ASHESI UNIVERSITY COLLEGE

PAN-AFRICANISM, NEO-ELITES AND CONTEMPORARY AFRICAN TRANSFORMATION: A CASE STUDY OF GHANA

By

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis is the result of my own original work and that no part of it has been presented for another degree in this university or elsewhere.

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I hereby declare that the preparation and presentation of the thesis *were supervised in accordance with the guidelines on supervision of thesis laid down by Ashesi University College.*

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Lord knows.

ABSTRACT

This research sought to find out if there exist in Ghana, a group of people theorized as "neo-elites", and if they did, could they use tenets of Pan-Africanism to drive transformational change in Ghana. The respondents selected for this research included, individuals in top and mid-level occupational positions, across various industries; and returnees who have come back home to Ghana, to settle down and live.

This research was exploratory and qualitative in nature. In total, 16 people participated in this study, two of which took part in a face-to-face interview. The remaining 14 participants provided data by completing an in-depth mixed questionnaire. In both cases, all respondents provided questions on the themes of Pan-Africanism, the elites of society and neo-colonialism.

Relevant and adequate literature was used in this study according to the three themes aforementioned. In analyzing the data gotten from each respondent, thematic analysis was used. The analyzed data were linked to the objectives of the research as well as the literature used to conduct the research.

From the analysis, some conclusions were made, which included that, leadership is a major contributing factor to the appalling socio-economic condition of Ghana. Based on this, it was recommended that a leadership reform program should be set up to provide the needed skills and public office training, to the individuals who are to assume public office positions, in service to the nation.

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Chapter I: INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

1.1 Introduction

This section provides a general background to this research study. It constitutes of the problem statement, research question, research objectives, theoretical framework, the significance of the research and the hypothesis which guides this research.

1.2 Background

Since the start of gaining national independence, majority of sub-Saharan African nations have so far failed to reach the heights, and achieve the progress self-government promised to provide during the post-colonial era. It has been said that, if a nation's history is its measure tape, then it brings to the forefront a clear picture of the nation's past to its own view, so that it may be compared with the present, to see if there has been either progress or retrogression. Hence, if there has been progress, the question raised should be if that progress is a genuine one or a hindered one, and to an extreme case just a façade. Thus, this should serve as a means of judging the nation itself, by others, so that the nation and its people may gather information for future guidance.

As it stands, African nations, especially the sub-Saharan ones, have experienced little or no progress after **decolonization**. What has been

experienced has mostly been either stagnation or retrogression for majority of these nations. Looking at the sequential manner of historical events - **colonialism** which preceded decolonization, and **national independence** which followed afterwards - national independence is considered a milestone for which the progress of a nation should take place after the horrors of colonialism. However, in 21st century Africa, decolonization and national independence almost mean nothing as colonialism never left Africa but rather evolved to what is now known as **neo-colonialism**. Thus, it is suggested that because of neo-colonialism (one of many other reasons) and its adverse effects, majority of sub-Saharan African nations are still underdeveloped and are finding it hard to create societies where the good things of life are produced and made available to one and all.

However, for every problem, there has to be at least one solution to fix the issue. As a result of the current status of most sub-Saharan African nations and to an extent, the whole of the African continent, the main aim of this research is to enact a new beginning of transformation for Africans, by Africans in Africa. When I speak of transformation, I refer to shifting away permanently from the appalling situations most African nations face in terms of leadership, poor economic and social conditions, the inferiority complex of Africans vis-à-vis the European, American and now increasingly the Asian continent. In this light, I see the need for Africans, to take a revised look at the Pan-Africanist ideas and visions Garvey had when he proclaimed these words: "Where is the Black man's Government?" "Where is his King and his kingdom?" "Where is his President, his country, and his ambassador, his

army, his navy, his men of big affairs?" I could not find them, and then I declared, "I will help to make them" (Garvey, 1992).

Furthermore, a new group of people called the neo-elites (a term coined by Amoah in 2010) will use these Pan-Africanist ideas to lead positive national and continental transformation. When speaking about national and continental transformation, **development** is what will drive this agenda. But what essentially measures development in this context? Industrialization, booming economies, modern infrastructures, massive highways and so forth; these are some few words currently associated used in measuring if a nation is developed. However, in the context of this research, given the pressing economic and social predicaments in Africa, development should start from making sure that "the people have enough to eat without spending too great a part of their income upon food. That they have a reasonably comfortable place to sleep, they have light, a ready supply of water, education for their growing children and future generation, adequate medical care and welfare services" (Nkrumah, 1973). Thus, when this can be achieved for almost every persons of the African continent, we can then say we have started developing. This is because as it stands with the picture of today, we are neither developing nor developed, as a large proportion of native African inhabitants do not have the aforementioned things.

This research is guided by three schools of thought, which are Pan-Africanism, neo-elites and neo-colonialism; and each should be understood in relation to the context of this study. So, what then is Pan-Africanism?

Generally, from the inception of the idea, Pan-Africanism was a movement of Africans, by people of African descent aimed at achieving the sole purpose of the continual advancement of all African people in every corner of the world. This movement was enacted because of the inevitable need for action to be taken in order to bring to an end, the unsavory sufferings and hardships, and exploitation faced by people of the Negro race, both abroad (in the Americas, Europe, etc.) and in their very homeland, Africa, inflicted by a group of people belonging to the white race with a bludgeoning ethnocentric mindset who saw themselves superior than the peoples of the Negro race. Secondly, understanding who the neo-elites are, is very important. They are the ones who are to be seen as the "handlers", using the tenets of Pan-Africanism to enact and drive national transformation. According to Amoah (2010), the neo-elites, are a group of people, who are deeply anguished and restless by the underdevelopment of their respective nations and its inferior status vis-à-vis the developed countries. Due to the like-mindedness of these individuals who share a certain vision of the nation they want to build, they provide the strategic, ideational, managerial, organizational, inspirational and leadership inputs for the task of national transformation (Amoah, 2010). In relation to this particular research, as part of their bid to lead national transformation, an important objective they must achieve whilst on their journey, is to finally eradicate the still lingering tentacles of imperialism in 21st century Africa. Thirdly, Kwame Nkrumah described neo-colonialism as the use of economic, political, cultural, or other pressures to control and influence other countries, especially former dependencies. Nkrumah's definition of what neo-colonialism

is, further asserts the claim that colonial rule over native inhabitants of Africa never left our shores. However, it remained and still brings serious predicaments to the former colonies of the African continent. Thus, if colonialism never left Africa, but rather evolved to suit the socio-economic and political changes of time, it is safe to suggest that the exploitation which happened in the colonial era is still continuing in 21st century African but happening in a disguised form as a result of its evolution.

