of the post-1993 regimes with one objective of demonstrating how government-led initiatives on entrepreneurship training and business investments have helped to address the above aspects of the dualistic problem in the development in the country.

1.3.2 Infrastructure development and provision of social services

The aspect of the development process is based on the idea that businesses can help set up the demand for key infrastructure support systems such as transport, communication, and other social services. In this context, one recognizes situations whereby businesses emerge, and governments respond to their infrastructure needs by helping to provide them with transport systems, electricity, water, storage facilities, banking and other essential services needed. When such service is provided, the general public can stand to benefit from them with all the multiplier effects.

The economic history of Ghana provides eloquent evidence regarding how the cocoa farming activities, timber production, mining and commercial activities for example, helped to concentrate populations in urban centres, which, in turn, led to the government regimes taking initiatives to provide transport and other infrastructure systems to support the business activities. Such economic hearths have played important roles in the emergence of schools, clinics and other social services in the economic growth centres. The demands of businesses have therefore been responsible, *inter alia*, for the emergence of various forms of social services, and the growth of the urbanization process among others, as acknowledged by NDPC (2005). The impacts of the business sector thus need to be seen beyond what the general public considers as its *raison d'etre*- the profit motive. This study thus pays considerable attention to the extent to which the Ghanaian businesses have been responsible for drawing the attention of government to the necessity of providing infrastructure and other services to support the local businesses and economies in specific regions of the country. It also looks at how the government regimes have helped to address the myriad of environmental, social and other problems which the businesses have been creating in the country.

Thus, in the areas of rail and road transport as well as in the energy supply, organizations such as The African Union (2004, 2015) and The African Development Bank (2015) continue to call on the governments to help provide the resources for not only up-grading the conditions of the existing road and rail systems for the general public but also for specifically helping to address the infrastructure needs of businesses as well. These institutions see the concept of the Development State as including concrete government infrastructure support to the business sector (OECD/DAC, 1995; Le Roux and Graaf, 2001).

A key aspect of the imbalance in the development of Ghana concerns the inequalities in accessibility of the population to social services such as education, health, electricity, and housing. As the regimes work hard to provide such services to the population, the businesses can also help to spread economic activities as they locate their businesses in rural and other remote areas thereby helping to attract workers, their families, social services and supporting infrastructure facilities to such areas (Ghana Statistical Service, 2000; and Sparreboom and Gomis, 2015). Their publications indicate that entrepreneurs can assist to address inequalities.

From this perspective, the post-1993 political administrations of Ghana are assessed in terms of their assistance in helping to address the problems of businesses and their links with the challenge of inequalities in the country's developmental agenda.

1.4 The role of government policies and plans

The above comprehensive list of imperatives can only help to draw attention to the important roles which the ruling governments have to play in the sustainable growth of the business sector. Without government intervention, it is common knowledge that private businesses can create and also face numerous problems. The roles of the political regimes in regulating the activities of the business sector therefore continue to be acknowledged.

The challenge of enterprise development and job creation is a development problem which previous and the current Ghanaian political regimes continue to grapple with. It could be recollected as argued by Ninsin and Drah (1993) that in the 1970's and 1980's various local business promotion strategies were introduced by the various regimes of government to reduce the

apparent monopolistic positions of foreign businesses in the Ghanaian economy, to open up opportunities to local businesses to flourish and thereby decolonize the economy.

The strategies were also linked not only to the project of increasing per capita incomes, but also of reducing the volumes of imported goods and services into the country, and thereby helping in achieving the national objective of self-reliance. These important links in the post-colonial development agenda constitute important themes in national development discourses (Jedwab and Darko Osei, 2012; World Bank, 2015).

In spite of the significant amount of resources committed to promoting local entrepreneurship development, the current publications indicate that the unemployment rate continues to remain high, and that the forward and backward linkages which the local businesses could develop to link up with the other development problem areas of Ghana continue to remain weak (see, Aryeetey, Harrington, and Currey, 2000). The publications indicate further that the country continues to import food and other daily essential needs (Aryeetey, and Baah-Boateng, 2016). Such a situation serves to indicate that the vital linkages that entrepreneurship development could establish with job creation and the imports of certain goods into the country are yet to be realized. As advanced by Bhaskar (2008) and Sayer (1992), Jedwab and Darko-Osei (Ibid), Przeworski and Llimongi (1993), World Bank (Ibid) among others, linkages between the sectors of social systems are vital for ensuring sustainability, increased production and stability in the development components concerned.

In emphasizing the importance of conceptualizing development from the systems framework, The Ghana's National Development Planning Commission (2016) and Nyanteng (2016), among others,

have demonstrated how opening up opportunities for businesses to increase production in the country simultaneously involves tackling numerous political, social and other issues. This relational approach to the development process is a central theme in the UNCTAD (2015) document, *Promoting entrepreneurship for development*. That session of UNCTAD provided a comprehensive guideline on the issues that need to feature in government-sponsored national entrepreneurship promotion policies and development plans. The document indicates that entrepreneurship development programmes need to cover a wide territory entailing income generation, job creation, infrastructure support, skills training, environmental conservation, creating a culture of self-reliant development, youth and women empowerment, export promotion, poverty reduction and above all, government-sponsored strategies for addressing problems as they emerge.

The problems of corruption and mismanagement have become a major stumbling block in the performance of the businesses and the politicians of the nation state. Rose-Ackerman (1999) and Sashkin (2004) for example, have demonstrated how issues on ethical leadership in the political governance sphere can make major contributions in the development of the various sectors of the development process. Good and bad governance discourses address issues of moral, psychological and other human value judgement-based factors. This is one area where The National Development Planning Commission of Ghana (NDPC, 2015) for example, has devoted considerable attention to.

Rose-Ackermann (1999), and Plinio, Young, and Lavery (2010) argue that bad governance practices such as administrative bureaucracy, nepotism, and bribery and corruption can impact

negatively on the performance of the business investment sector of the economy of nation states. Foreign investors to Africa these days look at the position of the various African countries on the Corruption Index before deciding where to invest.

To obtain a historical backdrop to the agenda of political regimes and the enterprise development programmes of Ghana, one has to take a step back to the Kwame Nkrumah era of 1951 to 1966. As soon as he became leader of government business, the dynamic nationalist signaled to the world that a new era of development had come. The Convention Peoples Party ushered in a series of development plans that laid a solid foundation for Ghana's private enterprise landscape. The 10-Year Development Plan (1951-1961) of the CPP administration focused on the productive sector of Ghana. While this plan prepared the ground for private enterprise development, it was the Seven Year Plan of 1963/64-1966/70 christened 'Work and Happiness' that had the most far reaching consequences on Ghana's development up to the present time. The seven-year plan sought to completely decolonise the economy, industrialise the country, and achieve full employment through robust private sector development. Indeed, this could be said to be the first nationalist attempt at free enterprise for it gave birth to the construction of the Tema Harbour and Township, the Tema Motorway, the Akosombo Hydroelectric Dam and VALCO Aluminium Smelter. The light and heavy industries in the Tema industrial enclave had their origin in this plan, while across the country numerous other factories were established to spread the gains of development and to stem the tide of rural urban drift.

In the second republic, the Progress Party continued with the private sector initiatives laid in the previous era. In 1969 the Busia regime established the national office of Business Promotion. That institution was instrumental in the development of the private business arm of the economy of Ghana. Within a short period of time numerous medium and small scale businesses emerged in the country to compete with the large foreign-owned companies. The objective of the government was to help decolonize the Ghanaian economy by helping break the monopolistic position of the big foreign-owned companies.

Today, the objectives behind the government business promotion policies and development plans keep widening as the Ghanaian-owned businesses are being encouraged to operate in the agricultural, handicrafts, exports, forestry, manufacturing, mining, commercial, informal activities, ICT, rural-based activities, fishing, tourism and repair services, among others. Ghanaians are increasingly coming to terms with the impacts which the NPP and NDC governments continue to have on the business sector of the country and their implications on their living conditions. George and Bennet (2005), Bryne and Ragin (2009), Gerring (2007) Gomm, Hammersley, and Foster (2000) acknowledge the importance of constant communication between the political class and the business community.

1.5 Research questions

In view of the forgoing discussions, this research seeks to address an overarching question: *what has been the nature of the relationship between political regime and the development of the business sector of the economy of Ghana since 1993?*

From this perspective, and using the above discussions as a backdrop, the specific questions that arise from this main question are as follows:

- What is the nature of the development policies and plans of the Ghanaian political regimes on business promotion, job creation and poverty alleviation since 1993?
- To what extent have the government-led initiatives on business promotion contributed to job creation and poverty alleviation during the period?
- What is the impact of the government-led business promotion programmes on job creation and poverty alleviation?
- What is the nature of the strategies of the current political regime of Ghana to help address the problems faced in the implementation of its business promotion programmes?

1.6 Research objectives

The objectives that drive the thesis are couched as follows.

1. To examine the nature of the development policies and plans of the Ghanaian political regimes on business promotion, job creation and poverty alleviation since 1993.
2. Analyse government-led initiatives on business promotion and their impact on job creation and poverty alleviation.
3. To assess the impact of the government-led business promotion programmes on job creation and poverty alleviation
4. To investigate the nature of the strategies being adopted by the current political regime in Ghana to help address the problems faced in the implementation of its business promotion programmes.

1.7 Conclusion

The above three study objectives are underpinned by some concepts which touch on the challenge which the political regimes tend to face in the implementation of their policies and development plans. The discussions indicate that this problem emanates from the fact that societies are open systems in which opposing forces can always operate to undo the objectives underpinning the plans of the regimes. The extent to which the political regimes can stand up to such challenges would therefore determine the levels of their success in addressing the needs of their constituencies.

The implication of such a discourse is the need for the constant monitoring of the performance of the political regimes in Ghana in the development of the business sector, investigating the extent to which the regimes adopt new strategies and innovations in their programmes on business promotion and the levels of successes and failures that have accompanied the various initiatives. This need for evaluating performance is one motivation for this study.

Attention is now turned to the key concepts which have been central in this introductory chapter. Gerring (1999) argues that such concepts constitute important building blocks in social research projects.

1.8 Definitions of key concepts

Sectional interests. One basic motivation which underpins decision making processes is that of personal satisfaction to the detriment of the public good. In the business sphere, this corresponds to the profit maximization idea.

Competition model. An aspect of the free market economy which acknowledges how organizations and individuals tend to outsmart each other as a survival mechanism. In the discipline of political science, the model studies how political parties make use of expensive well –organized campaign strategies to communicate with the electorate for political power. In the field of business studies, competition model discusses how businesses do make use of advertisements to campaign for customers.

Business efficiency model. An aspect of business practice which measures the performance or the level of success of businesses in terms of profit maximization.

Regime theory. A model which outlines how organizational leaders during their terms of administration, mobilize their teams to pursue programmes reflecting their philosophical positions.

Regime survival theory. A model that expounds the strategies and tactics used by organizational leaders to ensure the long term survival of their organizations, ideologies and interests.

Production, innovation, creativity in business activities. One of the survival imperatives in business practices relating to the ability of the business owner to innovate and outsmart competitors.

Business impact analysis. Studies devoted to investigations on the outcomes or effects of businesses on the local and wider communities.

Business social responsibility. A critique of the conventional neo- classical business practice, this model advocates the inclusion of ethical, environmental and other social welfare variables in the running of businesses. It argues for the inclusion of issues that go beyond profits in the assessment of business activities. Thus, this paradigm pays attention to considerations on job creation, poverty alleviation, the welfare of workers and customers, environmental protection, and philanthropic activities. In this context, the paradigm argues for more state interventions in the operations of the business sector.

Political economy of business development. Studies of the ways in which politicians use their political mandate to influence the activities of the business sector.

Political regimes and the business sector. Studies on the policies used by political parties to regulate business activities when in power.

Gap analysis. Studies on the gaps that tend to exist between the objectives of organizations and the actual outcomes or results.

Good governance. Studies on the criteria developed by the international community to guide the concrete activities of governments for improving the living conditions of the electorate.

Critical theory. A branch of evaluative studies which devotes attention to the problems, contradictions and other malfunctions in the object of investigation

Appreciative inquiry. A branch of evaluative studies which devotes attention to the successes, merits and lessons in best practice in the object of investigation

Critical realism. A research approach which examines how changes take place as a result of general tendencies being interpreted differently by agents to produce different outcomes in different places during particular periods. It has an evaluative and action theory component indicating the measures that need to be taken to improve upon the existing situation.

1.9 Limitations of the study

This study is confined to the beginning of the current era of multi-political party system in Ghana that is since 1993. Some might see such a time period as being rather too short and not going back far enough for meaningful inferences and recommendations to be made. One advantage of using 1993 as the cutoff date in this study, however, lies in the opportunities it offers for future researchers to trace trends in the multi-political regime structures and their concrete impacts on the Ghanaian economy.

One of the setbacks of the study is non availability of empirical data on job creation, business promotion and entrepreneurship development that could have been sources to enrich the findings/discussions. There is a general lack of published information on the Ghanaian business sector. Related to this problem is that Ghanaian business owners have the habit of not keeping records on their business operations. This situation posed some problems in making estimates on income-expenditure statistics of the business owners in particular.

Given the limitations of time and other material resources, the study was able to incorporate the input of a sample of 220 stakeholders drawn from 22 sectors of Ghanaian society. Certain businesses did not respond to the questionnaire in time and had to be left out in this study. These included the timber contractors, taxi drivers, construction and building companies, and those in the entertainment industry. Overall, however, the list of the stakeholders who participated in the study is deemed representative enough to present a balanced perspective of all those linked in one way or the other, with the business sector of Ghana.

The pilot survey of 2018 was well-organized to prepare the research participants for the study. Aware of the importance of the study to the economy of Ghana, the participants demonstrated a general willingness to contribute their knowledge to the findings of the research. One outcome of this is the wealth of information this study discloses on the current problems facing the operations of the business entrepreneurs of the country.

1.10 Structure of the Thesis

Chapter two is the literature review. The review takes a broad view of nature of the development policies and plans of political regimes on business promotion, job creation and poverty alleviation, and examines the extent to which the government-led initiatives on business promotion have contributed to job creation and poverty alleviation, including but not limited to the strategies and programmes of political regimes of the Fourth Republic. Chapter three presents the theoretical framework. The Critical Realist paradigm is used to illustrate how the relations between stakeholders contribute to particular social outcomes. This enables us to understand the nature of the development trajectories of the Ghanaian political regimes. The grounded theory methodology

is espoused in Chapter 4. The findings and discussion of the results are presented in chapter five. And chapter six wraps up with recommendations.

CHAPTER 2

Literature review

2.1 Introduction

The importance of a literature review in empirical research has been discussed by a number of authors. Boote and Beile (2005), for example, have stated that thorough and sophisticated literature reviews constitute the foundation for substantial and useful research projects. Onwuegbuzie, Johnston and Collins (2009) have listed 23 benefits that can be derived from conducting a quality review of the literature including but not limited to proper delineation of the research, identification of the key variables relevant to the topic, analyzing contradictions and inconsistencies among others. Other contributions on the importance of reviewing literature in social research include the works of Hart (1988), Ridley (2008), Machi and McEvoy (2009), Rocco and Plathotnik (2009), and Anfara and Mertz (2015).

Related literature is reviewed along the underlisted perspective.

5. The nature of the development plans and policies of the Ghanaian political regimes on business promotion, job creation and poverty alleviation since 1993.
6. The extent to which the government-led initiatives on business promotion have contributed to job creation and poverty alleviation.
7. The impacts of the business promotion programmes on the other sectors of the Ghanaian economy.
8. The nature of the strategies of the current political regime of Ghana to help address the problems faced in the implementation of its business promotion programmes.

In their various accounts, the authors recommend that reviewers classify the publications concerned on the basis of criteria or themes which could subsequently be drawn upon to guide the theoretical and methodological framework of their concrete studies. These considerations have been duly addressed in the discussions that follow. Some themes have been identified from the literature reviewed from which the critical realist approach has been selected as the theoretical framework for the study.

Central in the review process are the ways in which political regimes exercise authority to manage the resources of nation states for raising the living conditions of their citizens. Authors such as Besancon (2003), Chilton (2004), Sashkin (2004) and Wordak (2009) conceptualize political governance as the institutionalization of the political systems through which the citizens, institutions, organizations and groups in a country articulate their interests, exercise their rights, and mediate their differences in pursuit of the collective good. In this way, the authors describe the relationship between the citizens and their governments as involving constant monitoring of each other for ensuring that the political party manifestos, policies and development plans are implemented to address practical development problems.

Robertson (2004) and Hickey and Morgan (2005) note that the general public invariably have to contend with the work of various regimes of governance whose activities tend to produce different outcomes and experiences in living conditions. In view of this, the concepts of Gap Analysis and the intended and unintended consequences of social action are central in the government-business relations publications. In addition, the nature of the relations that tend to characterize the interactions between political regimes, business and civil society as they work to

address their mandates, occupy important positions in the publications (Opoku, 2010).

The review will end with a synthesis of the ideas associated with the positions taken by the various authors on the study and end with the paradigm which will be selected for addressing the objectives of the study. Attention is now turned to some theoretical issues of importance to the objectives of the study.

2.2 The neoclassical model of enterprise development

The literature on business development has over the decades devoted much attention to the ways in which the profit motive has underpinned the ways business owners mobilize resources to produce and market their goods. This theory on business development continues to feature in the discourse on business management. Milton Friedman's model (1998) of the firm is often cited as an exemplar of the neoclassical position. The model applies systems theory to analyze how businesses expand by employing labour and other inputs to create profits which subsequently become investment capital for generating more profits and further new capital leading in the long run to continuous increases in the overall production process.

In this model, justification is made to the effect that businesses need to be given the freedom to concentrate on profit-making and leave social and other activities to other organizations. This consideration is best explained by Anshen (1980: 10), which states that: "*the business of business is business*". He argues that businesses have specialized in addressing finance, market, operations management and related production issues and should therefore leave the non-business activities to other institutions. This position is supported by neo-classical

business theorists such as Schwatrz and Saha (2012) who argue that businesses have specialized in addressing the production and marketing of their goods and services for purposes of making profits and should therefore leave the non-business activities to those in the state and civil society sectors. Their view is that businesses can function optimally if they concentrate on profit making. The rationale is that with time, the business sector can help reduce the existing inequalities in living conditions and also help to diffuse development impulses in society as it creates jobs, incomes and train the entrepreneurs and investors of the future. This idea has been discussed at length by Scott and Venkatraman (2000), Shane (2003), Aghion and Durlanf (2014), Yetisen, Volpatti, Coskun, Cho, Kamrani, Butt, Khademhoseini and Yun (2015), Lazear (2015), and Carlen (2016), among others.

2.3 Dealing with the undesirable outcomes of business operations

Against the neo classical business model is Business Social Responsibility (BSR) theory which maintains that left unchecked, businesses can create numerous problems and undesirable outcomes in society such as the exploitation of workers by the owners of the businesses, the collapse of those businesses which cannot compete in the free market system, the possibility of the monopolization of the economy by a few dominant businesses, smuggling and other criminal activities by businesses and, above all, the negative environmental impacts which businesses tend to have on the natural environmental systems, among others. The negative impacts of businesses on the natural environmental system have been at the centre of the publications by Carolan (2004, 2005a, 2005b, 2006 and 2008) in particular. He focuses attention on the ways in which business activities can lead to the overexploitation of natural resources leading to problems such as soil erosion, reductions in

agricultural output because of this problem, deforestation, climate change issues, and the extinction of certain species of plants and animals, among others.

The key message of the critics of the neo- classical business management model is that it turns a blind eye to the problems which businesses tend to create in society. The concern is that the neo-classical model also tends to downplay the problems which businesses tend to face in their operations. Some of these problems such as the lack of investment capital and markets, have been found to lead to the ultimate collapse of businesses. Thus, the critics of the neo classical model accuse it of taking a rather simplistic conceptualization of the environment in which businesses operate.

In view of the many problems which businesses can create in society, recent decades have witnessed an increasing trend towards an alternative business analysis discourse which seeks to broaden the environment in which businesses operate. In this alternative model, the role of government departments in regulating the operations of businesses is recognized as being paramount (Mark and Gordon, 1998). The BSR continues to call on governments to play more active roles in regulating and assisting the growth of businesses through the formulation of policies, guidelines and development plans.

The BSR position is that it is possible for businesses to pursue their profits agenda whilst at the same time taking care of their customers, the natural environmental system and the interests of the general public. This is the position being advocated by Kanungo and Mendoca (1995), Gini (1998), Harvey (2003), Maak and Pless (2006), and Cheek (2007), among others. The BSR position maintains that firms have an obligation to respect environmental, ethical and other social welfare values or principles as they pursue their objectives of making profits.

Another important feature of the BSR position is its advocacy for businesses to engage in a range of philanthropic activities such as helping communities in the provision of electricity, schools, hospitals, and other social services. Again, in this area, the BSR paradigm expects to see governments motivating businesses to engage in philanthropic activities.

This development paradigm on the roles which governments need to play in linking business activities to the welfare of the local communities is one theme within of the critical realist discourse. Ackroyd and Fleetwood (2008), and Carroll and Buchholtz (2006), among others, maintain that government-informed business regulations and support mechanisms constitute important avenues for motivating businesses to link their activities to the welfare of the communities in which they operate. The argument is that businesses cannot be allowed to operate as islands or parasites which exploit local resources without giving back any benefits to the communities concerned.

This BSR position is strongly supported by African Union organizations such as NEPAD (2001: 19). For example, NEPAD maintains that the governments of Africa need to get actively involved in formulating policies to help the businesses in Africa to engage in activities that would not only enhance their profits but also help in reducing the problems of poverty, inequalities, exploitation, unemployment and environmental degradation of local communities.

On this view, Lawson (1997), Fulbrook (2004), and Goodwin, Rein and Moran (2009), and Iliffe (1983) have also shown how problems tend to emerge as businesses pursue their growth agenda. Their position is that as businesses go about their activities in the open system in which they operate, undesirable impacts and other constraining problems invariably, tend to emerge. Such

problems or undesirable impacts would then have to be countered with concrete strategies. It is at such a phase in the life of the business that governments need to come in to introduce regulations and concrete assistance of various forms to the businesses.

2.4 Gap analysis in the context of programme implementation challenges

One other important theme associated with the literature review is the information it discloses on the gaps that tend to exist between public expectations and the actual situation; that is between the imperatives in the regulations, policies, manifestos and development plans of the ruling governments, and what they are able to achieve in concrete terms (Fig 2.1), underpinning the concepts of rhetoric and programme implementation challenges portrayed in the works of Finlayson (2004) and Reisigil (2008a, 2008b), among others. This perspective of the discourse pays particular attention to the problems which governments often face in the implementation of the objectives underpinning their regulations, manifestos, development plans and policy documents as was mentioned in the previous chapter. Fig 2.1 presents a pictorial perspective of this situation.

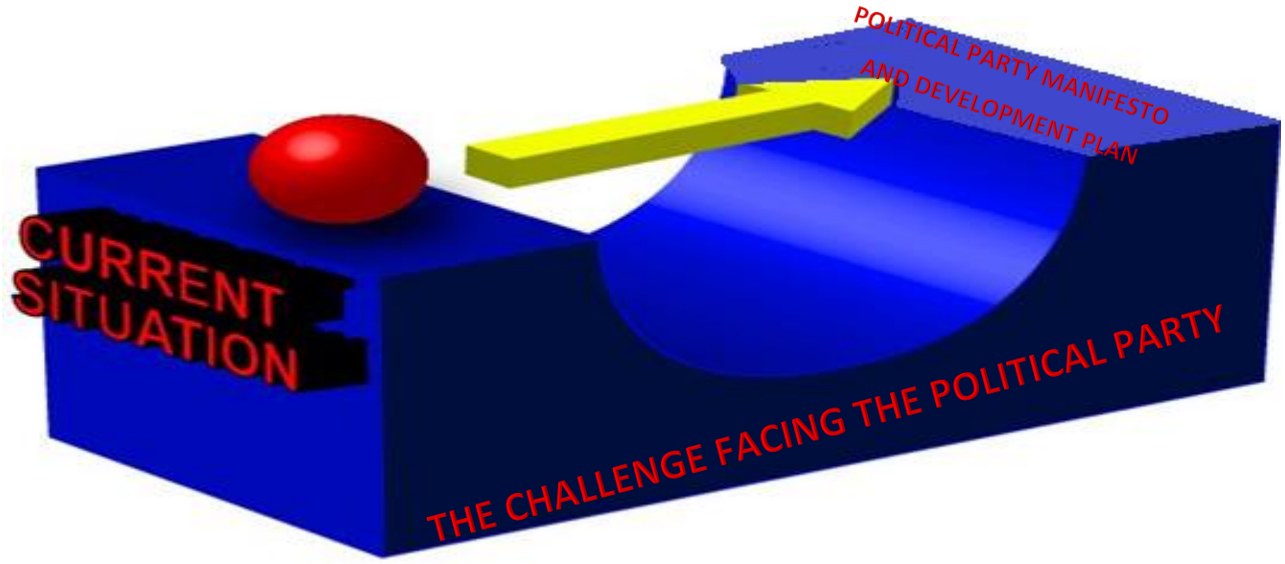


Figure 2.1: Gap analysis perspective on the challenge of implementing political party development plans **(Based on Bhaskar, 2008: 268)**

The above model shows that implementing the objectives in the policies and development plans of the political regimes is often met with major challenges. The challenges could be conceptualized as the problems which the political regime faces in bringing the current state (with its disappointments, obstacles, contradictions and constraints and its potential of undoing the objectives underpinning the manifestos and plans of the political regime) in line with the desired situation. It is therefore about the dialectics of power struggle between the expected and the actual, between the ideal and the concrete situation, and between the forces working to promote the development of the businesses and those working to close them down. The model offers valuable knowledge enhancing insight into the relevance of Bhaskar's (2008) research programmes on the relations between expectations and actual outcomes.

The works of Kleinnjienhuis and Pennings (2001), Maak and Pless (2006), and McDonald and Mendes (2001) take account of the impacts of the dialectical forces in programme development. In addition, the report of NEPAD (2001), Robertson (2004), Laver (2005), and Schumacher, De Vries and Vis (2013), Leonard (1990) needs to be mentioned. Also, of importance are the publications of Schell (2003), Adams, Clark, and Ezrow (2004), Somer-Topcu (2009), and Somer-Topcu and Adams (2014). These authors make their contributions in the development discourse by arguing that understanding the causes (that is, the obstacles) underpinning the existence of the gaps or disparities between organizational plan objectives and the actual achievements is critical for taking the appropriate measures for getting rid of the gaps concerned. On the basis of the gap idea, these authors argue that the existence of the problems working against progress on the one

hand (the current situation), as against the desired state plans on the other (the manifestos and plans of the political regimes) needs to be taken as signals for appropriate actions to be taken constantly to remove the problems concerned. In this way, the authors demonstrate how the constant monitoring of performance can help the political regimes to monitor developments in the gaps or problems concerned.

One common solution recommended for tackling the gap phenomenon concerns the awareness programmes that government officials could introduce to educate people about the need to dispose of the problems which tend to prevent them from achieving their set planned objectives. As Hammersley (2002) has argued, public education programmes need to be used constantly as tools for mobilizing people to achieve their development objectives. Lawson (2003, 2012a, 2012b) and Ackroyd and Fleetwood (2008) have in the same vein, demonstrated how awareness creation programmes could be used to mobilize communities to dispose of the obstacles faced in the implementation of plans for improving their material condition. The role of public awareness creation programmes in addressing the gap phenomenon is discussed further with reference to Figs 3.2 and 6.2.

2.5 The relations between political regimes and opposition parties

One important area in the literature concerns the rivalry which tends to characterize the relations between political regimes and the opposition parties. Westwood and Clegg (2003), Fleetwood and Ackroyd (2004), Laver (2005), and Dolezal, Ennser-Jedenastik, Muller and Winkler (2014) have devoted considerable attention to the phenomenon of rivalry between organizations for power. In the realm of politics, Budge (1994), Robertson (2004), and Somer-Topcu and Adams (2014) draw

attention to the way political regimes make use of advertisements, public debates and other forms of communication to present their manifestos as serving the best interest of their nationals. They also highlight how the regimes constantly search for information to discredit the image of the opposition parties. Wodak (2009), Dolezal, Ennser-Jedenastik, Muller and Winkler (2014) maintain that such rivalries often end up in the courts, particularly after the declaration of election results. Coole (2000) demonstrates that it is in the context of such unhealthy competition that development projects inherited from previous political parties are often presented in bad light to the public and, in most cases, discontinued or abandoned by the succeeding government. In this way, he argues that often the long-term survival of some development projects tends to be at the mercy of the government in power. In the Ghanaian context, the publications by Nyanteng (1997, 2006), Ohene-Amoh (2015), and Opoku (2010) need to be mentioned.

The relation between political parties is important because they tend to influence the ways in which development programmes are implemented. Coole (2000) maintains that the ways in which in-coming governments conceive their programmes are invariably influenced by what they perceive as the legacies left by the previous opposition government. The new government might decide to scrap the existing programmes or change them to send a message to the electorate. Under such circumstances, the fate of the existing projects could be jeopardized. Under situations where projects are labelled under political party slogans, and not as national projects, such projects cannot survive for long. In situations where business promotion programmes are politicized, one cannot expect to see any continuity in the implementation of the several political regimes' policies and development plans. To combat this problem, the case for adopting the integrated national

development policies and plans approach to the development process needs to be taken up seriously. This is an issue which is discussed in the recommendations chapter.

In support of this view, The United Nations Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) and The Economic Community of Africa (ECA), 2011 for example, has stated that "*... the state must have the legitimacy required to mobilize all stakeholders around a nationally-owned development framework, goals and targets and the necessary capacity to monitor and evaluate the effectiveness of its plans in order to bring about the necessary structural transformation*". This statement implies that the organization sees much value in the idea of national development plans owned by all political parties. If development plans could be seen in this light, it could serve the purpose on integrating the political parties.

2.6 Political parties and the business class

The relations that emerge between political regimes and the business and civil society sectors also feature in the political party activities discourse. One important responsibility of political regimes concerns the extent to which they can function independent of the influences of the business class. Colander, Holt and Rosser (2009) have devoted considerable attention to this situation in which the politicians can find themselves. They point out that one challenge faced by the politicians concerns the reality or temptation of falling into the trap of state capture by the business class.

Rose-Ackerman (1999), World Peace Foundation (2003), and The Africa Progress Panel Report (2013) provide numerous cases of government officials being bribed by the business sector in particular to engage in corrupt practices at the expense of the broader society. Because the party

in power can use the instruments at its disposal to affect the distribution of resources, they point out how various interest groups often influence politicians to their own advantage. In technical terminology, the interest groups tend to use their political connections to seek economic rent from government, where economic rent is that part of the remuneration of the owners of factors of production over and above the supply price or opportunity cost of the factor. This theme in the literature addresses problems such as state capture, corruption, and ethical leadership. This is one problem area in the field of Ethical Leadership which has been addressed by Kanungo and Mendonca (1995), Bayart, Stephen and Hibou (1999). Gini (1998), Beethem, Weir, Bracking, and Kearton (2001), Caiden, Dwirendi and Joseph (2001), Plinio, Young and Lavery (2010). The African Progress Panel Report (2013) also devotes much attention to this theme in the discourse on political governance.

2.7 Democratic governance

One other important issue in the good governance discourse concerns the levels of freedoms given to the public to freely evaluate their governments. In this connection, media freedom is one key consideration. This democratic dimension of governance has been elaborated by Beetham (1999:3) who provides the following insight: *"The core of democracy is that of popular rule or governance. Its starting point is with the citizen rather than with the institutions of government. Its defining principles are that all citizens are entitled to a say in public affairs, both through the associations of civil society, and through participation in government and that this entitlement should be available in terms of equality of all. Control by citizens over their collective affairs and equally between citizens in the exercise of that control, are the key democratic principles"*.

Fig 2.2 presents an outline of some good governance elements. The model indicates that some basic principles are enshrined in the concept. These cover issues on responsiveness, equitability, inclusivity, participation, consensus, transparency, the rule of law, accountability and effectiveness and efficiency in the implementation of projects.

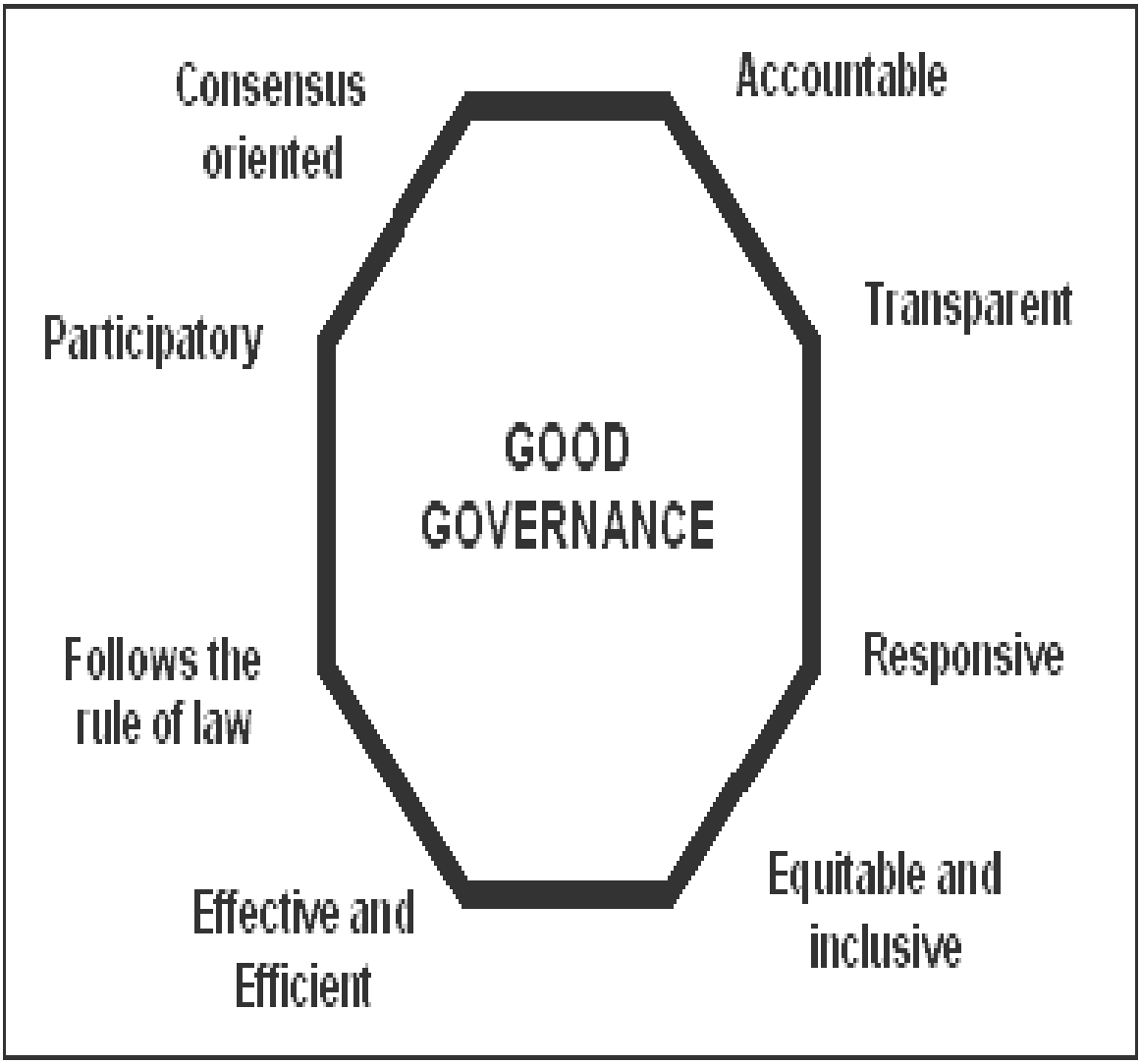


Figure 2.2: An outline of the elements of good governance

(Source: UNDP, 1997: 14)

These central principles in the activities of political regimes and public administration in general have been elaborated by Leonard (1990), Hyden and Bratton (1992), Young (2000), Beethem, Weir, Bracking, and Kearton (2001), Hope (2003), Hickey and Morgan (2005), Wampler (2008),

and Mertens (2009). Among other things, these authorities put particular emphasis on the importance of consulting stakeholders with ideological and other opposing views in decision making processes.

In sharing this democratic aspect of good governance, Habermas (1987, 1989, 1990), speaks of devolution of power. He argues that democratic principles cannot obtain in organizations unless the top management allows the needs of the people to determine their actions. He maintains that such needs constitute inalienable fundamental rights to which a person is inherently entitled simply because he or she is a human being. For Habermas, human rights are conceived as universal (applicable everywhere) and egalitarian (the same for everyone). According to him, these rights need to exist as natural rights or as legal rights in both national and international law and should apply in all aspects of political governance; in issues dealing with accessibility to public services and property ownership; in cultural and religious issues; in economic activities; and to issues touching on environmental protection. He therefore, on this basis, defends the possibility of an independent discourse termed "democratic governance" which requires that the top management of organizations devolve power to those with relatively less administrative and management powers to enable their interests to feature in development policies and plans.

At the international level, The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, The Millennium Development Goals, The African Union's Banjul Charter and the Grand Bay (Mauritius) Declaration as articulated in The United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (2003, 2005) have also highlighted the importance of democratic governance in the development of Africa. The principles in their documents indicate that allowing the public the freedom to partake in the running of public affairs

carries the prospect of ensuring ethical principles in addressing the needs of the less privileged social classes. In the process, the issue of good governance stands out as the overarching requirement for the politicians to address the development challenges of their nation states.

This trend in political management and thinking is well captured in the activities of organizations such as The African (Banjul) Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights, the 2007 African Charter on Democratic Elections and Governance and also institutions such as The African Peer Review Mechanism and The Mo Ibrahim organization Afegbua and Adejuwon (2012). In addition, mention needs to be made of the contributions from Bayart, Stephen and Hibou (1999), Beethem, Weir, Bracking, and Kearton (2001), Hope (2003), Maak and Pless (2006), and The Africa Progress Report Panel (2013). Fay (1977:54) provided a succinct account of the importance of good governance and democracy in these words: *"People can be free only when they participate in determining the conditions of their lives and are not simply subject to the commands of others; to be deprived of the opportunities for political participation is to lose the chance to exercise one's powers of self-reflection and, as a result, to lose the essential human capacity of self-determination with regards to some of the most important areas of human existence; and one can be free only when one is self-determining".*

The above principles were taken into consideration in the selection of the research participants and in the design of the questionnaires in the study. Such considerations assisted in giving the participants the opportunity to reflect on the various perspectives of the initiatives of the political regimes in the promotion of the business sector of Ghana.

2.8 Regime theory

This aspect of the role of governments in the development process discourse locates political activities above all, in the context of the attributes of the political leadership as discussed earlier in chapter one. As argued by Yukl (2006) and Rocco and Plakhotnik (2009), this is because organizational leaders tend to have their individual interpretations of the task assigned to them when in office. *Regime theory is a* model which outlines how organizational leaders, during their terms of administration, mobilize their teams to pursue programmes reflecting their philosophical positions. Budge, Robertson and Hearl (1987), argue that analyzing political party activities from the leadership perspective carries enormous benefits since it brings into focus the different meanings party leaders tend to attach to the welfare of the electorate. Budge (1994), Budge et al. (1994), for example, argues that different regimes of the same political parties can achieve different results on the same development challenges due to the differences in the attributes of the party leadership.

Table 2.1 provides information on the key areas of the development challenges of Ghana on which the political regimes are assessed in the study. They are based on the objectives of the study as stated earlier, viz

9. The nature of the development policies and plans of the Ghanaian political regimes on business promotion, job creation and poverty alleviation since 1993.
10. The extent to which the government-led initiatives on business promotion have contributed to job creation and poverty alleviation.
11. The impacts of the business promotion programmes on the other sectors of the Ghanaian economy.

12. The nature of the strategies of the current political regime of Ghana to help address the problems faced in the implementation of its business promotion programmes.

These objectives are summarized in five thematic areas as displayed on Table 2.1.

Table 2.1: Key areas of assessment of the performance of the post-1993 political regimes

	1	2	3	4	5
Objective:	The plans and policies				
	Obtaining information on:	Obtaining information on:	Obtaining information on:	Obtaining information on:	Obtaining information on:
To assess the work of the political regimes/ administrations in terms of 5 areas/score cards in the columns	The nature of political regime-sponsored entrepreneurship promotion policies plan and programmes in Ghana since 1993.	New businesses formed, restored/revived, jobs created by the businesses, skills offered, incomes generated.	Philanthropy and related activities of the businesses.	The problems associated with the entrepreneurship development programmes of the post-1993 political regimes	Government assistance for helping the businesses to address the problems

Critical realist theories on social transformation processes and development indicate that an important starting point on the discourse concerns the nature of the social mechanisms (regulations, policies and plans) for achieving some expected outcomes. This is the Real Level in the critical realist scheme as indicated in column 1 above. Sayer (1992, 2000) and Bhaskar (2008) note that the policies, plans and manifestos of organizations constitute examples of social mechanisms with causal powers to induce some desired outcomes or consequences by virtue of their nature. Such mechanisms disclose the organizational targets set for implementation. Knowledge of the mechanisms and their set targets is however not adequate for making predictions since those required to implement the imperatives in the mechanisms have considerable freedoms to act otherwise. Thus, column numbers 2, 3 and 4 in Table 2.1 indicate that concrete outcomes could be different from the targets set in column number 1. Those columns indicate that regimes of

government can influence development outcomes in many ways. They indicate that governments have to have the instruments in place all the time to monitor the impacts of their development polices and plans with mechanisms for providing the relevant support to getting rid of the problems concerned as illustrated in column 5 above.