In Africa, mostly sub-Saharan Africa, a lot of things and factors can be related to the continent's plight in terms of development. All over the media, in books, articles and other source of readily available information, the African continent is a termed as either "underdeveloped" or "developing". When our economies are being talked about, we hear these words as a prefix to it, likewise our industries, societies, and talent. In lieu of this, the other side of the world continually see it as an opportunity to tap in into these "developing" pool of resources both material and human, to suit their interests and beneficiaries. However, no one takes a minute to pause and ask or ponder if the people "tapping-into" Africa make our continent better off or worse off. We just resign to the continual fulfillment of their self-interests, with no regard for the welfare of the native inhabitants of the land.

1.3 Problem statement

- Since decolonization finished, majority of sub-Saharan African nations, have found themselves laden in a continual state of appalling socio-economic conditions; and a sight to the end of this seems nowhere close.

- In 21st century Africa, external influences (factors) via some institutions are hindering developmental progress for sub-Saharan nations.

1.4 Research Question

Is there a group of people who can be categorized as neo-elites, and can they enact a transformational, socio-economic change by using the tenets of Pan-Africanism to drive development in Ghana?

1.5 Research Objectives

This research study aims to achieve five (5) main objectives:

1. To find out if Pan-Africanist ideas can be used effectively, to lead national transformation for majority of African nations

2. To find out if there exist neo-elites in Ghana as theorized by Amoah (2010)

3. To find out if these neo-elites have the framework of Pan-Africanism, or are willing to learn and implement the framework to drive transformational change

4. To find out if these neo-elites, are willing to come together, pooling their various resources

5. To find out in what forms, if any, neo-colonialism exists in Ghana and the role it plays in hindering the developmental progress of the nation.

1.6 Theoretical Framework

The main concepts used in conducting this research are Pan-Africanism, neo-elites and neo-colonialism. Pan-Africanism in this research involves the idea that people of African descent should come together pooling their various resources, to play crucial roles in achieving a collective betterment for the people of the Africa and African descent all around the world. A neo-elite in this research, is one who belongs to the select group of people who will provide the strategic ideational, managerial, organizational, inspirational and leadership inputs for the task of national transformation. Finally, neo-colonialism in the context of this research, refers to the use of various avenues, to have direct and or indirect control and influence, over former dependencies by foreign nations for their sole benefit, mostly economical. In relation to this study in presenting an idea on how to go about national transformation in Ghana, these three independent variables were selected. These variables were chosen based on readings of scholarly works in relation

to the field. As a result, these three variables are very useful in our view and this particular context. The variables chosen include: neo-elites, Pan-Africanism (its implementation) and neo-colonialism. All these have been written on extensively in the literature review and thus, have been justified to be categorized as important to this study. The following symbolic representation of the conceptual framework has been formulated to capture the linkages between these variables:

African Developmental Transformation = f {neo-Elites,

implementation of Pan-Africanist ideas, tackle neo-colonialism}

$$AFD = f \{NE + PA - NC\}$$

1.7 Significance of the Research

At the end of this research, the study should serve the following significances:

1. To inspire further research on national transformation via the pathway of Pan-Africanism

2. To provide a perspective on Leadership for other African nations who are looking to achieve socio-economic transformation via a different pathway

3. To test the idea of neo-elites advanced by Amoah (2010; 2011)

1.8 Hypothesis

If neo-elites do exist in Ghana, and they have the ideals that govern Pan-Africanism as explained in this study, and are willing use it for the developmental transformation of Ghana, it suggests that the outcome of the agenda of national transformation, socio-economic, will result in a major improvement of the socio-economic conditions of the country amongst other things.

Chapter II: Literature Review

This section will expand greatly on the three schools of thought briefly discussed in the in the introduction and the theoretical frame work in the first chapter. Linkages were made interchangeably between the three theories to give concrete reason and understanding within the context of this work.

2.1 Pan-Africanism

Due to the appalling and to a large extent inhumane treatment of the peoples of the Negro race by the peoples of the White race, intellectuals of the Negro race from the Americas, West Indies and Europe, came together for the very first Pan-African congress held in London in 1900, to set forth the agenda of Pan-Africanism. It was at this congress, that the word "Pan-Africanism" was birthed. At this congress, the agenda mainly was to abolish the inequalities brought about by the problem of the color-line, the question as to how far differences of race—which show themselves chiefly in the color of the skin and the texture of the hair; served as a basis of denying to over half the world the right of sharing to their utmost ability the opportunities and privileges of modern civilization (Walters, Brown, & Dubois, 1900). Thus, through this identification of the problem, people of the Negro race, sent out a series of request to the colonial powers to adhere to the following things but not limited to:

the natives of Africa should not be sacrificed to the greed of

gold, their liberties taken away, their family life debauched,

their just aspirations repressed, and avenues of advancement and culture taken from them, that the cloak of Christian missionary enterprise should not be allowed to hide the ruthless economic exploitation and political downfall of less developed nations, that the British nation give, as soon as practicable, the rights of responsible government to the black colonies of Africa and the West Indies, and that the States of the Negro people should be free, and its prosperity be counted not simply in cash and commerce, but in the happiness and true advancement of its black people (Walters, Brown, & Dubois, 1900).

Later on, Garvey's input to Pan-Africanism between 1941 and 1925 came with two added tasks to the Pan-Africanism agenda. The first task was to help create black governments, presidents, armies, etc., and the second task, to build a black superpower in Africa for the benefits of all of African descents. His motivation behind this was his firsthand experience of seeing the appalling conditions and situations of Blacks in the North American, Europe and the Caribbean territories. In his quest for achieving this, Garvey explained in his book, *Philosophy & Opinions of Marcus Garvey* "that the Negro peoples of the world should concentrate upon the object of building up for themselves a great nation in Africa, of creating for themselves a political superstate, a government, a nation of their own, strong enough to lend protection to the members of our race scattered all over the world, and to compel the respect of the nations and races of the earth" (Garvey, 1992).