Critical realist theory indicates that stakeholders tend to interpret the same policies and plans differently to produce different outcomes or impacts. The theory demands that stakeholders work, perform, or operate in the context of the imperatives set by organizations in column number 1. This column is concerned with the context which informs concrete social outcomes. Critical realist and regime theories are linked in the sense of arguing that different regimes of the same organization (such as political parties in our case) can achieve different results on the same development policies, plans and targets such as indicated in column number 1 in Table 2.1. Both theories demand that attention be devoted to the different ways in which different administrations implement the imperatives in their policies and plans.

An important theme in regime theory is that it is possible to find patterns in the ups and downs in the performance on organizations or in the living conditions of the people as good political leadership is followed by bad leadership in an apparent cyclical pattern (Finlayson, 2007). A common model which is popularly used as a measure of the differences in political governance for example, relates to the idea of cycles in which improvements in general living conditions are followed by periods of poverty and economic decline as different leaders are brought into power over time. Cycles of distinct management or political governance legacies could be worth looking at as indicated in Figs 2.3 and 2.4.

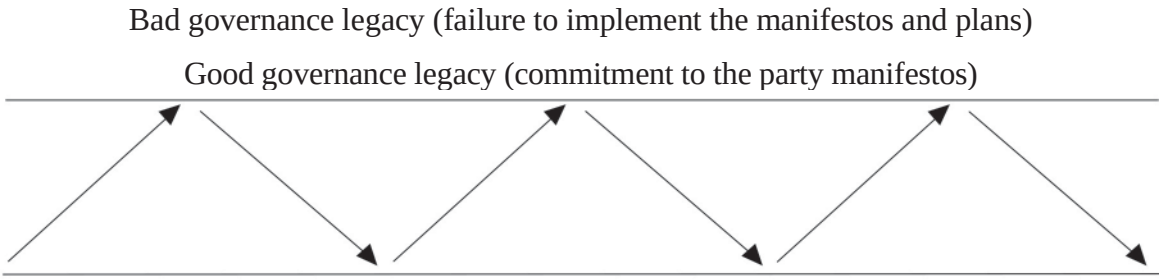


Figure 2.3: A wave or cycle-based model on political governance legacies

Fig 2.3 portrays a situation where good governance and bad governance tend to emerge and subside intermittently to relate to the impacts of the nature of the ideas in place under the various presidential regimes in the country. Yirenkyi-Boateng (1995, 2010) has argued that the upward and downward swings in the social conditions of people could represent manifestations of the legacies or impacts of the ideas of the ruling class during particular periods. The model gives the impression of apparent power struggles between good and bad governance systems. Fig 2.4 is another way of presenting such twists and turns associated with the nature of leadership of political parties.

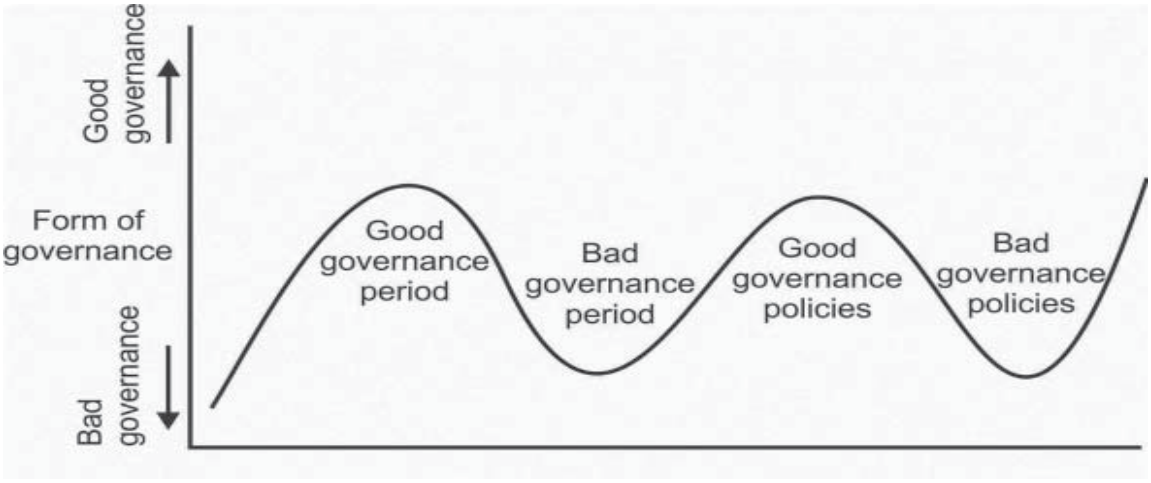


Figure 2.4: A wave cycle model of political governance
(**Source:** David, 2004)

Like Fig 2.3, Fig 2.4 depicts a situation which says the public need to be aware of the reality of

changes in the living conditions of people reflecting changes in the legacies of the political party leaderships.

The lessons emanating from Fig 2.3 and Fig 2.4 as argued by David (2004) are that social conditions characterized by good management principles today are no guarantee that such situations will prevail indefinitely. The one lesson that needs to be learnt from the cyclical model is that those African communities enjoying the fruits of good governance should not be lulled into complacency. As David says with reference to businesses, (2004:300) … "*countless firms have thrived one year only to struggle for survival the following year*". His advice is for the broader society to work constantly to eliminate bad management practices and the many problems associated with them. Rose-Ackerman (1999) explains the importance of the cyclical model in the political governance from the open nature of society in which stakeholders have freedoms to make choices on programme implementation processes. She explains that such freedoms could swing the outcomes on the development process in any direction depending on a number of factors.

The concept of Regime Theory is important because it points to how the president (Head of State) of the day could succeed or fail in using his/her cabinet to implement their policies, programmes and plans. Regime theory thus ultimately helps to draw attention to the actions and impacts of particular heads of state of Ghana in the development of Ghana during the periods they were in power since 1993.

2.9 Critical Realist approach: synthesizing the ideas

The review of the literature above has helped to disclose the various issues that come into focus on the discourse on the performance of political regimes. The discussions that flow from Table 2.1 helps to bring into the picture the gap that tends to emerge between intentions and actual outcomes.

Fay (1977), Budge (1994), Jackson and Carter (2000), Wodak (2009), and Fairhorn and Fairhorn (2009) among others, have drawn attention to the fact that the actual outcomes or achievements can be presented with statistical information. Such quantitative descriptive approach in organizational studies involves the use of observable statistical data on the achievements of organizations. Fleetwood and Ackroyd (2004), and Fulbrook (2009) for example, indicate that the ultimate objective of this research approach is to assess organizations with statistical data such as the volume of investments during a particular time period; the number of jobs created; the changes in per capita incomes; the quantitative changes in infrastructure development, and the import-export sectors as well as foreign reserves, among others, to demonstrate how they combine to influence the living conditions of the population. In this approach, predictions and other deductions are used to offer quantitative descriptions and associations between some selected variables. Statistical techniques such as correlation and regression models tend to play central roles in the impact assessments.

What is often considered as the alternative to the descriptive quantitative paradigm is the qualitative contextual approach. The merits of the qualitative research approach as advanced by Charmaz (2006), Creswell (2007), Corbin and Strauss (2008), and Reason and Bradbury (2008), among others, lies in its interest in paying attention to the factors which underpin the impacts of organizations and social processes in general. This approach falls broadly under the contextual

approach since its emphasis is on the factors accounting for the disparity between the set organizational objectives and the actual achievements. The emphasis here is essentially about how stakeholders interpret the guidelines, tasks, agreements, public policies and plans (the context) to produce different outcomes together with the problems associated with them.

Lacey (2002), Westwood and Clegg (2003), and Lawson (2007) therefore do make mention of the importance of understanding stakeholder actions for purposes of obtaining meaningful understanding concerning their performance or outcomes of their activities. This implies that the quantitative and qualitative approaches need to be combined to identify how human value judgements produce outcomes which could be measured in quantitative terms. This integrated approach of combining measurable quantitative outcomes with the interpretations of stakeholder activities is one hallmark of the critical realist research project (Archer, 1995; Bhaskar, 1991, 1998, 2008; Sayer, 2000; Fay and Moon, 2004; Danermark, Ekstrom, Jakobsen, and Karllson, 2005).

From this perspective, adopting the contextual approach will be appropriate to this study since this would entail investigating the extent to which the regimes of administrations have been able to successfully implement their policies and plans on their development problems. Instead of just presenting facts and figures on the performance of the regime administrations, as would be the case with the quantitative, positivist paradigm, adopting the contextual approach would rather demand that researchers put more emphasis on the interpretivist or explanatory perspective by disclosing how the ruling governments have been addressing or interpreting the development challenges of Ghana (such as the entrepreneurship and job creation examples cited above) during their terms in office. Such an approach would serve to emphasize how the value judgements and

the attitudes of people, that is, the political regimes of Ghana, have impacted on the living conditions of Ghanaians.

One merit of the stakeholder-based research approach lies in the emphasis it puts on the explanations and evaluations of the work of organizations as demonstrated by Morrow (1994), Pawdel (2009), Pawson and Tilley (1997), Taiwo (2005) and Winter (2003). Young (2000), Onkware (2015), Otiemo (2015), and Mertens (2009) point out that the explanations and evaluations of stakeholder activities provide the key information needed for initiating sustainable social change. Thus, Otiemo (Ibid) and Taiwo (Ibid) among others, maintain that the habit of governments presenting only statistical information to advertise their achievements always needs to be taken as half of the stories that need to be told.

In terms of the objectives of this study, using the contextual approach would therefore imply finding out the factors underpinning successes and failures of the political regimes of Ghana relative to the entrepreneurship development programmes concerned. This is the idea behind the call for contextual evaluative research by Patton (1990), Pawson and Tilley (1997), and Posavac and Carey (2008), among others. Critical realist theory argues that to understand the factors underpinning the performance of organizations, the contextual approach needs to come into centre stage to disclose how stakeholders put various meanings on the task that they are expected to perform.

Conceptually, therefore, adopting the contextual approach in this study would entail investigating a number of issues. These would include finding out the broader motivations, philosophy, rules,

guidelines and broader goals underpinning the nature of business promotion programmes of the political regimes. Such issues relate to the nature of the objects located at the Real level of the critical realist model.

Fig 2.5 is an outline indicating how the critical realist theoretical framework could be used to assess the post-1993 political regimes of Ghana regarding how they implement the objectives and targets in their manifestos and actual achievements in addressing the entrepreneurship development challenges of the country. The interpretivist component is clearly displayed in the model at the Actual level. The Actual level indicates that one has to put emphasis on the actions of stakeholders (that is the ruling administrations) who are expected to work to help implement the imperatives at the Real level.

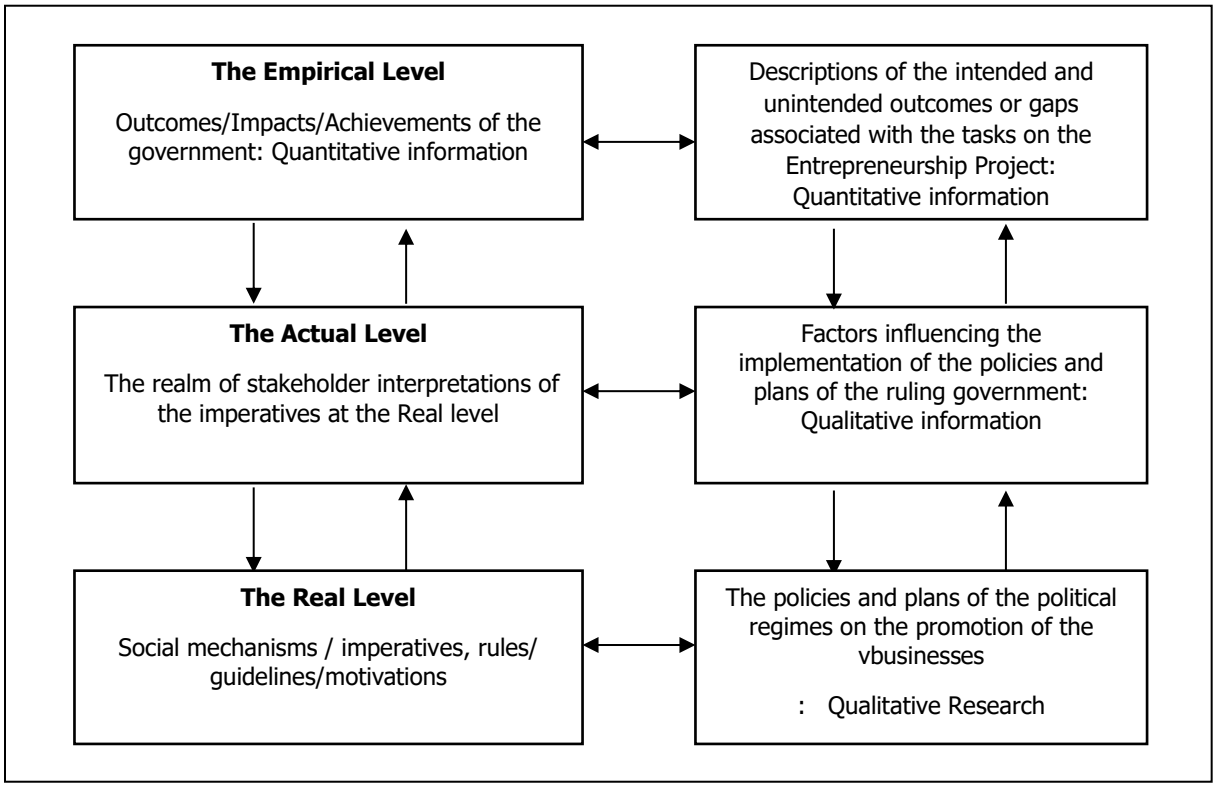


Figure 2.5: Application of the critical realist model in the study
(**Source:** Adapted from Bhaskar, 1991, 1998, 2008; Sayer, 2000, Price and Martin, 2018)

An examination of the critical realist model (Fig 2.5) indicates how it incorporates qualitative information at the Real and Actual levels to relate to the nature of quantitative information at the Empirical level. The model shows that the events people observe and come to have knowledge of at the Empirical Level are determined by the combined activities of hidden causal mechanisms located at The Real Level beyond the reach of their experience in the domain of the empirical. Critical realist researchers thus adopt a much wider scope, looking at all the explanatory factors at a full range of emergent strata contributing to the existence of the object of study.

In the fields of economics, business, management and organizational studies for example, Lawson (2003, 2012a, 2012b) argues that research needs to switch from concentrating on data which merely describe observable events at the Empirical level to a deeper focus on the underlying mechanisms at the Real level which cause the events witnessed in the organizations concerned. In support of this position, Pratschke (2003) and Colander, Holt and Rosser (2004) talking from the critical realist viewpoint, also emphasize the need for researchers to acknowledge that the basic structures at the lowest strata at the Real level are effectively the pre-conditions for the existence of the events and their outcomes at the empirical level. On this critical realist view, Hammersley (2002), Ron (2002), Ackroyd and Fleetwood (2008), Marchionni (2008), and Gillies (2014) thus explain why meaningful social research in business related studies needs to move away from the obsession with statistical descriptions to the realm of qualitative explanations and transformation at the actual and real levels. They argue that statistical modelling is essentially empiricist-constructing equations that merely link empirical observations with no explanatory components. Their positions help to bring into the picture the importance of the critical realist stratification models in the social research process that were discussed in the previous chapter.

As argued by Jepperson and Meyer (2011), Goodin, Rein and Moran (2009), and Rolfe (2006), the critical realist outline clearly indicates that a combination of the quantitative and qualitative approaches will be needed to obtain an explanatory account of the impacts of the activities of organizations.

Adopting the critical realist approach will help to disclose how the political regimes have performed in the context of their policy and plan pronouncements since 1993. In this sense, the political party manifestos, policies and development plans will be located at the **Real Level** of the critical realist stratification outline (indicating the intransitive reality, that is, where the political party manifestos and plans intend to take the nation). The manifestos of National Democratic Congress, *Advancing the Better Ghana Agenda* (2012) and *Changing Lives, Transforming Ghana (NDC, 2016)* as well as New Patriotic Party (2000) *An agenda for positive change a promise delivered*, (NPP, 2016) *An agenda for jobs creating prosperity an equal opportunity for all. President Akufo- Addo's address and other opinions* will be analyzed to find out the nature of the promises made in them.

The **Actual Level** will be devoted to an analysis of the ways in which the political regimes have been successful in implementing their plans and policies on the entrepreneurship development project. It would also consider the ways in which the electorate, media and opposition parties interpret the achievements and failures of the ruling governments since 1993.

Finally, the **Empirical Level** will indicate the concrete outcomes or impacts of the political regimes in addressing the entrepreneurship development challenges. This domain will be

associated with the descriptions and statistical analysis of the impacts of the ruling governments regarding the entrepreneurship development challenge.

Adopting the critical realist research framework in this study thus helps to explain and justify the call by Collins, Onwuegbuzie and Sutton (2006), Leech and Onwuegbuzie (2009: 273), and Onwuegbuzie, Johnson and Collins (2009) among others, for the adoption of the mixed methods research paradigm. The model indicates that instead of drawing a wedge between the quantitative and qualitative research approaches, the descriptive and explanatory components need to be combined via the critical realist research approach. From this perspective, it will therefore be important to bring into the discussion the concept of triangulation in the development discourse. Moran-Ellis, Alexander, Cronin, Dickinson, Fielding and Sleney (2006), Rolfe (2006), and Downward and Mearman (2007) point out that triangulation in social research entails using two or more theories, sources of data, types of sampling, research participants, and data analytical methods to address the objectives of research projects It has a number of terminologies : blended research, integrative multi-method research, multiple methods triangulated studies, ethnographic residual analysis, and mixed methods research (Marchionni, 2008; Harrison, and Reilly, 2011). It integrates approaches from different research methods in a single study and therefore assists in overcoming the deficiencies of the individual approaches. It i**s** a multimethod approach to data collection and analysis, based on the idea that the phenomenon under study can be understood best when approached with a variety or combination of research methods.

Bossman and Wilson (1985), Jick (1979), and Jack and Raturi (2006) indicated that triangulation is most commonly used in data collection and analysis techniques but that it also applies to sources

of data. It can therefore enable confirmation and corroboration of the individual approaches, useful for testing the validity of research findings and for addressing the challenge of using only one method to study the same phenomenon. It is from this perspective, a research strategy that can reduce biases or the deficiencies caused by using only one method. In this way it helps in increasing the validity and reliability of research findings by comparing the results of different approaches to a single unit of study. Thus, Creswell and Plano Clark (2007) and Denzin (1989) made mention of four types of triangulation.

1. Data triangulation via research participants, historical periods and geographical areas.
2. Investigator triangulation. Entailing the use of several researchers (knowledgeable people).
3. Theory triangulation.
4. Triangulation of data sources, that is from the perspective of the research instruments used (observations, interviews, mailed questionnaires).

The methodology chapter indicates how triangulation principles were adopted to bring on board various stakeholders into the data collection process in order to ensure a wide consultation process. The chapter also demonstrates how closed ended statements and open-ended questions were combined to elicit the opinions of the respondents. In addition, the chapter further demonstrates how quantitative and qualitative-informed data were combined to generate the information needed to address the objectives of the study. All these combinations were undertaken within the framework of the critical realist research framework.

2.10 Other publications on Ghana

Attention is now turned to the analysis of the publications which have been accessed on the role of political regimes in the development of Ghana since 1993. The discussions indicate that the publications cut across a number of topical areas covering appreciations on the achievements of the various regimes in terms of helping to promote the multi-party democratic system in the country; accounts on the challenges that have faced the ruling governments in implementing their development plans and issues on the way the electoral systems have functioned, among others.

2.10.1 Appreciative inquiry publications

Under this category are publications which acknowledge the positive contributions which organizations make to the development process. Cooperrider, Sorenson, Yeager, and Whitney, (2005), Cooperrider, Whitney, and Stavros (2008) and Lewis, Passmore and Cantore (2008) have highlighted the lessons on best practice which such publications seek to disclose to the public.

The works of Aryeetey, Harrington and Currey (2000) and Aryeetey and Baah-Boateng (2016) belong to this group. In their publications, the authors pay considerable attention to the positive achievements made by the political regimes in helping to raise the living conditions of Ghanaians over the period under study. The Ministry of Business Development of Ghana (2019) has also published a number of documents on its achievements in the area of local business promotion. The publications are however largely in the form of statistical information on its impacts on the business sector of the country.

2.10.2 Transition to democracy

The publications of Ninsin and Prah (1993), Gyimah-Boadi (1999), and Morrison (2001; 2004) provide information on how the achievements of the governments of the day have helped to put Ghana steadily on the path of democratic governance. The authors interpret the activities of the political parties largely as an exercise in the replacement of the previous system of one party /cum military rule to one of multi-party democracy.

2.10.3 Ideology of the political parties

An article authored by Atta Mills (2018), "*Politics, Policy Implementation; The Ghanaian Paradox*" focuses attention on the way in which the activities of the ruling governments of Ghana could be analyzed from the context of political ideology. From such a perspective, he enriches the narratives on the research projects on the post-1993 politics of Ghana by interpreting the themes in the manifestos of the two ruling parties into two. He characterizes the NPP administration as a liberal democratic party and the NDC as social democrats. He maintains that this way in which the two political parties present themselves to the Ghanaian public seems to have sunk into the consciousness of the electorate.

This aspect of the post-1993 politics of Ghana is also the theme in the work of Nugent (1995) who examined the role of ideological positioning in the analysis of the political parties following the emergence of the multi-political party system in the country.

2.10.4 Political elections

Lindberg (2003) analysed the 2000 Ghana elections process and how it opened the way for the

NPP to enter the political scene in the post-1993 elections history of Ghana. He describes that election as an important milestone in the smooth handover of political power from an incumbent to the former opposition party.

Minion, Morrison, and Hong (2006) on the other hand, pay attention to how ethno/regional factors do influence the nature of the electoral system in Ghana. They talk of one-party predilection regions, citing the Volta and Northern regions as NDC strongholds and the Ashanti region being associated with NPP. In their analysis, they categorize the Brong Ahafo, Central, Eastern, Greater Accra and Western regions as mirroring the national two-party competition system, that is, as swing provinces which could go either way during elections. In other studies, Morrison (1983, 2001, 2004) devotes his attention to how ethnicity constitutes a factor in Ghana's national integration process.

2.10.5 Information on public speeches

In addition to the above, there is the wealth of information on public speeches such as those associated with The Ministry of Information (2018). On *The State of Nation Addresses: (2007, 2008, 2013, 2016 and 2017);* Myjoyonline.com (2019), *Full speech: Bawumia and The Economic Management Team*. *Town Hall Meeting, Accra and* Daily Mail of Ghana (2019) *Adongo's full Speech on the State of Ghana's Economy: Myths and truths. 3 April, 2019. Accra.* An analysis of such documents helps, inter alia, to disclose the ideological positions being communicated to the Ghanaian public by the political regimes of the country.

2.10.6 Rivalries between the political parties

Above all, some publications also pay attention to the nature of the rivalries between the political

regimes, and how the ruling governments communicate with the public to serve the purpose of creating positive images in the minds of the electorate on the achievements, and negative images on the opposition parties**.** Lever (2005) maintains that the politicians tend to organize public meetings with the objective of getting public support for their political parties. In the process, Lever (2005) argues that the concept of "communication wars" has become a popular term used to describe the nature of the messages communicated to the electorate by the politicians. He maintains that rarely do the political parties speak positively about the projects of the opposition parties.

The seeming threats being made by the opposition party in Ghana to terminate some of the projects of the current NPP government such as its free high school education programme is a classic example of this situation. Commissions of inquiry of the incumbent administrations are often set up to bring into disrepute the work of the previous government. Some would argue that it is in such a context that an office of the Special Prosecutor has been set up by the current NPP administration under the guise of fighting perceived corruption in government. The same impression is often created in other African countries whenever such special courts are set up.

The NPP (2000, 2016, 2018), have programmes which cover overhauling the various forms of dualistic structure inherent in the economy and in its place building an integrated system in which the full potentials of all the stakeholders would be realized. These very issues, which most Ghanaians consider central, also significantly enough, feature in the manifestos of the other political parties of the country such as The National Democratic Congress (2007, 2016), and The Progressive People's Party (2012) and Convention Peoples' Party (CCP, 2007, 2016 and 2017).

The manifestos and development plans of the political parties clearly demonstrate that the parties always have a common vision of using their mandate to improve the living conditions of their people. The means therefore have to be found to get rid of the bitter confrontations which tend to arise between them.

In its manifesto during the 2007 political campaigns in Ghana, the concluding statement in the current opposition party, The National Democratic Congress (NDC, 2007), presented the party as having a better understanding of and solution to the development problems of Ghana. Its manifesto was described as a fully-fledged agenda "*for building a better Ghana" ... a government that will make the hardships of today the nightmares of yesterday*.... "*as a party, we are more capable, much wiser and a better organized political force, eager to compete and ready to defeat the incompetent and drifting NPP government. Our resilience has been fortified. This is proven in our ability to stay united in spite of persistent harassment and the many false and continued charges of criminality and corruption fabricated against us by the NPP".* In this statement, NDC was obviously trying to present itself as having better qualified cadres and experience for addressing the development challenges of Ghana.

The information in the Table 2.2 gives some insight into the themes that characterize the manifestos of the NPP and NDC governments.

Table 2.2: The manifesto titles/themes of the NDC and NPP governments

	National Democratic Party (NDC)
1996	Always for People: Always for Development.
2008	A Better Ghana; Investing in People, Jobs and the Economy.
2012	Advancing the Better Ghana Agenda Job, Stability.

New Patriotic Party (NPP)	
2000	An Agenda for Positive Change.
2004	A Promise Delivered.
2016	An Agenda for Jobs; Creating Prosperity and Equal Opportunity for all.

A review of the above documents, however, does not give any impression of any major ideological divide between the two leading political parties of Ghana (The NPP and NDC). One could describe any apparent differences in between them as mere rhetoric. It is interesting to note how instances of common ground also features in the entrepreneurial development and job creation statements in the State of the Nation Addresses (SONA) by the various Presidents of Ghana, from 1993 to 2019.

2.10.7 The State of the Nation Addresses

Attention is now turned to the themes that have featured in the State of Nation Addresses by President Kufuor (2000-2008 Feb14, 2008); President Atta-Mills (2009-2013 Feb 16, 2012); President Mahama (2013-2016 Feb 25, 2016); and President Akufo-Addo: (2017 Feb 21, 2017, Feb 2018 and Feb 2019).

The review indicates that the various administrations consistently do acknowledge the common development challenges that have faced Ghana since the attainment of political independence. The themes are in respect of transforming the colonial oriented nature of the Ghanaian economy; job creation and enterprise development; infrastructure development; addressing the problem of inequalities in accessibility of the population to social services and ensuring good governance.

President Kufuor: 2001-2008. The February 14, 2008 address put the above themes under the

following categories: *Growing the economy through job creation, enterprise development, export of processed products; human resource development; infrastructure development and governance.*

President Atta-Mills: 2009-2013 February 16, 2012 addressed the development problems under; *Social development, economic growth, job creation, infrastructure development and good governance.*

President Mahama: 2013-2016 Feb21, 2013 and 25 Feb, 2016 addressed the development challenges under four pillars: **Pillar One: *Putting People First*** *(reductions in inequalities in accessibility to jobs , education , health, gender, housing, children and social protection,)* ***Pillar Two: A strong and resilient economy*** *(building the foreign reserves, strengthening the exchange value of cedi, relating cost of living emoluments to debt servicing and capital expenditure, promoting private sector development, reducing the dependency nature of the economy, decentralized development, developing agriculture, forestry, mining, fishing, tourism, and services sectors);* ***Pillar three: Expanding infrastructure*** *(roads, railways, water transport, energy, housing, sanitation, ICT) and* ***Pillar four: Transparent and accountable governance.***

And, finally President Akufo-Addo: February 21, 2017, 2018 in particular addressed the development challenges under 13 pillars: *"The restoration and maintenance of a stable macro-economy-monetary and fiscal measures which will lead to reductions in interest rates and tax burden; energy supply, setting up of stimulus package to support existing industries and improve competitiveness, decentralized industrial development; industrial complex development anchored on petro-chemicals, iron and steel, aluminum, pharmaceutical, automotive industries, industrial*

salt, garment and textiles; manufacture of equipment and component parts; establishment of multi-purpose industrial parks in each of the regions of Ghana; SME development; establishment of an industrial sub-contracting exchange to link large scale companies with SMEs; export development programmes, targeting regional and continental markets; enhancement of domestic retail market infrastructure and the active promotion of the marketing and distribution of domestically produced goods; improvement of business environment through regulatory and other reforms; establishment of a permanent consultative forum for public-private sector dialogue".

One central theme which the current Ghanaian President has helped to inculcate in the consumption pattern of the citizens relates to the slogan *"Consume Made-In-Ghana Goods"*. One achievement of this campaign relates to the way Ghanaians now choose to wear dresses with materials which are locally made. This in no doubt, could impact positively on the textile industry of the country.

The above presidential addresses serve to indicate the ways in which the job creation and entrepreneurial development themes feature in the policies and plans of the political regimes of Ghana. They therefore point out that, overall, there have been some agreements or common ground between the two political regimes regarding the business promotion agenda on Ghana since 1993.

2.10.8 Publications by the media houses of Ghana and research organizations

The reviews of the work of the activities of the political regimes cannot be complete without an

examination of the input of the Ghanaian media houses. These include the TV and radio stations as well as the newspapers. They do have the constitutional rights to report on the activities of organizations such as the political regimes. The media houses provide different types of information to the public: they educate, provide news items on the state of affairs on development projects, offer criticisms on the performance of the government, provide their own interpretations on issues of national importance, and above all, make recommendations to government on solutions to the development problems of Ghana. In addition to the many radio stations, newspapers such as The Daily Graphic, Business & Financial Times, The Spectator, The Gold Street Business and The Mirror also do constantly evaluate the activities of the political regimes.

Finally, mention also needs to be made of the research institutes of Ghana and other civic society organizations such as the religious groups which also offer information of relevance to the political discourse through their publications, seminars, conferences and other media. In this regard, the contributions of foreign-based organizations also need to be acknowledged.

2.11 Conclusion

The literature review serves to bring into focus the thematic issues that need to be central in the theoretical framework of this study. The discussions have helped to disclose how the policies and plans of governments could impact on the concrete activities of organizations such as the business sector of Ghana.

The review has highlighted in particular, how the entrepreneurship sector needs to provide an important focus in the analysis of the work of the various regimes. It has served to bring into the

spotlight a number of issues on the rhetoric between theory and practice with particular reference to the challenges of using political decisions to influence the development of the business sector of Ghana. One central proposition emerging from the discussions is that the political parties share a common ground on the necessity of promoting the business sector of Ghana. The information presented in Table 2.1 thus emerges as a summary of the key issues of concern in this study. Column 4 in particular occupies a central position in the arguments in this study. The columns do point to the need for the political regimes to find ways of agreeing on some basic principles on their mandates.

CHAPTER 3

Theoretical framework

3.1 Introduction

From the previous chapter, one can discern a framework emerging to guide data collection for testing ideas, exploring new fields of endeavor and discovering fresh grounds for understanding the factors underpinning the performance of the political regimes in terms of the transformation of the businesses under study. The framework could also suggest areas from where ideas could be drawn upon to address any problems identified in the work of the regimes concerned. Such ideas would represent sensitizing concepts from the literature which could be used to develop theories.

As demonstrated by Riley, Wood, Clark, Wilkie and Szivas (2000), and Bowen (2006) sensitizing concepts are constructs derived from research participant's expressions, concerns and suggestions as well as ideas obtained from the literature which sensitize the researcher to some lines of inquiry in the research process. The objectives of this study have been motivated by the desire of obtaining ground-based information from the owners of the Ghanaian businesses and related stakeholders regarding the problems facing the business promotion initiatives of the political regimes of the country since 1993. Their responses have helped to generate ground-based ideas reflecting central themes in qualitative research.

3.2 Some propositions for the study

From the previous chapter, it is clear then that this study on the roles of the post-1993 Ghanaian political regimes on the development of the business sector of the country has much to borrow

from dialectical social theory. The theory illustrates how the relations between stakeholders contribute to particular social outcomes (Bhaskar, 2008). Adopting this approach can help us to think about some propositions such as the following:

13. Understanding the nature of the development plans of the Ghanaian political regimes on the business development process of the country since 1993 will be important as a benchmark for comparative studies.
14. The differences observed in the structure of the development plans would be an indication of the differences in meanings accorded the business sector by the political regimes. Such structures give indications of the context in which the performance of political regimes could be assessed.
15. The impacts of the development policies on the business sector will differ to reflect the differences in their nature as well as in the levels of implementation by the political regimes.
16. There will be possible problems and contradictions associated with the implementation of the business promotion programmes by virtue of the open environment in which they operate.
17. The existence of such problems would represent gaps between expectations and actual outcomes demanding government-sponsored intervention programmes for progress to be made.
18. Public education programmes will be central in mobilizing the relevant stakeholders for addressing the problems concerned.
19. Addressing the problems would require a structured strategy to guide the transformation process.

20. Stakeholder co-operation will be central in the implementation of any new strategies for getting rid of the existing problems hampering progress in the business sector of Ghana.
21. Monitoring of progress in the implementation of the business development plans will be central in the many programmes
22. The political parties need to co-operate in the project on enterprise development of Ghana.

3.3 The propositions in the context of management and governance

The rationale behind the above ideas could further be deepened by an examination of the key elements of Fig 3.1. The model is based on David's 2004 model indicating the key components of the management and planning mechanisms of organizations. It has been selected to help provide some useful insights into the role of organizational plans in evaluating their performance.

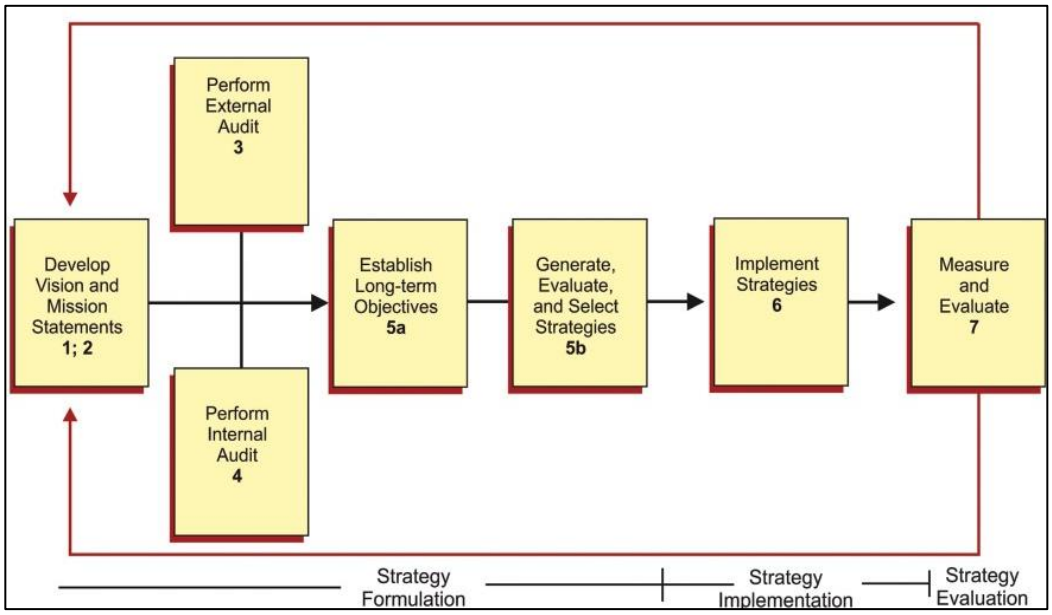


Figure 3.1: Outline of stakeholder's information

(**Source:** Based on David, 2004)

The David model demonstrates that development policies and plans are central in any attempts at evaluating organizational performance. Boxes 1 to 5 indicate the issues that go into the formulation of such policies and plans. Box 5b indicates that the selected strategy, policy or plan represents a checklist which outsiders could use to compare the targets set in the plans with the actual performance at step 6 which is about the level of implementation achieved. An examination of nature of the tasks associated with boxes 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5 indicate that they represent the key elements of the real level of the critical realist scheme in Fig 2.5. The boxes give indications of the tasks involved in the formulation of development plans and policies.

Box 7 then is about evaluating actual performance (Weiss, 1998, Jones, 2011). It is at this stage that the gap between the expected and the actual comes into focus. It is also at this stage that the opposing forces which tend to operate to defeat the objectives in development policies and plans come to the fore. Evaluating performance then becomes a critical element in the research process. This study thus becomes, above all, a case study in evaluative research. For this reason, it will be noticed that some of the questions to be addressed by the respondents in this study will be about evaluating the performance of the political regimes under study from the perspective of the opinions of the research participants. This will be clear in the research methodology chapter.

3.4 Gap analysis in the governance sphere

Fig 3.2 is an elaboration of the opposing forces which Bhaskar conceptualizes as gaps. Such gaps represent obstacles preventing organizations from achieving their objectives. The model recommends that such gaps need to raise public awareness concerning the need for finding the means for disposing of them.

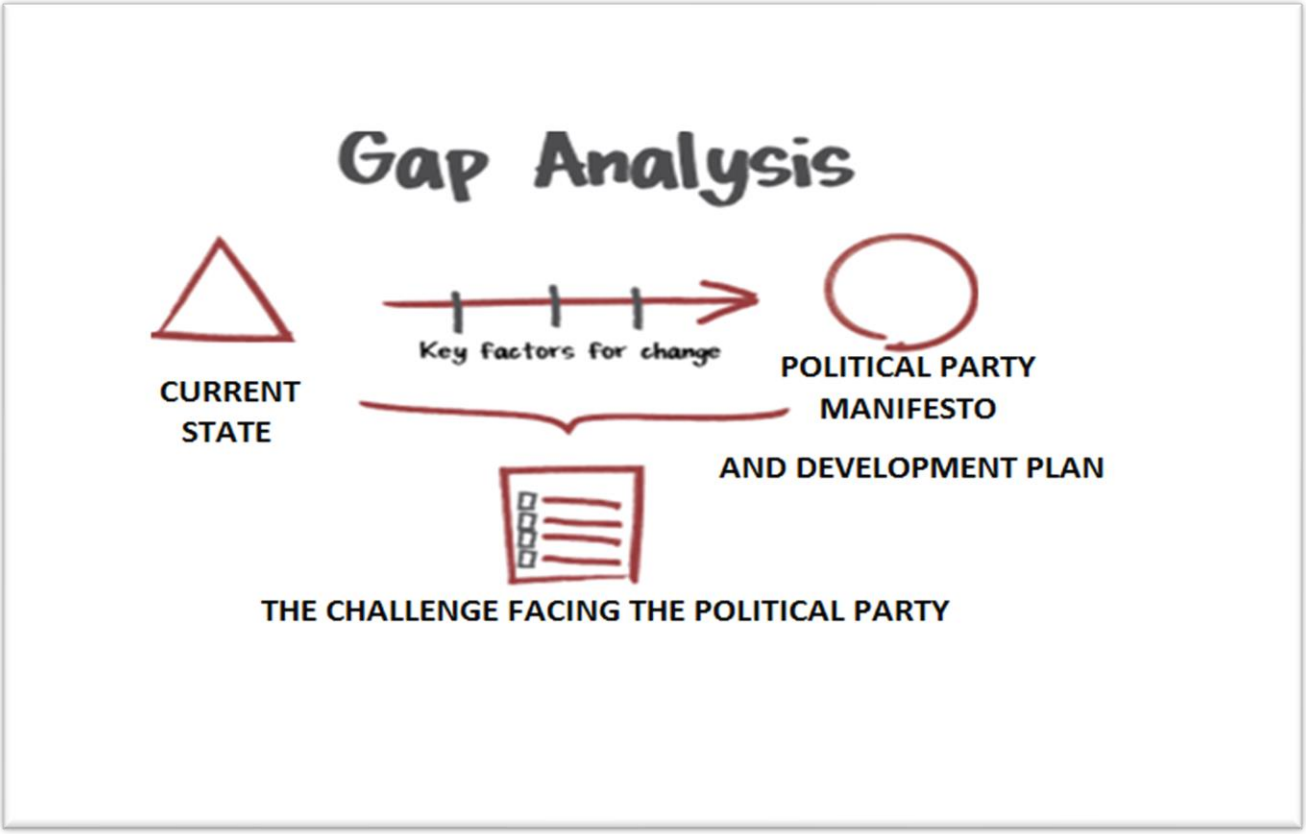


Figure 3.2: A reconceptualization of the gap concept used in the study
(**Source:** Based on Bhaskar, 2008: 226)

Fig 3.2 indicates that *the key factors for change are* those issues presented in Fig 3.1, that is, the steps that need to be taken to implement plan objectives. Both models are action – theory informed. They are action-based because they highlight the need for taking care of the negative forces that tend to obstruct progress in organizations.

This study draws upon the MELD model of Bhaskar (2008: 355- 356) to illustrate the kinds of steps that could be taken to address the challenge of implementing organizational policies, plans and programmes. Fig 3.3 is one outline of how the dialectical critical realist research design (methodology) of Bhaskar could be applied in the study as a solution to the problems organizations

tend to encounter in their operations. The actions that need to be taken at the various phases of the MELD model are elaborated.