Fast forward to present day, despite the fact that all nations on the African continent have gained independence in respect to being colonized, most of these nations have so far failed to build for themselves what Garvey set forth to achieve with the people of the Negro races. In other words, the Pan-Africanist agenda has not been realized in Africa yet. To say this is out loud is disheartening, but it is the painful truth that after 113 years of the first Pan-African congress held in London, that majority of Africans existing (not living) in their various countries are still in appalling socio-economic conditions. Down the years, at the 5th Pan-Africanism congress held in Manchester in October 1945, of which Kwame Nkrumah played a major role in organizing, he provided a clear re-defined explanation of what the ideology of Pan-Africanism is. He described it as an anti-imperialist concept which will be used to liberate the underprivileged and be seen as avenue to build a socialist society for people of Africa and of African descents. For that congress, Nkrumah drafted a resolution which read:

> "we believe in the rights of all peoples to govern themselves. We affirm the rights of all colonial peoples to control their own destiny. All colonies must be free from foreign imperialist control, whether political or economic. The peoples of the colonies must have the right to elect their own government; a government without restrictions from a foreign power. We say to the peoples of the colonies that they must strive for these goals by all means at their disposal" (Pratt, 2008).

Through the former and the latter explanations of what Pan-Africanism sought to achieve, in simple terms, we can say it sought to achieve the betterment of people of the African descent; of which they controlled their own destinies with the resources at their disposal, building for themselves a society which suits and speaks of them and not anyone else. So in recognizing this situation, how then can Africans take things into their own hands and push to create a society and at large a continent of their own liking were the basic things such as quality education, clean drinking water, shelter and equal opportunities are available to all. In a paper presented at the Centre for Black and African Arts and Civilization (CBAAC) conference held at Abuja in 2010, Chinweizu debunks some fallacies which suggest that African nations are progressing, as against what should actually be, post-independence. He called on Africans to stop and take a reality check to see how far we have gone. This takes us back to **chapter 1** where I have discussed how our history should serve as a measure tape, either to show us our successes or failures and thus, to provide us with some future guidance. An important fallacy Chinweizu (2010) wants us to dispel, is the idea that self-government of African states means independence for African states. With this, he explains how there has been no fundamental change in the political, economic and cultural structures which the colonial era planted in Africa. This is true in Ghana, as well as most African states mimic the democratic style of governorship of Western nations. This happens, irrespective of the fact that this form of governorship may not really suit well with how the innate African society should be governed based on history.

Nonetheless, African nations are to evolve with time, but must do so with a sense of the genuine African identity intact. For example, if African nations are to practice the Westernized form of democracy, we can do so by blending it, with what our own culture suggests; thus, making it sit well within us. This will enable African nations manage its own affairs appropriately and not just mirror exactly what is been done in the West. Otherwise we become confused, and allow the people who understand their own form of governorship dictate to us how to rule our people. Furthermore, another point regarding independence, is that our cultures are continually been diluted deeply by the Western culture and this is now seen and accepted as part of globalization. It then begs the question, of why anything coming out of our side of the globe isn't seen as an integral part of globalization. Why is it that only things from the Western part of the world, and increasingly the Asian part of the world, are seen as integral part of globalization? This dates back to 113 years ago when the assertion was made in the first Pan-African congress not to let the issue of the "color-line" be made the basis of denying to over half the world the right of sharing to their utmost ability the opportunities and privileges of modern civilization (Walters, Brown, & Dubois, 1900). Yet, this is still evident in the present day and that is why Chinweizu (2010) suggests that on our journey to totally liberation, we must as Africans win the centuries old race war, which is not over, so that we as Africans can gain self-respect as a member of a powerful race, losing the inferiority complexes and insecurities that undermine the confidence and life of people of the black race (Chinweizu, 2010). If we can do this, we shall gain the

great respect of the rest of the world, were we also shall be looked upon as a powerful race to bring forth things which are seen as an integral part to globalization.

Contrary to Garvey's notion of Pan-Africanism been totally led and administered by the people of the Negro race, and subsequently Chinweizu's (2010) assertion that the same should be done by peoples of African race/descent, W.E.B DuBois, suggested that the Pan-African movement should be conducted under an international governing body. He states, "This Africa for the Africans could be under the guidance of international organization. The governing international commission should represent not simply governments, but modern culture, science, commerce, social reform, and religious philanthropy. It must represent not simply the white world, but the civilized Negro world" (DuBois, 1945). In my opinion putting the movement of a group of oppressed and exploited people under an international commission which is governed by members of the people who are actually doing the oppression and exploitation seems unwise. However, DuBois goes on to suggest that the principle of self-determination cannot be applied to the uncivilized peoples (referring to the uneducated people of the Negro race), but the educated blacks should have a say in the movement guided on this international commission. Although there is a clear disposition of how the Pan-African movement should take place and who runs it, the end result suggested by all parties is practically the same thing in terms of what Pan-Africanism sought to achieve.

2.2 The Neo-Elites

The elites of any society, according to Marx & Engels (1967) are the ruling class. Marx & Engels saw it from the point view of those who own the means of production and possessed higher economic status; and through this could control the affairs of the state (Marx & Engels, 1967). According to Marx & Engels (1967), the vast difference in wealth and status, created a class divide, which consisted of the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. In this situation, the bourgeoisie got more economic power, and the proletariats worked for the ruling class whilst they remained in their low improvised state. As a result of controlling the means of production and thus, the economy, the bourgeoisie (elites) could then control other things of the society, including the state structures and to a large extent, religious institutions. Through this they could spread their ideologies, ideologies which are reflections of their image; making them being accepted as the norm or status quo of the society - in what is termed "ideological hegemony". Thus, the proletariats which are made up of the rest of the society, work painstakingly for the bourgeoisie, whilst their efforts in trying to be like them, result in vain aspirations (Marx & Engels, 1967). As a result of time, a lot of things have evolved, and the notion of being as part of the elite class in any particular society has evolved as well. In the 21st century, there are various ways in which a person can be termed as part of the elite class, and not just through the economic status of the individual. These other ways, include but not limited to, level of education, importance to the society and contribution to the society or the world at large. Thus, Amoah (2010) recognizing that

these sort of people existed, looking at the transformation of China and Singapore, put forward a theory which suggested that China and Singapore's transformations were as result of a new kind of elites he termed "neo-elites" who came together to address their respective nations problems. The socio-economic problems China and Singapore faced were very severe, and some may even argue that their situation was worse than what most African nations are facing today. As a result of their continuous plight, these neo-elites felt deeply anguished by the underdevelopment of their nations and its inferior status vis-à-vis the developed countries. As a result, they provided the strategic ideational, managerial, organizational, inspirational and leadership inputs for the task of national transformation (Amoah, 2010). In doing so, the neo-elite class attracts like-minded individuals who share a certain vision of the nation they want to build, and at a point in time the group becomes a fully self-conscious class once it begins the task of national reconstruction (Amoah, 2010). In a positive light, Amoah shows that the elites of any society can be used to do good for that society. If they do have the means of production and influence as Marx & Engels suggests, then they are a catalyst for both positive and negative impact of any society. However, what Amoah has identified with these neo-elites is that they do care to a great extent for the society they find themselves in, and are immensely restless about the appalling situations their respective nations are in. In other words, one may say that they possess a communal mindset for their society, as opposed to the capitalist mindset which dominates in the Western part of the world, the mindset Marx & Engels (1967) outlined as the one of

the major reasons for the class divide of the society. If it is so, that these neo-elites possess a communal mindset, it pushes me to suggest that ingrained in the African society, such persons do exist; because innately, Africans are as such in communal living despite the fact that our culture has been diluted by the West. If these neo-elites do exist in Africa, as Amoah (2010) has described them, then this brings to light what Fanon (1963) expected of the elites of the society to be. Unfortunately, during the time of Fanon, he witnessed a stark contrast of the acts of the elites of the society, labeling them a corrupt set of people whose agenda in Africa was fundamentally the pursuit and protection of their material and pecuniary well-being at the expense of their societies (Fanon, 1963). Nevertheless, in present Africa we see this still happening, it is widespread and the view is that it is a result of the mass corruption by statesmen and authorities of various African nations; claiming that is the main cause of our problem of underdevelopment. To some extent true, but I doubt corruption is largely the cause, and Chinweizu (2010) goes further refuting it by stating "They get us obsessed on corruption, as if it was the root cause of our lack of development. They blind us to the fact that corruption is just one of their devious tools for controlling our leaders. Why, we fail to ask, has chronic and ineradicable corruption in countries like South Korea not prevented their development?" (Chinweizu, 2010). Thus, the corruption of the elites, statesmen and authorities of the society could not be the underlying factor of various African nations' predicaments; however, I ascertain that it does play its role.

As aforementioned, a person part of elite class in the 21st century is not necessarily the person who owns the means, of production; they come in various forms nowadays. Amoah in 2011 further compounded the theory of the neo-elite class, describing them as intellectuals who are conscious of the ideational problematic that needs to be resolved and lies in the heart of national self-actualization (Amoah, 2011). In this work, Amoah was providing a critique of neo-liberal idea which has so far been successfully ingrained in other global societies by the West. Amoah (2011) tries to point out that the neo-liberal idea is not one which could work perfectly for every society. This is true, as societies innately are very much different from each other innately. You need only look at history itself to provide the answer. The history of the Asian continent is different from that of the West, and Africa. So why then is one particular ideology – the neo-liberal ideology, seen as universal one for all? Thus, in being the intellectuals of national transformation for African societies, the neo-elites will be the "new mind" who will make the African society self-interested, and creatively engage her world and the larger world on her own terms without any hegemonic encumbrances, doing so from an African perspective. The neo-elites will counter the influence of the dominant social thinking with regards to neo-liberal thought as well as others, and provide fresh ideas which the continents policymakers and thinkers will use to craft policies in line with the African need (Amoah, 2011). W.E.B DuBois himself acknowledges the role of elites in driving transformations of all sorts. This time, speaking of black intellectuals, he saw them as the group of people capable of guiding the Pan-

Africanist movement to see the fruition of its goals stating "…that while the principle of self-determination cannot be applied to uncivilized peoples, yet the educated blacks should have some voice in the disposition of the German colonies (DuBois, 1945).

2.3 Neo-Colonialism

The mid nineteenth century saw the dismantling of colonial structures in Africa, and the wrestling back of native control from the British, French, Dutch, Spanish, Portuguese, Belgian, Italian and German Republics of the European continent. Through this, came wave after wave of African states gaining independence from their respective colonizing powers. On face value, the era of European colonial empires is over, on sub value, it is still continuing. Post-colonial refers to all the culture affected by the imperial process from the moment of colonization to the present day. This is because there is a continuity of preoccupations throughout the historical process initiated by European imperial aggression (Ashcroft, 1989). Unlike the actual colonial era, it was clear and evident as the colonizers came in their ships and through the shores of the native's land. They settled in and made for themselves, an annexed home and a principal capitalist venture. The difference between now and then is to look closely for how these preoccupations are being conducted in the present era, as it may be difficult to actually identify the continuity of preoccupations. Childs & Williams (1997) go on to explain some of various ways in which European control as well as colonial control is very much present on former colonial territories. Looking at

what they say about 'the modern theatre of neo-colonialist international relations', they explained that although colonial armies, and bureaucracies might have withdrawn from the newly independent African nations, Western powers were still intent on maintaining maximum indirect control over erstwhile colonies, via political, cultural and above all economic channels (Childs & Williams, 1997). They further proclaim what is evident; their main objective of extracting profit from formerly colonized areas, such as it was during the era of colonialism. They relate this phenomenon to the uneven expansion of capitalism from Europe to the rest of the globe. Thus, imperialism was corresponding to the needs of capitalism at the time (Childs & Williams, 1997). Chinweizu (2010) in his own view spoke about how colonialism is not over in Africa and all places over the globe with relevance to the context, and suggested that this is also one of the fallacies we should debunk. He spoke of other forms in which neo-colonialism exists in African states saying, "obligations imposed by debt and aid, the budget details of African countries are vetted each year by the donors of former colonial powers and United Nations (UN) agencies" (Chinweizu, 2010). Furthermore, he speaks about how the IMF and the World Bank, have "fostered a climate of misleading ideas and led us astray and lured us to accept doctrines of 'free market', international division of labor, comparative advantage, 'free trade', etc". Then he points out to how they sponsor every kind of idea for development (economic empowerment, transparency, public private partnership, Freedom of Information, etc.), but do not sponsor the key idea of industrialization—"which they want us to avoid like the plague—lest it