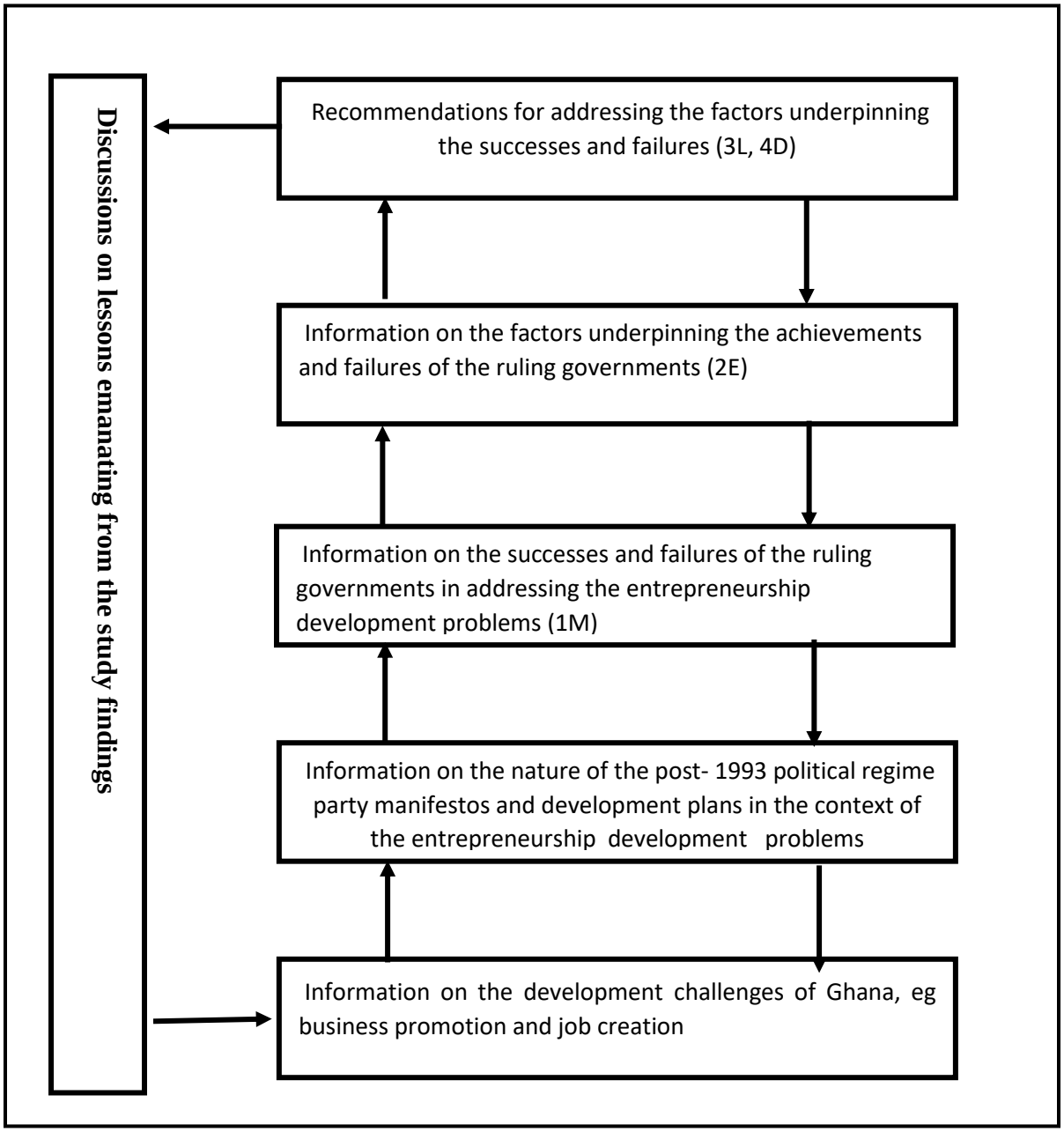


Figure 3.3: Outline of the role of the MELD model in tackling practical problems linked to the business promotion initiatives

The section of Fig 3.3 on *Information on the nature of the post-1993 political regime party manifestos and development plans indicates* how the development policies, plans and manifestos could set the context for an understanding of the performance of political regimes under study. That section indicates that to understand the concrete performance of the regimes, one need to understand the underpinning policies, plans and philosophies.

The outline is also social transformation in nature, indicating the stages that require to be considered in order to get rid of the challenges affecting the steady development of the business sector. The phases in the development transformation processes, 1M, 2E, 3L and 4D, represent the steps which the political regimes could take to bridge the gaps that separate their plan objectives and their actual achievements. Phase 4D in the model represents the plan implementation stage where the policies and plans would be implemented to bring about the desired situation which the government regimes would like to achieve. The MELD model can thus help the research participants to address questions on *how I am doing* (the psychological); with *what I should do and for whom* (the social-emotional); and *what can I do about my options for improving upon the existing situation* (the cognitive). These three Bhaskar- informed components of the data collection process have been described by Laske (2014) as being critical in the understanding and transformation of social situations. Details on the contents of the 1M, 2E, 3L and 4D phases are elaborated upon below.

3.5 From gap identification to transformation programmes

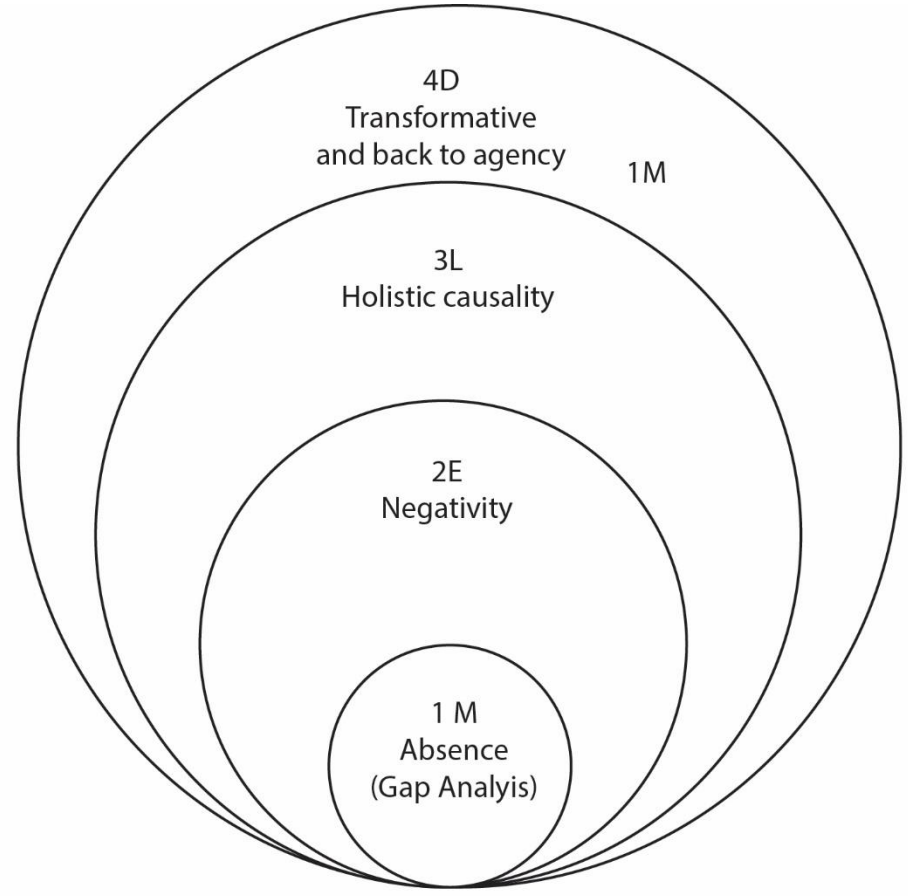
Table 3.1 indicates the terminologies used by Bhaskar to describe the 4 phases of MELD.

Table 3.1: Terminologies associated with the MELD model

Term	Descriptions
1M:	The First Moment or Absence
2E:	Second Edge or Negativity
3L:	Third Level or Holistic Causality
4D:	Fourth Dimension or Transformative agency

Source: Bhaskar (2008)

In the context of the above, Fig 3.4 can be brought in to help to illustrate the necessity of conceptualizing the four phases as an integrated system. In the MELD model, the emphasis is about the necessary links that need to be established between the phases. The outline demonstrates how phase 2 needs to emerge from phase 1, phase 3 from phase 2, and finally phase 4 from phase 3.



Lamination model of Bhaskar's Dialectical Critical Realism

Figure 3.4: A stratification model of MELD indicating the 4 phases in the social transformation process (Source: Based on Bhaskar, 2008: 355-356)

The equation used by Hartwig (in Bhaskar, 2008: xiii) to illustrate the links that need to be established between the phases in the social transformation process was via the expression > where the symbol > implies greater than or constelationally contains. Thus, in Fig 3.4, the expressions will take the form 4D>3L>2E>1M. This implies that 2E constelationally contains and presupposes 1M so that one cannot have 2E without 1M. Furthermore, it is the case that implicitly one cannot have 1M without moving to phase 2E so that 1M tacitly presupposes 2E and 2E tacitly presupposes 3L and 3L presupposes 4D. The model thus serves to highlight how decision makers need to follow through logically to the end once the gap at phase 1M has been identified. The model indicates that the four overlapping domains are not independent of each other but are all inter-related.

Phase 1M then begins the process. At this phase, Bhaskar (2008: 368) argues that the gap needs to be a signal for initiating a desire for change or movement. Bhaskar argues that definitionally, things are defined by what people desire which implies what they are missing or is absent. Again, in Bhaskar, Cherlyl, Hoyer and Noess (2000: 15), they argue that: "*absence is not only necessary for being, but that change, properly understood, presupposes absence, that is, the coming into being of new properties or entities and the passing away from being of previously existing ones*".

With the absence situation acknowledged, the second step in the MELD model then demands that the factors underpinning it be identified. Phase 2E thus insists on the necessity for looking for explanations (Bhaskar, 2008: 222). Thus, in terms of organizational performance, this step would

entail searching for those factors preventing the achievement of the policy/ plan objectives and the related targets. Phase 2E thus calls for social researchers to assist research subjects to rethink, reflect, retool and re-engage with others to formulate practical strategies for finding the relevant causal processes. At this phase, reflection becomes the deliberate and purposeful act of thinking about what makes certain things to happen the way they do. This phase is thus associated with cause-effect relations. It is a phase of collective self- reflective enquiry which involves the researcher and the respondents in which the respondents are given the opportunity to participate in the research project in order to discover causal processes. At this phase Bhaskar (2000: 283) notes that both the researcher and the respondents need to be reflective practitioners who are concerned with explanatory theories. Out of their interactions will emerge concrete answers on causal processes.

Phase 3L of the MELD model demands that strategies be formulated to address the problems identified at Phase 2E (Bhaskar, 2008: 38). At 3L, the emphasis is therefore about the establishment of new structures for getting rid of the problems discovered at Phase 2E. Overcoming the problems identified at Phase 2E would thus depend practically on the nature of the fieldwork conducted to find out the causal processes. The critical realist approaches insist that intensive qualitative research could help in the identification of the relevant explanatory factors.

Phase 4D

The MELD model conceptualizes this phase as one of programme implementation (Bhaskar, 2008: 369). A central requirement in the application Phase 4D is the emphasis it puts on the role of human agency in the implementation of programmes in preparing people for social change. In

the model, public education programmes become one key instrument for preparing communities for finding practical solutions to their problems.

The above MELD-inspired models thus help to focus attention on the problems that prevent communities and organizations from achieving their set objectives, policies and plans. They illustrate that the dialectic is powered by the interface of absence and presence, and that absenting problems is a necessary condition for progress in society (Creaven, 2002; Laske, 2005; Bhaskar, 2008: 242-243). This implies that the organizational leadership constantly needs to obtain information on the nature of the problems which tend to frustrate their efforts at making progress in their lives. Finding out such problems and putting in the effective mechanisms for dealing with them on a regular basis then becomes one reliable strategy for addressing their desires and needs.

For the Ghanaian political regimes under study, the MELD model therefore offers some useful insight into how social theory could help to empower them with some useful ideas about how to constantly set up the desire for change in the development of the business sector of their country. The discussions in this chapter demonstrate that the dissemination of information for purposes of producing social change is the raison d'etre and hallmark of the MELD model.

3.6 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the study objectives in terms of 10 propositions. These emerged as themes from the literature review chapter. The propositions in a summary form indicate the steps that could be taken to get rid of the problems that tend to prevent organizations from achieving their objectives. The MELD model of Bhaskar has been deployed to indicate the strategies that

could be used by the political regimes to address their policy and plan implementation challenges on the businesses of Ghana.

Attention is turned next to the ways in which information was gathered, collated, and analyzed to address the broad objectives of the thesis in relation to the critical realist theoretical framework.

CHAPTER 4

Research methodology

4.1 Introduction

This chapter describes, in detail, the data, research tools, and empirical methods adopted by the thesis to measure its set objectives. The data collection tool was specifically designed to obtain relevant information to address the following.

23. The nature of the development policies and plans of the Ghanaian political regimes on business promotion, job creation and poverty alleviation since 1993.
24. The extent to which the government-led initiatives on business promotion have contributed to job creation and poverty alleviation.
25. The impacts of the business promotion programmes on the other sectors of the Ghanaian economy.
26. The nature of the strategies of the current political regime of Ghana to help address the problems faced in the implementation of its business promotion programmes.

The chapter demonstrates the ways in which the questions related to the relationship between political rhetoric and actual development outcomes were answered; the performance of the ruling governments on the entrepreneurship development programmes and their links with the other sectors of the Ghanaian society. This helped pave the way for relating the findings that emerged in the context of the theoretical framework which was discussed under the previous chapter.

4.2 The research design

The details of this research methodology adopted are now being discussed. First, the research design. The 10-step research design used to obtain the research information and the type of information that was collected at each of the 10 phases are indicated below.

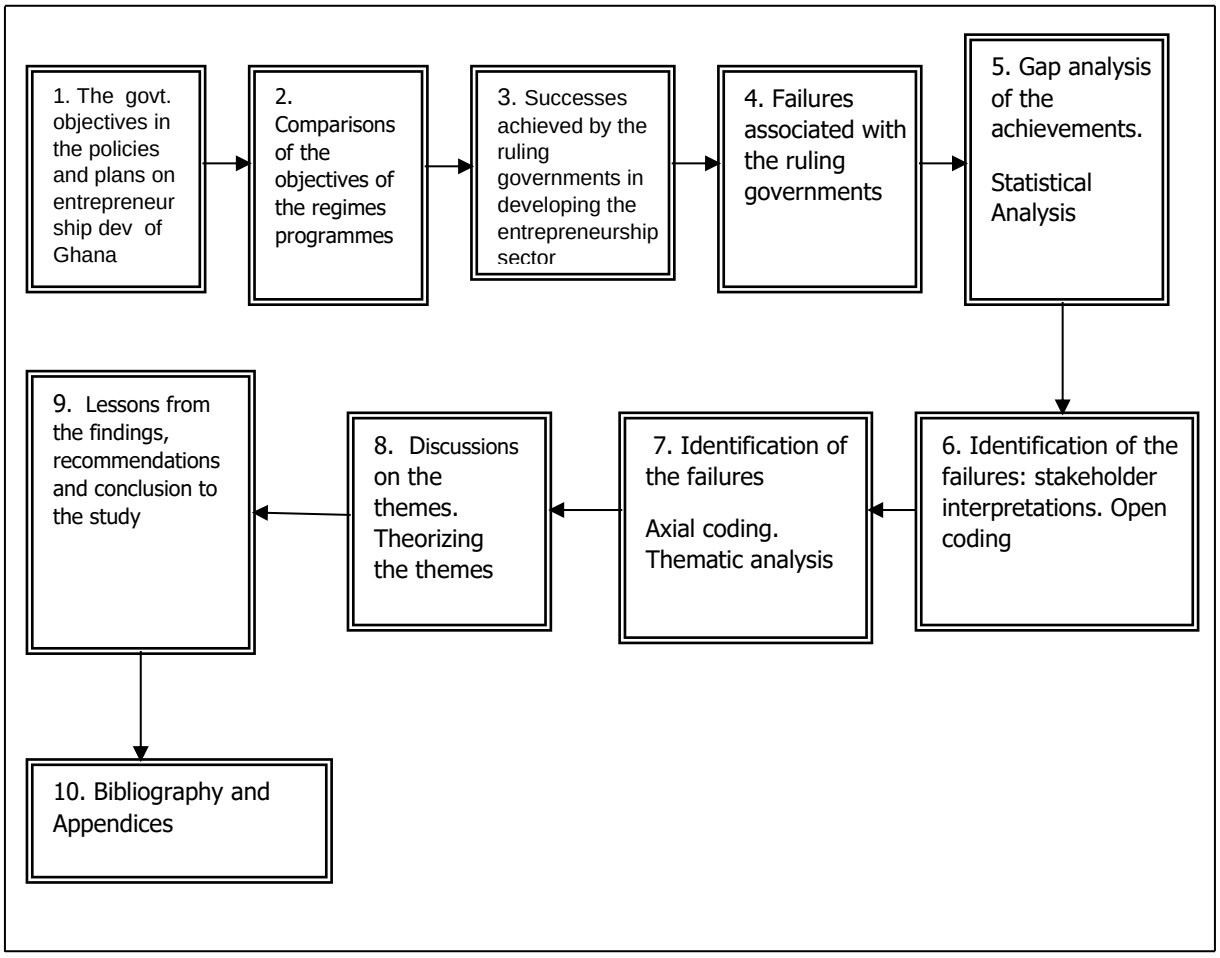


Figure 4.1: Outline of the research design

4.3 Nature and sources of information

4.3.1 Units of observation

The district of Ghana constitutes the observation units from which information will be collected. The principles of validity and reliability will be applied to ensure that the rural and urban centres

to be selected from the districts will be representative of the population. Table 4.1 indicates the number of districts in the 16 regions of Ghana.

Table 4.1: Regions and districts in Ghana

REGION	NUMBER OF DISTRICTS
Volta	18
Oti	08
Greater Accra	29
Central	20
Western	14
Ashanti	30
Western North	09
Northern	15
North East	05
Upper East	15
Upper West	11
Savannah	07
Ahafo	06
Bono East	10
Bono	11
Eastern	33

Fig 4.1 indicates the geographical locations of the districts of Ghana. The districts of Ghana matter because they represent administrative or planning or political regions under the administration of politicians appointed to see to the execution of the policies and development agendas of the government of the day Hyden and Bratton (1992), Gunther and Diamond (2001), Peter and Pierre (2003), and Thomas (2005). Using the districts of Ghana as the units of observation (the operational taxonomic units) carries the advantage of enabling the researcher to get to the

grassroots of the development process by having the unique opportunity of interacting with the households and local businesses with in-depth knowledge of the situation regarding the objectives of this study (Ragin, Berg-Schlosser and De Meur, 1998; Hicley and Morgan, 2005; Roger, 2008; and Wampler, 2008).

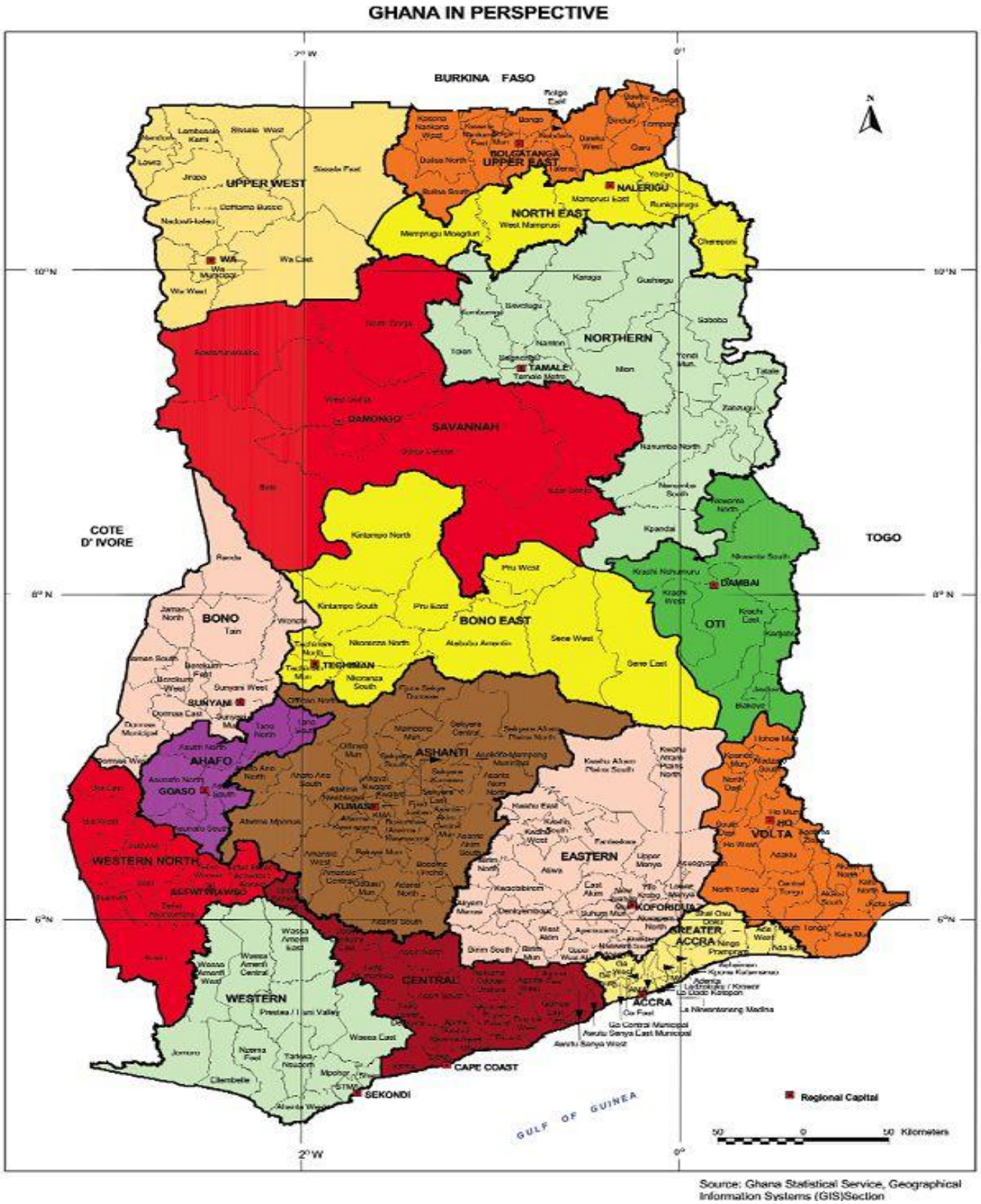


Figure 4.2: Map indicating the geographical locations of the districts of Ghana

4.4 Brief socio-economic profiles of the regions

a) The Oti Region

The region is among one of the six newly created regions in the Ghanaian administrative jurisdiction. The inhabitants engage in the same activities as those of the Volta region, of which it previously formed a part. However, there are more farming activities in the region. It has eight districts. As per its proximity to the Sahel and the Sahara, the region is much drier than the southern territories of the country. The landscape is predominantly covered by grassland vegetation, especially savanna, with bunches of drought-resistant trees like acacias or baobabs.

b) Greater Accra

In spite of being the smallest region in Ghana, in terms of landmass, it comprises of sixteen administrative areas. It is the second densely populated region, covering approximately 1.4 percent of the country's total land area. Greater Accra is the most urbanized region in the country with 87.4% of its total population living in urban centres. It has the seat of government with the largest service industry in the country in which a sizeable urban middle class are engaged. It has a comparatively large manufacturing industry and a sizeable fishing industry for the indigenous communities. Trading activities are also important for its inhabitants.

c) Central Region

Located in the South-Western centre of Ghana, the Central region shares boundary with the Ashanti Region in the North, Eastern Region to the North-East, on the West by the Western region, and Greater Accra region to the South-East. It has a coastline of 150Km and is the longest coastline in Ghana. It is renowned for its many elite higher education institutions and an economy based on

an abundance of industrial minerals and tourism. The region is one of the key tourist destinations of Ghana. It attracts many tourists with its historical monuments and places such as forts, castles, and a clean stretch of beaches along the region's coastline. The region's economy is dominated by services followed by mining and fishing. Cape Coast Castle and Elmina Castle are prominent UNESCO World Heritage Sites and serve as a reminder of the slave trade.

d) Western Region

The region enjoys a long coastline that springs from Ghana's border with Ivory Coast to the Central region on the east and the Western region's boundaries. It has the highest rainfall in Ghana, lush green hills, and fertile soils. The region play host to Ghana's southernmost location, Cape Three Points, where crude oil was discovered in commercial quantities in 2007. Oil and related industries have since become a major part of the economic life of the person, which was previously centred on agriculture, timber, the shipping and dry-dock.

e) Ashanti Region

Dubbed the "garden city", because of the beautification of its main city, Kumasi, the region is best known for mining and commercial commodity production. It is the most populated region. Its inhabitants also engage in a lot of trading activities with a large manufacturing industry.

f) Western North

Western North region is among the six newly regions created in 2019. The region has several forest reserves which serve as tourist attractions with the socio-economic activity consisting of farming.

g) Northern Region

The region is located in the north of Ghana. It covers an area of 70,384 square kilometres (31 percent of country's total land area until December 2018 when the Savannah and North East regions were created from it. More than 75% of the economically active population are agricultural. The low population density is partly caused by emigration.

h) North East Region

As part of the new regions, it was created in December 2018 after a referendum was voted upon to break it off of the Northern region. The region's capital is Nalerigu. More than 85% of the economically active populations are in the agricultural sector. The low population density is partly caused by emigration, in addition to geography and climate.

i) Upper East Region

The Upper East region is in the northern part of the country and occupies a total land area of 8,842 square kilometers. With only 21 percent of the population living in urban areas, the region is the least urbanized in Ghana. In fact, together with Upper West, they are the two regions with less than 20 per cent urban population. The population is primarily rural (79%) and scattered in dispersed settlements.

j) Upper West Region

The region is situated in the north-western part of Ghana. It covers a geographical area of 18,476 square kilometers, representing 12.7% of the total landmass of the country. The major economic activity of the Upper West Region is agriculture. Crops grown include corn, millet, peanuts, okra,

shea tree, and rice. Sheep, goats, chickens, pigs and guinea fowl are raised for meat and eggs. Because the region's dry season is long, extending roughly from October to May, many people leave the region to work in the southern part of Ghana for at least part of the year.

k) The Savana Region

With its closeness to the Sahara and Sahel, the region is one of the driest areas of Ghana. The dry seasons run from December to April. The vegetation comprises predominantly of grassland, especially savanna with bunches of drought-resistant trees like the baobabs. The socio-economic activities are the same as the Northern region from which it was carved.

l) Ahafo Region

It is one of the newly created regions. The Ahafo region was carved out of the former Brong-Ahafo and Ashanti regions. The socio-economic activities of the people are farming, animal husbandry and petty trading.

m) Bono East Region

The Bono East region of Ghana is a new region carved out of the existing Brong Ahafo region. The capital is Techiman, which is a major trading post with a major market that is patronised by traders from various regions of the country and beyond. Other activities in the region is the same as the Bono region.

n) Bono Region

Bono region is known for its large cocoa production and agribusiness industries, which form the major socio-economic activity of its inhabitants. Inhabitants also engage in animal husbandry and poultry farming with the latter being a dominant activity in recent times. Agriculture constitutes about 30 percent of the main economic activities in the region. The region contains many cultural and wildlife attractions, but it is less known to tourists than the Ashanti or Central region and does not offer much by way of socio economic activity. The attractions include the Boabeng-Fiema Monkey sanctuary in Fiema, one of the communities a short distance outside the regional capital, Sunyani.

o) Eastern Region

Majority of the indigenes engage in peasant farming with small trading activities. The region is also noted for cultivation of cocoa and timber, diamond and gold as well as large deposit off bauxite.

p) Volta Region

Volta is noted for fishing activities based on the large surface water bodies provided by the Volta Lake and the Atlantic Ocean. The region has fertile soils and abundant land for crop and livestock production. In addition, tourism is gradually emerging as a key growth sector. It also boasts of a number of tertiary institutions.

4.5 Sources of information for the study

Wilkinson and Birmingham (2003) indicate that the research instruments used in empirical studies refer to the sources from where data was obtained.

4.5.1 Research instruments: Secondary sources of data

Information was obtained from the manifestos, development policies and plans of the political parties on their entrepreneurship development and job creation sectors of the country. The manifestos included the 2016 and 2020 manifestos of the New Patriotic Party and the National Democratic Congress. Data abstracted included sections on private sector development and other sector specific promises. Documentary information was obtained from other state institutions. Also, publications from civil society, business community, and the research institutes.

4.5.2 Primary sources of data

220 research participants provided information for the study. These comprised of a uniform sample size of 10 respondents each from business owners, crop, livestock, poultry, and livestock farmers, restaurants/hotel owners, shop owners, those on the fishing industry, factory owners and importers and exporters. They also included those in the services industry such as bank officials, motor mechanics, hair salon owners, and medical professionals. In addition, the unemployed, the youth, and owners of closed businesses were included in the list. Also, in the list were public servants, academics and research institutes, officials of the Ghana Standards Board, the media houses and finally, representatives of the political parties of the country. They were required to provide their opinions on various aspects of the enterprise development process of Ghana.

The research assistants used self-administered questionnaires to obtain the information needed for the study. In other cases, they used the face-to-face interview instrument.

4.6 Nature of information collected to address the objectives of the study

The information was collected related to the items listed in column numbers 1 to 5 below in Table 4.2 as was mentioned earlier under Table 2.1. This comprised of data on the nature of the political regime policies and development plans on the business development processes and the levels of successes and failures that accompanied those policies.

Table 4.2: The nature of information collected to address the objectives of the study

	1	2	3	4	5
Objective: To assess the work of the political regimes/ administrations in terms of 5 areas/score cards in the columns	Obtaining information on: The nature of political regime-sponsored entrepreneurship promotion policies plan and programmes in Ghana since 1993.	Obtaining information on: New businesses formed, restored/revived, jobs created by the businesses, skills offered, incomes generated.	Obtaining information on: Philanthropy and related activities of the businesses.	Obtaining information on The problems associated with the entrepreneurship development programmes of the post-1993 political regimes	Obtaining information on Government assistance for helping the businesses to address the problems

The above table indicates the links between ideas formulated at the theoretical level (column 1) and their outcomes (columns 2, 3, 4).

4.7 Validity and reliability issues

The methodology section of the study devoted much attention to the criteria underpinning the selection of particular variables, research participants, organizations and institutions, research

instruments, sampling methods, questionnaires design, and data analytical techniques in the study with the objectives of addressing the objectives of the study.

As was discussed under the literature review chapter, the triangulation approach is one central framework in the methodology of this study. Table 4.3 provides an outline of the research components and the validity and reliability issues associated with them.

Table 4.3: Validity and reliability issues

Research components	**Validity and reliability issues**
Underpinning theories	Critical theory, neo classical theory, business social responsibility theory
Variables/questionnaires selection	24 Likert scale-based statements / variables. 34 open-ended questions
Research participants	220 participants from various sections of Ghanaian society
Research design	Critical realist approach
Data analysis	Factor analysis, Grounded theory
Recommendations	MELD- informed

The credibility (validity and reliability) in social research measures the degree to which the variables, research participants, theories and methodologies selected actually reflect what they purport to represent, test or measure (Abnor and Bjerke, 1997; Zikmund, 2003; du Plooy, 2018: 135). Validity of a measuring instrument is the extent to which it measures what it is supposed to measure. The reliability of an instrument on the other hand, is the consistency with which it yields a certain result when the entity being measured has not changed both validity and reliability reflect the degree to which researchers can have error in their measurements. They also help to provide justification for the conceptual and methodological choices made in the research process.

4.7.1 Validity underpinning the 24 Likert- based statements

The study made use of the Likert scale-based statements which the participants responded to by ticking the appropriate boxes. These statements appear under the *Appendix* section. The respondents were required to indicate the extent to which they agreed or disagreed with the statements (refer to the *Appendix* section). The statements were about the extent to which the participants agreed or disagreed with some issues on the business promotion processes of the post-1993 political regimes of Ghana. The statements were constructed after reflecting on the various concepts that were discussed in Chapter 2. The validity of the 24 statements are also based on the fact that they were developed within a framework based on the conditions necessary for the long term development of the business sector of Ghana. They are therefore quite critical in any discussions on the promotion of Ghanaian businesses.

One advantage of the Likert scale research instrument is that the "agree" and "disagree" responses were grouped into percentages and the statistical relationships subsequently analysed with the factor analysis technique (du Plooy 2018: 143). High percentages indicated strong agreements with the statements whilst the low figures on the other hand, indicated where there were considerable disagreements with the statements concerned. The details of the 24 statements are as follows.

Table 4.4: An outline of the 24 Likert-based statements

1. Cost of living: The material conditions of living of the Ghanaian population have generally improved since 1994
2. The poverty situation has been reduced since 1994
3. The employment situation in the country has improved since 1994

4. Addressing the inequalities in the living conditions in the country occupies a central position in the development plans of the Ghanaian political parties
5. Entrepreneurship development is today acknowledged as a key strategy for addressing a number of national development problems
6. Entrepreneurship development is a commendable feature in the manifestos and development plans of the post-1993 political party dispensation of Ghana
7. I am aware of the many government-sponsored entrepreneurship development programmes on the country
8. The strategy of using public media to advertise entrepreneurship development programmes to Ghanaians is commendable
9. The strategy of using the public education/school's system to popularize business development courses and programmes to Ghanaians is commendable
10. Entrepreneurship development can help create more jobs in Ghana
11. Entrepreneurship development can help raise the capita income levels in Ghana
12. Entrepreneurship development can help reduce the culture of dependence of Ghanaians on imported goods and services
13. Entrepreneurship development can help spread the culture of self-employment and thereby reduce the levels of inequalities, underinvestment and poverty in Ghana.
14. Developing the entrepreneurship sector can help reduce the culture of the public looking up to government for employment
15. Entrepreneurship development can help raise the self-esteem of individuals and communities
16. There is the need for constant evaluation of the impacts of the government programmes on entrepreneurship development in Ghana
17. Evaluating the programmes can help to compare the achievements of the post-1993 political regimes of Ghana
18. Evaluating the programmes can help to disclose the nature of the transformation processes in the entrepreneurship sector of Ghana.
19. The situation regarding the performance of the SMMES of Ghana can emerge from the evaluative research projects on the business sector

20. The situation regarding the performance of the informal business sector can also emerge from the evaluative research projects
21. The political regimes have generally underperformed in their entrepreneurship development plans in terms of the imperatives and objectives
22. Getting access to the factors underpinning the performance of the political regimes can help to identify better strategies for developing the entrepreneurship sector of Ghana.
23. Finding the nexuses between the entrepreneurship sector and remaining sectors of the Ghanaian economy is critical for future decision making processes of the political regimes of Ghana.
24. From the Ghanaian economy perspective, entrepreneurship development sector needs to be accorded a special status.

Attention is now turned to the rationale for selecting the 24 statements. In each case, the respondents were to express their agreement or disagreement.

Statement 1 – The material conditions of living of the Ghanaian population have generally improved since 1994. This statement helped set the tone for the respondents to make their value judgment on their material situation.

Statement 2 – The poverty situation has been reduced since 1994. This statement sought to elicit the opinions of the respondents on one of the controversial issues in the country. The Ghanaian media often lead the debate on this component of the living conditions of the citizens. Now, the study was giving the respondents the opportunity to make their voices heard.

Statement 3 – The employment situation in the country has improved since 1994. Unemployment statistics are often expressed with various terminologies by the statisticians. The respondents were now in a position to disclose their personal opinion on this matter.

Statement 4 – Addressing the inequalities in the living conditions in the country occupies a central position in the development plans of the Ghanaian political parties. This statement required the respondents (the highly educated and the illiterates) to give their own opinion on this aspect of the development of the country.

A statement 5 – Entrepreneurship development is today acknowledged as a key strategy for addressing a number of national development problems. This statement was included to obtain an insight into how far ordinary Ghanaians perceive of entrepreneurship and its role in the economy of their country. It is a topic often fraught with emotions.

Statement 6 – Entrepreneurship development is a commendable feature in the manifestos and development plans of the post-1993 political party dispensation of Ghana. Ghanaian electorates are used to the messages often communicated in the manifestos of the political parties about their business promotion plans. This statement sought to find out their reactions to such campaigns.

Statement 7 – I am aware of the many government-sponsored entrepreneurship development programmes on the country. This statement sought to obtain a picture of the extent to which the respondents are familiar with the government programmes on business promotion.

Statement 8 – The strategy of using public media to advertise entrepreneurship development programmes to Ghanaians is commendable. This was another statement which sought to find out the levels of familiarity of the respondents with the various channels used by the media houses to communicate information on business promotion programmes.

Statement 9 – The strategy of using the public education/school's system to popularize business development courses and programmes to Ghanaians is commendable. This statement sought to elicit the opinions of the respondents on the relevance of the public education system to the challenge of producing future entrepreneurs in the country.

Statement 10 – Entrepreneurship development can help create more jobs in Ghana. The statement offered the respondents the opportunity to express the extent of their belief in the enterprise sector as an engine of employment creation in the country.

Statement 11 – Entrepreneurship development can help raise the capita income levels in Ghana. The statement offered the respondents the opportunity to express the extent of their belief in the enterprise sector as an engine for raising the per capita incomes in the country.

Statement 12 – Entrepreneurship development can help reduce the culture of dependence of Ghanaians on imported goods and services. This statement had to do with the sensitive issue of the high level of import dependence of the Ghanaian economy. The statement helped to obtain a picture of the thinking of the respondents on this matter.

Statement 13 – Entrepreneurship development can help spread the culture of self-employment and thereby reduce the levels of inequalities, underinvestment and poverty in Ghana. The question of self-employment is often raised with reference to the debate on employee-employer relations. This statement was meant to find out the extent of public awareness of the links between self-employment and the development process.

Statement 14 – Developing the entrepreneurship sector can help reduce the culture of the public looking up to government for employment. This was an important statement which specifically sought to find out the thoughts of the respondents regarding the role of the government as employer.

Statement 15 – Entrepreneurship development can help raise the self-esteem of individuals and communities. This was a statement which endeavoured to link the business sector to the idea of self-esteem, and the sense of personal accomplishment.

Statement 16 – There is the need for constant evaluation of the impacts of the government programmes on entrepreneurship development in Ghana

Statements 17 to 24 – The statements below sought to put the issue of programme evaluation in the limelight. Contemporary organization and business development theory puts particular premium on the role of evaluation in programme/project performance (Mouton, 2001). This was an issue that was highlighted particularly in Chapter 3. The following 8 statements were intended to find out how the respondents perceive the mechanisms in place to monitor the performance of

the various government policies and plans for promoting the business sector of Ghana since 1993. They were included in the statements to ensure that programme evaluation becomes an important variable in the comparative analysis of the business promotion projects of the two post-1993 political regimes.

Statement 17 – Evaluating the programmes can help to compare the achievements of the post-1993 political regimes of Ghana.

Statement 18 – Evaluating the programmes can help to disclose the nature of the transformation processes in the entrepreneurship sector of Ghana.

Statement 19 – The situation regarding the performance of the SMMES of Ghana can emerge from the evaluative research projects on the business sector

Statement 20 – The situation regarding the performance of the informal business sector can also emerge from the evaluative research projects.

Statement 21 – The political regimes have generally underperformed in their entrepreneurship development plans in terms of the imperatives and objectives.

Statement 22 – Getting access to the factors underpinning the performance of the political regimes can help to identify better strategies for developing the entrepreneurship sector of Ghana.

Statement 23 – Finding the links between the entrepreneurship sector and other sectors of the Ghanaian economy is critical for future decision making processes of the political regimes of Ghana.

Statement 24 – From the Ghanaian economy perspective, entrepreneurship development sector needs to be accorded a special status

Attention is now turned to the open-ended questions that were used in the study.

4.7.2 Validity of the open-ended questions

The bulk of the questionnaires in the study consisted of 34 open-ended questions. The details appear under the *Appendix* section. Those questions required deep reflections by the respondents on various aspects of the business promotion programmes of the two political regimes. The toolkit used to elicit information under the open-ended questions included informal conversations, various forms of interviews, participant and unobtrusive observations of the business environments and the other activities concerned, listening, and questioning with the objective of gaining deep understanding of the narratives of the respondents. Among other things, this interactive approach helped to obtain insight into what the respondents' thought were the major obstacles affecting the development of the Ghanaian businesses. This aspect of the study constituted the qualitative dimension of the research process (Byrne and Ragin, 2009; Charmaz, 2006; Given, 2008).

4.7.3 Validity for the selection of the research participants

The research participants were drawn not only from the Ghanaian business community but also from the state and civil society sectors.

4.7.3.1 The state sector

The Ghanaian state is a set of political institutions that rule or govern within a restricted sovereign terrain. In the literature, the Ghanaian state is not conceptualized just as a geographic entity and a mere body of institutions. A relatively more useful explanation of the state needs to factor the political authority that these structures generate. Subtly, it is to the very same institutions and officials of the state that the Ghanaian populace look for leadership and governance, as well as being the sovereign embodiment that sister foreign states interact with. In this regard, the Ghanaian state has enormous power. Max Weber, in his explanation of the state, alluded to the fact that deference of citizens or nationals is generated by the reality that, the state claims a monopoly of legal violence in the confinement of its jurisdiction or territory. On the premise that the Ghanaian state is the only authority entrusted to create and upkeep the laws of the country, it starts from a position of strength, and clearly has a domineering influence over the country's developmental aspirations. It is in this respect that the Ghanaian business community has to comply with the policies and plans formulated by the political regimes to regulate their activities.