reduces the market for their own industries" (Chinweizu, 2010). Through these examples we see the role of these neo-colonialist intuitions which are disguised as formal legal aiders, worsening the African situation in terms of achieving development. This evidence clearly shows that the path is open to serve their interest at the expense of our own welfare. Nkrumah further expands on this when he says "the result of neo-colonialism is that foreign capital is used for the exploitation rather than for the development of the less developed parts of the world. Investment under neo-colonialism increases rather than decreases the gap between the rich and the poor countries of the world" (Nkrumah, 1973). For example, the scheme of France Afrique practiced by the French Republic from the mid nineteenth till present day over its former colonies was set up to maintain its influence on these states. Their goal included to continually extract natural resources from these countries and have a strategic military presence so that the French republic will be able to easily deploy troops at their need. Furthermore, the scheme was aimed at having a false representation of African presidents in these supposedly independent nations as it was the French Republic who personally oversaw the individuals who took helm of the seat of presidency; for example, Omar Bongo of Gabon, then Ali Bongo who is now the current president of the country (Aljazeera, 2013). Also, we see similar examples in Anglophone speaking African states where former colonizing powers and institutions of the Western world, support a particular individual to be president of a country and to a large extent, oversee the electoral proceedings of "democratic elections" of which misdoings are heard off. An

example of this was in war torn Sierra Leone where the United Nations (UN) made sure that Ahmad Kabbah was president of the country by manipulating the results of the elections (Diaz, 2007). It is largely suggested that the presence of these foreign institutions in Sierra Leone, was because of the mineral resources of the country, especially diamond. Thus, this elaborates further the fact that self-government does not equal independence, as such phenomenon show former colonial powers having an influence on who becomes president in their respective ex-colonies. Nkrumah agrees with this assertion when he writes:

> "the rulers of neo-colonial States derive their authority to govern, not from the will of the people, but from the support which they obtain from their neo-colonial masters. They have therefore little interest in developing education, strengthening the bargaining power of their workers employed by expatriate firms, or indeed in taking any step which would challenge the colonial pattern of commerce and industry, which it is the object of neo-colonialism to preserve" (Nkrumah, 1973).

In essence, it suggests that the rulers of African states, especially the ones which were once colonies of foreign nations, got into power through the influence from their former colonizers. As a result, these leaders are subject to the will and control of the people who put them there, who have no interest in the betterment of the African states, but rather are interested in fulfilling their own profitable ambitions.

Chapter III: Methodology

This chapter focuses on how the data for this research paper was gathered and analyzed. It explains how data was collected, and the procedures and process involved in each step of the way. It also, explains the type of study I conducted, as well as the design of the research, the sample frame and the instruments which were used to collect and analyze the data. Also, justifications were provided as to why the particular methods and approaches were used in collecting and analyzing the data. This chapter provides a strong framework for other interested entities who after reading this, will be able to replicate the research study.

3.1 Research Question

Is there a group of people who can be categorized as neo-elites, and can they enact a transformational, socio-economic change by using tenets of Pan-Africanism to drive development in Ghana?

3.2 Research Design

Research design is the conceptual structure, logic and processes within which the research was conducted. The function of research design is to provide the

methods in which the collection of relevant information was achieved. Due to the approach in considering inquiry when conducting the study, the design for this research was an exploratory study which was qualitative in nature. An exploratory research is one which is undertaken to explore an area where little is known or to investigate the possibilities of undertaking a particular research study. Currently in Ghana, little is known about the neo-elites, and if they even exists as a group defined by Amoah (2010; 2011). Thus, I intended on finding out (exploring) if such people existed in Ghana and further probe if these people are willing and ready to come together to use the ideas of Pan-Africanism to lead an African transformation. Furthermore, the research was qualitative in nature because of the unstructured medium of inquiry which was used to gather data from respondents. Such medium included semi-structured interviews and mixed (open and closed) questionnaires. This allowed *flexibility* in the way information was provided by the respondents.

3.2.1 Method of Data Collection

For this research, two types of data were collected, and these were primary data and secondary data. Primary data is a type of data which is collected for the first time by the principal investigator. For this, I conducted interviews and administered questionnaires to the target respondents. This enabled me collect first-hand, raw data never shared before. Data which have already

been collected and analyzed by someone else is referred to as secondary data. For this research, the secondary data stemmed from scholarly and journal articles of related fields, scholarly books, relevant speeches, and historical and statistical data both of the primary country of which this study was conducted in as well as other relevant historical and statistical data relating to the research.

3.2.2 Sampling Method

The sampling method applied in conducting the research was purposive sampling. Purposive sampling is a non-probability sampling method which is used when the researcher is sampling with a specific purpose in mind, usually when seeking a specific predefined group. In using purposive sampling, sampling for proportionality is not the primary concern. Furthermore, subsets of purposive sampling include quota sampling and snowball sampling which were used in conducting this research. Quota sampling technique is one which the researcher deliberately sets the proportions of levels or strata or fixed quota within the sample. This is generally done to insure the inclusion of a particular segment or target group of the population. Snowball sampling is a method in which the researcher sample participants, based upon referral from prior participants.

3.2.3 Sample Population

The target *population* for this research included individuals who were categorized as elites of the society living in Accra. The elites of the society are individuals who fall under the middle-upper and upper class income earning bracket and or, have achieved as certain degree of positive recognition in the society.

3.2.4 Sample Frame and Size

The *sample* frame for the research, which was a segment of the entire population selected to represent the population as a whole, were individuals currently working or have worked in the top 100 companies in Ghana and hold or have held a senior level and mid-level position in their various companies. The companies were selected using the rankings of 2013 Ghana Club 100 event held in Accra. This annual event recognizes the top 100 companies of the nation who have done successfully for the year. The description of the varying industries captured were, oil & gas, communications, marketing, financial, academic, services, fast moving consumer goods, construction, health and the civil service industry. As a contingency, individuals whose companies were not part of the Ghana club 100 list, but are also leading companies in their various industries were used in this research. My sample frame also included, returnees who have come

back to Ghana to settle and work, and mostly snowball sampling was used to capture this target group. In total, my *sample size* was 30 participants; and the eventual response rate I received was 16 participants.

3.2.5 Data Collection Instruments

An interview is a research instrument which provides the platform for the researcher to ask questions and if necessary explain them and then record the respondent's response. The interviews I conducted were recorded using an audio recorder. The questions were semi-structured in nature; this allowed for flexibility, as the interviewees responded by airing their views whilst answering the questions in a flow of a narrative. This also allowed further probing by the researcher during the interview sessions. However, I made sure that all the questions were answered fully by the interviewees. Furthermore, questionnaires were used to obtain data for this study. A questionnaire consists of a set of questions presented to a respondent for answers. In this case as compared to an interview, the respondents read the questions themselves, interpreted it in their own understanding and wrote down their answers themselves. The questions asked in the questionnaires were both open and closed ended questions. The close-ended questions were designed so that specific, precise and concise responses were provided.

3.3 Data Collection Procedure

Prior to collecting information from the respondents, I sought their consent regarding participating in the study. I made known to them that all ethical standards will be upheld in relation to safeguarding any information they gave to me. In doing so, I attached a confidentially clause to the consent form, which was part of questionnaire package. For the interviews, I handed them a consent form before starting the interview. The consent formed explained that the personal information and data collected from the participants will be treated as highly confidential; and it also clearly explained my study to the participants.

3.4 Data Analysis Method

In analyzing the primary data collected from the respondents and the secondary data from other source materials, I used the method of *content analysis*, more specifically *thematic analysis*, as it is a subset of *content analysis*. From the transcription, coding of the interviews and the collation of the responses from the questionnaires, using thematic analysis allowed me find patterns in the responses gotten and place them in specific categories. These categories were then analyzed along the lines of variations and similarities per each response.

3.5 Limitations of the Study

In conducting this research, I faced a number of limitations and constraints. These include difficulty in reaching the pre-defined target group as majority of them were too busy to make time. Furthermore, the target respondents of whom I was able to get a hold of, majority of them either did not hand back the questionnaires I gave them or failed to fill the online version of the exact same questionnaire, when they asked me to send the web link. In total I handed out 28 questionnaires and I only received 14 responses. Another limitation to the research study was the lack of similar research done in this field or topic; thus, making the research very challenging. Finally, a good proportion of the respondents who filled the questionnaire provided feedback to me that they found the in-depth questionnaire too demanding.

Chapter IV: Data analysis and Findings

This research focused on finding out if tenets of Pan-Africanism could be used in 21st century Africa, in this specific case Ghana, to drive a positive transformational change, by a group of Ghanaian neo-elites. Finally, the research focused on finding out, in what forms if any, neo-colonialism hinders the progress of Ghana on an individual and communal/societal level. To unearth these things, the following findings were arrived at and analysis conducted based on the data collected from 16 participants. Two (2) sets of the data was collected by conducting face-to-face interviews and the other fourteen (14) set was collected using in-depth mixed questionnaires. Whichever method of data collection that was used, both methods were directed at capturing and providing informed responses to all the objectives outlined in **Chapter 1** of this paper.

4.1 Findings and analysis of data gathered from interviews conducted with CEO of a private hospital and Co-founder of a HR/Consultancy firm

During the interviews, the theme of Pan-Africanism was based on Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's leadership for Ghana and Africa. This was done because, a persona was needed to reflect what Pan-Africanism is; and Dr. Kwame Nkrumah being a strong advocate of Pan-Africanism, and the first President of the Republic of Ghana, made him the perfect fit. During the interview, I asked both interviewees about their personal opinions of Nkrumah as a leader for Ghana and Africa, the good and the bad. The common themes

which came up, described Nkrumah as a visionary leader as compared other African leaders of his time. They both believed that, if we (Ghanaians and Africans) followed and implemented the vision he had, we would be better off now, economically and socially. Having a vision according to one interviewee, meant more than just "seeing Africa years down the line", but also the ability to conceive such thoughts on a grand scale. On Nkrumah's negative characteristics as a leader, my interviewees were very clear and provided a singular negative aspect of his leadership, autocratic/despotic/tyrant. One interviewee acknowledged that he did not start down that part, but believed the power got to him, which resulted in his tyranny towards the end of his reign. The other interviewee believed that Nkrumah not "sourcing for the views of others to be able to come to a holistic approach" made him autocratic. After this introduction to the topic, I asked my interviewees if the ideas and visions of Nkrumah in terms of Pan-Africanism could still be implemented in modern the day Ghana and Africa to bring about positive transformational change, both said yes. However, they were quick to point out that only modified versions could work in 21st century, to suit the modern time. Upon this response, I probed further to find out what gave them such informed feelings. One interviewee gave an ongoing example, citing that African nations have almost no leverage when it comes to international trade. As a result of this, the respondent believed that African nations should come together and set up regional blocks to push on the trade front. In other words it can be seen as a collaborative trade movement or initiative, by African nations aimed at achieving the purpose of improving the bargaining

powers of trade, so that the African nations are better off. Here, we can see similarities with this, and that of Pan-Africanism, in terms of a collaborative movement. Such initiatives in the past were what guided Nkrumah as a leader for Ghana and his ideas about Pan-Africanism. The second interviewee outlined the various projects, such as manufacturing which Nkrumah set up during his tenure of Presidency. The respondent explained that those things were aimed at making sure that Ghana was self-reliant and not dependent on other nations, and to a large extent, the "developed" nations. Furthermore, my two interviewees acknowledged the importance of Pan-Africanism as a tool to drive positive transformational change. When asked if they would want to learn more about it, in terms of the ideas surrounding it, they both agreed to the idea. They indicated respectively that some ideas, which have been left behind at any particular stage can still picked up, learned from and improved on. Also, they indicated that the fact that the world is global means it includes Africa; thus, we have to learn what we can about Pan-Africanism. Drawing inference from these points, my interviewees do believe that Pan-Africanist ideas can still be used effectively to lead national transformation for majority of African nations in this modern era.