4.7.3.2 The Ghanaian civil society

Cultural, religious, ethnic, and other social systems and organizations abound throughout Ghanaian society, at a '*deeper*' level rather than that of the state. This marks the reason as to why elements of its *civil society* have been included in this study. In the study's perspective, the

Ghanaian civil society may be explained as the organisations that ascend out of voluntary association within the country, found between the extended family system and the nation. Examples include the labour unions, professional organisations, women's groups, youth associations, trade associations, ethnic and community groups, sports and social clubs, and religious assemblies. In this respect, any particular group organised beyond the Ghanaian family system, but not element of the state and business sector, may be referred as part of its civil society.

Social activities in the context of the Ghanaian civil society are multifaceted. The groups representing different interests are often not united in their collective demands. Politics within Ghanaian civil society is keenly competitive. These different interests, in cases where ethnicity comes into play; can influence how the group relates to the Ghanaian state. Whereas some groups can easily co-operate with the government, others may rather become problematic, especially when they begin to talk about secession from the state. Currently, the ruling regime is contending with such a problem from some parts of the Volta region. If a large disparity develops between the demands of this group and the state, with the latter being unable to respond successfully to their demands, then this could create much instability in the country.

4.7.3.3 The business sector

The role or relevance of the business sector in the developmental agenda of Ghana is analysed in terms of their activities of the post-1993 political regimes. The business sector is not homogeneous but comprise of formal/informal; large and small-sized operations, foreign-owned and local companies, primary, secondary and tertiary-based businesses, rural and urban-based

businesses, etc., Table 4.5 provides a list of the businesses and related stakeholders who participated in the study.

Table 4.5: List of the 220 research participants

Research participants: 10 from each group
Ruling government officials
Owners of failed businesses
Retail shop owners
Media houses
Livestock farmers
Medical professionals
Crop farmers
Restaurants, hotel owners, tourism
Opinion leaders
Factory owners
Research institutes and academics
Poultry farmers
Bank officials
Fishing community
Importers and exporters
Ghana Standards Board officials
Members of the opposition political parties
Public servants
Motor mechanics
The unemployed
Students and the youth
Owners of hair and beauty salons

Sampling frame in social research comprises of all the elements in a population (Johnson and Christensen, 2008: 223). Such census information on the stakeholders listed in Table 4.5 was not available in the official government statistics. Random sampling could not therefore be applied in the study to select the research participants. The purposive non-probability sampling method was therefore used to identify 220 respondents in the country. This entailed identifying particular individuals with experience and knowledge on the businesses and activities listed in Table 4.5. Such individuals assisted in referring the researcher to other people in the various regions of Ghana who in turn, helped in the compilation of the identities of the 220 respondents. Some amount of snowball sampling was therefore implicated in the identification of the respondents (Kempler, Stringfield and Teddie, 2003; Morse, 2007). A uniform quota sample size of ten was selected for each of the 22 groups of stakeholders.

4.7.3.4 Justification for selecting the 220 research participants

One of the key principles in social research concerns the need to bring into the picture, all those stakeholders who in one way, or the other, influence the fate, outcomes and workings of the object of study. As argued by Sayer (1992, 2000), Barrows (1993), and Goertz (2006), this element of stakeholder relations dominates the discourse on organizational operations indicating how the stakeholders' function to influence the work of particular institutions or organizations. The research participants selected in the study relate to the businesses selected in various ways by virtue of being consumers of their products and as their service providers. Others are people who do influence the business operations through their opinions and other propaganda platforms. Such evaluators include Ghanaian academics, media personnel, and the opinion leaders included in the study.

The stakeholder analysis idea is thus based on the theory that such individuals and groups have some interest in the operations of the activity system concerned and are also equally important in the determination of their performance (Lafferty, 2004; Yukojopi, 2006; and Cheek, 2007). This section of the study thus provides a justification for the selection of the 220 participants below. The acronyms used in the study to represent them appear in brackets. These acronyms will appear in the tables in the next chapter.

The ruling government officials (RGO) always play decisive roles in the country as the cabinet ministers and their supporting staff discharge their duties by helping in the implementation of the various government programmes. Both at the local government and national levels, officials of the ruling regime always stand in important positions in the running of the country. For purposes of this study, the sample of ruling government representatives were selected from the Ministry of Business Development, Local Government and Rural Development, Employment and Labour Relations, Trade and Industry, and Empretec Ghana Foundation.

The owners of failed businesses (OCB) have been included in the study by virtue of the information they can provide on the problems facing the businesses in the country. They have practical experience and knowledge on those factors which tend to account for the failure of the business community.

Retail shop owners (RSO) constitute an important part of the Ghanaian economy. The items displayed in their shops can give an important picture of the performance of the economy especially in terms of the percentage of imported items. Their merchandise can also provide

indications on the consumption habits of their customers. In addition, the shop owners are often conversant with information on the general performance of the business sector.

The media houses (MH) as watch dogs of the economy do possess a wealth of information on the national economy. Some are independent thinkers who can provide vital indicators on the performance of the business sector.

Livestock farmers (LF) of Ghana constitute a critical component of the business sector of the country. They have practical experience and knowledge about the food industry and the role played by the meat products in the nutrition sector of the economy.

Medical professionals (MP) were included in the study to provide information on the relations between the cost of living in the country, the performance of businesses in it and their impacts on the health of the population.

Crop farmers (CF) of Ghana, as is the case of the livestock and fishing community, were included in the study to provide information on the food crop industry of the country from their perspective.

Restaurants, hotel owners, tourism operators (RHO). Business owners in these sectors play critical roles in the services industry of Ghana. The country continues to attract international tourists given the historical legacies of the castles that dot the coastal settlements and their links with the slave trade, the country's role in the anti-colonial struggle and the popularity of the cultural artifacts and handicrafts. With the expansion of the global tourism industry, operators in these activities will

continue to play critical roles in the Ghanaian businesses. Opinion leaders (OL). The study included selected knowledgeable people in the study to draw upon their wealth of knowledge on the politics, culture and economy of Ghana.

Factory owners (FO). The manufacturing sector of Ghana continues to expand as part of the modernization processes in the economy of the country. It was important to include representatives of factory owners in the study.

Staff of the research institutes and academics (RAC). No meaningful understanding of the business sector of the country can be complete without drawing upon the academic community who spend the bulk of their energies and time conducting research and teaching activities on the economy of the country.

Poultry farmers (PF) of Ghana, as is the case of the fishing, livestock and crop farming community, were included in the study to provide information on the poultry industry of the country from their perspective. There has been an increasing trend and concerns over the past decade of the huge imports of poultry products into the country. This was one reason that justified the inclusion of owners of poultry farms in the study.

Bank officials (BF). The banking sector is critical in the areas of loan administration to businesses and other issues such as the exchange value of the local currency. Such variables do impact on the performance of the Ghanaian business sector. The opinions of the staff of the large commercial

banks in the country were critical for obtaining their insight into how they think the businesses are performing.

Fishing community (FS) of Ghana, as is the case of the crops, livestock and poultry community, was included in the study to provide information on the fishing industry of the country from their perspective.

Importers and exporters (IE). Information from companies in these two critical areas of the Ghanaian businesses was critical for finding out how they are influencing the imports and exports of the country.

Ghana Standards Board officials (GSB). They were included in the study for purposes of obtaining information on their views on the extent to which products of Ghanaian businesses are competing with global best practices.

Members of the opposition political parties (OPM). It was important to include members of the opposition parties for information on their views on the policies, development plans and programmes of the ruling government.

Public Servants (PS). The public servants, as part of the state administrative machinery had to be included in their study in order to access their position on the business promotion programmes in the country since 1993.

Motor mechanics (MM). They play critical roles in the transport sector of the country. Their opinions were needed to enable the study to find out how they fit into the picture.

The unemployed (UEM). They were included in the study to enable the voices of the poor to be heard. These are people who are usually sidelined in academic research. Their experiences were deemed essential in areas of policy formulation on poverty and its relations with the Ghanaian business sector.

Students and the youth (STD). As the foundation of the manpower resource of the country, this study accords them the utmost importance.

Hair dressing and beauty salon owners (HDB). Owners of these businesses are major creators of jobs in the country.

It needs to be mentioned that the informal sector operators were included in the study. The importance of the informal sector in Ghana and the other emerging economies are well-documented in the international literature (Ninsin, 1991, Debrah, 2007; Bob-Milliar and Obeng-Odoom, 2011; Obeng-Odoom, 2011, 2015, 2017). The sector is critical in the area of job creation and income generation in view of the ease of establishing new enterprises at remote corners of the towns and villages.

4.7.4 Validity for the choice of the critical realist approach

Attention is now turned to the rationale for the choice of the critical realist research methodology. The case for the adoption of the critical realist research approach in social research stems from its property of linking concrete human action to its relevant context. Rather than focusing attention on individual human action or separating social mechanisms from their context, the critical realist approach seeks for integration by demonstrating how events and social mechanisms interact to produce social outcomes. Bhaskar (2008) and Sayer (1992, 2000), among others argue further that the critical realist social transformation agenda serves a useful social purpose in always recommending practical solutions to societal problems. It is in this connection that the MELD model features in the chapters of this study. Fig 4.6 presents an outline of the 3 key domains of the critical realist research programme.

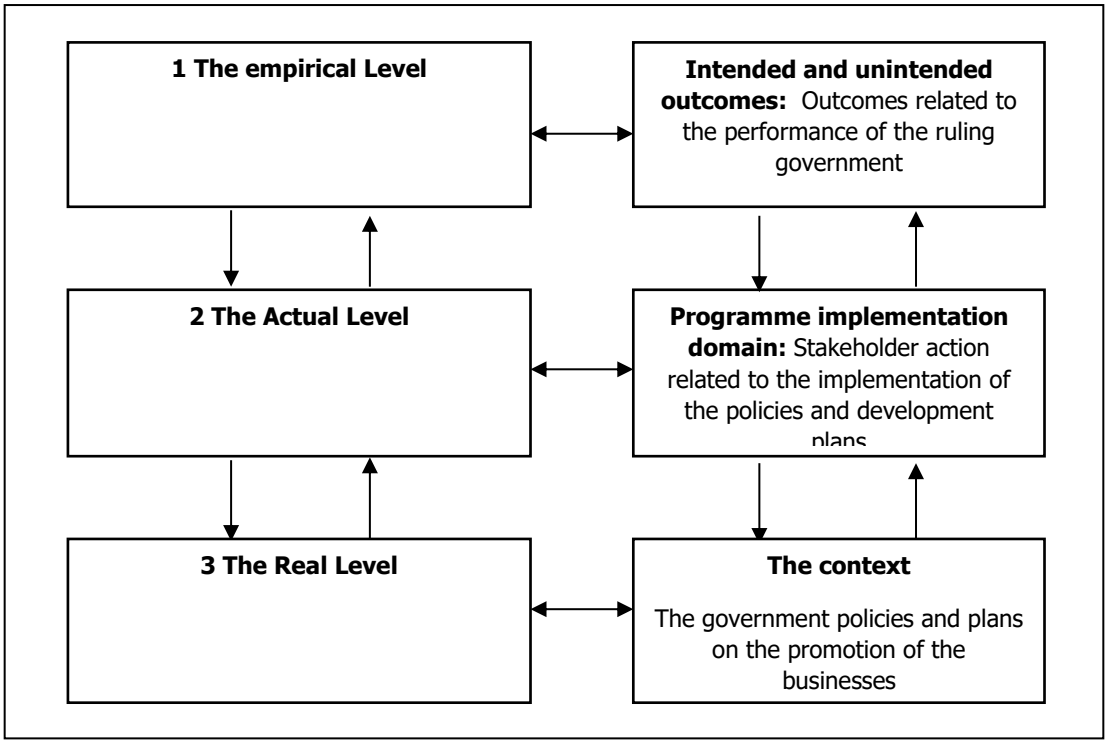


Figure 4.3: The three-tiered ontology model of critical realism (**Source:** Bhaskar, 1991, 2002, 2008, 2010)

4.8 Data collection scope

Efforts were made to ensure that all sections of Ghanaian society were covered in terms of the income status, gender, age, religion, educational status, employment and the urban/rural residence of the research participants. Stratified sampling therefore featured in the sampling process. This was supported by purposive and theoretical sampling in cases where attention was drawn to particular organizations and individuals with much useful knowledge on the topic (Morse, 2007, 2010). The researcher was assisted by 10 research assistants who collected information from the districts of Ghana.

4.8.1 Entrepreneurship development problems and political party manifestos

This aspect of the information was obtained through reviews of the manifestos, development plans and state of the nation addresses of the ruling governments since 1993. Comparisons were made on the contents or themes in the documents regarding the entrepreneurship development problems and the similarities and differences between them. Dryzek (2009) draws particular attention to the importance of such sources in the analysis of organizations. Lawshe (1975) and Lawther (1986) have also discussed how content validation in documents helps in drawing attention to the nature of the problems or challenges which tend to face organizations as they deliver on their mandates. Table 4.6 indicate the list of the leading political parties in Ghana in 2019 whose representatives provided information for the study.

Table 4.6: List of the leading political parties of Ghana as of 1 January, 2019

Names of political parties in Ghana
New Patriotic Party (NPP)
National Democratic Congress (NDC)

Democratic Freedom Party (DFP)
All People's Congress (APC)
Convention People's Party (CPP)
Ghana Freedom Party (GFP)
National Independence Party (NIP)
United Front Party (UFP)
Progressive People's Party (PPP)

Table 4.7: Job creation and entrepreneurship development in Ghana

The nature of government-sponsored on-going entrepreneurship training programmes in the country, i.e., Government departments associated with the training programmes
Estimated number of trainees currently in the government training programmes
Statistics on the number of people who have passed out of the government training programmes on entrepreneurship since 1993
Number and types of businesses established by the graduates of the government training programmes since 1993
Estimates of the impacts of the programmes on the employment, incomes, investments and the volumes of imports into the economy
Estimates of number of private businesses in the districts of Ghana
Impacts of the government entrepreneurship training programmes on rural-urban migration in the districts of Ghana
Impacts of the programme on the formalization of the informal sector and traditional handicrafts industries in the districts
Impacts of the programme on skills training and business management in the districts
Current statistics on unemployment levels in Ghana
Current statistics on the volumes of rural-urban migration in Ghana
Current statistics on the volumes of imported food items and other essential and luxury consumer items into Ghana (drinks, cigarettes, furniture, medicines, chocolates, foreign and local kente clothes, aluminium utensils, etc).

Current statistics on living conditions in the urban informal settlements of Ghana

Sources: Acemoglu and Robinson (2010); Alemazung (2012) De vries, Timmer and De vries (2015), Sparreboom and Gomis, (2015), Diao, Harttgen and McMillan (2017). Reports from the research institutes in Ghana will be relied upon to provide data on the above issues.

4.8.2 Political regimes and job creation

Table 4.7 provides details of the information which was collected on the performance of the two political regimes (NPP and NDC) on their business promotion programmes. This aspect of the information was obtained by comparing the targets set in the political regime's manifestos and development plans on the entrepreneurship development programme and the actual achievements. Such information was available from various sources such as the research institutions in Ghana and from interviews with acknowledged authorities on this topical issue. The publications by the political parties, newspapers, internet sources were also accessed.

4.8.3 Failures of the political regimes

This aspect of the study helped to focus attention on issues related to plan/programme implementation failures and challenges. As in the case of the successes achieved by the political regimes, this failure dimension was critical in the study findings. The exercise helped focus attention on the gap concept which features so much in the theoretical framework of this study.

4.9 Data analysis

The study devotes much attention to the concept of Gap Analysis by drawing on the disparities between the targets in the development policies and plans of the ruling governments and the actual achievements. This difference was displayed graphically via gap analysis.

Other data analytical techniques included the application of *factor analysis* to disclose the nature of the statistical relations between the responses of the research participants on the 24 likert scale closed-ended statements which they were required to respond to. The statements appeared under Table 4.4 above. *Factor analysis* is a procedure that postulates that the statistical correlations or covariances between the set of observed variables arise from the relationship of these variables to a small number of underlying unobservable, latent variables, usually known as common factors. The application of the method to the 24 Likert scale-based statements led to the emergence of 3 factors.

The qualitative data analytical method of *grounded theory* was applied in the study to group the interpretations of the respondents on the impacts of the political regime business promotion programmes. The application of the method led to the emergence of 16 themes that have been found to constitute the problem areas in the development of the Ghanaian businesses. The inductive methodology used led to the discovery of the 16 problem areas. The grounded theory method was used to find out the nature of the *gaps* that might have faced the ruling governments in addressing their development plans on their business promotion programmes. The information required for understanding the reasons underpinning the successes and failures of the ruling governments was obtained through the *qualitative method* by giving ample opportunities to the 220 research participants to provide their own accounts regarding what they thought are the causal factors. The grounded theory approach helped in the identification of the obstacles which the respondents thought explained the lack of success achieved in the implementation of the business promotion policies and plans of the political regimes under study. The questions from which the

grounded theory-based answers were obtained to disclose the problems concerned appear in the *Appendix* section under questions 3.6, 3.7, 3.8. 3.9, 3.15, and 3.17.

The principles underpinning both the *grounded theory method and factor analysis* are based on data reduction and clustering methods. The two data analytical techniques helped to establish a number of relationships between the preliminary study findings. The interviews took the form of open-*ended questions* which allowed the researcher "to probe deeply, to uncover new clues, to open up new dimensions of a problem and to secure vivid, accurate, inclusive accounts from the stakeholders based on their personal experiences" Strauss and Corbin (2008: 101). Informal interviews allowed the stakeholders to describe and talk about their own lives in their own words. The words of the research participants became the raw materials for coding. It was acknowledged that the researcher was dealing with diversities since the various meanings and values of the research participants were taken into account to see how they produced particular outcomes. The approach allowed the researcher to get close to the definitions, concepts, constructs and theories of the research participants. In offering explanations under *the Qualitative Approach*, the researcher constructed the answers obtained as the researchers' interpretations of their stories, interpretations, accounts, or narratives. Fig 4.4 illustrates how the *grounded theory method* was specifically applied to identify the problems which the respondents associate with the business promotion programmes of the governments.

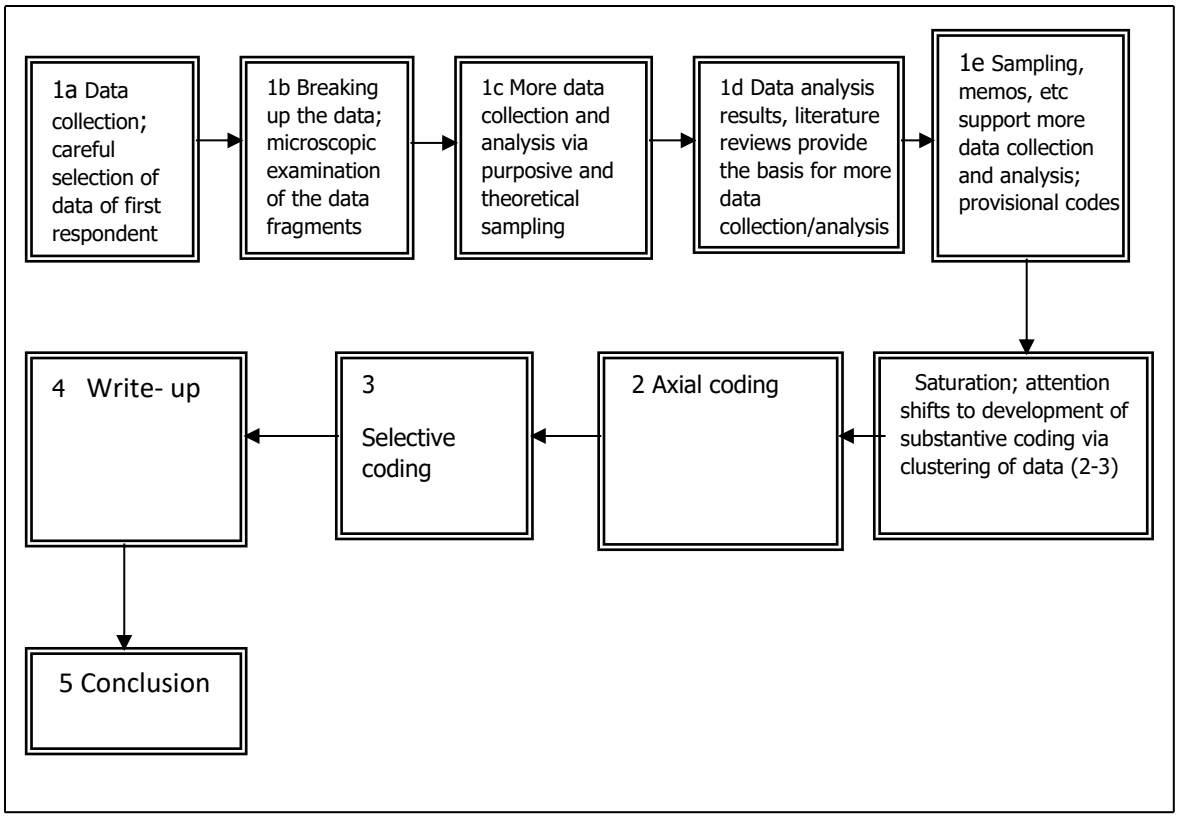


Figure 4.4: Key steps in the application of the grounded theory research design process (**Sources:** based on Corbin, 1998; Locke, 2003; Corbin and Strauss, 2015)

Kempster and Parry (2011), Thomas (2005), Strauss and Corbin (1998), and Carmichael and Cunnigham (2017) for example, have demonstrated the importance of *the grounded theory method* in the understanding of organizational leadership. The three-step procedure of Strauss and Corbin (2008) was used in the interview-based data analysis process: *that is Open, Axial and Selective coding*. Through a carefully-planned classification/coding system, the factors which the research participants thought account for the impacts of the government regimes in promoting local Ghanaian entrepreneurs to create jobs and incomes in the country emerged.

The grounded theory method was equally applied in the analysis of the government documents and other publications on business promotion in Ghana since 1993. This section of the study

constituted an exercise in Hermeneutics. Corbin and Strauss (Ibid) maintain that the hermeneutic rules follow a spiral pattern (the hermeneutic spiral) in the sense that every text is studied in the light of the whole of which it is a part, although the researcher can only understand the whole by scrutinizing the separate parts. In order to understand the parts properly, they argue that the researcher must be thoroughly familiar with the stakeholders' linguistic and grammatical usages (grammatical hermeneutics). They maintain that the hermeneutic movement takes a spiral form because if there is a partial understanding on any level, this understanding deepens with every movement from whole to the part and from the part to the whole.

The method discusses explanations in terms of the accounts of the research participants concerning what they do. Kempster and Parry (2011) argue for example, that stakeholders tend to have different cognitive, linguistic and material resources with which to set up new reciprocally-confirming circles of meanings and practices. Grounded theory guidelines require that researchers immerse themselves in interaction with the stakeholders/research participants and let the language of description and an awareness of social patterns emerge from deep involvement with them. Corbin and Strauss (Ibid) Bowen (2006) and Redman- Maclaren (2015) maintain that investigations into everyday lives must grasp the meanings of the stakeholders concerned. They emphasize that the great strength of the grounded theory approach is that it is the basis of in-depth descriptions set in some local theoretical context. This methodology emphasizes *getting close to the data* and is based on the idea that experiencing the environment of the stakeholders is the best way to understand the reasons behind their social situations. Corbin and Strauss (Ibid) indicate that the grounded theory approach allows researchers to get close to the data thereby developing the analytical, conceptual and categorical components of explanation from the data itself – rather

than from the preconceived, rigidly structured and highly quantified techniques that pigeonhole the empirical social world into the operational definitions that some positivist researchers have previously constructed. Criticising the positivist approach to social research from this perspective, the grounded theory method questions the value of the highly complex statistical measuring devices that become ends in themselves rather than intermediary tools for explanation. The findings that emerged from the application of the grounded theory method appears in the next chapter.

4.10 Conclusion

This methodology section of the study has provided an account of how information was gathered and scientifically treated to address the set objectives of the study. It has also provided justification for the variables selected, the data analytical techniques as well as the respondents who provided information for the study.

The discussions indicate that the post-1993 the roles of the government regimes in promoting the development of the business sector of Ghana constitute the principal object of investigation. They indicate further that the evaluations of the performance of the respective regimes required both quantitative and qualitative data. Although the government departments related to the business sector of the country do organize periodic research to address particular objectives, this study stands apart from the existing publications by virtue of its interest in evaluating the performance of the two political regimes in the business promotion programmes from a particular set of theoretical and methodological paradigms. The findings and recommendations of social research projects are always influenced by the objectives underpinning those studies. The objectives of this study have

been conceived having taken account of ways in which the two leading post-1993 political parties have been involved in the activities of the businesses of Ghana. These objectives set the current study apart from the extant literature on the topic. The next chapter turns attention to discussions on the study findings.

CHAPTER 5

Results and Discussions

5.1 Introduction

This chapter reports the findings of the study in the context of the objectives and the underpinning theoretical framework. The discussions systematically follow the procedure of the critical realist scheme in which the concrete achievements at the empirical level are compared to the targets set in the policies and plans at the Real level. Such comparisons then provide the justification for finding out the factors underpinning any observed differences between the two regimes and political parties under consideration in this study. In the sections that follow, we provide answers to the research questions posed in chapter one.

5.2 Policy and development plans on entrepreneurship development since 1993

Table 5.1 provides information on the nature of documents on business promotion that has been collected on the policy and plan strategies of the two political regimes. The discussions in this section of the chapter are organized in terms of the nature of the objectives, policies and development plans which the political regimes formulated to transform the business sector of Ghana during their terms in office. Table 5.1 indicates that in all cases, the assessment is done in relation to the pronouncements in the policy and plan documents, and actual outturns.

One consideration to bear in mind throughout the analysis is the spillover of programmes and projects from one regime to another. As seen in Table 5.1, although the Empretec programme was launched in the early 2000s under the NDC, the NPP has embraced it as part of the interventions

in the small business sector. There are many more programmes like this which tend to spill over, thereby making analysis and generalizations difficult. Nonetheless, there is rich data on both sides to enable us achieve an objective conclusion on the subject without any bias.

Table 5.1: NPP and NDC policy/plan documents on the promotion of Ghanaian businesses

NDC 1993- 2000	UNDP and Empretec Ghana policies and plans.
NPP 2000- 2008	The documents on business promotion policies and plans, e.g. The Ghana Poverty Report (2006)
NDC 2009- 2016	The documents on business promotion, e.g. The Small Businesses Development Programme (2010)
NPP 2017- 2020	Ministry of Business Development policies and plans and related organizations such as The Institute of Enterprise Development, Local Government and Rural Development, Employment and Labour Relations, Trade and Industry and, Empretec Ghana Foundation.

Before then however, some attention will be paid to some background information on the poverty situation in the country. This is important since one key objective of the business promotion programmes is to use the businesses as tools for fighting the scourge of poverty in the country. The information in Table 5.2 helps to give some impression about the geographical distribution of the poverty problem in the country.

5.3 The poverty problem in Ghana

This section of the study provides some background information on the poverty problem of Ghana since one of the key objectives of the business promotion programmes of the NPP and NDC

regimes seeks to address the challenge of poverty alleviation. The Ghana Growth and Poverty Reduction Strategy (GPRS, 2006-2009) provided some vital statistics on the state of poverty in the districts of Ghana. The basic structure of the poverty situation has not changed that much. It is important to devote some attention to the geographical distribution of poverty in Ghana to guide the business promotion and other decision-making processes of the political regimes of the country. This is an issue which Baah-Boateng (2008) and others have devoted considerable attention to.

The Poverty Reduction Strategy (GPRS, 2006-2009), however, does not contain vital statistical information as related to GDP figures in the districts. It merely provides a ranking of the districts with the national capital, The Greater Accra metropolitan region registering the lowest poverty incidence and the Bawku East and Bongo districts in the Upper East regions registering the highest poverty levels. The basic information associated with the ranking exercise is all the same, quite relevant in the understanding of the geographical patterns and structure of development in Ghana.

Table 5.2 provides information on the ranking of poverty incidence in the country based on the GPRS report (2006-2009). The range in the ranking allocation process was from 1 to 100.

Table 5.2: Ranking of the poverty situation in the districts of Ghana

District	Rank
Greater Accra metropolitan region	1-9
Kumasi metropolitan region	10
Wassa West	16
Sekondi-Takoradi municipal	17
Tema	19

New Juaben municipal	20
Juabeso- Bia	22
Bibiani/Anhwiaso/Bekwai	23
Wassa Amenfi, Adansi West	25
Sefwi- Wiawso	28
Aowin/Suaman, Mpohor West	29
Akuapim North, Yilo Krobo	31
Akuapim South	32
Kadjebi	33
Sunyani	34
Kwahu South	35
Afigya/Kwabere, Cape Coast municipal	36
Berekum, Ashanti Akim North	37
East Akim	38
Ejisu/ Juaben	40
Techiman	41
Jomoro	42
Afigya Sekyere, Nkwanta, Birim South	43
Ahanta West, Sekyere West, Kpandu, Kwaebirem, Suhum/Kraboa/ Coaltar	44
Ho, Ashanti Akim South, Atwima, Fanteakwah, Nzema East,	45
Keta	46
Ofinso, Birim North, West Akim	47
Tanoso	48
Hohoe, Awutu/Efutu/Senya	49
Amansie East, Bosomtwe/Atwima/ Kwawoma, Mfantsiman	50
Dangbe West, Dormaa	51
Assin, Jasikan. Ketu, Amansie	52

West, Ejura/ Sekyeredumasi	
Krachi, Sekyere East	53
Upper Denkyira, Dangbe East	54
Twifu/Heman/ Lower Denkyira, Ahafo-Ano North	55
Komenda/Edina/Eguafo/Abirem, Asunafo	56
Adansi East	57
Gomoa, South Tongu, Manya Krobo	58
Tamale	59
Asutifi, Akatsi	60
Ajumako/Enyan /Essiam	61
Asuogyaman, Asikuma/ Odoben /Brakwa	62
Abura/Asebu/ Kwamankese	63
Ahafo-Ano South, North Tongu	64
Agona	68
Jaman, Atebubu	69
Wenchi, Nkoranza	71
Kintampo	73
Savelugu- Nanton	77
Wa	79
Sene	83
East Dagomba, Afram Plains	84
East Gonja	85
West Mamprusi, Bole	87
Lawra, Bogatanga, East Mamprusi, Chereponi- Saboba, Nanumba	88
Zabzugu- Tatale, West Gonja, Jirapa-Lambussie	89
Tolon	90
Kassena- Nankani, Sissala	91

Bawku West, Gushiegu –Karaga	92
Nadowli	96
Builsa	98
Bawku East, Bongo	99

The rankings are gleaned from the 2006-2009 GPRS report in terms of increasing scale.

The above statistics indicate that the poverty incidence is generally higher in the northern half of the country and also in the rural districts. The above information needs to be consulted by the academic community and the general public on issues related to future business investments in the country.

With this backdrop to the poverty situation in Ghana, attention is now turned to the findings that emerged from the Likert-scale based information.

5.4 Findings from the 16 Likert Scale statements

An important aspect of the methodology of the study involved the application of the Likert Scale research instrument for generating part of the study findings. This methodology entails asking respondents to tick the "agree' or "disagree" answers of their choice. One advantage of this instrument lies in the opportunities it offers to respondents to declare their stance to the statements by simply ticking the answers they are comfortable with. From the raw responses a number of statistical techniques can then be applied to group the responses for further intuitive exploration. A reduction in the number of variables enable us to focus on the fundamental questions raised in the thesis without need for regression analysis.

In this study, the statistical technique of Factor Analysis (FA) was applied to group the responses.

Table 5.3 indicates the percentage of the respondents who agreed with the 16 statements on various aspects of the business promotion programmes of the NPP NDC regimes since 1993.

5.4.1 The raw data

Table 5.3 shows the raw data and the percentage of the respondents who agreed with the statements in Appendix 1. V1 to V16 in the columns represent the original 24 statements, however due to lack of adequate information for responses from 17 to 24, the analysis has been limited to the 16 statements. The 22 rows (RGO to HDB) represent the 22 groups of research participants in the study. The FA computations are confined to variable 1 to 16 to find out how the variations in the variables exhibit latent structure in the data.

5.4.2 The correlation matrix

One initial step in the computation of factor loadings concerns the computation of correlation coefficients. The statistical relations between the 16 variables (i.e. 1 to 16) are shown in Table 5.4. An examination of the values of the correlation coefficients indicate that generally variable1, variable 3, variable 5, variable 14 and variable 15 had low values or relationships with the other variables with some registered values lower than 0.4. On the other hand, variables 8, 9, 10, 14 and 16, displayed high positive values in the structure. This interesting pattern in the ways in which the participants responded to the statements suggests some underlying context which can be disclosed through the application of the Factor Analytical method. Before then, attention will be turned to an examination of the variations in the data as related to the means, standard deviations the skewness in the distributions and the kurtosis.

Table 5.3: Matrix of the 24 responses from the 220 respondents (RGO to HDB)

	V.1	V.2	V.3	V.4	V.5	V.6	V.7	V.8	V.9	V.10	V.11	V.12	V.13	V.14	V.15	V.16
RGO	80	80	90	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
OCB	10	10	10	20	50	40	10	20	20	30	20	20	30	30	20	20
RSO	50	30	40	50	90	30	20	30	60	60	50	60	60	100	100	70
MH	50	60	60	90	100	90	50	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
LF	40	30	40	50	90	30	20	20	60	60	30	40	40	30	40	40
MP	70	70	70	80	70	60	60	80	80	80	100	100	100	100	100	100
CF	40	30	50	60	90	30	30	30	60	60	40	30	30	40	20	40
RHO	50	40	40	50	80	40	30	40	70	70	60	50	60	100	100	70
OL	70	70	60	90	90	100	50	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
FO	40	30	40	60	90	30	30	40	70	70	80	80	70	100	100	100
RAC	60	70	60	80	100	80	50	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
PF	40	40	50	50	80	30	20	20	60	60	40	40	30	40	30	30
BF	40	40	40	90	50	70	90	80	90	90	100	100	100	100	100	100
FS	30	30	50	40	80	40	30	10	60	60	30	30	40	40	40	40
IE	30	40	40	70	90	50	30	40	70	70	100	100	100	90	100	100
GSB	60	60	60	80	90	70	60	100	100	100	90	100	90	100	100	100
OPM	20	30	20	100	100	100	100	90	100	100	100	90	100	100	100	90
PS	30	30	30	80	60	80	90	80	80	90	100	100	100	90	100	100
MM	20	20	20	20	40	30	10	10	30	20	20	20	30	20	30	30
UEM	10	10	10	10	40	40	10	20	30	30	10	10	20	20	20	20
STD	30	30	30	40	40	30	20	20	30	20	20	20	30	30	20	20
HDB	50	30	40	40	70	20	30	30	100	100	60	50	60	100	100	80

Table 5.4: Outline of the correlation matrix of the 16 variables

	V.1	V.2	V.3	V.4	V.5	V.6	V.7	V.8	V.9	V.10	V.11	V.12	V.13	V.14	V.15	V.16
V.1	1.000	0.904	0.919	0.619	0.566	0.410	0.394	0.616	0.699	0.663	0.589	0.609	0.564	0.646	0.604	0.623
V.2	0.904	1.000	0.908	0.761	0.573	0.665	0.534	0.790	0.739	0.702	0.727	0.745	0.717	0.631	0.601	0.686
V.3	0.919	0.908	1.000	0.638	0.623	0.426	0.412	0.568	0.652	0.618	0.556	0.577	0.518	0.506	0.460	0.549
V.4	0.619	0.761	0.638	1.000	0.630	0.828	0.862	0.894	0.858	0.851	0.921	0.912	0.899	0.766	0.739	0.845
V.5	0.566	0.573	0.623	0.630	1.000	0.407	0.316	0.477	0.677	0.676	0.547	0.549	0.497	0.558	0.525	0.551
V.6	0.410	0.665	0.426	0.828	0.407	1.000	0.822	0.916	0.688	0.699	0.776	0.770	0.809	0.569	0.572	0.671
V.7	0.394	0.534	0.412	0.862	0.316	0.822	1.000	0.817	0.733	0.746	0.794	0.769	0.799	0.641	0.634	0.717
V.8	0.616	0.790	0.568	0.894	0.477	0.916	0.817	1.000	0.828	0.831	0.888	0.890	0.895	0.753	0.733	0.829
V.9	0.699	0.739	0.652	0.858	0.677	0.688	0.733	0.828	1.000	0.988	0.870	0.846	0.842	0.851	0.834	0.873
V.10	0.663	0.702	0.618	0.851	0.676	0.699	0.746	0.831	0.988	1.000	0.876	0.853	0.848	0.854	0.836	0.876
V.11	0.589	0.727	0.556	0.921	0.547	0.776	0.794	0.888	0.870	0.876	1.000	0.986	0.983	0.891	0.890	0.969
V.12	0.609	0.745	0.577	0.912	0.549	0.770	0.769	0.890	0.846	0.853	0.986	1.000	0.983	0.872	0.884	0.965
V.13	0.564	0.717	0.518	0.899	0.497	0.809	0.799	0.895	0.842	0.848	0.983	0.983	1.000	0.878	0.897	0.959
V.14	0.646	0.631	0.506	0.766	0.558	0.569	0.641	0.753	0.851	0.854	0.891	0.872	0.878	1.000	0.981	0.942
V.15	0.604	0.601	0.460	0.739	0.525	0.572	0.634	0.733	0.834	0.836	0.890	0.884	0.897	0.981	1.000	0.954
V.16	0.623	0.686	0.549	0.845	0.551	0.671	0.717	0.829	0.873	0.876	0.969	0.965	0.959	0.942	0.954	1.000

5.4.3 Outline of the variations

Descriptive measures for the sixteen variables are shown in Table 5.5. We report the variations, shape, and location patterns of responses to the survey constructs by the participation groups.

Table 5.5: Summary measures of observed variables

	Mean	Std Dv	Median	MAD	Min	Max	Range	Skew	Kurtosis
V.1	41.818	18.933	40	14.826	10	80	70	0.153	-0.805
V.2	40.000	19.760	30	14.826	10	80	70	0.530	-0.860
V.3	43.182	19.368	40	14.826	10	90	80	0.245	-0.186
V.4	61.364	26.600	60	29.652	10	100	90	-0.241	-1.142
V.5	76.818	21.018	85	22.239	40	100	60	-0.625	-1.137
V.6	54.091	27.196	40	14.826	20	100	80	0.522	-1.348
V.7	42.727	29.307	30	29.652	10	100	90	0.784	-0.760
V.8	52.727	35.076	40	37.065	10	100	90	0.282	-1.744
V.9	71.364	26.421	70	37.065	20	100	80	-0.451	-1.072
V.10	71.364	27.481	70	37.065	20	100	80	-0.530	-1.022
V.11	65.909	34.456	70	44.478	10	100	90	-0.248	-1.713
V.12	65.455	34.604	70	44.478	10	100	90	-0.212	-1.744
V.13	67.727	31.613	65	51.891	20	100	80	-0.155	-1.793
V.14	74.091	33.617	100	00.000	20	100	80	-0.569	-1.646
V.15	73.636	36.062	100	00.000	20	100	80	-0.584	-1.665
V.16	70.455	33.019	85	22.239	20	100	80	-0.425	-1.656

Table 5.5 provides information on some aspects of the statistical findings on the 16 variables. These relate to the mean, median, standard deviation, range, skewness and kurtosis.

With regards to the mean values, the Table indicates that highest value of 74 was related to variable 14. The mean in statistical analysis is a measure or central value for a continuous variable. Variable 14 elicited the highest positive response. The Likert scale statement was couched in the words “Developing the entrepreneurship sector can help reduce the culture of the public looking up to government for employment”. The fact that this statement elicited such an approval gives an indication of the increasing public awareness regarding the links between the entrepreneurship sector and issues such as self-reliance, the motivation for establishing one’s own business and of

confining the state activities more and more to the social services sector as advanced by Shane (2003), Opoku (2010), and Lazear (2015), among others. On the other hand, the lowest mean value of 40 was related to Variable 2, concerning the statement that the poverty situation in the country had been reduced since 1993. This means most of the participants did not share this idea.

The standard deviation (SD) is the most commonly used measure of the spread of a set of observations. It is equal to the square root of the variance. The higher the value, the more unequal the distribution. The results from Table 5.5 indicate that the statement "Entrepreneurship development can help raise the level of self-esteem of individuals and communities" elicited the highest variation or disagreement among the participants.

Closely related to the Mean is the Median which is the value in a set of ranked observations that divides the data into 2 parts of equal size. Table 5.5 indicates that statements 14 (developing the entrepreneurship sector can help reduce the culture of the public looking up to government for employment) and 15 (entrepreneurship development can help raise the self-esteem of individuals and communities) had the highest values.

The range is the difference between the largest and the smallest observations in a data set. It can be used as an easy-to-calculate measure of the dispersion on a set of observations. Table 5.5 indicates that the lowest range of 60 was with respect to variable 5 "entrepreneurship development is today acknowledged as a key strategy for addressing a number of national development problems.

Skewness of an observation is about the lack of symmetry in a probability distribution. A distribution has a positive skewness when it has a long thin tail to the right, and a negative skewness when it has a long thin tail to the left. Thus, in Table 5.5, the levels of skewness associated with the 16 statements are indicated with the respective values. The highest negative skewness was associated with statement 15 – "entrepreneurship development can help raise the self-esteem of individuals and communities".

Kurtosis is a measure of the extent to which the peak of a unimodal probability distribution or frequency distribution departs from the shape of a normal distribution, by being either more pointed (leptokurtic) or flatter (platykurtic). For a normal distribution, the index takes the value 3 and often the index is redefined as the value above minus 3 so that the normal distribution would have a value zero (mesokurtic). For a distribution which is leptokurtic, the index is positive. For a platykurtic curve, the index is negative. Table 5.5 shows the values that were associated with the 16 variables (statements). The information in the table indicates that the highest value of -1.79 was associated with statement/variable 13, that is, 'entrepreneurship development can help spread the culture of self-employment and thereby reduce the levels of inequalities, underinvestment and poverty in Ghana. The lowest value, on the other hand, (-0.18) was with respect to statement/variable 3, that is "the employment situation in the country has improved since1994".

Attention is now turned to the results that emerged from the factor loadings associated with the correlation co-efficient. Table 5.6 provides a summary of the findings.

5.4.4 Outline of the factor loadings

Table 5.6: Matrix table of three factor loadings under orthogonal transformation

	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3
V.1	0.34	0.15	0.87
V.2	0.26	0.44	0.81
V.3	0.17	0.21	0.94
V.4	0.48	0.72	0.42
V.5	0.39	0.19	0.52
V.6	0.25	0.89	0.23
V.7	0.39	0.78	0.15
V.8	0.43	0.78	0.37
V.9	0.64	0.48	0.48
V.10	0.65	0.49	0.44
V.11	0.70	0.62	0.31
V.12	0.68	0.61	0.34
V.13	0.68	0.65	0.27
V.14	0.87	0.31	0.32
V.15	0.89	0.31	0.26
V.16	0.81	0.46	0.32

Summary of factor loading variability

	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3
Sum of squared loadings	5.45	4.88	3.96
Proportion of variance	0.34	0.30	0.25
Cumulative variance	0.34	0.65	0.89
Proportion explained	0.38	0.34	0.28
Cum. proportion explained	0.38	0.72	1.00

BIC = -52.27

Table 5.6 indicates that three factors emerged from the analysis. They were related to the following statements: Factor one – statements 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15 and 16; Factor two – statements 4, 6, 7, and 8; and Factor Three – statements 1, 2, 3 and 5. Factor One has been labelled as "The difference that entrepreneurship can make factor". The responses to this factor are presented in Table 5.7.

The discussions in this section of the study findings provide some important insight into the relational concept in quantitative data analysis. The results displayed in Table 5.4, Table 5.6, and Table 5.11 indicate that the 16 variables under consideration do not exist as isolated or statistically independent entities but tend to establish relations between themselves. Thus, the correlation coefficients discussed earlier under Table 5.4 were indices that quantified the linear relationships between the 16 variables. The relations between these correlation coefficients were subsequently analysed in terms of factor loadings (eigen values) and factor scores. The results associated with

the statistical relations help to highlight the nature of the quantitative-based categorization system which underpins the variables at the Empirical Level /domain of the critical realist project.

The grounded theory classification model which is discussed later, also indicates the nature of the qualitative relations between the views held by the research participants. These were with regards to their perspectives on the problems facing the steady growth of the business sector of Ghana. This aspect of the ground-based explanations is located in the Actual Level /domain of the critical realist project. Whereas the quantitative results discussed under the Likert Scale statements are typically based on a "linear" fixed set of stages that cannot be redefined, the categories associated with the inductive, qualitative, approach of the grounded theory method is a circular emergent process in which the methodological procedures can be adjusted in iterative ways in response to what is being learned from the field. Thus, in terms of the nature and types of factors to associate with the explanatory factors or problematic areas of the business promotion initiatives, we could not hypothesize in advance the nature of the expected responses from the participants. The factors emerged from the answers given by the participants. Such answers helped in giving direction to the nature of the emerging concepts, constructs and theories and therefore of the required form of saturation. This was also the basis of the theoretical sampling approach associated with the grounded theory method (Strauss and Corbin, 2008). This procedure assisted in the identification of the 16 groups of explanatory factors discussed below.

Table 5.7: The statements associated with Factor One

9. The strategy of using the public education/school's system to popularize business development courses and programmes to Ghanaians is commendable
10. Entrepreneurship development can help create more jobs in Ghana

11. Entrepreneurship development can help raise the capita income levels in Ghana
12. Entrepreneurship development can help reduce the culture of dependence of Ghanaians on imported goods and services
13. Entrepreneurship development can help spread the culture of self-employment and thereby reduce the levels of inequalities, underinvestment and poverty in Ghana.
14. Developing the entrepreneurship sector can help reduce the culture of the public looking up to government for employment
15. Entrepreneurship development can help raise the self-esteem of individuals and communities
16. There is the need for constant evaluation of the impacts of the government programmes on entrepreneurship development in Ghana

It is significant that the grouping that emerged as the most important (Factor 1), with a sum of squared loadings of 5.45 was about the appreciation by the respondents regarding the importance of the entrepreneurship sector in the economy of Ghana. The variables indicated in Table 5.7 provide some interesting perspective on those 8 aspects of the entrepreneurship development process which the respondents expressed appreciation for.

Factor two. The variables that were associated with this factor were 4, 6, 7, and 8. This factor has been labelled as the difference that the government plans can make. The statements associated with this factor are shown in Table 5.8.

Table 5.8: The statements associated with Factor Two

4. Addressing the inequalities in the living conditions in the country occupies a central position in the development plans of the Ghanaian political parties
6. Entrepreneurship development is a commendable feature in the manifestos and development plans of the post-1993 political party dispensation of Ghana

7. I am aware of the many government-sponsored entrepreneurship development programmes on the country
8. The strategy of using public media to advertise entrepreneurship development programmes to Ghanaians is commendable

The variables associated with Factor 2 present another perspective of the business promotion initiatives. They highlight the premium which the participants put on the role of the two political regimes in the transformation of the business sector of the country.

Attention is now turned to the third factor which emerged in the analysis.

Factor three. The variables that were associated with this factor were 1, 2, 3, and 5. It has been termed as "Appreciating the improvements in the living conditions factor". The statements associated with this factor are displayed in Table 5.9. The statements here put the certain development components of the country into the limelight (cost of living, poverty and employment) by highlighting their intimate relations with the growth of the business sector.

Table 5.9: The statements associated with Factor Three

1. Cost of living: The material conditions of living of the Ghanaian population have generally improved since 1994
2. The poverty situation has been reduced since 1994
3. The employment situation in the country has improved since 1994
5. Entrepreneurship development is today acknowledged as a key strategy for addressing a number of national development problems

Attention is now turned to the residuals that were associated with the data analysis. Table 5.10 displays the residuals of the fitted model.

Table 5.10: The residuals of the three factor loadings under the orthogonal transformation

	V.1	V.2	V.3	V.4	V.5	V.6	V.7	V.8	V.9	V.10	V.11	V.12	V.13	V.14	V.15	V.16
V.1	0.00	0.00	0.00	-0.02	0.00	-0.01	0.01	0.00	-0.01	-0.02	-0.01	-0.01	0.00	0.02	0.02	0.00
V.2	0.00	0.00	0.00	-0.02	-0.04	0.02	-0.04	0.03	-0.04	0.00	0.02	0.02	0.03	0.00	0.01	0.01
V.3	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.02	-0.02	0.03	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02	0.01	0.01	0.01	-0.01	-0.01	0.01
V.4	-0.02	-0.02	0.01	0.00	0.00	-0.02	0.05	-0.03	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.01	-0.01	-0.01	-0.02	-0.01
V.5	0.00	-0.04	0.02	0.01	0.00	0.02	0.00	-0.04	0.01	0.09	-0.01	-0.01	-0.04	-0.01	-0.02	-0.02
V.6	-0.01	0.02	-0.02	-0.02	0.02	0.00	0.00	0.03	0.00	0.00	-0.02	-0.01	0.00	0.01	0.01	-0.01
V.7	0.01	0.00	0.03	0.05	-0.00	0.00	0.00	-0.02	0.04	0.04	-0.01	-0.02	-0.02	0.01	0.00	-0.01
V.8	0.03	0.03	-0.02	-0.03	-0.04	0.03	-0.02	0.00	0.00	0.00	-0.01	0.00	-0.01	0.02	0.01	0.00
V.9	-0.01	-0.04	-0.02	0.00	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.12	-0.02	-0.04	-0.04	-0.01	-0.02	-0.02
V.10	-0.02	0.00	-0.02	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.04	0.00	0.02	0.00	-0.02	-0.04	-0.04	-0.01	-0.02	-0.02
V.11	-0.01	0.02	0.01	0.01	-0.01	-0.02	-0.01	-0.01	-0.02	-0.02	0.00	0.03	0.02	-0.01	-0.01	0.02
V.12	-0.01	0.02	0.01	0.01	-0.01	-0.01	-0.02	0.00	-0.04	-0.04	0.03	0.00	0.04	-0.01	0.00	0.03
V.13	0.00	0.00	0.00	-0.01	-0.04	0.00	-0.02	-0.01	0.00	-0.04	0.02	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.02
V.14	0.02	0.00	-0.01	-0.01	-0.01	0.01	0.01	0.02	-0.01	-0.01	-0.01	-0.01	0.00	0.00	0.02	-0.01
V.15	0.02	0.01	-0.01	-0.02	-0.02	0.01	0.00	0.01	-0.02	-0.02	-0.01	0.00	0.01	0.02	0.00	0.00
V.16	0.00	0.01	0.01	-0.01	-0.02	-0.01	-0.01	0.00	-0.02	-0.02	0.00	0.03	0.02	-0.01	0.00	0.00

A collective scrutiny of the values above gives an indication of a well-behaved residuals, which are either zeros in some cases, or fairly approaches the zero mark. The pattern of the residuals generally validates the estimates of the fitted factor model.

The next analysis was on the distribution of the factor loadings among the 220 respondents. This exercise was important since its objective was to show how they aligned themselves in terms of the three factors. The raw results appear in Table 5.11.

5.4.5 Structure of the factor scores

Table 5.11: Distribution of the factors scores

	Factor Scores		
	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3
RGO	-0.3785	**1.0632**	**2.2257**
OCB	**-1.1336**	-0.0941	**-1.5453**
RSO	**1.1227**	**-1.5972**	0.0122
MH	0.2627	**1.0664**	0.5761
LF	-0.9343	-0.5367	0.1737

MP	0.4186	0.1873	**1.3262**
CF	**-1.3396**	-0.3156	0.5867
RHO	**0.9313**	**-1.2270**	0.0730
OL	0.1262	**1.1056**	**0.8902**
FO	**1.4678**	**-1.0650**	-0.3018
RAC	0.3241	**0.7938**	**0.8356**
PF	**-1.2579**	-0.5395	**0.7090**
BF	0.7414	**1.0050**	-0.5992
FS	**-0.9563**	-0.6826	0.4154
IE	**1.1650**	-0.0174	-0.5517
GSB	0.4205	0.5123	**0.7898**
OPM	0.5578	**1.9721**	**-1.7276**
PS	0.7476	**1.2912**	**-1.2499**
MM	**-1.0073**	-0.5565	**-0.9258**
UEM	**-1.2326**	-0.2759	**-1.4657**
STD	**-1.4842**	-0.3022	-0.2972
HDB	**1.4385**	**-1.7873**	0.0506

5.5 Discussing the respondents in terms of their scores on the 3 factors

To group the respondents, the high positive and negative scores under each factor in the table were identified. These are highlighted in bold in Table 5.11 above. The relations between the variables in bold format were scrutinized for purposes of labelling them from a social class classification perspective. The emergence of the social class discourse in the findings helps to highlight the importance of value judgements in binding people around specific social issues.

The results in Table 5.12 discloses the nature of the social classes which shared identical views on the development policies and programmes on the Ghanaian business sector. Class allegiances thus emerge here, with major implication on policy issues. We now analyse these in relation to each of the three factors.

Table 5.12: Clustering the 220 respondents in terms of their scores on the 3 factors

Factor One	Factor two	Factor three
RSO	RGO	RGO
FO	MH	MP
IE	OL	RAC
HDB	RAC	GSB
****	BF	****
OCB	OPM	****
LF	PS	****
CF	****	****
PF	RSO	****
FS	RHO	****
MM	FO	****
UEM	HDB	****
STD	****	****

Factor One: The difference that entrepreneurship can make factor. Those who associated positively with this factor were RSO, FO, IE and HDB. Those who did not associate with this factor were OCB, LF, CF, PF, FS, MM, UEM and STD. The respondents who were associated with this factor are indicated in Table 5.13.

Table 5.13: Factor One – Difference in entrepreneurship development

Factor	Respondents
Factor One	
Positive responses	RSO (Retail shop owners)
	FO (Factory owners)
	IE (Importers/exporters)
	HDB (Hair dressing/ salon owners)
Negative responses	OCB (Owners of closed businesses)
	LF (Livestock farmers)
	CF (Crop farmers)

	PF (Poultry farmers) FS (Fishing community) MM (Motor mechanics) UEM (The unemployed0 STD (Students/ the youth)

The information in the above table makes interesting reading. The findings gave the impression that those who appreciated the positive contributions that the business sector of Ghana can make in the living conditions of the citizens of the country were the retail shop owners, the factory owners, those in the import/export businesses and the hair dressing/ salon owners. On the other hand, those who expressed disappointment with the performance of the business sector of the country were the owners of closed businesses, the livestock farmers, crop farmers, poultry farmers, the fishing community, the motor mechanics, the unemployed and students and the youth.

Factor Two: This factor has been labelled as "The difference that the government plans can make factor". Table 5.14 provides information on the respondents who were linked to this factor.

Table 5.14: Factor Two – The differences in government plans

Factor	Respondents
Factor Two	
Positive responses	RGO
	MH
	OL
	RAC
	BF
	OPM
	PS
Negative responses	RSO
	RHO
	FO
	HDB

Those who associated positively with this factor were the ruling government officials (RGO), members of the media houses (MH), the opinion leaders in the study (OL), members of the research institutes and the academic community (RAC), the bank officials (BF), the opposition party members (OPM), and the public servants (PS). These respondents agreed with the statement that acknowledgement has to be given to the importance of the post-1993 development policies and plans of the political regimes in the development of Ghana. Having a look at those who associated with this factor, one observes that these belonged to people with interest in reading, debating and interrogating development issues in the country. These were from the media houses, the academic community, the opinion leaders, bank officials, members of the political opposition, and, above all, the public servants.

Those who scored negatively on this factor were significantly enough, the retail shop owners (RSO) the owners of restaurants and hotels (RHO) the factory owners (FO) and owners of hair dressing and beauty salons (HDB). They were apparently not impressed or that much interested in any mention of issues related to development policies and plans.

Factor Three: Attention is now turned to "Appreciating the improvements in the living conditions factor". Those who associated positively with this factor were the ruling government officials (RGO), the medical professionals (MP), the research and academic community (RAC), and members of The Ghana Standards board (GSB). Table 5.15 indicates the respondents who associated positively with this factor.

Table 5.15: The respondents who associated with Factor Three

Factor	**Respondents**
Factor Three (Positive responses)	RGO
	MP
	RAC
	GSB

The importance of the information in the above table concerns the fact that apart from members of the ruling political regime, (RGO), members of the medical profession, the academic community and The Ghana Standards Board did agree that there is general improvements in the living conditions in the country.

The above results indicate that the findings from Likert-Scale-based research information can provide useful information for the application of Factor Analysis. The 3 factors emerging from the

24 statements point to the fact that the respondents have varying opinions on the ways in which changes are taking place in the business community of Ghana.

Attention will now be turned to more in-depth analysis of the study findings. The discussions that follow represent the answers that emerged from the open-ended questions. These are based on the five thematic areas that were highlighted in Chapter 2.

5.6 The **study findings in the context of the five thematic areas**

As has been mentioned earlier, the five thematic areas provide a framework for relating the concrete impacts of the business promotion programmes to the policies, development plans and manifestos of the two political regimes under study. Table 5.16 indicates this outline. It indicates that the discussions that follow seek to link the achievements of the regimes to the nature of objectives highlighted in their pronouncements.

Table 5.16: Findings in terms of 5 key areas

	1	2	3	4	5
Objective: To assess the work of the political regimes/ administrations in terms of 5 areas/score cards in the columns	TARGETS The nature of political regime-sponsored entrepreneurship promotion policies plan and programmes in Ghana since 1993.	New businesses formed, restored/revived, jobs created by the businesses, skills offered, incomes generated.	Philanthropy and related activities of the businesses.	The problems associated with the entrepreneurship development programmes of the post-1993 political regimes	Government assistance for helping the businesses to address the problems

The first column in the above Table is a summary of the study objectives. The second column provides an outline of the nature of the Real Level in the critical realist model, indicating the imperatives within the business promotion policies, manifestos and plans of the NDC and NPP regimes. The third and fourth columns devote attention to the concrete activities at the Actual Level indicating the responses of the various stakeholders to the initiatives of the political regimes. The fifth column presents information on the unintended outcomes of the business promotion processes as reflected in the problems that need to be attended to before some measure of success could be achieved. The sixth column represents the phase of the reflexive monitoring of action on the part of the two regimes as they evaluate the impacts of their programmes and take the necessary steps to rectify any emerging anomalies. This column is a restatement of the ideas enunciated at phase 8 in Fig 2.1 and also of box 7 in Fig 3.1.

Table 5.17 refers to column 1 above indicating the periods in which the NPP and NDC regimes were in power and the nature of the manifestos, policies and plans they had in place to promote the businesses.

Table 5.17: The regime periods

Political party	Regime duration
NDC 1	1993- 2000
NPP 1	2000- 2008
NDC 2	2009- 2016
NPP 2	2017- 2020

The above table indicates that the NDC regimes covered 1993-2000 and 2009-2016.

5.6.1 The NDC 1 period (1993-2000)

The NDC 1 regime was under President Rawlings. This period witnessed among others, the adoption of the World Bank's Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAP) by his administration. This programme is associated with the privatization of national economies among others. Having taken over power from the civilian administration, the regime pursued an initial populist socialist agenda from 1982 until the late 1980s.

The approach of the Rawlings regime was informed by the series of external and internal shocks that hit the economy in the late 1970s. The first oil price shock of 1973-4 saw a near 300% increase in world market price of crude oil. The second shock of 1979 compounded the economic burden on many oil importing developing nations. In Ghana, the price of major commodities such as cocoa and gold suffered significant slumps in the consuming nations. The return of over a million Ghanaians from Nigeria due to the retaliatory measures of the Shehu Shagari's government for the Aliens Compliance Order of the Progress Party made an already deteriorating situation worse. Add the mismanagement and corruption of the military elites of the 1970s, and the bush fires that ravaged the country and you have an economy in tail spin. When Jerry Rawlings and his colleagues cruised to power, they turned to the World Bank and IMF. This period coincided with the market oriented blueprint of the West dubbed the Washington Consensus. Ghana thus signed up to the structural adjustment programme (SAP). The Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC) budgets introduced far-reaching measures to liberalise Ghana's economy. A number of former state-owned enterprises that were non-performing were sold to private businesses. The regime clearly embarked on a neo-liberal programme and thus initiated the recovery process.

The privatization of formerly state-owned companies gave much impetus to the role of private businesses in national development. Cocoa farmers were given a number of incentives to increase production. For instance, there was a 67 percent rise in producer prices paid to cocoa farmers. The administration also provided cash incentives for the replacement of old cocoa trees with newly planted ones. Pesticides became more readily available. Feeder roads to cocoa farms were rehabilitated and storage facilities for the cocoa beans were provided in the cocoa farming areas. Such incentives provided the motivation for increased cocoa production.

In between 1983 and 1990, cocoa harvest, for instance, increased by 65 percent (Aryeetey, 2012). The price of a bag of cocoa, however declined during the SAP era, as a result of an increase in production levels and the devaluation of the cedi. Consequently, cocoa farmers had to increase production of the crop each year merely to retain the same income. There were also the problem that domestic food production experienced relative declines in the cocoa farming areas as a result of the increased attention being given to cocoa.

Responding to increased producer prices, businesses in the timber, bauxite, manganese and diamond production witnessed increased output and profits. As a result, export earnings increased year on year during the SAP era. In consequence, Ghana's budget deficit fell between 1982 and 1987 from 47 percent of GDP in to 0.3 percent, documenting several surpluses since 1980. The Rawlings regime also initiated a number of World Bank-funded projects between 1993-2000. These covered oil palm, coffee, rubber, pineapple, and horticulture sectors. Out of this project was formed Farmapipe Company which was involved in the export of pineapples. The company however closed down in 2007.

The regime was also involved in promoting the growth of small scale businesses in the country. In 1983, The Economic Recovery Programme (ERP) was launched to address the needs of small businesses. This was followed in 1987 with the establishment of the Ghana Appropriate Technology Industrial Service (GRATIS). The objective of the programme was to upgrade small scale industrial concerns by transferring appropriate technologies to them. ITTUS in the regions were to help develop the engineering abilities of small scale manufacturing and service industries engaged in vehicle repairs and other related activities. The Rawlings regime realized early enough that one weakness facing the small businesses was their lack of access to external finance. To address this problem, the Financial Sector Adjustment Programme (FINSAP) was enacted to offer support to small businesses. With support from World Bank, the Programme of Action to Mitigate the Social Costs of Adjustment, simply dubbed PAMSCAD, created a special fund to assist the small businesses. In addition, Aryeetey (1994) mentions that the Fund for Small and Medium Enterprises Development (FUSMED) was also established to increase the amount of credit available to such businesses through the commercial banks. He indicates that over 1000 small businesses in Ghana benefitted from the bank. Beneficiaries who took less than GHC1000 were not bound to provide any collateral security. Those who took above GHC2000 were required to provide land title documents as collateral.

The Rawlings regime applied liberalization reforms in the local currency and trading sector of Ghana. Particularly, price controls, for instance, had then been obliterated by the government on almost all but five products around mid-1985, while the Ghanaian currency, the Cedi, had devalued, as of 1988, to just 2 percent of its original value in 1982.

Several landmark changes were also witnessed in the public sector. For example, eighty parastatals as at then were privatized and the central authority made it clear that, with the exception of eighteen strategic state-owned businesses, it would further consider bids from the private sector for all other state enterprises. As of 1995, an overall of 195 parastatals had completely been removed or privatised from the public sector. In the nutshell, many were sold to transnational corporations. Undeniably, the Rawlings regime vigorously encouraged TNC investment in its managed economy. The regime continued to state that international financiers would not be obstructed in case they decide to transfer their profits and/or dividends to their numerous shareholders overseas.

The degree to which Ghana espoused these neo-liberal reforms made the country one of the flagships for the structural adjustment programme by the IMF. Even though the Rawlings regime at first dragged its feet with the proposed privatisation plan, due to patronage concerns, the IMF and World Bank regularly implored sister sovereign African nations to emulate Ghana's example. As a whole, the PNDC regime then enjoyed a good credit rating among its Western counterparts, and development loans were on a regular basis forthcoming.

The intriguing question, however, is whether the IMF's structural adjustment programme actually enhanced Ghana's economic prospects. During the period of the reforms, Ghana's debts grew. In 1998, Ghana's external public debt was the equivalent of 76 percent of the country's GDP, while the country ran a balance of payments deficit of US$806 million. A particular way to revive the economy, of course, would have largely been the influx of foreign direct investment. International capital, however, remained to a large extent, uninterested in the Ghanaian economic context because of its continued fragility and the lack of long term sustainable growth prospects.

Interestingly, not even the SAP reforms made Ghana more competitive and attractive to the transnational corporations.

The Structural Adjustment Programme, however, had a noteworthy impact on Ghana's political landscape. The SAP reforms was documented to have hit the PNDC's former clients quite hard. Nearly forty (40) percent of Ghana's cocoa board's employees' contracts were terminated, so was 3,600 civil servants nationwide, and several other public employees. In the other hand, industrial workers were not immune, as they also fared very badly due to cut of import substitution investments and the removal of tariff "holidays". Likewise, the managerial and professional classes (nurses, doctors, teachers and non-teaching university staff, to mention a few) had to cope with the scaling down of the country's public services. Even those that had earlier benefited from these services were not spared. Numerous students, at different levels of the educational ladder, could hardly afford to continue their education, while the coming into being of user charges widely excluded Ghanaians from accessing the school system and elementary health care. The abolishment of food and other related state subsidies added to the economic hardship. The belated PAMSCAD scheme convinced few Ghanaians about the virtues of the SAP reforms.

Till now, the NDC faced substantial opposition from these destitute groups. Former clients of the state elite, who by then could be counted among the reliable supporters of the government, now voiced their disapproval or opposition. At the initial stages, the government was able to contain these embittered groups through harassment and suppression. Pressure for political change, from all quarters of the country, however, continued to mount.

The well-organised opposition voices or movements channeled this discontent into incessant calls for multi-party democracy, in direct alignment with a continent-wide drive towards multi-party democracy. In due course, the Rawlings regime succumbed peacefully to these pressures, and as a result contested open general elections. The Rawlings led NDC was indeed victorious in the 1992 general election, securing 58 percent of the total vote cast. With a renewed legitimacy for the Rawlings regime, and outpouring of praises from the global west for returning the country to a democratic system of governance, the NDC again secured reelection in 1996. The new presidential two-term office limitation enshrined in Ghana's fourth constitution, however led to the opposition NPP defeating the NDC in the 2000 general elections. Structural adjustment had therefore, among other things, precipitated major political change in the country.

Though globally Ghana is acclaimed to be democratic and lauded for her environment of political pluralism and vocal civil society, it is not able to achieve substantial, structural transformation. That is, changes in economic productivity driven by value-added products within sectors plagued by weak institutional capacity and the resultant development within the transformational trajectory.

In Danelle Resuick's discussion paper on 'Strong Democracy, Weak State; the political economy of Ghana's Stalled Structural Transformation' (Resuick, 2016), he attributed Ghana's problems to the following; firstly, democracy has enabled broader range of interest groups to permeate policy-making decisions, often resulting in back-tracking and volatility as well as fiscal deficits that stifle access to credit for domestic business through high interest rates. Secondly, public sector reforms have not been vigorously pursued compared to microeconomic reforms necessary to identify

viable industries as well as facilitate transition to value-added sectors. Thirdly, successive governments have failed to actively invest in building strong productive relationship with the private sector. These have created some discredit and alienation among private enterpreneurs.

5.6.2 Entrepreneurship development under the NPP 1 regime (2001-2008)

The Kufuor government basically continued with the privatization programmes of the Rawlings regime. From 2001, Ghana kept to the IMF prescription. The regime (2001-2008) maintained an externally approved macro-economic environment, and undertook key structural reforms in the business sector.

Given this co-operation, it is not surprising that Ghana was one of the first African countries to gain from the Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) programme. In terms of the 2005 Gleneagles Summit, for example, Ghana's initial reward was US$4.2 billion of debt relief, which represented a sizeable chunk of the country's total debt of US$6 billion. All told, external assistance now accounted for 10 per cent of Ghana's GDP, which had a positive effect on the country's export industries. Buoyed by high commodity prices, Ghana's economy grew by an average of 5 per cent between 2000 and 2005. This growth rate continued until the end of the Kuffuor's era in 2008.

The Kufuor administration promoted business development under a national Poverty Reduction Strategy (2003-2005). The programme aimed at macro-economic stability by finding out how the business sector could be used as an instrument to address the poverty and inequalities problems of the economy of the country. The Government of Ghana (2005), among other publications, argues

that the lessons that emerged from the Poverty Reduction Report needs to continue to influence development policies in Ghana.

The Ghana National Board for Small Scale Industries (NBSSI) was established in 2002 under the Ministry of Industry, Science and Technology to address the needs of small scale enterprises. The Board established an Entrepreneurial Development Programme to train persons with entrepreneurial abilities into self-employment.

The Export Development and Investment Fund (EDIF) was also established by the regime in 2001 to assist exporters in the agriculture and manufacturing sectors. Organizations that worked to support The EDIF project included EMPRETEC Ghana Foundation (EGF), The Danish International Development Agency (DANIDA), Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) Ghana Investment Fund (GIF), and the Africa Project Development Facility (APDF).

Looking at the performance of the Kufuor administration during the 8 years, one would have expected NPP continuity in the political governance of Ghana. There was however a shift to NDC governance in 2009 resulting from a narrow win from the November 2008 elections. Winning by narrow margins has become the norm in Ghanaian political elections as noted by Ohene-Amoh (2015). This situation is increasingly being related to the ways in which the politicians use their campaigns as a means of coming to power. As a result, Kleinnjienhuis and Pennings (2001), Finlayson (2007), Reisigil (2008), Somer- Topcu (2009) and Somer-Topcu and Adams (2014), among others, advice the government of the day not to take future election results for granted.

Ghanaians are increasingly accepting the fact that their election results are becoming more and more unpredictable. This situation is increasingly being related to the nature of the campaigns that the political parties are able to launch in their everyday messages. As argued by Amoako-Gyimah (2015), the popularity of a particular regime in Ghana depends very much on what goes on in the minds of the electorate during election times.

The NPP1 regime perpetuated the same failures of the NDC1 regime that it inherited. Although Ghana's total debt stock had declined in the early 2000s owing to HIPC, new borrowing had mortgaged the economy to international financiers. Numerous state owned companies were sold at bargain to the detriment of the state. State intervention in the housing market only led to party stalwarts allocating the housing units themselves leaving the 'shelterless' in more distress. Arresting and imprisonment of opposition members for economic malfeasance while condoning the same among ruling party members made the regime unpopular even in its strong hold. The mentality that the NPP is an ethnic based party with limited national appeal was liberalized by the Kufuor regime, evidence by the concentration of economic activities in the Akan regions where the party enjoys significant support, the appointment to state offices and allocation and distribution of resources. While the nation had domestic difficulties, the president was constantly hoping around the globe. This gave the impression of a leader who does not trust in his own solutions. The large size of the government (about 72 ministers and deputies, special assistants and other functionaries) exacted a huge tribute on the state coffers. These failings among others made the first NPP administration unpopular, and accordingly, in the ensuing elections of 2008, the party paid dearly for disrespecting the will of the people.

5.6.3 Entrepreneurship development under the NDC 2 (2009-2016)

The two regimes pursued programmes similar to those of the previous Kufuor regime. Their business promotion programmes, however, were organized within their national project of providing assistance to the small and medium scale enterprises. In view of this, a number of ministries such as Finance, Local Government, Agriculture, Industries, Trade and Regional Integration were very active in their Programmes (Aryeetey, 2013).

Among the organizations that were involved in their Programmes mention can also be made of Empretec, foreign investors, and The Private Enterprises and Export Development Fund. The informal business owners that benefitted from the two administrations included crop farmers, exporters, manufacturers, livestock farmers, those in the construction industry, transport, hotels and tourism and the food industry, among others. The period from 1993 till 2017 can therefore be described as one of a common agenda for promoting the small scale private business sector of Ghana.

In addition, there was a regional dimension to their business promotion strategies. Among the major changes introduced by the NDC 2 regime was the attention that was paid to the promotion of businesses in the Northern and Upper regions in the areas of maize, shea butter nuts, cotton cultivation, livestock production and tourism. The fishing and tourism businesses in the Central Region also received a major boost.

In 2013, a local content law with the purpose of promoting entrepreneurship in the gas and oil sector, 'An Enterprise Development Centre (EDC) was established to enhance the capacity of indigenous Ghanaian firms and promote their participation in the oil and gas industry' (Austin

Dziwornu Ablo, 2013). The EDC's role was to facilitate interaction between local entrepreneurs, officials of state institutions and foreign oil companies. However, Ablo, 2013 revealed that only a few well-established medium to large scale Ghanaian enterprises are able to take advantage of the opportunities provided by the EDC project to expand their operations. The majority of relatively new and small businesses are still unable to gain entry.

5.6.4 Entrepreneurship development under the NPP 2 (since 2017)

The one key feature of this regime concerns the fresh page it has introduced in the business promotion initiatives through the establishment of a new Ministry of Business Development. It might be surmised that having evaluated the trends and impacts of the business promotion strategies of the previous administrations, this regime thought it appropriate when it came into power, to consolidate the gains made by the previous governments by integrating the various units, organizations and other stakeholders under one umbrella. Under the previous regimes, the business promotion initiatives took place under some particular overarching context such as Structural Adjustment Programme or The Poverty Reduction Programme. Under such conditions or circumstances, the business promotion programmes could only function as parts of bigger wholes. The programmes were submerged under some overarching structures. The current phase in the evolution of the business promotion programmes marks a paradigm shift in the conceptualization of the initiatives. The establishment of the Ministry of Business Development has helped to create what could be described as an integrated institution-based approach in the management of the business promotion processes.

The one advantage of this approach lies in the fact that it has the political power under one Ministry to draw up national entrepreneurship promotion policies and plans for the country. In addition, it can draw lessons from the successes and failures of the previous regimes and build on the successes. A review of the publications of this new ministry indicates that the integration theme underpins the philosophy behind its establishment (www.mofep.gov.gh). The publications make it clear that the goal of the Ministry is "to create a sustainable and most business-friendly entrepreneurial, innovative and business enabling environment that fosters private sector-led investments for job creation and livelihoods".

The core functions of the Ministry are:

- To promote the development of an entrepreneurial culture in Ghana.
- To facilitate the improvement in the ease of doing business in Ghana.
- To promote the development of small businesses for job creation.
- To increase the entrepreneurial capacity of the youth.
- To nurture and promote the growth of medium to large size indigenous Ghanaian business giants.
- To enhance the image of Ghana as the most business-friendly country in Africa.

The above core functions help to illustrate the extent to which this ministry has endeavored to integrate the various challenges of the previous initiatives into its vision, mission and objectives. The achievements of the ministry have been analyzed in the 2019 Annual Report in these terms:

27. The National Entrepreneurship and Innovation Plan (NEIP). Under this business support programme, one thousand three hundred and fifty (1350) successful entrepreneurs who presented innovative and bankable business plans were selected for financial support in

2018. Zonal offices have been created to facilitate public accessibility to its services. The ministry trained 7000 entrepreneurs in 2018 and funded 1350 of them.

- Regional incubation hubs. In 2018, the Ministry partnered with private sector incubation hubs to provide training and business advisory services to small businesses in the country.
- Presidential Pitch. This is an initiative which targets the youth. It seeks to provide financial support and business management training programmes to young entrepreneurs between the ages of 15 to 35 years. It also helps in developing business plans for the youth aspiring to go into business.
- The School/Student Entrepreneurship Initiative. The Ministry of Business Development in co-operation with the Ghana Education Service has launched this programme to inculcate the entrepreneurial mind-set and encourage students to develop interest of becoming business owners after school. Some of the areas where initial attention is focused include agro-processing, ICT, sports, tourism and recreation, sanitation, waste management and green businesses, real estate and construction, manufacturing, fashion and media, marketing and communication.
- The Women Entrepreneurship Development. This initiative aims at promoting the economic empowerment of women.
- The Green Business Management scheme. This programme has been set up to help promote the idea of business social responsibility by encouraging businesses to protect the natural environmental systems whilst working for profit. It also has a programme of building green houses in the country. Under this scheme, 500 domes will be built in all the regions across the country by 2022. Vegetable production is central in its programmes. The project is linked to the NPP "Planting for Food and Jobs" programme.

28. Collaboration with foreign partners. The British Council, USAID, Danish Embassy are among the organizations. The World Business Angels Investment is an international organization that seeks to ease access to finance for businesses from start-ups to scale-ups with the ultimate goal of generating jobs and social justice. It is an important partner in the NEIP programme.

- The National Business Dialogue is a platform for start-ups and small businesses to meet the well-established private businesses to discuss problems confronting start-ups.

29. Decentralized development. 16 regions established in the country; One District, One factory for jobs and wealth creation. Based on the idea that the country has skipped the industrialization phase and moved prematurely to the services sector. There are 216 districts in the country.
30. The ministry has created the largest online market platform for start-ups and small businesses in Ghana. It allows businesses in Ghana to trade among themselves.

To summarize, it will be important to turn some attention to the nature of the ideas which have motivated the programmes of the regimes. Table 5.18 provides the information.

Table 5.18: Philosophies of post-1993 political regimes on entrepreneurship

NPP	NDC
1. Poverty reduction - informed (2000-2008)	3. SAP-informed (1993-1999)
2. Institution-informed: A national Ministry of Business Development (since 2017)	4. Small business development - informed (2009-2016)

The above table provides a summary of the ways the regimes have approached the business promotion programmes. A key feature concerns the different motivations or goals that have underpinned their business promotion strategies. This indicates that the regimes have been making important philosophical choices. Such choices have provided the enabling and constraining conditions for their operations. One issue that stands out, however, is the fact that philosophical choices have now reached a conjuncture where an institutional-informed theme now manifests itself under the Ministry of Business Development. It is now the policies and plans of this institution/government department which inform the way the Ghanaian business promotion agenda is being run.

A still more authentic picture of the business promotion programmes of the NPP and NDC governments could be captured by an examination of comparative policy programmes. This type of information assists in providing useful summaries for making meaningful comparisons between the five regimes covering the period 1993- 2020 (refer, Table 5.19).

Table 5.19: Some key features of Ghana's post-1993 business promotion programmes

Regime	Business promotion programmes
1993-2000	Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) The National Economic Recovery Programme (ERP) Ghana Appropriate Technology Industrial Service (GRATIS) The Financial Sector Adjustment Programme (FINSAP) The Programme of Action to Mitigate the Social Costs of Adjustment (PAMSCAD) The Fund for Small and Medium Enterprises Development (FUSMED)
2001-2008	The Poverty Reduction Strategy Entrepreneurship Development Programme by Ghana National Board for Small Scale Industries The Export Development and Investment Fund (EDIF)
2009-2016	********Decentralized business development programmes ********Rural and agro-based business development
2017-date	The National Entrepreneurship and Innovation Plan (NEIP)

The Regional Incubation Hubs Initiative
Presidential Pitch Initiative
The School/Student Entrepreneurship Initiative
The Women Entrepreneurship Development
The Green Business Management Scheme
The National Business Dialogue Platform
Decentralisation Development under One District One Factory (1D 1F) Scheme

Notwithstanding the value that has been added by the above discussions, the study objectives gave space for the Ghanaian public to express their concerns, problems and aspirations on the businesses. This is in line with the critical realist project. The approach has a critique and transformative component. This entails disclosing the problems which have and continue to create obstacles in the sustained development of the businesses under study. Such a task is associated with phase 2E of Bhaskar's dialectical critical realist theory (Bhaskar, 2003: 242-243). Such information can be of tremendous value to the officials of the Ministry of Business Development to plan the way forward.

The sections which follow illustrate how the researcher applied the MELD model of Bhaskar (2008) as the framework for identifying and dealing with the problems concerned. In addition, reference is made to the Grounded Theory Method to illustrate how the lists of problems from the 220 respondents were analyzed to group them into 16 clusters.

5.7 Application of the Grounded Theory method in the business promotion programmes

5.7.1 Introduction

The discussions here emanated from the accounts of the 220 research participants. The emphasis in this section of the chapter is about the problems and challenges which they think face the business promotion initiatives of the political regimes. Such a nation-wide comprehensive

evaluative research project based on the opinions of the public is currently not available in the country.

The problems are discussed from the concerns, experiences and aspirations expressed by the respondents on the various business promotion programmes. The answers here were obtained from open-ended questions. The respondents therefore had far more opportunities to express themselves than they did under the Likert scale-based statements. Emerging from their answers were important problem areas that they turned the researcher's attention to. Their frustrations with the workings of the Ghana business sector were central in their answers. It is in this sense that critical theory comes into the limelight. Walzer (2002) and Comstock (2001), among others, have devoted much attention to the role of critique in social transformation processes. They demonstrate how the critiques of stakeholders can assist researchers to focus their attention of matters of concern to people.

5.7.2 Critical theory

This refers to the exercise of negative judgement about the problems of society (Bhaskar, 2008: 243). The reasons why this section of the study emphasizes the failures, contradictions and flaws in the performance evaluation process lies in the lessons that Ghanaians stand to learn from any such mistakes. In keeping with a major concern of the critical realist research agenda, it is argued here that such lessons can provide opportunities for innovations, rationale and the motivation for achieving better results. They also enable the stakeholders to look out for comparisons with other countries and therefore for acquiring the means and justification for embracing lessons in Best Practice. Identifying the problems can enable Ghanaians to acquire the desire to find ways of

educating the public to drop certain habits, stereotypes and those routines that work against the steady development of the business sector and therefore to take on new strategies for the long term sustainable development of the entrepreneurial spirit in the country. For example, identifying the problems can enable Ghanaians to acknowledge the harm being created by the galamsey operators in the economy whilst also appreciating the positive contributions which they could play through a change in their mind sets. In the same way, putting the emphasis on the problem areas has the potential to disclose where the political regimes themselves lack the information, knowledge and other critical resources needed for the effective transformation of the business sector.

The problems listed below, as seen in the eyes of the research participants of this study, therefore need to be acknowledged as critical material that the political regimes could use as resources for formulating practical policies and development plans for the long term development of Ghanaian businesses. The problems represent the key challenges faced in the implementation of the business promotion programmes of the political regimes. From another angle, they represent information that is not currently available to the public. Above all, they constitute material which the officials of the Ministry of Business Development can integrate into their development policies and plans.

5.7.3 A summary of their views on the political regime business promotion problems

The discussions below provide an account of an important aspect of the study findings, that is, the problems facing the business sector of Ghana from the perspective of the respondents in the study. The researcher began the process by taking account of the minute details offered by the respondents. The details were then grouped into themes via the grounded theory method.

The Grounded Theory method essentially begins with the detailed outline of the issues concerned, followed by the clustering of the information obtained for purposes of obtaining categories or themes from which important decisions could be taken. The categorization of Strauss and Corbin (2012) are adopted in this clustering process. They term their 3 phases as the Open, Axial and Selective codes.