To be categorized as a neo-elite according to this research, the individual has to constitute some key characteristics explained in **Chapter 2**. During the interview, I posed questions to my participants to find out their opinions of the current state of the Ghanaian society, more specifically on the socio-economic aspect. These questions were aimed at finding out if my interviewees were conscious of what is going on, how they felt about it and if

they wanted to do anything about the situation. When asked about the feelings they experience when they came across a fellow citizen who has no access to the basic necessities of life such as, food, shelter, water, and education, their responses fell in the themes of pity, empathy and to a large extent, a sense of injustice towards their situation; to quote a particular interviewee, "not a pleasant thing to see and experience at all". Upon probing further, I tried to find out what they thought were the reasons for these people being in such situations. One interviewee indicated apathy, not just minimal, but a lot. For this particular respondent, the fact that majority of people in the Ghanaian society were not interested in doing anything to change things was very sad; calling into question the role of "citizenship". During the interview, this particular interviewee explained to me, how in various ways they help out, on different levels, for example financially on a small level. On a different level, the respondent is part of a caucus who started an online citizenship group, "which got people talking about issues which matter, and supporting people who do good things in the society". A second reason which came up concerning the people living in almost abject poverty was the fact that these people were born into such environment. Thus, their inherent life experiences would need some drastic influence to make them even conceive of living life differently, because that is their reality. As a result of their innate life experiences, one interviewee made the point that, such people seemed comfortable with the situation they found themselves in, "as long as they go to the farm and feed, they are okay". Building up from the second reason indicated, the third reason was attributed

to lack of or poor education. As a result of the educational factor, one interviewee mentioned that the people have no knowledge of the important and necessary things to do concerning their welfare. The second interviewee buttressed the point further, by explaining that even though they have been through school, they could still be not be literate because of the poor quality of education they receive. The fourth and very important reason which my interviewees indicated was the unfulfilling roles leaders of the Ghanaian society play. A weak government was considered by one of my interviewees as one which is governed by leaders who have not made the right decisions, which results in people of the society suffering for it. Talking about governmental roles to the people and the nation, it was indicated that wealth of the country was not distributed equitably. In lieu of this, an analysis was drawn concerning a huge gap, which continues to grow, making middle class fast becoming alienated. Resulting in the society being made up of only the rich and the poor of society – "a white and black" phenomenon with no gray parts. This can clearly be linked to the points made by Marx & Engels (1967) on the bourgeoisie, proletariat class divide. The political system was also a contributing factor, and this was tied with the leadership situation aforementioned. For example, the fact that people who have been elected as MPs, also have been entrusted with cabinet roles, results to there never being enough time and will, to focus on either of those jobs to perform them well. This "…results to a lot of conflicting interests which makes the politics dirty" as one interviewee put it. One of my interviewee, who is playing a role to help in the rural area, commented saying that the leadership of the nation

has "concentrated so much in our cities that they have neglected the rural poor, so they will still remain in that state". The respondent further explained that, politicians during the period of campaigns move to the rural areas where they see firsthand, the appalling situations which their fellow citizens live in and make all sorts of promises, but when they get into power, they forget about them.

At the point where the theme of leadership was brought up, I sought the opinions of my interviewees on where and how the past and current leaders fell short in building a better Ghana. The accountability of a leader to his/her people is crucial; and for my interviewees, the past and current leaders of Ghana have not been accountable for their actions, and lack off. Furthermore, the fact that Ghana's manufacturing industry and agricultural sector has been crippled was mentioned. With the recent 2013 Plant Breeders' Bill supporting the Genetically Modified Organisms (GMOs) in Ghana, I can only see the failures of which my interviewees talked about. I say so because, if the bill is passed, it will all but finally cripple what is left of Ghana's agricultural industry. With the manufacturing and agricultural industry being crippled, two very significant repercussions as a result are felt presently. These are high unemployment rates and Ghana having an immensely import based economy which has greatly devalued the Ghanaian cedi, leaving the economy of the nation currently seeing one of its worst dips in recent times. Finally, the topic of education was jointly brought up, and it was touched on with similar sentiments by both interviewees. The idea that a student after taking the West African Senior School Certificate Examination

(WASSCE) cannot do a subject they are interested in at the university level, because of whatever grade they acquired did seem not reasonable; those were the sentiments of one interviewee. As a result of this, a lot of students in the universities are studying things they are not interested in; thus, the relevance in what they study is not there, likewise the application. My second interviewee touched on it from the perspective that the universities were not making it a priority to bring forth students with the necessary skill set and knowledge of relevance to Ghana and her predicaments. The following quote echoes this "…if we are not producing enough of the science based graduates, those who go to do the raw subjects, do not have any bearing in propelling this nation forward". In other words, what the interviewee was saying is, we should look at where Ghana is lacking in terms of skill set. If you want to revive the manufacturing industry, we need to produce students who will do that, who are interested in doing that, who will be ready to apply what they have learned, and what is necessary to drive the restoration of the industry. Linking the two points, "the ones who do the raw subjects" could be the very much be the ones who have not been given the choice to do study what they wish to study. So in the end, the universities, especially the government run ones are not bringing forth students who are needed to propel the Ghanaian society. If the government or the Ghanaian society does not feel that they have the adequate applicable skills for the working world, they should look at their system of education. After my interviewees outlined these failures of the leaders and the system, I inquired from them any fresh or new suggestions which can provide solutions to some of the failures

mentioned. A very unique and interesting idea was proposed by one of the interviewees, this was having a public leadership training institute. According to the interviewee, this institute is aimed at addressing the issues of ethics, and accountability of those individuals who are to assume public offices of the nation. Thus, before any individual assumes any public office, the person has to go through training of ethics, leadership, and various types of basics on how to deal with management of the nation, on various levels. The second suggestion raised was to address the educational problem. The suggestion was to find out areas that the country is in demand of, and then work towards that, by giving more focus to the relevant courses in the universities. This could be accomplished by restructuring the tertiary educational system, so that more of what is done is tailored to meet the needs of the nation in order to progress.