The first phase is popularly designated as the Open Coding phase where the task comprises of the *fragmentation* of the raw data into its complex structure. The second phase (Axial Coding) involves the clustering of the groups obtained at the Open Coding phase into fewer clusters. The relations between the axial codes then produce the Selective code. The rationale is that, as is the case with Factor Analysis, it is easier to operate with structures or integrated systems instead of the individual items that respondents initially make available to the researchers.

The Strauss-Corbin procedure was applied in the grouping of the problems associated with the business promotion project under study. The initial information consisted of numerous accounts. The information presented in Table 5.20 represents the initial results from the analysis of the concerns, criticisms and frustrations that were expressed by the respondents. These initial results appear in Table 5.20.

Table 5.20: Open Coding factors on the problems facing the business promotion programmes

Research participants	**Their critiques, frustrations, concerns.**
Ruling government officials (largely from the Ministry of Business Development)	The Ministry of Business Development is doing its best to promote the business sector of the country. The lack of progress in the initiatives of this ministry arises from the lack of co-ordination, agreement and a national protocol between the Ghanaian political parties on the long term business development policies and plans of the country. The opposition parties do not demonstrate any sign of supporting the current initiatives of the Ministry of Business Development. The business owners are obsessed with profit maximization. In the process, they tend to create many environmental, political and social problems. There are also cultural problems associated with the business development process. This usually takes the form of the excessive demands from the extended family systems on business owners.
Owners of failed businesses	The government programmes have little support for the owners of the failed businesses in the country. Negative public attitudes towards small businesses. The informal and small businesses in particular continue to be marginalised ●Limited business managerial skills and training for the business owners. We lacked company vehicles for marketing our products.
Retail shop owners	Most businesses have been closing down over the past decade because of lack of sales. The informal sector retail shops (the roadside vendors) continue to be marginalised and illegalized. Lack of company vehicles for marketing the products. The large volumes of imports of consumer into the country are a major problem.

Media houses	The current administration is making positive impacts on the businesses of Ghana through the establishment of the Ministry of Business Development. The two leading political regimes have not however, been co-ordinating their policies and plans. Little support to the informal business sector. Degradation of the nation's forest. Over reliance on major species like mahogany, odum, sapele, etc. ● Fast depletion of the nation's biomass without replacement. ● Inefficient use and management of the natural resources; ● Advancing/creeping desertification through bush fires, poor farming practices, energy use. Lack of awareness on climate change and its impact ● Destruction of the environment; environmental pollution by illegal miners. Exploitation of Ghanaian consumers due to the position of some businesses● Foiling in the licensing and registration of start-up businesses ● Slow pace of integration among the states in the ECOWAS sub-region. ● Low awareness on business intellectual property rights. ● Ineffective regulations and laws to protect business intellectual property rights ● Out-dated mining laws and regulations which do not resonate and attract the investor community ●The problem of large volumes of imported goods ● Bureucracy in business registration ● Lack of official government research centre on the Ghanaian business sector
Livestock farmers	The country continues to rely on imported meat products. Lack of livestock training programmes for the livestock farmers from the research institutes. Low-level of productivity and less resistance livestock breeds ●Low dairy production ●Lack of standard and unfitting husbandry practices ● High incidental cases of animal and zoonotic diseases● Cattle rustling ● Poor system of cattle

	identification ● Poor disease surveillance and disease surveillance system ●High cases of tsetse disease ●Lack of storage facilities and vehicles for marketing the products. Climate change problems and the impacts on the livestock industry.
Medical professionals	The high incidence of hypertension and other emotional diseases spring from the economic problems facing many families in the country. A rejuvenated business sector can help reverse this trend.
Crop farmers	Little attention paid to the problems such as lack of roads, storage facilities, and financial support. Lack of training programmes for the crop farmers from the research institutes ● Limited access to farming or agricultural land ● Low-level agricultural productivity and outputs resulting from over-reliance on rainfall ● Re-zoning of lands reserved for agricultural for residential purposes ● Extremely low access of women to farm lands (especially irrigated land) ● High incidental cases of pests and diseases ●Highly low levels of agricultural productivity ● Less rich in soil fertility ● Over-reliance on conventional agricultural commodities ● High incidental rate of drudgery in farming practices or activities ● Untenable agriculture management practices ● Inadequate exploration of ground water for irrigation farming ● Restricted access to tractor and other relevant farm machinery (or equipment) and technology services, particularly in situations involving women. ● Lack of quality practices and standards ● Inadequate value addition and extremely high post-harvest losses ● Less attractive packaging of agricultural produce and/or products ● Gender-based problems ● Limited access to credit, particularly for small-scale women farmers ● Lack of storage facilities and vehicles for

	marketing the products ● Inaccessibility of cocoa farmers to gain premium prices as a result of weak and less effective farmer-based organisations ● The large volume of imported food is a major problem ● Output fluctuations due to uncertainty in price levels.
Restaurant, hotel owners, tourism	The sector is being overwhelmed by monopoly establishments which are driving off the small scale businesses. The informal businesses continue to be marginalised in the tourism industry of the country, eg little support to the traditional handicrafts, local tourist, historical and cultural sites in the country. Lack of company vehicles for marketing the products.
Opinion leaders	The current administration has introduced major positive changes for the long term sustained development of the businesses in the country. The sector however has failed to address the problems of inequalities, dependency, and poverty in the country. The informal sector continues to be marginalised. ● Unpredictability and heighten uncertainty of policies and laws, and their application to businesses. ● Slow and highly costly business registration and endorsements ● Unfriendly labour laws ● High and unrealistic interest rates ● Restricted usage of modern scientific technology to the state's natural resources ● Crime and security problems faced by the business community ● Poor electricity supply/utility connections and services ● Insufficient export promotion services ● Unreasonable delays and inefficient customs services, mainly issues of clearance ● Lack of approved environmental standards and good health on the products of the businesses● Ineffective incentive systems for the businesses ● Less effective commercial dispute resolution system ● The challenges of acquiring land for business ● Dislocation towards gender consideration in issues of land administration projects ● Out-dated mining lwas and regulations which less attract investors ● Disparity in sharing of benefits accrued from natural resources with local communities ● Duplication of functional roles within the land

	sector agencies ● Inadequate participation of communities, mostly women in natural resource management ● Lack/inadequate of compensation to landowners ● Lack of worthwhile and efficient industries which utilize raw or primary products ● Inadequate exploration of mineral and other natural resources within the country. Lack of official government research centre on the Ghanaian business sector
Factory owners	Major problems exist for those factories that rely exclusively on local raw materials. The agro-processing plants for example, lack support from the agricultural sector which rather prefers to sell its products to their preferred customers. The handicrafts face stiff competition from imports. The informal sector therefore continues to be marginalised. The textile industry is on the verge of collapse because of imports. Lack of company vehicles for advertising and marketing their products.
Research institutes and academics	The lack of an integrated national business development policy is one major challenge. The business promotion programmes of the political regimes do not cohere. Lack of research funds for generating comprehensive district level data base of businesses in the country ● High and less reasonable levies, taxes, and fees which are not well-administered ● Bureaucratic challenges which comes a high cost ● Fragile exchange rates ● Difficulty and non-transparency of regulations degradation of the country's forests ● Over reliance on major timber species like mahogany, odum sapale, etc for the furniture businesses ● Fast depletion of the nation's biomass without replacement ● Inefficient use and management of the natural resources ● Advancing/creeping desertification through bush fires, poor farming practices, energy use, etc. ● Lack of awareness on climate change and its impact ● Destruction of the natural environmental systems, pollution by illegal miners ● Depletion of several endangered species ● Adverse impact of some

	adopted mining technologies and farm practices ● Barely nonexistence of efficient ecosystem management ● Unsatisfactory monitoring, evaluation, and control mechanism to ensure high level compliance with regulations and laws on fisheries ● Inadequate scientific information or organised data for fisheries management (marine and inland) ● Excessive exploitation of fisheries resources ● Weak or lack of collaboration with locals towards the management and protection of fishery's resources ● Over-reliance on the fishery sector as means of livelihood, resulting from to less or no alternative employment for locals in the communities ● Hazardous and unsanitary working conditions at landing beaches
Poultry farmers	The country continues to rely on imported poultry products. Lack of poultry training programmes from the research institutes. Lack of company vehicles for marketing the products.
Bank officials	The country is heavily reliant on imported goods and services. Ghanaian businesses are not exporting enough to strengthen the value of the cedi. Lack of financial support to the businesses. High failure rates in repaying business loans. • Lack of official government research centre on the Ghanaian business sector
Fishing community	Little support has been received from the two administrations. ● Poor or inadequate aquaculture infrastructure ● Increasingly low production level of fisheries from fresh water bodies ● Inadequate private sector investment in aquaculture ● Less or weak collaborative effort with communities or locals towards the management and protection of fishery resources ● Excessive exploitation of well-known fishery species ● Progressively low productivity levels of fish farms ● Lack of proper monitoring, evaluation, and control mechanism to ensure high level of compliance with regulations and

	laws on fisheries ●Inadequate scientific information or well-organised data for fisheries management (marine and inland) ● Increasing exploitation of fishery-based resources ● Hazardous and unsanitary working environment at most landing beaches ● Over-reliance on fisheries as major means of livelihood, resulting from less or no alternative employment locals in the communities ●Inadequate storage facilities and well-equipped company vehicles for transporting and marketing the products.
Importers and exporters	The country continues to rely on imported products. The export potentials are minimal Government needs an international protocol on kente cloth imports and exports. The ECOWAS treaty on regional trade is not impacting on the activities of Ghanaian exporters. ● Limited identification of key markets, ● Lack of Information on export potentials ● Limited, inefficient, less effective trade support services refuting exporters readily access and opportunity to the open European Union and the American markets ● Poor terms of trade ● Incapability to derive the potential maximum benefit to be gained from multilateral trading or business negotiations ● Holdups in moving goods and services through the country's borders ● Lack of export promotion support ● Lack of transparency and impartiality in the country's import-export regimes.
Ghana Standards Board officials	Ghanaian businesses cannot compete globally. The quality of Made-in- Ghana goods needs to be taken up as a matter of necessity. Ghana's challenge of becoming a leading exporter of some specialised products in Africa and globally. Limited use/ preference/ promotion of Ghanaian products and services in government projects.
Members of the opposition political parties	Private businesses can create major problems in the development process. It is the responsibility and mandate of government to see to the elimination of such problems. It is also the responsibility of government to help promote the positive impacts of businesses.

	There is a lack of co-ordination, agreement and a national protocol between the Ghanaian political parties on the business development policies and plans of the country.
Public servants	There is little government support for the youth to go into business in the country. ● Unsatisfactory awareness of the Ghanaian populace on the critical functional role of the business sector in the developmental agenda of the country ● Inadequate capacity and abysmal failure of the state to design, execute, monitor, and devised an evaluation mechanism for private business sector policies ● Frail dialogue platform or channel between government, business sector, and civil society organizations on the development of the private businesses of the country.
Motor mechanics	There is little government support for the youth to go into business in the country. The mechanics are closing down their workshops because of lack of sales. The absence of government-accredited motor mechanics training centres and adequate spare parts in all the provinces/regions of Ghana is a major obstacle in the development of the motor mechanics/repair industry in the country. Lack of company vehicles for advertising our company is a major obstacle.
The unemployed	There is little government support for the unemployed to go into business in the country. The informal sector is yet to be formalized. The education system does not motivate the youth to develop their future careers around business. The psychology of becoming an employee rather than employer continues to dominate the mind-set of the youth.
Students and the youth	There is little government support for the youth to go into business in the country. Lack of opportunities for the Ghanaian youth to acquire and retain high-level skills through well-crafted innovative means such as apprenticeships.

	Inadequate of targeting by the government institutions for skills training and other supports for the 15-24 age group The psychology of becoming an employee rather than employer continues to dominate the mind-set of the youth.
Owners of hair and beauty salons	Most salon and beauty businesses have been closing down over the past decade due to lack of sales. Lack of company vehicles for marketing our products is one major handicap.

It needs to be mentioned that the findings in the above table constitute one major value which the study adds to the existing publications on the government business promotion initiatives in Ghana. The above information indicates that the emphasis given to the problems by the respondents differs considerably reflecting the meanings which they attach to them. The data indicate that the respondents were unique in the ways in which they perceived their business environment, an expression of their profound insights into certain critical aspects of their activities. From the qualitative research perspective, the above information illustrates that understanding the problems required much effort on the part of the researcher. To have access to the myriad of the problems in the above table meant traveling into the minds of the respondents.

There is no doubt that the above accounts on the problematic areas in the business promotion activities provide rich information for decision making. There was however some amount of information overload in the responses. Data reduction was therefore required to disclose the latent structure inherent in the information. Through the grounded theory method of constant comparisons, the list of items was clustered into 16 themes (axial codes) to which attention is now turned.

5.7.4 The 16 axial codes

The information in Table 5.20 were clustered through the method of constant comparisons. Eisenhardt (1989), Finch (2002), Seibold (2002), Charmaz (2006), and Oliver (2012), among others, have discussed the advantages which flow from the Grounded Theory classification method. This lies largely in the assistance it gives researchers to identify the basic structures or relationships inherent in research data. Such structures can be interpreted by researchers to relate to their study objectives. In this study, the axial codes therefore represent the cluster of problems facing the implementation of the business promotion programmes of the NPP and NDC administrations. The nature of the 16 axial codes are indicated in Table 5.21.

Table 5.21: A classification of the problems emanating from the accounts of the respondents

1. Unethical business practices, e.g. galamsey activities, tax evasion, smuggling.
2. The dominance/prevalence of the profit maximization motive in the running of the businesses.
3. Uncooperative nature of some of the large corporations in the country.
4. The high volumes of imports into the country.
5. The pressure of the external family system on business owners.
6. Consumer preference for imported goods and services.
7. Uncompetitive nature of the products of Ghanaian businesses.
8. Underutilisation of the natural resources of the country in the running of the businesses; lack of research/innovations in identifying and utilizing local raw materials for producing new products.
9. Lack of support for the informal businesses.
10. Lack of comprehensive training programmes for Ghanaian business owners.

11. Lack of co-operation between the political regimes on the strategies for promoting the businesses.
12. Lack of support to businesses that have closed down, to the unemployed, the youth, and women.
13. Lack of support to the local handicrafts industry.
14. Ineffective ECOWAS and other regional protocols for increasing customer demand for the local businesses.
15. Lack of official government research centre on the Ghanaian business sector.
16. Business owners' lack of finance, transport facilities, storage facilities, and other resources.

Attention is now turned to a discussion of the impacts of the above 16 problems.

1. Unethical business practices, e.g. galamsey activities, tax evasion, smuggling. These are major problems which some of the respondents drew the attention of the researcher to. The business promotion initiatives of the political regimes are being undermined by such unethical practices by some of the Ghanaian businesses.
2. The dominance/prevalence of the profit maximization motive in the running of the businesses. This is a major issue which was also highlighted by the respondents. The majority of the business owners confessed that profit making for purposes of building their family fortunes and legacy were the key motivations for their going into business. Business owners obsessed with such convictions would not be impressed with any narratives on business social responsibility.
3. Uncooperative nature of some of the large corporations in areas of establishing relations with the informal sector businesses. This attitude of some of the big formal sector-based businesses expressed some unwillingness to work with the informal businesses in areas of

sharing technological and other business-related information. Such attitudes can only widen the technological and other forms of divide between the two sectors.

4. The high volumes of imports into the country. There are a number of reasons for the prevalence of this situation. This is an area deserving particular attention because it touches on political, psychological, technological, business management training and consumer preferences, among others.
5. The pressure of the external family system on business owners. The respondents also disclosed that the demands of the external family systems continue to pose major problems for the business owners who are often obliged to divert much of their attention and financial resources to family matters. Some businesses were found to have collapsed because of such external pressures.
6. Consumer preference for imported goods and services. The study also found out that most consumers have the habit of buying products with foreign brands rather than promoting made-in Ghana goods.
7. Uncompetitive nature of the products of Ghanaian businesses. Some of the respondents made particular reference to the low quality of the products of Ghanaian business owners. Their concern was about the lack of attention paid by the business owners to the durability, taste and appearance of their products.
8. Underutilization of the natural resources of the country in the running of the businesses; lack of research/innovations in identifying and utilizing local raw materials for producing new products. This problem was of particular concern to the agro-processing and forestry-based businesses whose owners complained of periodic shortages of raw materials in their operations. Their concerns were about the initiatives that government could take to increase

and also supply certain raw materials to particular companies in the country. They were of the opinion that only government interventions could address this problem.

9. Lack of support for the informal businesses. This is a problem which was of concern to the respondents in the study. They were in general agreement that most businesses begin as small scale informal operations. The owners of the informal businesses expressed the need for government-sponsored training programmes to enable them to enter the formal sector.
10. Lack of comprehensive training programmes for Ghanaian business owners. The owners of the formal businesses also expressed the need for government-sponsored business management training programmes for business owners in the country. The training programmes need to include basic courses in business management is recommended that they be organized at the district level to enable local businesses to benefit from the programmes.
11. Lack of co-operation between the political regimes on the strategies for promoting businesses in the country. This was a problem which was acknowledged by most of the respondents. The manifestos and policies of the political parties hardly talk of the need for co-ordination in the strategies for developing the businesses in Ghana. Instead, they rather seek to advertise the merits in their individual strategies whilst also downplaying the relevance of those of the other political parties. Under such circumstances, one cannot be sure of any long term sustained and steady development of all the businesses in the country. One can only witness cycles in the policies and plans as the regimes drop the strategies of their political opponents once in power. The speech of the NDC shadow Minister of Finance in response to the 2019 NPP budget statement as well as the manifestos of the NPP

and NDC governments on their business promotion strategies highlight how the two cannot find a common ground in the area of development strategies (Daily Mail of Ghana, 2019).

12. Lack of support to businesses that have closed down, to the unemployed, the youth and women. The respondents did make mention of this as a major problem in the development of Ghanaian businesses.
13. Lack of support to the local handicrafts industry. Before the era of colonial rule, the historical records indicate that the local handicrafts played crucial roles in the economy of Ghana. Today, the handicrafts only get attention in debates and discussions on cultural matters. The respondents drew attention to the need for government support for the local handicraft industries.
14. Ineffective ECOWAS and other regional protocols for increasing customer demand for the local businesses. The respondents traced the lack of external markets as one limitation on the growth of Ghanaian businesses. The ECOWAS region is a potential market for Ghanaian businesses, but this potential is yet to be exploited.
15. Lack of official government research centre with specific responsibility of conducting research on the entrepreneurship sector of Ghana. The new Ministry of Business Development needs to take up this responsibility and also serve in advisory capacity for young entrepreneurs.
16. Business owners' lack of finance, transport facilities, storage facilities, and other resources. In addition, to the above, the majority of the respondents drew attention to the lack of finance, transport and storage facilities, especially, those businesses dealing in perishable products.

The above problematic areas emerged from the interactions with the 220 respondents. Although some of the problems might not appear in the list, the above 16 areas, all the same, constitute key variables whose importance cannot be under-estimated. As mentioned earlier, from the MELD perspective, these problems represent Phase 2E of the model (Bhaskar, 2008: 226-227). This phase is concerned with the search for the factors underpinning the gaps observed in social structures. Finding out such causal processes then requires that the necessary actions (phases 3L and 4D) of the MELD model need to follow. The section below (5.8) on the 10 propositions of the study indicates that the officials on the Ministry of Business Development need to take account of the points raised from numbers *f* to *j* in order to usher in phases 3L and 4D.

5.8 Validating the study findings in the context of the 10 propositions of the study

- (a) Understanding the nature of the development plans of the Ghanaian political regimes on the business development process of the country since 1993 serves as a benchmark for comparative studies.

31. (b) The differences observed in the structure of the development plans would be an indication of the differences in meanings accorded the business sector by the political regimes. Such structures give indications of the context in which the performance of political regimes could be assessed.
32. (C) The differences in the influences of the crafted development policies on the business sector of the NPP and NDC regimes reflect the differences in their levels of implementation by the two political parties.
33. (d) There have been problems and contradictions associated with the business promotion programmes by virtue of the open environment in which the programme operates.

34. (e) The problems represent gaps between expectations and actual outcomes demanding government-sponsored intervention programmes for progress to be made.
35. (f) Public education programmes will be central in mobilizing the relevant stakeholders for addressing the problems concerned.
36. (g) Addressing the problems would require a structured strategy to guide the transformation process.
37. (h) Stakeholder co-operation will be central in the implementation of any new strategies for getting rid of the existing problems hampering progress in the business sector of Ghana.
38. (i) Monitoring of progress in the implementation of the business development plans will be central in the many programmes.
39. (j) The political parties do not co-operate in the project on enterprise development of Ghana. The United Nations Economic and Social Council (Ecosoc) and The Economic Community of Africa (ECA), 2011 for example, have stated that, "The state must have the legitimacy required to mobilize all stakeholders around a nationally –owned development framework, goals and targets and the necessary capacity to monitor and evaluate the effectiveness of its plans in order to bring about the necessary structural transformation. The empirical evidence in Ghana however, points to an absence of co-operation between the political regimes to forge a national integrated strategy for business development which they can jointly help to implement. Instead, their policies, manifestos and development plans keep talking about the need to scrap each other's programmes.

5.9 Conclusion

This chapter has presented the findings of the study in the context of the study objectives. In so doing, the theories that informed it, as well as the critical realist methodology, have been drawn upon to illustrate how they helped to highlight the problems affecting the development of the Ghanaian business sector.

Central in the discussions has been the finding that the impacts of the activities of the Ministry of Business Development are apparently, not being experienced that much in the country. The beneficiaries of the programmes seem to be living their lives without being recognized by the general public. Officials of the Ministry of Business Development present a picture of tremendous success in their achievements whilst other members of the Ghanaian public might not see eye to eye with their pronouncements.

As has been elaborated in the theoretical discussions, effective communication is very critical in linking the concerns of the public to the activities of the ruling governments. The benefits of the business promotion programmes of the future regimes would have to be communicated regularly by whichever government happens to be in power. The successes and challenges on the business promotion programmes will have to be communicated constantly to the various Ghanaian communities to promote mutual understanding. Engaging in such forms of public interactions and education programmes will influence the extent to which the public will lend their support to the various future business promotion initiatives of the regimes.

The next chapter turns attention to the measures that could be taken to address the above business promotion problems. The MELD model, with its concerns about using effective communication to get rid of organizational and other forms of problems, will feature in the discussions.

CHAPTER 6

Recommendations and conclusions

6.1 Introduction

The discussions in the third chapter of this study helped to turn particular attention to the challenge of attending to organizational problems before they get out of hand. Fig 3.2 in particular, drew attention to the key factors or strategies needed for getting rid of the gaps, problems or challenges faced in the implementation of organizational policies and plans. The discussions in Chapter 5 showed how the researcher applied phase 2E of the MELD model to identify problems for the attention of the staff at The Ministry of Business Development.

This chapter then demonstrates how phases 3L and 4D of the MELD model could be applied to address the problems that were discussed in Chapter 5.

6.2 From problem identification to action

The discussions on Fig 3.2 requires that discovery of the problems in organizational analysis needs to be followed by practical initiatives for addressing them. Fig 6.1 presents a graphical application of a MELD-based picture of this situation. The model indicates that in keeping with the theoretical discussions in the propositions of this study, one somehow always expects business owners to either create some societal problems as they pursue their egoistic profit motives (Bhaskar, 2008: 271) or face some forms of problems in their efforts to develop their businesses. It is from such a perspective that one also equally expects the government to come on board to help address such problems. The 16 problems that were discussed in the previous chapter may exist as some distant objects outside the consciousness of the staff of the Ministry of Business Development. Indeed, it

is possible most Ghanaians might not imagine that such an integrated set of problems do exist and in fact, constitute such a constraint in the development of Ghanaian businesses.

The disclosure of the 16 problems to the staff of The Ministry of Business Development and other relevant bodies can however help to bring into the limelight tasks that need to be performed in order for much progress to occur in the activities of the businesses of the country. Action research from the critical realist perspective, demands that policy makers and administrators on the field open up and help put the useful ideas of the academic community into practice. As argued by Reason and Bradbury (2008) and Somekh (2006), the outcomes of action research are both practical and theoretical in the sense that the research information it generates need to positively impact on the activities of policy makers. Their position is that action research requires that stakeholders consult and work in the spirit of joint ownership of development programmes and projects.

Phase 4 in Fig 6.1 indicates where the government officials need to respond to the problems discussed above through their development policies and plans. Phase 5 indicates that once the relevant information is communicated to the relevant government officials, action needs to follow. Thus, it is the expectation that once the findings of this study are communicated to the relevant staff of the Ministry of Business Development, there will be a follow-up to find practical solutions to the 16 problems. This section of the chapter argues that the 16 problematic areas could be used as material to be included in the development plans of the Ministry. Their attention would therefore have to be related to phases 3L and 4D of the MELD model.

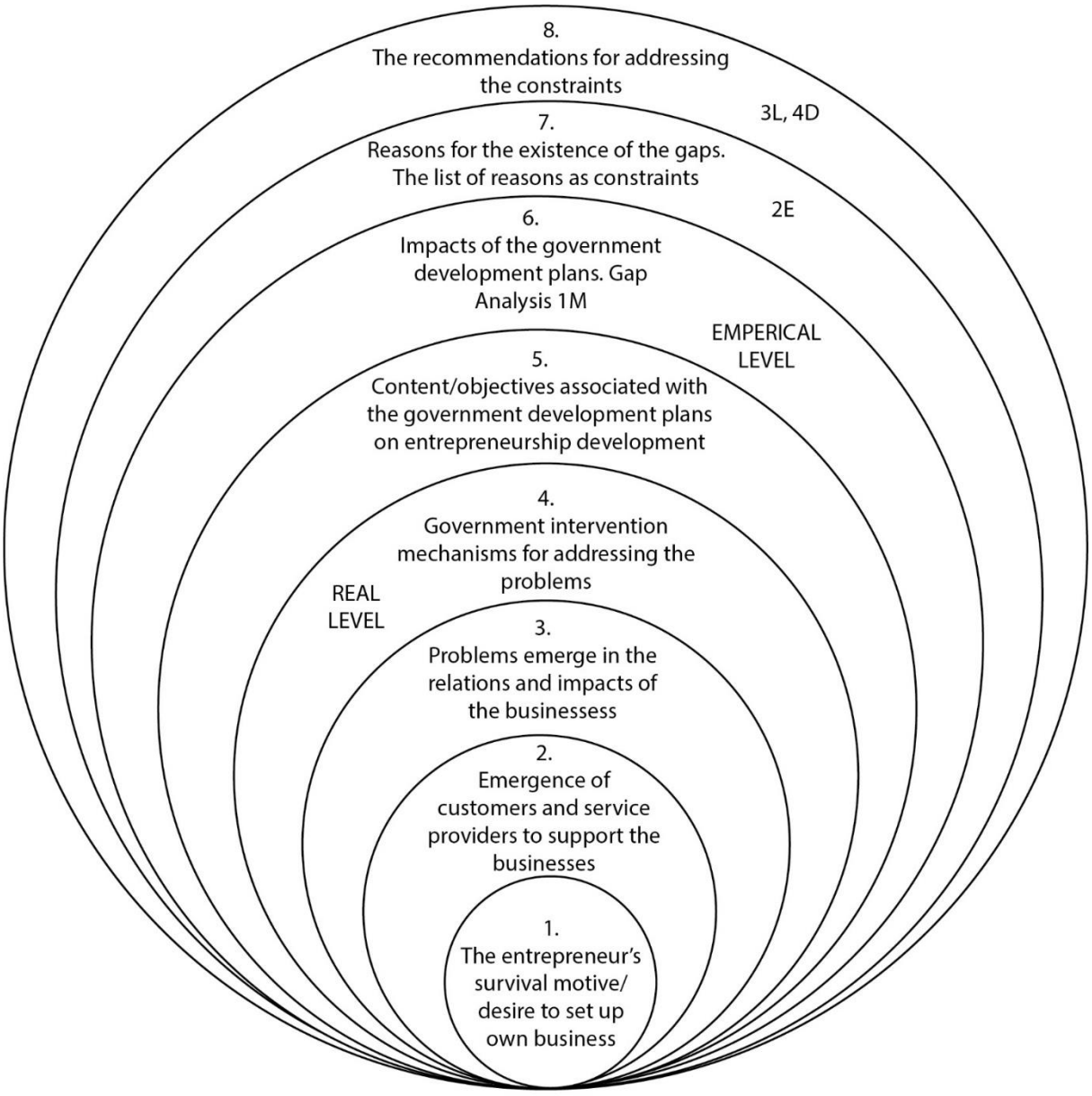


Figure 6.1: The MELD model applied in the analysis of the Ghanaian businesses

(**Source:** based on Bhaskar, 2008: 242)

6.3 Applying the 3L and 4D steps

The Ministry of Business Development will be instrumental in the recommendations proposed in this chapter. This ministry will be expected to provide leadership in addressing the 16 problems. The leadership steps are broken up into 4 phases in Fig 6.2. This model indicates that leadership needs to be central in the process of handling the 16 problems. It is this context that the staff of the Ministry of Business Development is recommended for playing this important leadership role. Steps 3 and 4 in Fig 6.2 represent the two critical action-based MELD- based phases, which are phases 3L and 4D.

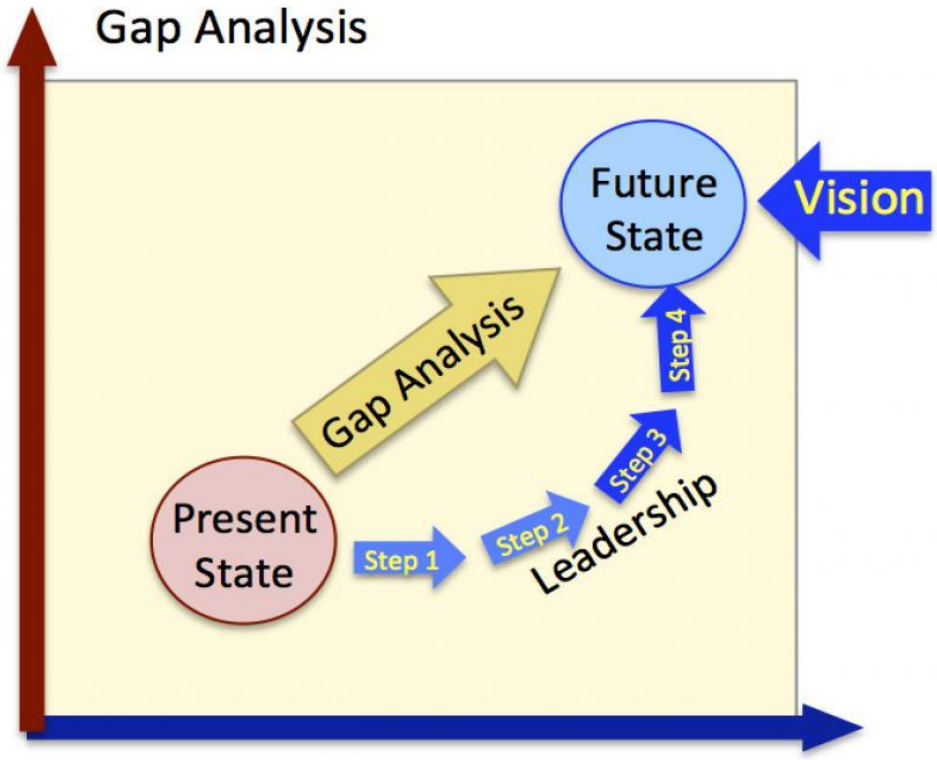


Figure 6.2: Transformation model for the Ghanaian business promotion process (3L and 4D) **(Source: Based on Bhaskar, 2008: 271)**

In the above model, Steps 1 and 2 indicate what is missing in the efforts at promoting the sustained development of the businesses of Ghana. These refer to the lack of awareness and knowledge on

the current state of affairs of the businesses, including the myriad of problems facing the sector. They also refer to the lack of effective institutional leadership in finding long term solutions to the problems. The MELD model of Bhaskar (2008: 226, 228, 278, and 283) requires that such absences relating to the present situation should provide the conditions for the desire for change. The changes recommended regarding phases 3L and 4D now follow.

6.4 Educating the public about the existence of the problems

The phase 3L part of the recommendations in this study needs to be about awareness creation programmes. Such programmes have important roles to play in social transformation processes. In this vein, reference could be made to the ideas of Giddens (1989: 24) who maintains that "the more people know about the conditions of their own action, the more they are likely to be able to influence the circumstances of their own lives". When Giddens speaks about the knowledgeability of actors, he is primarily referring to practical consciousness. This means that agents practically know a great deal about what they do, and the rules governing their activities and do reflect on their actions, but they are not and cannot be self-transparently aware of all that they do. This is because some forms of information may be beyond the reach or understanding of the agent. It is for this reason that new forms of knowledge are always necessary to assist the organizations and individuals in accessing all the key causal processes. Habermas (1987, 1989) describes the type of new education as "therapeutic knowledge". He talks about change through emancipatory knowledge. His model is retrospective since its aim is to initiate genuine self-reflection by which specific actors can become aware of and liberated from the historical compulsions of the past.

From this educative role of public education programmes, it is recommended that officials of the

Ministry of Business Development need to set up mechanisms for educating the general Ghanaian public and the business community in particular about the negative impacts of the 16 problems on the economy of the country. This will constitute an important component of the public awareness creation programmes.

The information in Table 6.1 provides a picture of the nature of the measures that could be taken by the ministry to educate the Ghanaian public and also for obtaining their support for addressing the problems.

Table 6.1: A summary of the public education strategies

An outline of the education strategies that could be applied
1. *Unethical business practices, e.g. galamsey activities, tax evasion, smuggling, illegal mining* Encouraging Ghanaian businesses to adopt ethical business practices need to involve the input of many organizations in the country. The government will have to rely on the support of the media houses to disseminate education programmes on the importance of ethical business practices on the economy of the country. In addition, organizations in civil society would be expected to assist. In recent years, operators in the galamsey operations have mobilized to criticize the government for putting them out of business. Their negative impacts on the ecosystems of the country are however scarcely mentioned in their protests. Intensive public education programmes need to be mounted to highlight the huge environmental damage being caused by the galansey operators. Business tax evaders are also equally impacting negatively on the economy of the country. Massive education programmes are needed to change this bad habit among Ghanaian business owners. Those involved in smuggling also need to be made to acknowledge the virtue in stopping smuggling activities.

Illegal mining is another major business criminal activity in the country. Of late, foreign companies have been identified with this activity. The law enforcement agencies need to assist in this area. There is the need for government-sponsored TV and radio progammes on ethical business practices

2. *The dominance/prevalence of the profit maximization motive in the running of the businesses.*

This is another area where government education programmes can help. The programmes need to emphasize the role of business profits in the growth of the firm. But, at the same time, Ghanaian entrepreneurs need to be educated about the negative impacts that obsession with profit maximization can have on both the image of the business and the environment in which it operates.

3. *Uncooperative and selfish nature of some of the large corporations in the country.*

The impression continues to be created that some companies are not interested in forging relationships with the small informal businesses and the poor local communities. Such companies only like to operate as parasites siphoning off the resources of local communities for the selfish interests. They in addition, do not like to engage in philanthropic activities. The Ministry of Business Development could come on board and run special education programmes targeting some particular companies in the country.

4. *The high volumes of imports into the country.*

Statistics from The Ministry of Trade continues to present annual trade figures which highlight the continued high volumes of imports of consumer goods into the country. This situation is a major obstacle in the development of the local businesses. In the early days of political independence there was a programme called Import Substitution Industrialization in which specific commodities were targeted as banned products. This was to encourage local companies to fill the vacuum. One does not hear of such programmes these days. It is recommended that the government shows the political will by educating the public about the need to ban at least as a matter of urgency, food imports into the country as a start. Other commodities can then follow in the future.

5. *The pressure of the external family system on business owners.*

Some of the respondents made reference to the problems that business owners tend to face from the excessive demands of the external family system of Ghana. Once successful, business owners often become the target from nephews, nieces and other family members for financial support. This is a situation which eats into the resources of businesses ending up in the collapse of those unable to manage the situation. Again, public education programmes can help here. The Ministry of Business Development need to provide leadership in this area.

6. *Consumer preference for imported goods and services.*

It is common knowledge that the average Ghanaian would prefer to consume imported commodities rather than the made--in-Ghana products. This is one reason why Ghanaian traders would like to travel to China and elsewhere to purchase goods for local customers. The influx of Chinese goods into the country is a recent phenomenon and the situation can be changed. Well-organized advertisements can help to turn the attention of Ghanaians to their own home-made goods. There are signs that at least in the fashion, tailoring and clothing sectors, Ghanaian consumers are showing preference to locally-made cloths and designs. This type of development can go a long way to build up the resources of the local textile industry.

7. *Uncompetitive nature of the products of Ghanaian businesses.*

One of the key concerns which emanated from the officials of The Ghana Standards Board was about the inferior quality of the products of local companies. Some have expressed the opinion that allowing imports into the country could be one way of enforcing competition in the local business community. This is an issue which needs thorough investigation. Thorough public education programmes can help to address this problem.

8. *Underutilisation of the natural resources of the country in the running of the businesses; lack of research/innovations in identifying and utilizing local raw materials for producing new products.*

The agro-based businesses in Ghana for example, have not been functioning at their maximum for a number of reasons. The respondents did make mention of the forestry, food canning (meat, fish, fruits, vegetables), and other raw material-based businesses. The problem exists largely because of the lack of well-established networks between the service providers, the raw material suppliers, and the companies involved in the final production

processes. Various government departments need to work to educate the public on this problem

9. *Lack of support for the informal businesses.*

Research projects on the informal sector of the country continue to show its potential for creating millions of small scale jobs and generating incomes in the economy. Massive resources will be needed to formalize several sectors of the informal economy. One advantage of this sector lies in its ability to locate at several strategic spots in cities, villages and farmsteads bringing economic activities to areas which would otherwise be avoided by the formal businesses. Informal activities are not expensive to establish. The various government department need to find common ground for supporting the informal businesses in the country. This is one form of information which the Ministry of Business Development needs to community to the financiers of business in the country.

10. *Lack of comprehensive training programmes for Ghanaian business owners.*

This is an issue which the Ministry of Business Development needs to take up seriously. Although its policy and plan documents do give impressions about the nature of initiatives in the pipeline, the financial and other resources for implementing the training programmes are currently woefully inadequate. The officials need to communicate with the private and public education institutions about this problem and demand that they make their recommendation on the long term solutions to this problem.

11. *Lack of co-operation between the political regimes on the strategies for promoting the businesses.*

This is one of the biggest challenges facing the business promotion programmes. A review of the party manifestos, policies and plans indicate that they all have the common objectives of developing the businesses in the country. The one major stumbling block however, relates to the continuity of the programmes and their objectives. In-coming regimes have the habit of scrapping the programmes of the previous political party. A long term solution needs to be found for this problem. Officials of the Ministry of Business Development need to obtain the opinions of the political parties on their recommendations for addressing this problem.

12. *Lack of support to businesses that have closed down, to the unemployed, the youth, women.*

Again, the documents of the Ministry of Business Development make clear the plans of the government to address these problematic areas in the business sector. Officials of the department need to obtain ideas from the public on the long term solution to this issue.

13. *Lack of support to the local handicrafts industry.*

Before colonial rule, the traditional handicraft industries constituted the backbone of the economies of numerous communities in the country. These industries served the agriculture, mining, construction, manufacturing and services sectors. Over the decades however, most of the industries have lapsed into obscurity. The Ministry of Business Development needs to co-ordinate public ideas for addressing this problem.

14. *Ineffective ECOWAS and other regional protocols for increasing customer demand for the local businesses.*

As part of its contribution to the African Union agenda of strengthening the activities of the regional blocks, efforts need to be made to find reliable markets for selective Ghanaian companies to export their products to the other ECOWAS countries. Such programmes could motivate the companies concerned to improve the quality of their products. Ghanaian business owners need to be educated on this problem with their recommendations on it.

15. *Lack of official government research centre on the Ghanaian business sector.*

A well-established centre devoted to conducting comprehensive research on Ghanaian businesses is essential. South Africa has such centres in some of their universities. What is needed in Ghana is a centre which is decentralized with the mandate of establishing comprehensive data base of all businesses in all the districts of the country. Such centres need to be manned by well-qualified staff and provided with the necessary resources to provide information to would-be investors in the districts. Public recommendations on such an initiative needs to be explored by the staff of the Ministry of Business Development.

16. *Business owners' lack of finance, transport facilities, storage facilities, and other resources.*

The lack of these resources was mentioned by the respondents as a major obstacle in their business operations. This is an area needing urgent attention. The various government department need to work with the Ministry of Business Development to obtain ideas for addressing such problems.

6.5 Formulating the policies and plans on the 16 problems

With the public educated on the impacts of the 16 problems, it is recommended that the Ministry of Business development sets up a 16-member plan formulation teams in which each devotes its plan to one of the 16 problems above. Such a measure could offer a long term strategy for dealing with the problems facing the business communities of the country. Each team would have to interact with the public in the formulation of its development plans. The plans would have to indicate the stakeholders that will be required to implement the targets set, budgetary allocations, the locations of particular projects as well as the monitoring mechanisms.

The information in the *Appendix* provides ideas and lessons on some of the issues which the planning teams could incorporate into their plans.

Table 6.2 indicates the nature of the plan formulation tasks that will have to be assigned to each of the 16 teams.

Table 6.2: Plan formulation tasks/problems to be assigned to the 16 planning teams

Team 1: The unethical business practices, e.g. galamsey activities, tax evasion, smuggling.
Team 2: The dominance/prevalence of the profit maximization motive in the running of the businesses.
Team 3: The uncooperative nature of some of the large corporations in the country.
Team 4: The high volumes of imports into the country.
Team 5: The pressure of the external family system on business owners.
Team 6: Consumer preference for imported goods and services.
Team 7: The uncompetitive nature of the products of Ghanaian businesses.

Team 8: The underutilisation of the natural resources of the country in the running of the businesses; lack of research/innovations in identifying and utilizing local raw materials for producing new products.
Team 9: The lack of support for the informal businesses.
Team 10: The lack of comprehensive training programmes for Ghanaian business owners.
Team 11: The lack of co-operation between the political regimes on the strategies for promoting the businesses.
Team 12: The lack of support to businesses that have closed down, to the unemployed, the youth, and women.
Team 13: The lack of support to the local handicrafts industry.
Team 14: The ineffective ECOWAS and other regional protocols for increasing customer demand for the local businesses.
Team 15: The lack of official government research centre on the Ghanaian business sector
Team 16: Business owners' lack of finance, transport facilities, storage facilities, and other resources.

Once these plans are formulated by the various teams, it will be important to disseminate them to members of the political parties for their input. Moreover, it will be important to make such plans available to the business community of Ghana to enable them familiarize themselves with the policies and plans on the 16 problems. This would enable them to take the opportunities available to participate in the business management training programmes, to take decisions regarding market openings, bank loans, the business raw materials situation, and the policies on business malpractices, among others. The plans would in this context, need to constitute what could be termed as teaching materials for the business owners.

Above all, it is also recommended that the plans be made available to the general Ghanaian public.

6.6 Step 4, Implementing the 16 plans (Phase 4D of the MELD model)

Once the plans are made available to the public, each team would finally recommend to the Ministry of Business Development, the appropriate strategies that could be employed to implement their individual proposals. Monitoring of performance could then follow.

6.7 The benefits to be derived by implementing the above recommendations

6.7.1 Introduction

The benefits to be derived from the above recommendations can cover a number of the sectors in the Ghanaian economy. The following could be mentioned.

6.7.2 The political benefit

This approach to using development plans for addressing practical development problems could help to bring the political parties together and begin to see development problems as national issues and not political party issues. This could further serve to propagate the idea of "One country, One Development Plan" among the politicians. The benefits to be derived from the above proposals can be realized if the political parties could agree to work together to see to their implementation. This would mean that a future change in the political regimes would not mean the abrupt end to the implementation of the development plans. The plans would be owned by all the political parties. Such a situation could go a long way towards the speedy implementation of all the 16 plans.

6.7.3 Enhanced opportunities for formal and informal sectors

Opportunities will be opened up for the formal businesses to open up and find ways of co-operating with the informal activities. If the government officials can use the findings of this study to establish bridges between the formal and informal businesses, that could go a long way in linking the two sectors in areas of information and technology sharing, among others.

6.7.4 Output of businesses

Implementing the recommendations on the 16 areas also hold the prospects of increasing the output of the businesses. The GDP of the country stands to benefit from the implementation of the solutions proposed for the problems. In addition, there could be substantial reductions in the levels of dependency of the economy on imports, and in the poverty levels, among others.

6.7.5 Culture perspective

From the cultural perspective, the traditional handicrafts and tourism activities could receive a major boost as they are modernized and opened up to foreign markets.

6.7.6 The environmental conservation benefits

With effective plans for dealing with the negative environmental impacts of the illegal miners, fishing, timber harvesting activities etc. in place, opportunities could be given to the ecosystems of the country to recover.

6.7.7 The benefits to the business management training programmes

A central theme in the 16 problems was concerned with the lack of a well-organized government sponsored business training programmes at the local government level. Implementing the recommendations in the development plans could help empower the business owners with the information and practical skills needed to run their businesses. Such programmes can in addition, help improve the quality of the products, increase their demand and therefore the profits of the business owners.

6.7.8 Sustainable transformation through co-operation

This study emerges after the establishment of the Ministry of Business Development. Among other things, the recommendations help to put this Ministry in the limelight as one focal point which the Ghanaian community could look up to in the long term sustained transformation of the local businesses. To the general Ghanaian public, the impacts of above recommendations could be appreciated from the fresh insight they could generate in the area of community relations. Once the politicians begin to change the narrative from sectionalism to integration, such changes could help the general public to see the value in building long term bridges among themselves.

6.8 Future research areas

This study has devoted the bulk of its attention to the roles of the post-1993 political regimes of Ghana in promoting the private businesses in the country. Among the important findings are those related to the 16 problematic areas. It needs to be accepted that some other important problems could have been omitted in the discussions. The following areas will therefore also need to be investigated.

It is recommended that future research projects focus attention on the state-owned businesses. This is a special field where critical research information is needed.

In addition, research is needed in the area of the impacts of the non-government civil society organizations that are also promoting the development of the businesses in Ghana.

Research into the nature and impacts of the business activities of foreign-owned multinational corporations is also required. Interacting with a broad mass of Ghanaian stakeholders will help to find out their perceptions towards the activities of the foreign-owned multinationals.

The ECOWAS treaty advances the idea of promoting trade between the countries in the region. Research projects are also needed on the ways in which the treaty is currently impacting on the export prospects of the businesses in Ghana.

Above all, research is also needed on how the political parties of the country could co-operate in the formulation and implementation of national development policies and plans. Such a project could give the politicians the opportunity to make their recommendations on this important constitutional issue.

6.9 Concluding remarks

The objective of the study has been to evaluate the successes and failures that have accompanied the two political regimes of Ghana in their attempts at promoting the business sector of the country. These objectives were set after a thorough review of the publications on the topic. The critical

realist research approach was drawn upon to collect and analyze the information needed to address the study objectives which were as follows:

40. To examine the nature of the development policies and plans of the Ghanaian political regimes on business promotion, job creation and poverty alleviation since 1993.
41. Analyse government-led initiatives on business promotion and their impact on job creation and poverty alleviation.
42. To assess the impact of the government-led business promotion programmes on job creation and poverty alleviation
43. To investigate the nature of the strategies being adopted by the current political regime in Ghana to help address the problems faced in the implementation of its business promotion programmes.

The critical realist research approach helped to emphasize the point that to understand the actions of human agents, one has to take account of the context under which they operate. Such context has been identified in terms of the Structural Adjustment programme which informed the activities of the Rawlings regime (1993-1999), the small scale business promotion programmes of The Atta-Mills and Mahama regimes (2009-2016) those on the Poverty Reduction Programme of the Kufuor administration (2000-2008) and since 2017, that of the institutional integration-based Ministry of Business Development strategy.

The findings on the motivation or context underpinning the activities of the current NPP administration serves to highlight the idea that much benefit can flow from the participatory approach to development model. The one lesson associated with this approach is that stakeholders

need to find ways of co-operating in their endeavours despite any differences in ideological positions, they might have. This is a position which is increasingly being articulated by international organizations such as The United Nations and other organizations of the African Union.

The time has therefore arrived for the political regimes of Ghana to begin embracing this participatory or consultative model of formulating and implementing development projects. For such an innovation in organizational management to happen, this study argues that the Ministry of Business Development is well-positioned to actualize this type of cooperative endeavour. The necessary legal instruments need to be in place for this Ministry to become a permanent government department charged with providing leadership in the national business promotion process.

As was discussed in Chapter 2, three of the key components of good governance relate to the imperatives of participatory development, equitability and inclusivity. Wampler (2008), and The World Peace Foundation (2003) have provided some useful insight into this discourse. Fig 2.2 helped to draw attention to these critical issues. It is important that the government officials charged with managing the current business promotion programmes of Ghana take serious note of the importance of consulting officials of the other political parties in the implementation of their various activities and mandates. This new way of running national development issues would thus require that the officials of the Ministry begin to conceive of similarity and difference as relative terms which presuppose each. It would further require that they transcend the false choice between appropriate and inappropriate development policies but rather think of the complementary of such

policies and plans. That will further imply helping to put the necessary mechanisms in place all the time to ensure that projects initiated by previous regimes are constantly implemented. It would imply lessening differences and interacting with those who differ by means of such differences with an eye towards on-going learning and growth. The Ghanaian public must not therefore conceive of Ghanaian political regime programmes as entities isolated from one another. Rather, they have to begin to see all policies and plans on the businesses as an integral part of a bigger whole. They always have to acknowledge the role of the previous government initiatives as resources that have brought Ghanaian business owners to arrive at their current state.

The above ideas are based on the critical realist research approach. This is a framework which has been applied in the various disciplines. Various publications continue to highlight the point that the framework continues to have practical relevance to the solution to societal problems. Schudel (2012) for example, applied the MELD model to explain the development of environmental education in a professional teacher development programme in some schools in one of the provinces of South Africa. Quinn (2006) also illustrated how the model has been used to evaluate a formal academic staff development programme in South Africa. In another study, Laske (2016) illustrated how the model can be used to analyze adult cognitive or human consciousness development processes. His MELD-based phases were analyzed in terms of common sense, understanding, reason and practical wisdom. Finally, Alderson (2016) has also applied it to analyze the phenomenon of child abuse.

The MELD model thus continues to find relevance in the various disciplines. It is hoped the findings and recommendations of this study would help to make some positive contributions to the

current information available on the efforts at promoting the development of the businesses of Ghana. In so doing, it also hoped that the study has served to illuminate the relevance of academic concepts in the management of development programmes.

References

Abnor, I., and Bjerke, B., 1997. *Methodology for business knowledge*. London: Sage (Second Edition).

Ackroyd, S., and Fleetwood, S., 2008 (ed). *Critical realist applications in organization and management studies*. London: Routledge.

Adams, J., Clark, M., and Ezrow, J., 2004. Understanding change and stability in party ideologies. Do political parties respond to public opinion or to past election results? *British Journal of Political Science*, 16(3): 47-71.

Africa Development Bank. 2015. *African Development Report*. Abidjan.

African Union. 2004. *Vision of the African Union and Mission of the African Union Commission*. Final draft. Inter and Intra-ethnic conflicts, p.9, Addis Ababa.

African Union. 2015. *Agenda 2063*. Addis Ababa. African Union Headquarters. Roosevelt Street. Addis Ababa.

Afegbua, S.I., and Adejuwon, K.D., 2012. The challenges of leadership and governance in Africa. *International Journal of Academic Research in Business and Social Sciences*. 2(9): 16-43.

Aghion, S., and Durlanf, K., 2014. *Handbook of Economic Growth*. Amsterdam: North-Holland.

Alagidede, P., Baah-Boateng, W., and Nketia-Amponsah, E., 2013. *The Ghanaian economy: an overview*. *Ghanaian Journal of Economics*, Vol 1, pp 4-34.

Alderson, P., 2016. *The politics of childhood, real and imagined: Practical application of Critical realism and childhood studies*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Anfara, V., and Mertz, T., 2015. *Theoretical frameworks in qualitative research*. London: Sage.

Anshen, M., 1980. *Corporate strategies for social performance*. New York: MacMillan.

Archer, M., 1995. *Realist social theory. The Morphogenetic approach*. Cambridge: Cambridge Universities press.

Aryeetey, E., Harrington, J., and Currey, J., 2000. (eds). *Economic reforms in Ghana: The miracle and the mirage*. Oxford: James Curry.

Aryeetey, E., and Baah-Boateng, W., 2016. *Understanding Ghana's growth success story and job creation challenges.* Africa Growth Initiative, Washington DC.

Baah-Boateng, W., 2008. Employment creation for Poverty Reduction. In J. Amoako-Tuffour, and B., Armah (eds). *Poverty Reduction Strategies in Action: Perspectives and Lessons from Ghana*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.

Barrows, C., 1993. *Critical Theory of the State*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

Bayart, J.F., Stephen, E., and Hibou, B., 1999. *The criminalization of the state in Africa*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Beethem, D., Weir, S., Bracking, S., and Kearton, I., 2001. *Handbook on Democratic Assessment*. Stockholm.

Besancon, M., 2003. *Good Governance: The Art of Measurement*. Cambridge, Mass: World Peace Foundation.

Bhaskar, R., 1991. *Philosophy and The Idea of Freedom*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Bhaskar, R., 2000. *From science to emancipation*. New Delhi: Sage.

Bhaskar, R., 2008. *Dialectic: The Pulse of Freedom*. London: Routledge.

Bhaskar, R., Hoyer, K.G., and Noess, P., 2008. Interdisciplinarity, Ecology and Scientific Theory. *Journal of Critical Realism*, 7, 2.

Bhaskar, R. 2010. Contexts of interdisciplinarity: Interdisciplinarity and climate change. In *Interdisciplinarity and climate change: Transforming knowledge and practice for the Global Future.* Edited by Bhaskar, R., Cherlyl, F., Hoyer, K.G., Noess, P., and Parker, J. Abingdon, Oxford: Routledge.pp 1-24

Bob-Milliar, GM and Obeng-Oddom, F., 2011. The informal economy as an employer, a nuisance and a goldmine: Multiple representations of and responses to informality in Accra, Ghana. *Urban Anthropology and Studies of Cultural Systems and world Economic Development*, 40(3/4): 263- 284

Boote, D.N., and Beile, P., 2005. Scholars before research: on the centrality of the dissertation literature review in research preparation. *Educational Research*, 34(6): 3-15.

Bryman, A., 1998. *Quantity and quality in social research*. London: Routledge.

Bryne, D., and Ragin, C.C., 2009. *The SAGE Handbook of Case-Based Methods*. London: SAGE Publications.

Budge, I., 1994. A new spatial theory of party competition: Uncertainty, ideology and political equilibrium viewed comparatively and temporarily. *British Journal of Political Science*, 24(4): 443-467.

Budge, I., et al. 1994. *Parties, policies and democracy*. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press.

Budge, I., Roberston, D., and Hearl, D., 1987. (eds.) *Ideology, strategy and party change*: Cambridge: Cambridge University press

Caiden, G., Dwivedi, O.P., Jospeh, J., 2001. *Where corruption lives*. Bloomfield, CT: Kumarian Press.

Carlen, J., 2016. *A brief history of entrepreneurship: The pioneers, profiteers and racketeers who shaped our world*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press.

Carolan, M.S., 2004. Ontological politics: Mapping a complex environmental problem. *Environmental Values*, 13, 497-522

Carolan, M.S., 2005a. Society, biology and ecology: brining nature back into sociology's disciplinary narrative through critical realism. *Organization and Environment*, 18(4): 393-421.

Carolan, M.S., 2005b. Realism without reductionism: Toward an ecologically embedded sociology. *Human Ecology Review*, 12, 1-20.

Carolan, M.S., 2006. Scientific knowledge and environmental policy: why science needs values. *Environmental Sciences*, 3, 229-237.

Carolan, M.S., 2008. The bright and blindspots of sciences: Why objective science is not enough to resolve environmental controversies. *Critical Sociology* 34(4): 725-740.

Carmichael, T., and Cunningham, N., 2017. Theoretical Dara Collection and Data Analysis with Gerunds in a Constructivist Grounded Theory. *The Electronic Journal of Business Research*, 15(2): 59-73.

Carroll, A.B., and Buchholtz, A.K., 2009. *Business and Society: Ethics and stakeholder management*. OH: South-Western Language Learning.

Charmaz, K., 2006. *Constructing Grounded Theory*. London: Sage.

Cheek, J., 2007. Qualitative inquiry, ethics, and politics of evidence: Working within these spaces rather than being worked over by them. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 13(8):1051-1059.

Chia, R., 2000. Discourse Analysis as organizational analysis. *Organization*, 7(3): 513-528.

Chilton, P., 2004. *Analyzing Political Discourse.* London: Routledge.

Colander, D.R.P., Holt and Rosser, J.B., 2004. The changing face of mainstream economics. *Review of Political Economy*, 16(4): 485-500.

Comstock, D.E., 2001. A method for critical research. *In Readings in the Philosophy of Social Science*. Edited by Martin, M., and McIntyre, L.C., MIT Press. Cambridge, 632.

Cooper, D.R., and Schindler, P.S., 2008. *Business research methods*. Singapore: McGraw Hill.

Coole, D., 2000. *Negativity in Politics.* London: Routledge.

Corbin, J.M., 2008. *Basic of qualitative research: Techniques and procedures for developing grounded theory*. Thousand oaks.

Corbin, J.M., and Strauss, A.L., 2015. *Basics of qualitative research: techniques and procedures for developing grounded theory*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.

Cooperrider, O., Sorenson, P., Yeager, T., and Whitney, D., 2005. *Appreciative inquiry rethink human organization toward a positive theory of change.* London: Sage.

Creaven, S., 2002. The pulse of freedom: Bhaskar's Dialectic and Marxism. *Historical Materialism*, 10(2): 77-141.

Creswell, J.W., 2007. *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design: Choosing Among Five Approaches*. Sage Publications: London.

Daily Mail of Ghana. 2019. *Adongo's full Speech on the State of Ghana's Economy: Myths and truths.* 3 April, 2019. Accra.

Danermark, B.M., Ekstrom, L., Jakobsen, J.C., Karlsson. 2005. *Explaining Society: Critical realism in the Social Sciences*. London: Routledge.

David, F., 2004. *Strategic Management*. New York: Prentice Hall.

Debrah, Y., 2007. Promoting the informal sector as a source of gainful employment in Developing Countries: insights from Ghana. *The International Journal of Human Resource Management*, 18(6): 1063-1084.

Denzin, N.K., 1989. *The research act: A theoretical introduction to sociological methods*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Dolezal, M., Ennser-Jedenastik, L., Muller, W.C., and Winkler, A.K., 2014. How political parties compete for votes: A test of saliency theory. *European Journal of Political Research*, 53, 57-76.

Downward, P., and Mearman, A., 2007. Retroduction as mixed-methods triangulation in economic research: reorienting economics into social science. *Camb. J. Econ.*, 31(1): 77-99.

Dryzek, J., 2009. *Democratization as deliberative capacity building*. London: Sage.

Eisenhardt, K.M., 1989. Building theories from case study research. *Academy of Management Review*, 14, 532-550.

Fairhorn, M., and Fairhorn, G., 2009. *Understanding Leadership Perspectives: Theoretical and Practical Approaches.* New York, Springler Publishers.

Fay, B., 1977. *Social theory and practical practice*. London: Routledge.

Fay, B., and Moon, D., 2004. What would an adequate philosophy of social science look like? In Martin M., and McIntyre L.C., (eds*). Readings in the Philosophy of Social Science*. Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 21-36.

Finch, J.H., 2002. The role of grounded theory in developing economic theory. *Journal of Economic Methodology*, 9(2): 213-234.

Finlayson, A., 2004. Political science, political ideas and rhetoric. *Economy and Society*, 33(4): 528-549.

Finlayson, A., 2007. From beliefs to arguments: Interpretive methodology and rhetorical analysis. *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 4(7): 32-55.

Fleetwood, S., and Ackroyd, S., 2004. (eds.). *Critical Realist Applications in Organization and Management Studies.* London: Routledge.

Friedman, M. and Rose D. Friedman. 1998. *Two lucky people*. Chicago. University of Chicago Press.

Friedman, M., 2001. The methodology of positive economics. In *Readings in the Philosophy of Social Science*. Edited by Martin, M., and McIntyre, L., Cambridge: MIT Press, 647-660.

Fulbrook, E., 2004. *A Guide to what's wrong with economics.* London: Anthem Press.

Fulbrook, E., 2009. *Ontology and economics.* London: Routledge.

George, A.L., and Bennett, A., 2005. *Case Studies and Theory Development in the Social Sciences.* Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Gerring, J., 1999. What makes a concept good? A criterial framework for understanding concept formation in the Social Sciences, *Polity*, 31(3): 357-393.

Gerring, J., 2007. *Case Study Research: Principles and Practices*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ghana Statistical Service (GSS), 2000. *Ghana Living Standards Survey: Report on the Fourth Round. April 1998- March 1999.* Accra.

Giddens, A., 1989. *Sociology*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Gillies, D., 2004. Can mathematics be used successfully in economics? In Edward Fullbrook (ed). *A guide to what's wrong with economics.* London. Anthem Press, 187-197.

Gini, A., 1998. *Ethics: The heart of leadership.* Westport, CT: Greenwood.

Given, L.M., 2008. (eds). *The SAGE Encyclopedia of Qualitative Research Methods*. Volumes 1 & 2. London: SAGE.

Goertz, G., 2006. *Social Science Concepts: A User's Guide.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Gomm, R., Hammersley, M., and Foster, P., 2000. (eds.). *Case Study Method*. London: Sage.

Goodwin, R.E., Rein, M., and Moran, M., 2009. *The Oxford Handbook of Public Policy*. Oxford; Oxford University Press.

Gunther, R., and Diamond, L., 2001. Types and functions of political parties. In Diamond Larry and Gunther Richard (eds.). *Political Parties and Democracy*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press: 3-39.

Gyimah-Boadi, M., 2001. A peaceful turnover in Ghana. *Journal of Democracy*, 12(2): 103-117.

Habermas, J., 1987. *The theory of communicative action. Vol. 2: The critique of functionalist reaso*n. Cambridge: Polity.

Habermas, J., 1989. *The structural transformation of the public sphere*. Cambridge: MIT Press.

Habermas, J., 1990. *Moral consciousness and communicative action.* Cambridge: MIT Press.

Hammersley, M., 2002. Research as emancipation. The Case of Bhaskar's critical realism. *Journal of Critical Realism*, 2(1): 17-42.

Hart, C., 1988. *Doing a literature review*. London: Sage.

Hartwig, M., 2007. *Dictionary of Critical realism*. London: Routledge.

Harvey, G., 2003. Guesthood as Ethical Decolonizing Research Method. *Numen*, 50(2): 125-145.

Hickey, S., and Morgan, C., 2005. *Participation: from Tyranny to Transformation? Exploring new approaches to participation in Development*. London: Zed

Hope, K.R., 2003. *The UNECA and Good Governance in Africa*. Boston: Harvard International Development Conference.

Hyden, G., and Bratton, M., (eds). 1992. *Governance and politics in Africa*. London: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

Iliffe, J., 1983. *The Emergence of African Capitalism*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota.

Jack, E.P., and Raturi, A.S., 2006. Lessons learned from methodological triangulation in Management Research. *Research News*, 29(6): 345- 367.

Jackson, N., and Carter, P., 2000. *Rethinking Organizational Behaviour*. London: Prentice Hall.

Jedwab, R., and Darko-Osei, R., 2012. *Structural change in Ghana, 1960-2010. Country Case Studies Workshop on Structural Change in Developing Countries.* Organized by The World Bank. 6 April, 2012. Washington DC.

Jepperson, R., and Meyer, J.W., 2011. Multiple levels of analysis and the limitations of methodological individualism. *Sociological Theory*. 29(1): 54-73.

Jick, T.D., 1979. Mixing qualitative and quantitative methods: Triangulation in action. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 24: 602-611.

Johnson, B., and Christensen, L., 2008. *Educational research: quantitative, qualitative and mixed approaches.* Thousand Oaks: Sage

Jones, S.L., 2011. *A guide to monitoring and evaluating policy influence: Background note*. London: Overseas Development Institute.

Kanungo, R., and Mendonca, M., 1995. *Ethical dimensions of leadership*. Thousand Oaks. CA: Sage.

Kempler, E.A., Stringfield, S., and Teddie, E., 2003. Mixed methods sampling strategies in social science research. In Tashakkori, A and Teddie C. (eds). *Handbook of mixed methods in social and behavioural research.* pp 273-296.

Kempster, S., and Parry, K.W., 2011. Grounded Theory and Leadership Research: A critical realist perspective. *The Leadership Quarterly*, 22(1): 106-120.

Killick, T., 1978. *Development economics in action: A study of economic policies in Ghana*. London: Heinemann.

King, I.T., 2000. *Social Science and complexity: The scientific foundations of holistic relational Social Science*. Huntington, NY: Nova Science.

Kleinnjienhuis, J., and Pennings, P., 2001. Measurement of party positions on the basis of party programmes, media coverage and voter perceptions. In M. Laver (ed). *Estimating the policy positions of political actors*. London: Routeledge.

Lacey, H., 2002. Explanatory Critiques and Emancipation. *Journal of Critical Realism*, 1(1): 1-31.

Lafferty, M., 2004. *Governance for sustainable development: The Challenge of adapting form to function*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing.

Laske, O., 2015. Applying Bhaskar's 4 moments of Dialectics to reshaping cognitive development in a social practice. *Integral Review*. Sept. 2015. 11(3): 1-21.

Laver, M., 2005. Policy and the dynamics of political competition. *American Political Science Review*, 7(4): 11-37.

Lawshe, C.H., 1975. A quantitative approach to content validity. *Personnel Psychology*: 563-575.

Lawson, T., 1997. *Economics and Reality*. London: Routledge.

Lawson, T., 2003. *Reorienting economics.* London. Routledge.

Lawson, T., 2007. An Orientation for a green economics? *International Journal of Green Economics*, 1(3/4): 250-268.

Lawson, T., 2012a. Ontology and the study of social reality: Emergence, organization, community, power, social relations, corporations, artefacts and money. *Cambridge Journal of Economics,* 36(2): 345-380.

Lawson T., 2012b. Mathematical modelling and ideology in the economics academy: competing explanations of the failings of the modern discipline. *Economic Thought*, 1, 3-22.

Lawther, W.C., 1986. Content validation: conceptual and methodological issues. *Review of Public Personnel Administration*, 6(3): 37-49.

Lazear, E., 2015. Entrepreneurship. *Journal of Labour Economics*, 23(4): 17-39.

Le Roux, P., and Graaf, J., 2001. The state and social transformation. In *Development Theory, Policy and Practice*. Edited by Jan Coetzee, Johann Graaf, Fred Hendricks and Geoffrey Wood. Cape Town. Oxford University press, 195-212.

Leonard, S.T., 1990. *Critical theory in Political Practice*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Maak, T., and Pless, N.M., 2006. (eds.). *Responsible Leadership.* New York: Routledge.

Machi, L., and McEvoy, T., 2009. *The literature review: Six steps to success*. London: Sage.

Marchionni, C., 2008. Explanatory pluralism and complementarity: From autonomy to integration. *Philosophy of the Social Sciences*, 38(3): 314-333.

Mark, R., and Gordon, W., 1998. (eds.). *The developmental state*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

McDonald, M.D., and Mendes, S.M., 2001. The policy space of party manifestos. In M., Laver (ed). *Estimating the policy position of political actors*. London: Routledge.

Mertens, D.M., 2009. *Transformative research and evaluation.* New York, NY: The Guilford Press.

Ministry of Information (MoI), 2018. *The State of Nation Addresses. 2007, 2008, 2013, 2016 and 2017.* Accra, Ghana.

Ministry of Business Development (MBD), 2019. *Medium Term Expenditure Framework for 2019-2022*. Accra. Ghana. Website: www.mofep.gov.gh.

Minion, K., Morrison, C., and Woo Hong, J., 2006. Ghana's political parties: How ethon/regional the national two-party system. *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, 44(4): 623-647.

Moran-Ellis, J., Alexander, V.D., Cronin, A., Dickinson, M., Fielding, J., and Sleney, J., 2006. Triangulation and integration: Processes, claims and implications. *Qualitative research*, 6, 45-59.

Morrow, R.A., 1994. *Critical Theory and Methodology*. London: Sage.

Morrison, M.K.C., 2004. Political parties in Ghana through 4 republics: A path to democratic consolidation. *Comparative Politics*, 36(4): 421-442.

Morse, J.M., 2007. Sampling in grounded theory. In Bryant, A and Charmaz, K (eds). *The Sage Handbook of grounded theory.* Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE, 229-244.

Mouton, J., 2001. Programme evaluation research in *Development: Theory, Policy and Practice.* Edited by Coetzee, J.K., Graaff, J., Hendricks, F., and Wood, G., Cape Town: Oxford University Press: 569-583.

Myjoyonline.com. 2019. *Full speech: Bawumia and The Economic Management Team*. Town

Hall Meeting. Accra.

National Democratic Congress (NDC), 2012. *Advancing the Better Ghana Agenda*. Accra.

National Democratic Congress (NDC), 2016. *Changing Lives, Transforming Ghana: The 2016 NDC Manifesto*. Accra.

National Democratic Congress (NDC), 2016. *Manifesto of the NDC 2016-2021*: *Changing Lives, transforming Ghana.* Accra.

National Development Planning Commission (NDPC), 2005. *The Growth and Poverty Reduction Strategy, 2006-2009*. Accra. Ghana

National Development Planning Commission (NDPC), 2016. *The Millenium Development Goals Report.* Accra

New Patriotic Party (NPP), 2016. *Development in Freedom*: *The Manifesto of the NPP*. Accra.

New Patriotic Party (NPP), 2017. *Ghana's 25 Years, 1993 -2018: President Akufo-Addo's address and other opinions on the celebration.* Accra. Ministry of Information

New Patriotic Party (NPP), 2016. *Change: An Agenda for Jobs – The party manifesto for the 2016 Elections.* Accra.

New Patriotic Party (NPP), 2017. *Office of the President of Ghana. 2017. The State on The Nation Addresses – 2007, 2008, 2013, 2015 and 2017.* Accra.

New Patriotic Party (NPP), 2018. *Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo. Statement by the President at the Silver Jubilee Celebration of The 4th Republic*. 7th January 2018. Accra.

NEPAD, 2001. *The New Partnership for Africa's Development.* Johannesburg, South Africa

Ninsin, K., 1991. *The informal sector of Ghana's political economy*. Accra: Freedom Publications.

Ninsin, K., and Drah, F.K., 1993. *Political parties and democracy in Ghana's 4th Republic.* Accra: Woeli Publishing.

Nugent, P., 1995. *Big men, small boys and politics in Ghana: power, ideology and the burden of history, 1962- 1994*. London: Pinter.

Nyanteng, V.K., 1997/2016. *Policies and options for Ghana's economic development*. ISSER: University of Ghana. Accra.

Obeng-Odoom, F., 2011. The informal sector in Ghana under siege. *Journal of Developing Societies*, 27(3): 355- 392.

Obeng-Odoom, F., 2015. *Oil rents, policy and social development: lessons from the Ghana controversy*. United Nations Research Institute for Social Development. Research Paper 2015-2. Geneva. Switzerland.

Obeng-Odoom, F., 2017. The myth of economic growth in Africa. *Review of African Political Economy*, 44(153): 466- 475.

OECD/DAC., 1995. Participatory development and good governance. *Development Cooperation Guidelines Series*. The Hague.

OECD/AfDB., 2002. *African Economic Outlook report*. Retrieved June 11, 2019, from https://www.oecd.org/countries/ghana/1825312.pdf.

Ohene-Amoh, K., 2015. *The role of Political Parties in promoting social change in Ghana.*

Oliver, C., 2012. Critical Realist Grounded Theory: A new approach for social work research. *British Journal of Social Work*, 42(2): 371-387.

Onkware, K., 2015. *Public Policy Analysis.* Kissi University Press. Kissi, Kenya.

Onwuegbuzie, A.J., Johnston R.B., and Collins K.M.T., 2009. Call for mixed analysis: A Philosophical framework for combining qualitative and quantitative approaches. *International Journal of Multiple Research Approaches*, 3(2): 114-139.

Opoku, D.K., 2010. *The Politics of Government-Business Relations in Ghana*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan.

Otiemo, T.J., 2015. The Challenges of Public Policy Formulation and Evaluation through the questions "What, Who, How and When*? International Journal of Economics, Commerce and Management*, 3(2): 830-841.

Patton, M.Q., 1990. *Qualitative evaluation and research methods*. London: Sage.

Pawdel, N.R., 2009. A critical account of policy implementation theories: Status and reconsideration. *Nepalese Journal of Public Policy and Governance*, 25(2): 36-52.

Pawson, R., and Tilley N., 1997. *Realistic Evaluation*. London: Sage Publications.

Peter, R.G., and Pierre, J., 2003. (eds). *Handbook of Public Administration*. London: Sage.

Plinio, A.J, Young, J.M., and Lavery, M., 2010. The state of ethics in our society: A clear call for action. *International Journal of Disclosure and Governance*, 7(3): 172-197.

Posavac, E.J., and Carey, R.G., 2008. *Programme evaluation: methods and case studies*. Englewood-Cliffs (NJ): Prentice Hall.

Pratschke, J., 2003. Realistic models? Critical realism and statistical models in the social sciences. *Philosophicat*, 71, 13-38.

Przeworski, A., and Limongi, F., 1993. Political regimes and economic growth. *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 7(3): 51-69.

Quinn, L., 2006. *A social realist account of the emergence of a formal staff development programme of a South African university*. Doctoral dissertation submitted to the Department of Environmental Education. Rhodes University. Grahamstown. South Africa.

Ragin, C., Berg-Schlosser, C., and De Meur, G., 1998. Political Methodology: Qualitative methods. In Robert E. Goodinand Hans-Dieter Kilngermann (eds). *A New Handbook of Political Science*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 749-768.

Ragin, C.C., and Becker, H.S., 1992. (eds.). *What is a case? Exploring the Foundations of Social Inquiry*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Reason, P., and Bradbury, H., 2008. (eds). *The Sage Handbook of Action Research: Participative Inquiry and Practice*. Sage, CA.

Redman-MacLaren, M., 2015. Transformational Grounded Theory: Theory, Voice and Action. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods,* 14(3): 1-11.

Reisigil, M., 2008. Rhetoric of political speeches. In R. Wodak and V., Koller (eds). *Communication in the Public Sphere: Handbook of Applied linguistics Volume 4*. Berlin: De Gruyter, 243-271.

Reisigil, M., 2008a. Analyzing political rhetoric. In R., Wodak and M., Krzyżanowski (eds.) *Qualitative Discourse Analysis in the Social Sciences*. Basingstoke: Palgrave, 96-120.

Reisigil, M., 2008b. Rhetoric of political speeches. In R., Wodak and V., Koller (eds.) *Communication in the Public Sphere: Handbook of Applied Linguistics*. Berlin: De Gruyter, 4, 23-271.

Ridley, D., 2008. *Literature reviews a step-by-step guide for students*. London: Sage

Riley, M., Wood, R.C., Clark, M.A., Wilkie, E., and Szivas, E., 2000. *Researching and writing dissertations in business and management.* London: Thompson Learning.

Robertson, D., 2004. *A theory of party competition*. London: Wiley.

Rocco, T.S., and Plakhotnik, M.S., 2009. Literature review, conceptual frameworks and theoretical framework. Terms, functions and distinctions. *Human Resource Development Review*, 120-130.

Roger, P., 2008. *Research Methods in Politics: A Practical Guide*. London: SAGE.

Rolfe, G., 2006. A critical realist rationale for using a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods. *Journal of Research in Nursing*, 11(1): 79-91.

Ron, A., 2002. Regression analysis and the philosophy of Social Science: A critical realist view. *Journal of Critical Realism*, 1(1): 119-142.

Rose-Ackerman, S., 1999. *Corruption and good government: causes, consequences, strategies and reform.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Sashkin, M., 2004. Transformational leadership approaches: A review and synthesis. In Antanokis J., et al., (eds). *The nature of leadership*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 47-48.

Sayer, A., 1992. *Method in social science: A realist approach*. London: Routledge.

Sayer, A., 2000. *Realism and social science*. London: Sage.

Schell, J., 2003. *The unconquerable world: Power, nonviolence and the will of the people*. New York: Henry Hold and Company.

Schudel, I., 2012. *Examining emergent active learning processes as a transformative praxis: The case of the schools and sustainability professional development programme*. Doctoral dissertation submitted to the Department of Environmental Education. Rhodes University. Grahamstown. South Africa.

Schumacher, G., De Vries, C.E., and Vis, B., 2013. Why do political parties change positions? *Journal of Politics,* 6(1): 16-33.

Scott, S., and Venkatraman, S., 2000. The promise of entrepreneurship as a field of research. *Academy of Management Review*, 25, 217-226.

Seibold, C., 2002. The place of theory and the development of a theoretical framework in a qualitative study. *Qualitative Research Journal*, 2, 3-15.

Shane, S.A., 2003. *A general theory of entrepreneurship: The individual – opportunity nexus.* Northampton, Mass: E. Elgar.

Somekh, B., 2006. *Action research: A methodology for change and development*. Maidenhead, UK: Open University Press.

Somekh, B., 2008. Action research. In *The Sage Encyclopedia of qualitative research methods*. *Vol 1 and 2*. Edited by Given, L M. Los Angeles; Sage. pp 4-6

Somer-Topcu, L., 2009. Timely decisions: the effects of past national elections on party policy change. *Journal of Politics*, 5(4): 23-41.

Somer-Topcu, L., and Adams, J., 2014. Policy adjustment by political parties in response to rival parties' policy shifts. Spatial theory and the dynamics of party competition in 25 post-war democracies. *Journal of Political Science,* 4(2): 11-29.

Sparreboom, T., and Gomis, R., 2015. *Structural change, Employment and Education in Ghana*. Geneva: Employment Policy Department. ILO.

Stake, R.E., 2000. (eds.). The case study method in social inquiry. In R., Gomm, M., Hammersley and P., Foster. Case Study Method. London: Sage.

Strauss, A., and Corbin, J., 1998. *Basics of qualitative research: Techniques and procedures for developing grounded theory*. Thousand Oaks: SAGE.

Taiwo, M., 2005. Problems of policy implementation in developing nations: The Nigerian experience. *Journal of Social Science*, 11(1): 63-79.

The Africa Progress Panel Report, 2013. *Corruption and weak governance costing Africa billions* Cape Town: Oxford University Press.

Thomas, G., 2005. The qualitative foundations of political science methodology. *Perspectives on Politics*, 3(4): 855- 866.

United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, 2003. *The UNECA and good governance in Africa.* Harvard International Development Conference. Boston.

United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, 2005. *Africa Governance Report.* New York: Oxford University Press.

UNDP and NDPC, 2012. *The 2010 Ghana Millenium Development Goals Report*. UNDP: Accra.

United States Institute of Peace, 2002. *The Truth and Reconciliation Commission: South Africa and Ghana Examples*. Washington DC.

UNDP, 2015. *Human Development Report*. New York.

Walzer, M., 2002. *The Company of Critics: Social Criticisms and Political Commitments*. New York: Basic Books.

Wampler, B., 2008. When does participation deepen the quality of democracy? Lessons from Brazil. *Comparative Politics*, 41(1).

Weiss, C.H., 1998. *Evaluation: Methods for Studying Programmes and Policies*. (2nd edition) Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Westwood, R., and Clegg, S., 2003. (Eds.). *Debating Organizations: Point – Counterpoint in Organization Studies.* Oxford; Blackwell.

Wilkinson, D and Birmingham, P., 2003. *Using research instruments: A guide for researchers*. London: Routledge.

Winter, S.C., 2003. Implementation. In *Handbook of Public Administration*. (ed). B.G., Peter and J., Pierre. London: Thousand Oaks, 206-221.

Wordak, R., 2009. *The Discourse of Politics in Action: Politics as Usual.* Basingstoke: Palgrave (second revised edition, 2011).

World Bank, 2015. *Africa Development Report: Facing the Challenges of Sustained Economic Growth*. Washington DC., USA.

World Peace Foundation, 2003. *The good governance rankings: The art of measurement*. *Report Number 36.* John F. Kennedy School of Government. The Conference for Measuring Governance. Harvard University. Cambridge Mass.

Yetisen, A.K., Volpatti, L.R., Coskun, A.F., Cho, S., Kamrani, E., Butt, H., Khademhoseini, A., and Yun, S.H., 2015. Entrepreneurship. *Lab Chip*., 15(18): 3638-3660.

Yirenkyi-Boateng, S., 1995. Appropriate technology and rural development: A structuration perspective. *South African Geographical Journal*, 77(2): 56-67.

Yirenkyi-Boateng, S., 2010. Development plans and the sustainable development agenda in Africa: How critical realist conceptualization can help. *Journal of Critical Realism*, 3, 328-352.

Yirenkyi-Boateng, S., 2011. Business social responsibility and the development process in Africa: Enlarging the stakeholders for Sustainable development. *Policy Brief*, Africa Institute of South Africa, 51, 1-11.

Young, M., 2000. *Inclusion and democracy*. Oxford University press

Yukojopi, G.A., 2006. *Leadership in organizations*. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson, Prentice Hall.

Zikmund, W.G., 2003. *Business Research Methods*. Harcourt: The Dryden Press.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Survey instruments

QUESTIONNAIRES FOR THE RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS

The survey questionnaires will be administered to politicians, consumers/consumer associations, the youth/students, traditional and opinion leaders, researchers and the academic community, workers/trade unions, owners of businesses that have closed down, business owners in the primary, secondary and services sectors, the unemployed and the media houses.

Section 1: Questionnaires for the various interest group stakeholders

Section 1a Regional representatives of the political parties

Dear Sir / Madam,

My name is Georege Ayisi-Boateng, second-year PhD student in the School of Business at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. I am currently conducting a research titled "*Political regimes and economic development in Ghana's Fourth Republic*" under the supervision of Professor Imhotep Paul Alagidede. The main drive of the study is to measure the extent to which political parties under Ghana's multi-party-political democratic system are providing leadership and contributing to stable and sustainable socio-economic development for various stakeholder groups in the country.

In the above context, I would like to invite you to voluntarily participate by answering to a self-designed survey questionnaire that will take averagely 15 minutes. There will be no personal costs to you if you decide to participate in this survey. You will not receive any direct benefits from participation, however, there are no disadvantages or penalties (or prejudices) if you do not choose to participate or if you withdraw from the study. Besides, you may withdraw at any time or decide not to answer any question if you do not want to. The survey will be completely confidential and anonymous as I will not be asking for direct personal details, like your name, phone number, social security number, or any personal identifying information, and the responses you give to me will be held securely and not made available to a third-party. The information gathered will be stored in a password protected computer and will be kept for five years, after which I will destroy it.

If you experience any distress or discomfort at any point in this process, we will stop the survey or resume another time if you deem it fit. This study will be written up as a research report which will be available online through the university library website. At least one publishable journal article will be extracted from the research report.

Should in case you have questions at the onset or during the survey, do not hesitate to draw my attention. More so, if the questions arise after the survey, feel free to contact me on the details provided below. On the broader perspective, If you have any concerns or complaints regarding the ethical procedures of this study, you are welcome to contact the University Human Research Ethics Committee (Non-Medical), telephone +27(0) 11 717 1408, email hrecnon-medical@wits.ac.za

Yours sincerely,

George Ayisi-Boateng
Doctoral Research Candidate
M: +27 60 980 3533/ +233 20 811 2911
2262218@students.wits.ac.za/ ayisi31@gmail.com

Professor Imhotep P. Alagidede
Academic/Thesis Supervisor
Tel: +27 011 717 3996/ M: +27 78 178 1310
Imhotep.Alagidede@wits.ac.za

1. Name of your political party and your position in it

……
……
……
……

2. Your profession, occupation

……...…….

……

3. Length of stay in this country/Citizen by birth…...……

4. Gender…….……...

5. Age……..……

6. Educational background…….

7. What is your assessment of the role of private businesses in the development of Ghana?

……
……
……
……
……
……

8. What is your position/stance on the relationship between the private business sector and job creation in general

……
……
……
……

9. In your opinion, what have been the impacts of the policies of the post-1993 political regimes of Ghana on the business sector of the country?

……
……
……
……
……

10. Please provide your views on the performance of the Ghanaian business sector in relation to the post-1993 political regimes of the country

……
……
……
……
……

11. Which political regime in your view has provided the most business friendly environment and what do you think have been the reasons for this?

……
……
……
……
……
……

12. Your recommendations on the way forward on the role that could be played by privately-owned businesses in the development of Ghana

…….
……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……

Section 1b Consumers/Consumer associations

Dear Sir / Madam,

My name is Georege Ayisi-Boateng, second-year PhD student in the School of Business at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. I am currently conducting a research titled "*Political regimes and economic development in Ghana's Fourth Republic*" under the supervision of Professor Imhotep Paul Alagidede. The main drive of the study is to measure the extent to which political parties under Ghana's multi-party-political democratic system are providing leadership and contributing to stable and sustainable socio-economic development for various stakeholder groups in the country.

In the above context, I would like to invite you to voluntarily participate by answering to a self-designed survey questionnaire that will take averagely 15 minutes. There will be no personal costs to you if you decide to participate in this survey. You will not receive any direct benefits from participation, however, there are no disadvantages or penalties (or prejudices) if you do not choose to participate or if you withdraw from the study. Besides, you may withdraw at any time or decide not to answer any question if you do not want to. The survey will be completely confidential and anonymous as I will not be asking for direct personal details, like your name, phone number, social security number, or any personal identifying information, and the responses you give to me will be held securely and not made available to a third-party. The information gathered will be stored in a password protected computer and will be kept for five years, after which I will destroy it.

If you experience any distress or discomfort at any point in this process, we will stop the survey or resume another time if you deem it fit. This study will be written up as a research report which will be available online through the university library website. At least one publishable journal article will be extracted from the research report.

Should in case you have questions at the onset or during the survey, do not hesitate to draw my attention. More so, if the questions arise after the survey, feel free to contact me on the details provided below. On the broader perspective, If you have any concerns or complaints regarding the ethical procedures of this study, you are welcome to contact the University Human Research Ethics Committee (Non-Medical), telephone +27(0) 11 717 1408, email hrecnon-medical@wits.ac.za

Yours sincerely,

George Ayisi-Boateng
Doctoral Research Candidate
M: +27 60 980 3533/ +233 20 811 2911
2262218@students.wits.ac.za/ ayisi31@gmail.com

Professor Imhotep P. Alagidede
Academic/Thesis Supervisor
Tel: +27 011 717 3996/ M: +27 78 178 1310
Imhotep.Alagidede@wits.ac.za

1. Duration of your membership in the association

……
……
……
……

2. Your profession, occupation

…….

……

3. Length of stay in this country/Citizen by birth.……

4. Gender……...

5. Age……

6. Educational background…….

7. What is your assessment of the role of private businesses in the development of Ghana?

……
……
……
……
……
……

8. What is your position/stance on the relationship between the private business sector and job creation in general

……
……
……
……

9. In your opinion, what have been the impacts of the policies of the post-1993 political regimes of Ghana on the business sector of the country?

……
……
……
……
……

10. Please provide your views on the performance of the Ghanaian business sector in relation to the post-1993 political regimes of the country

……
……
……
……
……

11. Which regime in your view has provided the most business friendly environment and what do you think have been the reasons for this?

……
……
……
……
……
……

12. Your recommendations on the way forward on the role that could be played by privately-owned businesses in addressing the needs of Ghanaian consumers

……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……

Section 1c Students/Youth organizations

Dear Sir / Madam,

My name is Georege Ayisi-Boateng, second-year PhD student in the School of Business at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. I am currently conducting a research titled "*Political regimes and economic development in Ghana's Fourth Republic*" under the supervision of Professor Imhotep Paul Alagidede. The main drive of the study is to measure the extent to which political parties under Ghana's multi-party-political democratic system are providing leadership and contributing to stable and sustainable socio-economic development for various stakeholder groups in the country.

In the above context, I would like to invite you to voluntarily participate by answering to a self-designed survey questionnaire that will take averagely 15 minutes. There will be no personal costs to you if you decide to participate in this survey. You will not receive any direct benefits from participation, however, there are no disadvantages or penalties (or prejudices) if you do not choose to participate or if you withdraw from the study. Besides, you may withdraw at any time or decide not to answer any question if you do not want to. The survey will be completely confidential and anonymous as I will not be asking for direct personal details, like your name, phone number, social security number, or any personal identifying information, and the responses you give to me will be held securely and not made available to a third-party. The information gathered will be stored in a password protected computer and will be kept for five years, after which I will destroy it.

If you experience any distress or discomfort at any point in this process, we will stop the survey or resume another time if you deem it fit. This study will be written up as a research report which will be available online through the university library website. At least one publishable journal article will be extracted from the research report.

Should in case you have questions at the onset or during the survey, do not hesitate to draw my attention. More so, if the questions arise after the survey, feel free to contact me on the details provided below. On the broader perspective, If you have any concerns or complaints regarding the ethical procedures of this study, you are welcome to contact the University Human Research Ethics Committee (Non-Medical), telephone +27(0) 11 717 1408, email hrecnon-medical@wits.ac.za

Yours sincerely,

George Ayisi-Boateng
Doctoral Research Candidate
M: +27 60 980 3533/ +233 20 811 2911
2262218@students.wits.ac.za/ ayisi31@gmail.com

Professor Imhotep P. Alagidede
Academic/Thesis Supervisor
Tel: +27 011 717 3996/ M: +27 78 178 1310
Imhotep.Alagidede@wits.ac.za

1. Current educational status

……
……
……
……

2. Length of stay in this country/Citizen by birth……

3. Gender……

4. Age……

5. What is your assessment of the role of private businesses in the development of Ghana?

……
……
……
……
……
……

6. What is your position/stance on the relationship between the private business sector and job creation in general

……
……
……
……

7. In your opinion, what have been the impacts of the policies of the post-1993 political regimes of Ghana on the business sector of the country?

……
……
……
……
……

8. Please provide your views on the performance of the Ghanaian business sector in relation to the post-1993 political regimes of the country

……
……
……
……
……

9. Which regime in your view has provided the most business friendly environment and what do you think have been the reasons for this?

……
……
……
……
……
……

10. Your recommendations on the way forward on the role that could be played by privately-owned businesses in linking the education sector to the entrepreneurship and job creation processes of Ghana

……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……

Section 1d Traditional leaders/Opinion leaders

Dear Sir / Madam,

My name is Georege Ayisi-Boateng, second-year PhD student in the School of Business at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. I am currently conducting a research titled "*Political regimes and economic development in Ghana's Fourth Republic*" under the supervision of Professor Imhotep Paul Alagidede. The main drive of the study is to measure the extent to which political parties under Ghana's multi-party-political democratic system are providing leadership and contributing to stable and sustainable socio-economic development for various stakeholder groups in the country.

In the above context, I would like to invite you to voluntarily participate by answering to a self-designed survey questionnaire that will take averagely 15 minutes. There will be no personal costs to you if you decide to participate in this survey. You will not receive any direct benefits from participation, however, there are no disadvantages or penalties (or prejudices) if you do not choose to participate or if you withdraw from the study. Besides, you may withdraw at any time or decide not to answer any question if you do not want to. The survey will be completely confidential and anonymous as I will not be asking for direct personal details, like your name, phone number, social security number, or any personal identifying information, and the responses you give to me will be held securely and not made available to a third-party. The information gathered will be stored in a password protected computer and will be kept for five years, after which I will destroy it.

If you experience any distress or discomfort at any point in this process, we will stop the survey or resume another time if you deem it fit. This study will be written up as a research report which will be available online through the university library website. At least one publishable journal article will be extracted from the research report.

Should in case you have questions at the onset or during the survey, do not hesitate to draw my attention. More so, if the questions arise after the survey, feel free to contact me on the details provided below. On the broader perspective, If you have any concerns or complaints regarding the ethical procedures of this study, you are welcome to contact the University Human Research Ethics Committee (Non-Medical), telephone +27(0) 11 717 1408, email hrecnon-medical@wits.ac.za

Yours sincerely,

George Ayisi-Boateng
Doctoral Research Candidate
M: +27 60 980 3533/ +233 20 811 2911
2262218@students.wits.ac.za/ ayisi31@gmail.com

Professor Imhotep P. Alagidede
Academic/Thesis Supervisor
Tel: +27 011 717 3996/ M: +27 78 178 1310
Imhotep.Alagidede@wits.ac.za

1. Name of your constituency/traditional area

……
……
……
……

2. Your profession, designation, status

……..…….

……

3. Length of stay in this country/Citizen by birth……..……

4. Gender……....

5. Age…….

6. Educational background……

7. What is your assessment of the role of private businesses in the development of Ghana?

……
……
……
……
……
……

8. What is your position/stance on the relationship between the private business sector and job creation in general?

……
……
……
……

9. In your opinion, what have been the impacts of the policies of the post-1993 political regimes of Ghana on the business sector of the country?

……
……
……
……
……

10. Please provide your views on the performance of the Ghanaian business sector in relation to the post-1993 political regimes of the country

……
……
……
……
……

11. Which regime in your view has provided the most business friendly environment and what do you think have been the reasons for this?

……
……
……
……
……
……

12. Your recommendations on the way forward on the role that could be played by traditional and opinion leaders in influencing the development of privately-owned businesses in Ghana?

…… …
……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……

Section 1e Researchers/Academic community

Dear Sir / Madam,

My name is Georege Ayisi-Boateng, second-year PhD student in the School of Business at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. I am currently conducting a research titled "*Political regimes and economic development in Ghana's Fourth Republic*" under the supervision of Professor Imhotep Paul Alagidede. The main drive of the study is to measure the extent to which political parties under Ghana's multi-party-political democratic system are providing leadership and contributing to stable and sustainable socio-economic development for various stakeholder groups in the country.

In the above context, I would like to invite you to voluntarily participate by answering to a self-designed survey questionnaire that will take averagely 15 minutes. There will be no personal costs to you if you decide to participate in this survey. You will not receive any direct benefits from participation, however, there are no disadvantages or penalties (or prejudices) if you do not choose to participate or if you withdraw from the study. Besides, you may withdraw at any time or decide not to answer any question if you do not want to. The survey will be completely confidential and anonymous as I will not be asking for direct personal details, like your name, phone number, social security number, or any personal identifying information, and the responses you give to me will be held securely and not made available to a third-party. The information gathered will be stored in a password protected computer and will be kept for five years, after which I will destroy it.

If you experience any distress or discomfort at any point in this process, we will stop the survey or resume another time if you deem it fit. This study will be written up as a research report which will be available online through the university library website. At least one publishable journal article will be extracted from the research report.

Should in case you have questions at the onset or during the survey, do not hesitate to draw my attention. More so, if the questions arise after the survey, feel free to contact me on the details provided below. On the broader perspective, If you have any concerns or complaints regarding the ethical procedures of this study, you are welcome to contact the University Human Research Ethics Committee (Non-Medical), telephone +27(0) 11 717 1408, email hrecnon-medical@wits.ac.za

Yours sincerely,

George Ayisi-Boateng
Doctoral Research Candidate
M: +27 60 980 3533/ +233 20 811 2911
2262218@students.wits.ac.za/ ayisi31@gmail.com

Professor Imhotep P. Alagidede
Academic/Thesis Supervisor
Tel: +27 011 717 3996/ M: +27 78 178 1310
Imhotep.Alagidede@wits.ac.za

1. Duration of your stay at your research/academic institution

……
……
……
……

2. Age of your institution

……...……...…….

……

3. Length of stay in this country/Citizen by birth……...……

4. Gender…….……...

5. Your Age…….…..

6. Educational background……

7. Nature of research activities organized by your institution

……
……
……
……

……
……
……
……
……

8. Please provide an outline of some of the benefits derived by the Ghanaian public from your current mandate

……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……..

9. What is your assessment of the role of private businesses in the development of Ghana?

……
……
……
……
……
……

10. What is your position/stance on the relationship between the private business sector and job creation in general?

……
……
……
……

11. In your opinion, what have been the impacts of the policies of the post-1993 political regimes of Ghana on the business sector of the country?

……
……
……
……
……

12. Please provide your views on the performance of the Ghanaian business sector in relation to the post-1993 political regimes of the country

……
……
……
……
……

13. Which regime in your view has provided the most business friendly environment and what do you think have been the reasons for this?

……
……
……
……
……
……

14. Your recommendations on the way forward on the role that could be played by privately-owned businesses in the development of Ghana

……..
……
……
……
……

Section 1f Workers/Trade unions (formal and informal sectors)

Dear Sir / Madam,

My name is Georege Ayisi-Boateng, second-year PhD student in the School of Business at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. I am currently conducting a research titled "*Political regimes and economic development in Ghana's Fourth Republic*" under the supervision of Professor Imhotep Paul Alagidede. The main drive of the study is to measure the extent to which political parties under Ghana's multi-party-political democratic system are providing leadership and contributing to stable and sustainable socio-economic development for various stakeholder groups in the country.

In the above context, I would like to invite you to voluntarily participate by answering to a self-designed survey questionnaire that will take averagely 15 minutes. There will be no personal costs to you if you decide to participate in this survey. You will not receive any direct benefits from participation, however, there are no disadvantages or penalties (or prejudices) if you do not choose to participate or if you withdraw from the study. Besides, you may withdraw at any time or decide not to answer any question if you do not want to. The survey will be completely confidential and anonymous as I will not be asking for direct personal details, like your name, phone number, social security number, or any personal identifying information, and the responses you give to me will be held securely and not made available to a third-party. The information gathered will be stored in a password protected computer and will be kept for five years, after which I will destroy it.

If you experience any distress or discomfort at any point in this process, we will stop the survey or resume another time if you deem it fit. This study will be written up as a research report which will be available online through the university library website. At least one publishable journal article will be extracted from the research report.

Should in case you have questions at the onset or during the survey, do not hesitate to draw my attention. More so, if the questions arise after the survey, feel free to contact me on the details provided below. On the broader perspective, If you have any concerns or complaints regarding the ethical procedures of this study, you are welcome to contact the University Human Research Ethics Committee (Non-Medical), telephone +27(0) 11 717 1408, email hrecnon-medical@wits.ac.za

Yours sincerely,

George Ayisi-Boateng
Doctoral Research Candidate
M: +27 60 980 3533/ +233 20 811 2911
2262218@students.wits.ac.za/ ayisi31@gmail.com

Professor Imhotep P. Alagidede
Academic/Thesis Supervisor
Tel: +27 011 717 3996/ M: +27 78 178 1310
Imhotep.Alagidede@wits.ac.za

1. Duration of your membership in the union and your position in it

……
……
……
……

2. Length of stay in this country/Citizen by birth…...……

3. Gender……..……...

4. Age…….……

5. Educational background…….……...

6. What is your assessment of the role of private businesses in the development of Ghana?

……
……
……
……
……
……

7. What is your position/stance on the relationship between the private business sector and job creation in general?

……
……
……
……

8. In your opinion, what have been the impacts of the policies of the post-1993 political regimes of Ghana on the business sector of the country?

……
……
……
……
……

9. Please provide your views on the performance of the Ghanaian business sector in relation to the post-1993 political regimes of the country

……
……
……
……
……

10. Which regime in your view has provided the most business friendly environment and what do you think have been the reasons for this?

……
……
……
……
……
……

11. Your recommendations on the way forward on the role that could be played by government in empowering workers and their related associations in the development of privately-owned businesses in Ghana

……..
……
……
……
……
……

Section 1g Owners of businesses that have closed down (formal and informal sectors)

Dear Sir / Madam,

My name is Georege Ayisi-Boateng, second-year PhD student in the School of Business at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. I am currently conducting a research titled "*Political regimes and economic development in Ghana's Fourth Republic*" under the supervision of Professor Imhotep Paul Alagidede. The main drive of the study is to measure the extent to which political parties under Ghana's multi-party-political democratic system are providing leadership and contributing to stable and sustainable socio-economic development for various stakeholder groups in the country.

In the above context, I would like to invite you to voluntarily participate by answering to a self-designed survey questionnaire that will take averagely 15 minutes. There will be no personal costs to you if you decide to participate in this survey. You will not receive any direct benefits from participation, however, there are no disadvantages or penalties (or prejudices) if you do not choose to participate or if you withdraw from the study. Besides, you may withdraw at any time or decide not to answer any question if you do not want to. The survey will be completely confidential and anonymous as I will not be asking for direct personal details, like your name, phone number, social security number, or any personal identifying information, and the responses you give to me will be held securely and not made available to a third-party. The information gathered will be stored in a password protected computer and will be kept for five years, after which I will destroy it.

If you experience any distress or discomfort at any point in this process, we will stop the survey or resume another time if you deem it fit. This study will be written up as a research report which will be available online through the university library website. At least one publishable journal article will be extracted from the research report.

Should in case you have questions at the onset or during the survey, do not hesitate to draw my attention. More so, if the questions arise after the survey, feel free to contact me on the details provided below. On the broader perspective, If you have any concerns or complaints regarding the ethical procedures of this study, you are welcome to contact the University Human Research Ethics Committee (Non-Medical), telephone +27(0) 11 717 1408, email hrecnon-medical@wits.ac.za

Yours sincerely,

George Ayisi-Boateng
Doctoral Research Candidate
M: +27 60 980 3533/ +233 20 811 2911
2262218@students.wits.ac.za/ ayisi31@gmail.com

Professor Imhotep P. Alagidede
Academic/Thesis Supervisor
Tel: +27 011 717 3996/ M: +27 78 178 1310
Imhotep.Alagidede@wits.ac.za

1. Name the applicable sector and/subsector of your business that has closed down

……
……
……
……

2. Number of years since the business closed down and the experience you have gone through since the closure

……...

……
……
……
……
……
……

3. Length of stay in this country/Citizen by birth...……

4. Gender……..……...

5. Age……..……

6. Educational background……...…….

7. What is your assessment of the role of private businesses in the development of Ghana?

……
……
……
……
……
……

8. What is your position/stance on the relationship between the private business sector and job creation in general?

……
……
……
……

9. In your opinion, what have been the impacts of the policies of the post-1993 political regimes of Ghana on the business sector of the country?

……
……
……

……
……

10. Please provide your views on the performance of the Ghanaian business sector in relation to the post-1993 political regimes of the country

……
……
……
……
……

11. Which regime in your view has provided the most business friendly environment and what do you think have been the reasons for this?

……
……
……
……
……
……

12. Please provide the reasons that accounted for the closure of your business

……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……

13. Your recommendations on the way forward on the role that could be played by government in sustaining the growth of the privately-owned businesses in Ghana

……..
……
……
……
……
……

……

Section 1h Owners of formal and informal businesses in the primary sector (like mining/ fishing/ forestry/ crop farming/ livestock/ poultry)

Dear Sir / Madam,

My name is Georege Ayisi-Boateng, second-year PhD student in the School of Business at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. I am currently conducting a research titled "*Political regimes and economic development in Ghana's Fourth Republic*" under the supervision of Professor Imhotep Paul Alagidede. The main drive of the study is to measure the extent to which political parties under Ghana's multi-party-political democratic system are providing leadership and contributing to stable and sustainable socio-economic development for various stakeholder groups in the country.

In the above context, I would like to invite you to voluntarily participate by answering to a self-designed survey questionnaire that will take averagely 15 minutes. There will be no personal costs to you if you decide to participate in this survey. You will not receive any direct benefits from participation, however, there are no disadvantages or penalties (or prejudices) if you do not choose to participate or if you withdraw from the study. Besides, you may withdraw at any time or decide not to answer any question if you do not want to. The survey will be completely confidential and anonymous as I will not be asking for direct personal details, like your name, phone number, social security number, or any personal identifying information, and the responses you give to me will be held securely and not made available to a third-party. The information gathered will be stored in a password protected computer and will be kept for five years, after which I will destroy it.

If you experience any distress or discomfort at any point in this process, we will stop the survey or resume another time if you deem it fit. This study will be written up as a research report which will be available online through the university library website. At least one publishable journal article will be extracted from the research report.

Should in case you have questions at the onset or during the survey, do not hesitate to draw my attention. More so, if the questions arise after the survey, feel free to contact me on the details provided below. On the broader perspective, If you have any concerns or complaints regarding the ethical procedures of this study, you are welcome to contact the University Human Research Ethics Committee (Non-Medical), telephone +27(0) 11 717 1408, email hrecnon-medical@wits.ac.za

Yours sincerely,

George Ayisi-Boateng
Doctoral Research Candidate
M: +27 60 980 3533/ +233 20 811 2911
2262218@students.wits.ac.za/ ayisi31@gmail.com

Professor Imhotep P. Alagidede
Academic/Thesis Supervisor
Tel: +27 011 717 3996/ M: +27 78 178 1310
Imhotep.Alagidede@wits.ac.za

1. Specific designation your primary business/ Type of business

……
……
……
……

2. Duration of your business or company

……...…….

……

3. Length of stay in this country/Citizen by birth…...……

4. Gender…….……...

5. Your Age……...……

6. Educational background……...…….

7. Please provide the reasons why you decided to engage in your current business/businesses

……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……..

8. What is your assessment of the role of private businesses in the development of Ghana?

……
……
……
……
……
……

9. What is your position/stance on the relationship between the private business sector and job creation in general?

……
……
……
……

10. In your opinion, what have been the impacts of the policies of the post-1993 political regimes of Ghana on the business sector of the country?

……
……
……
……
……

11. Please provide your views on the performance of the Ghanaian business sector in relation to the post-1993 political regimes of the country

……
……
……
……
……

12. Which regime in your view has provided the most business friendly environment and what do you think have been the reasons for this?

……
……
……
……
……
……

13. Please provide some recent statistics on your business operations as at December 2018

Number of workers	
Products/ items	
% of local components	
% of output exported	
0ther:	

14. Your recommendations on the way forward on the role that could be played by privately-owned businesses in the primary sector to promote the development of Ghana

……..
……
……

……
……
……
……

Section 1j Owners of formal and informal businesses in the secondary sector (manufacturing/ construction/ handicrafts)

Dear Sir / Madam,

My name is George Ayisi-Boateng, second-year PhD student in the School of Business at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. I am currently conducting a research titled "*Political regimes and economic development in Ghana's Fourth Republic*" under the supervision of Professor Imhotep Paul Alagidede. The main drive of the study is to measure the extent to which political parties under Ghana's multi-party-political democratic system are providing leadership and contributing to stable and sustainable socio-economic development for various stakeholder groups in the country.

In the above context, I would like to invite you to voluntarily participate by answering to a self-designed survey questionnaire that will take averagely 15 minutes. There will be no personal costs to you if you decide to participate in this survey. You will not receive any direct benefits from participation, however, there are no disadvantages or penalties (or prejudices) if you do not choose to participate or if you withdraw from the study. Besides, you may withdraw at any time or decide not to answer any question if you do not want to. The survey will be completely confidential and anonymous as I will not be asking for direct personal details, like your name, phone number, social security number, or any personal identifying information, and the responses you give to me will be held securely and not made available to a third-party. The information gathered will be stored in a password protected computer and will be kept for five years, after which I will destroy it.

If you experience any distress or discomfort at any point in this process, we will stop the survey or resume another time if you deem it fit. This study will be written up as a research report which will be available online through the university library website. At least one publishable journal article will be extracted from the research report.

Should in case you have questions at the onset or during the survey, do not hesitate to draw my attention. More so, if the questions arise after the survey, feel free to contact me on the details provided below. On the broader perspective, If you have any concerns or complaints regarding the ethical procedures of this study, you are welcome to contact the University Human Research Ethics Committee (Non-Medical), telephone +27(0) 11 717 1408, email hrecnon-medical@wits.ac.za

Yours sincerely,

George Ayisi-Boateng
Doctoral Research Candidate
M: +27 60 980 3533/ +233 20 811 2911
2262218@students.wits.ac.za/ ayisi31@gmail.com

Professor Imhotep P. Alagidede
Academic/Thesis Supervisor

Tel: +27 011 717 3996/ M: +27 78 178 1310
Imhotep.Alagidede@wits.ac.za

1. Specific designation your business/ Type of business

……
……
……
……

2. Duration of your business or company

...……...…….

……

3. Length of stay in this country/Citizen by birth…...……

4. Gender…….……...

5. Your Age……...

6. Educational background……

7. Please provide the reasons why you decided to engage in your current business/businesses

……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……..

8. What is your assessment of the role of private businesses in the development of Ghana?

……
……
……
……
……
……

9. What is your position/stance on the relationship between the private business sector and job creation in general?

……
……

……
……

10. In your opinion, what have been the impacts of the policies of the post-1993 political regimes of Ghana on the business sector of the country?

……
……
……
……
……

11. Please provide your views on the performance of the Ghanaian business sector in relation to the post-1993 political regimes of the country

……
……
……
……
……

12. Which regime in your view has provided the most business friendly environment and what do you think have been the reasons for this?

……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……

13. Please provide some recent statistics on your business operations as at December 2018

Number of workers	
Products/ items	
% of local components	
% of output exported	
0ther:	

14. Your recommendations on the way forward on the role that could be played by privately-owned businesses in the secondary sector to promote the development of Ghana

……..
……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……

Section 1k Owners of formal and informal businesses in the services sector (security companies/ banking and insurance/ law firms/ education/ health/ transport and communications/ catering, tourism/ beauty salons/ dress making or tailoring/ local commercial activities/ import-export businesses/ information technology/ repair services)

Dear Sir / Madam,

My name is Georege Ayisi-Boateng, second-year PhD student in the School of Business at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. I am currently conducting a research titled "*Political regimes and economic development in Ghana's Fourth Republic*" under the supervision of Professor Imhotep Paul Alagidede. The main drive of the study is to measure the extent to which political parties under Ghana's multi-party-political democratic system are providing leadership and contributing to stable and sustainable socio-economic development for various stakeholder groups in the country.

In the above context, I would like to invite you to voluntarily participate by answering to a self-designed survey questionnaire that will take averagely 15 minutes. There will be no personal costs to you if you decide to participate in this survey. You will not receive any direct benefits from participation, however, there are no disadvantages or penalties (or prejudices) if you do not choose to participate or if you withdraw from the study. Besides, you may withdraw at any time or decide not to answer any question if you do not want to. The survey will be completely confidential and anonymous as I will not be asking for direct personal details, like your name, phone number, social security number, or any personal identifying information, and the responses you give to me will be held securely and not made available to a third-party. The information gathered will be stored in a password protected computer and will be kept for five years, after which I will destroy it.

If you experience any distress or discomfort at any point in this process, we will stop the survey or resume another time if you deem it fit. This study will be written up as a research report which will be available online through the university library website. At least one publishable journal article will be extracted from the research report.

Should in case you have questions at the onset or during the survey, do not hesitate to draw my attention. More so, if the questions arise after the survey, feel free to contact me on the details provided below. On the broader perspective, If you have any concerns or complaints regarding the ethical procedures of this study, you are welcome to contact the University Human Research Ethics Committee (Non-Medical), telephone +27(0) 11 717 1408, email hrecnon-medical@wits.ac.za

Yours sincerely,

George Ayisi-Boateng
Doctoral Research Candidate
M: +27 60 980 3533/ +233 20 811 2911
2262218@students.wits.ac.za/ ayisi31@gmail.com

Professor Imhotep P. Alagidede
Academic/Thesis Supervisor
Tel: +27 011 717 3996/ M: +27 78 178 1310
Imhotep.Alagidede@wits.ac.za

1. Specific designation your business/ Type of business

……
……
……
……

2. Duration of your business or company

……...……...…….

……

3. Length of stay in this country/Citizen by birth……...……

4. Gender……...

5. Your Age……

6. Educational background…….

7. Please provide the reasons why you decided to engage in your current business/businesses

……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……..

9. What is your assessment of the role of private businesses in the development of Ghana?

……
……
……
……
……
……

10. What is your position/stance on the relationship between the private business sector and job creation in general?

……
……
……
……

11. In your opinion, what have been the impacts of the policies of the post-1993 political regimes of Ghana on the business sector of the country?

……
……
……
……
……

12. Please provide your views on the performance of the Ghanaian business sector in relation to the post-1993 political regimes of the country

……
……
……
……
……

13. Which regime in your view has provided the most business friendly environment and what do you think have been the reasons for this?

……
……
……
……
……
……

14. Please provide some recent statistics on your business operations as at December 2018

Number of workers	
Products/ items	
% of local components	
% of output exported	
0ther:	

15. Your recommendations on the way forward on the role that could be played by privately-owned businesses in the services sector to promote the development of Ghana

……..…….. ……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……

Section 1m The Unemployed

Dear Sir / Madam,

My name is Georege Ayisi-Boateng, second-year PhD student in the School of Business at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. I am currently conducting a research titled "*Political regimes and economic development in Ghana's Fourth Republic*" under the supervision of Professor Imhotep Paul Alagidede. The main drive of the study is to measure the extent to which political parties under Ghana's multi-party-political democratic system are providing leadership and contributing to stable and sustainable socio-economic development for various stakeholder groups in the country.

In the above context, I would like to invite you to voluntarily participate by answering to a self-designed survey questionnaire that will take averagely 15 minutes. There will be no personal costs to you if you decide to participate in this survey. You will not receive any direct benefits from participation, however, there are no disadvantages or penalties (or prejudices) if you do not choose to participate or if you withdraw from the study. Besides, you may withdraw at any time or decide not to answer any question if you do not want to. The survey will be completely confidential and anonymous as I will not be asking for direct personal details, like your name, phone number, social security number, or any personal identifying information, and the responses you give to me will be held securely and not made available to a third-party. The information gathered will be stored in a password protected computer and will be kept for five years, after which I will destroy it.

If you experience any distress or discomfort at any point in this process, we will stop the survey or resume another time if you deem it fit. This study will be written up as a research report which will be available online through the university library website. At least one publishable journal article will be extracted from the research report.

Should in case you have questions at the onset or during the survey, do not hesitate to draw my attention. More so, if the questions arise after the survey, feel free to contact me on the details provided below. On the broader perspective, If you have any concerns or complaints regarding the ethical procedures of this study, you are welcome to contact the University Human Research Ethics Committee (Non-Medical), telephone +27(0) 11 717 1408, email hrecnon-medical@wits.ac.za

Yours sincerely,

George Ayisi-Boateng
Doctoral Research Candidate
M: +27 60 980 3533/ +233 20 811 2911
2262218@students.wits.ac.za/ ayisi31@gmail.com

Professor Imhotep P. Alagidede
Academic/Thesis Supervisor
Tel: +27 011 717 3996/ M: +27 78 178 1310
Imhotep.Alagidede@wits.ac.za

1. How long have you remained unemployed?

……
……
……
……

2. Please provide an account of the ways in which you are coping with your unemployment situation

……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……

3. Length of stay in this country/Citizen by birth…..……

4. Gender……....

5. Age…….

6. Educational background……...

7. What is your assessment of the role of private businesses in the development of Ghana?

……
……
……
……
……
……

8. What is your position/stance on the relationship between the private business sector and job creation in general?

……
……
……
……

9. In your opinion, what have been the impacts of the policies of the post-1993 political regimes of Ghana on the business sector of the country?

……
……
……
……
……

10. Please provide your views on the performance of the Ghanaian business sector in relation to the post-1993 political regimes of the country

……
……
……
……
……

11. Which regime in your view has provided the most business friendly environment and what do you think have been the reasons for this?

……
……
……
……
……
……

12. Your recommendations on the way forward on the role that could be played by privately-owned businesses in addressing the unemployment problem / challenge of Ghana

……..……...
……
……
……
……
……

Section 1n Members of the media houses

Dear Sir / Madam,

My name is Georege Ayisi-Boateng, second-year PhD student in the School of Business at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. I am currently conducting a research titled "*Political regimes and economic development in Ghana's Fourth Republic*" under the supervision of Professor Imhotep Paul Alagidede. The main drive of the study is to measure the extent to which political parties under Ghana's multi-party-political democratic system are providing leadership and contributing to stable and sustainable socio-economic development for various stakeholder groups in the country.

In the above context, I would like to invite you to voluntarily participate by answering to a self-designed survey questionnaire that will take averagely 15 minutes. There will be no personal costs to you if you decide to participate in this survey. You will not receive any direct benefits from participation, however, there are no disadvantages or penalties (or prejudices) if you do not choose to participate or if you withdraw from the study. Besides, you may withdraw at any time or decide not to answer any question if you do not want to. The survey will be completely confidential and anonymous as I will not be asking for direct personal details, like your name, phone number, social security number, or any personal identifying information, and the responses you give to me will be held securely and not made available to a third-party. The information gathered will be stored in a password protected computer and will be kept for five years, after which I will destroy it.

If you experience any distress or discomfort at any point in this process, we will stop the survey or resume another time if you deem it fit. This study will be written up as a research report which will be available online through the university library website. At least one publishable journal article will be extracted from the research report.

Should in case you have questions at the onset or during the survey, do not hesitate to draw my attention. More so, if the questions arise after the survey, feel free to contact me on the details provided below. On the broader perspective, If you have any concerns or complaints regarding the ethical procedures of this study, you are welcome to contact the University Human Research Ethics Committee (Non-Medical), telephone +27(0) 11 717 1408, email hrecnon-medical@wits.ac.za

Yours sincerely,

George Ayisi-Boateng
Doctoral Research Candidate
M: +27 60 980 3533/ +233 20 811 2911

2262218@students.wits.ac.za/ ayisi31@gmail.com

Professor Imhotep P. Alagidede
Academic/Thesis Supervisor
Tel: +27 011 717 3996/ M: +27 78 178 1310
Imhotep.Alagidede@wits.ac.za

1. How long have you worked as a media person?

……
……

2. Your position, status in your current media house

……...…….

……

3. How long has your current media house being in operation?.....……

4. Length of stay in this country/Citizen by birth……...……

5. Gender……..……...

6. Age……..……

7. Educational background……...…….

8. What is your assessment of the role of private businesses in the development of Ghana?

……
……
……
……
……
……

9. What is your position/stance on the relationship between the private business sector and job creation in general?

……
……
……
……

10. In your opinion, what have been the impacts of the policies of the post-1993 political regimes of Ghana on the business sector of the country?

……
……

……
……
……

11. Please provide your views on the performance of the Ghanaian business sector in relation to the post-1993 political regimes of the country

……
……
……
……
……

12. Which political regime in your view has provided the most business friendly environment and what do you think have been the reasons for this?

……
……
……
……
……
……

13. Your recommendations on the way forward on the role that could be played by privately-owned businesses in the development of Ghana

……...
……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……

Section 2: Likert scale-based questions to be administered to ALL the research participants

Please indicate how you would rank the achievements/developments/problems associated with the post-1993 governments of Ghana in terms of the variables indicated in the table.

Table 1: Your opinions on some important issues on the achievements within the business sector of Ghana since 1993

Indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree with the following statements					
	Strongly Disagree	**Disagree**	**Neither**	**Agree**	**Strongly Agree**
Cost of living: The material conditions of living of the Ghanaian population have generally improved since 1994					
The poverty situation has been reduced since 1994					
The employment situation in the country has improved since 1994					
Addressing the inequalities in the living conditions in the country occupies a central position in the development plans of the Ghanaian political parties					
Entrepreneurship development is today acknowledged as a key strategy for addressing a number of national development problems					
Entrepreneurship development is a central feature in the manifestos and development plans of the post-1993 political party dispensation of Ghana					
The manifestos and development plans of the post-1993 political regimes indicate clearly that the government see an intimate link between entrepreneurship development and other key sectors of the Ghanaian economy					
I am aware of the many government-sponsored entrepreneurship development programmes on the country					
The strategy of using public media to advertise entrepreneurship development					

programmes to Ghanaians is commendable					
The strategy of using the public education/schools system to popularize business development courses and programmes to Ghanaians is commendable					
Entrepreneurship development can help create more jobs in Ghana					
Entrepreneurship development can help raise the capita income levels in Ghana					
Entrepreneurship development can help reduce the culture of dependence of Ghanaians on imported goods and services					
Entrepreneurship development can help spread the culture of self-employment and thereby reduce the levels of inequalities, underinvestment and poverty in Ghana.					
Developing the entrepreneurship sector can help reduce the culture of the public looking up to government for employment					
Entrepreneurship development can help raise the self-esteem of individuals and communities and release the productive potentials in Ghanaians					
There is the need for constant evaluation of the impacts of the post-1993 government programmes on entrepreneurship development					
Evaluating the programmes can help to compare the achievements of the post-1993 political regimes of Ghana					
Evaluating the programmes can help to disclose the nature of the obstacles in the way of implementing the entrepreneurship development plans of the post-1993 political regimes of Ghana.					
Evaluating the programmes can help to disclose the various branches of the entrepreneurship development sector					

currently linked to the programmes of the post01993 political regimes					
The situation regarding the performance of the informal business sector in particular, can emerge from the evaluative research projects					
The situation regarding foreign ownership of businesses in Ghana can also emerge from the evaluative studies					
Other critical issues such as the negative environmental impacts and other criminal activities of the businesses. could also emerge from the evaluative studies					
The findings from the research on the entrepreneurship sector of Ghana has the potential to disclose information of vital importance to the sustained development of the economy of the country.					

Section 3: Open-ended questions requesting the opinions, explanations, critique and recommendations of ALL the research participants. Responses from specific constructs would be incorporated into information gathered from Section 1, so as to have two broader sections on the survey questionnaires, that is, a quantitative-informed part and a qualitative part.

3.1 Please indicate and justify your own definition, ranking or ideal indicators of what you conceive to be the 5 topmost current development priorities of the entrepreneurship sector of Ghana

……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……

3.2 Please provide a list (a ranking) of what you think constitute the 5 major obstacles or problems facing the development of the entrepreneurship/ business sector

……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……

3.3 Please indicate and justify your opinion on the use of political parties as the key tools for providing overarching leadership in the development of the entrepreneurship sector of Ghana

……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……

3.4 If you have alternative views on the use of political parties as tools for the development of this sector, please provide details on your preferred model

……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……

3.5 Please indicate and justify your opinion on the roles of the political party manifestoes and their development plans as tools for giving direction to the development programmes on the entrepreneurship sector of Ghana.

……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……

3.6 What is your general opinion regarding the overall achievements of the ruling political parties in the development of the entrepreneurship sector of Ghana since 1993?

……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……..

3.7 In terms of your answer above, what factors would you like to attribute to the successes of the ruling political parties in implementing their plans on enterprise development since 1993?

……
……
……
……
……

……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……

3.8 In terms of the answer above, what factors would you, on the other hand, like to attribute to the failures of the ruling political parties since 1993 to help to address the entrepreneurship development programmes of the country?

……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……

3.9 Please provide the reasons you think influence the current status/position of the Ghanaian business community in addressing the food, clothing and medical needs of Ghanaians

……
……
……
……

……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……

3.10 Please give your opinion as to how the returns from Ghanaian-owned businesses could be relied upon to provide resources (e.g. investment funds) for projects in infrastructure development, social services and other critical development projects in Ghana

……
……
……
……

……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……..

3.11 Please provide and justify your preferred strategy for regulating the activities of the business sector of Ghana

……
……
……
……
……

……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……

3.12 Provide your position/ perspective regarding NPP and NDC political party manifestos and programmes such as "A *Better Ghana: Investing in People, Jobs and the Economy*" (NDC, 2008), "*Advancing the Better Ghana agenda- Jobs Stability*" (NDC, 2012). "One *district, One Factory*"; "*Planting for Food and Jobs*" (NPP, 2016) and how they relate to the entrepreneurship development project of Ghana.

……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……

3.13 What is your position regarding the relevance of the concept of the Developmental State in addressing the entrepreneurship development challenges of Ghana?

……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……

3.14 Please provide some perspectives of the nature of the public critiques of the government regimes in terms of their entrepreneurship development programmes since 1993. Please provide concrete cases to support your examples

……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……

……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……

3.15 Please provide your overall recommendations regarding what you think the Ghanaian political regimes need to do to empower the business sector of the country to enable it succeed in systematically raising the living conditions of the various communities of the country.

……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……

3.16 Please raise any other issues you might have on this topic

……
……
……
……
……

THANK YOU