After finding out from my interviewees if they were conscious of the appalling socio-economic state of Ghana, I then probed to find out if they themselves were ready to drive a positive change for the Ghanaian society. I asked if they were ready to do this by working with other likeminded citizens such as themselves who felt the same way about the state of the country. The aim of this was to point out that, no one can drive such change alone; a collaboration of different individuals is needed. This is because, without immense support from varying backgrounds, the movement is most likely not going to be successful. Thus, there needs to be a coming together of individuals, who are thinking positively to make that transformational change. Both interviewees welcomed the idea; recounting back as I have

already mentioned, one interviewee is part of the caucus that enacted the online citizenship group; this clearly shows that he/she is ready to drive a change. Starting such an initiative with others acknowledges it cannot be done individually. Furthermore, one interviewee outlined, that it was time the private sector stepped up to the platform to drive the change. Since the output from the government sector is lagging, as compared to that of the private sector, then the onus could now be on the people in the private sector to make a positive impact on change, as the government cannot achieve that. Some may question why the private sector should be involved in the affairs or responsibilities of the government. The answer is simple, they have so far failed in their duties, and we cannot fold our arms and watch the country and the continent face total annihilation. A quick example from the Western part of the globe; during the 2007-2008 financial crisis, the American government, had to step in to save the country's top private sector companies. Prior to this period, most of the West have always believed and taught that the "market" should be left alone, it should be "free"; and government should never interfere with the affairs of the free market. However, despite all their econometrics and Adam Smith theories of the "invisible hand", "demand and supply", and so on, the private sector still failed and was on the verge of collapse. Who then came to the rescue? The 'free market's' very own arch-nemesis, the government; the American government bailed them out (Amoah, 2011). What can learn from this? The public/government sector and private sector are intertwined, they need each other to forge forward, and in extreme circumstances act as the sole

supporting system for the other, with the bigger picture in mind. The American government knew that if General Motors (GM) had collapsed, as well as the other private companies which they bailed out, their economy would have suffered much severely than that; they could not watch and let that happen. Bringing it back home, the tables have turned, our government is weakened at the moment. We need the neo-elites (if they emerge as a class according to Amoah's theorization) to rise up from the private sector, and collaborate with the ones in the public sector to save the country from more destruction. Some may argue that the private sector is playing their role via their various corporate social responsibility (CSR) initiatives. Unfortunately, at the moment that is not going to cut it, especially in presence of what the African continent is facing. There have been studies in the past and ongoing studies which suggest that CSR actually boosts the profitability of private companies, as a result of their brand image being positively affected and benefit from it in the long run. My point, CSR is good, it is a start; however, we have to move beyond it, put in place **sustainable** solutions to communities which are in dire need of them. In responding to the question, my two interviewees did welcome the idea of working with other Ghanaian citizens to drive transformational change, with emphasis on the private sector.

How then, will this group of neo-elites drive, lead and change the nation when they eventually come together? This took me to my final questions on this theme. I wanted to find out from my interviewees how they go about inspiring, and managing the people they work with and for them. As noted in

Chapter 2, a neo-elite, is one who amongst many other things will provide, managerial, inspirational and leadership inputs for the task of national transformation. From their responses, both interviewees pointed out the importance of having a good relationship with the people they worked with. Methods such as having a good connection were mentioned, listening to people and their needs at whatever level and capacity also made the frame. For them, through this medium, they believed that it would inspire and motivate the people they worked with. To quote an interviewee, "…to inspire them, you should be able to have a good rapport with your employees and your co-workers so that they would have confidence in you and build trust with you". Furthermore, the method of providing special training and re-training was mentioned. The aim of this was to keep employees up to the needed standard level, as well as to improve their capabilities as individuals; through this, they would be better motivated to perform to their best abilities. From the responses gotten from my interviewees, it is very evident that they were conscious and had sympathy towards the depressing state of the nation's socio-economic predicament and they are willing to come together to collaborate with others to drive the needed change.

Most Africans who discuss Pan-Africanism can hardly do so without mentioning neo-colonialism or some leading aspects of it. This is because to a large extent, they are dialectical, a yin-yang phenomenon. As a result, the last broad theme of this research took me to the third connected on neo-colonialism. Before posing my questions on this theme, I provided my interviewees a background definition of neo-colonialism, according to the

context of this research, an excerpt taken from Kwame Nkrumah's book "*Neo-colonialism, the Last Stage of imperialism*". The first question sought to find out from my interviewees, their opinions on the fact that Ghana's annual budget is heavily subsidized by the World Bank and in turn they "suggest" the nation's policies. The general feeling was that this should not be so. The fact that the government and its leaders agree to deals which are only beneficial for a short fix and not sustainable was questioned. The leadership of the nation was questioned yet again; citing that they should know better, than to commit themselves falsely. After this, I probed further to find out from my interviewees if they felt that Ghana and other African countries could survive without monetary aid from developed nations and their institutions such as the Bretton Woods Institutions. For this question, my interviewees had slightly diverging views, and strong converging views. One interviewee gave the opinion that at this point in time, we will not survive without them and their aid. The interviewee did however, acknowledge the extent of our reliance on them was the bad thing, and that the fact we make provisions for them in our annual budget suggested a lack of strength. My other interviewee believed that, "yes we can do without the aid, but we should be strategic about the way we go about doing it". It was at this point that both views converged. Both interviewees indicated the need to strengthen the manufacturing industries, moving to the stage where Ghana produces finished products and exports them. This sort of transition, has to go through well thought out planning and executing, and not just any rushed, haphazard planning. Quoting a particular interviewee, "there is a lot

of work we need to do to actually create wealth or to generate our wealth. There has to be plans in place to take charge of your own destiny". Without doing this, it suggested from my interviewee's responses that we shall resign our fate, regarding the economy, lifestyle and nation to perpetual foreign aid and influence which damages more than helps.

On a concluding note, I sought to find out from my interviewees the "ideal" Ghana and Africa they envision, given the vast potential the African continent has both material and human. Interestingly, both interviewees commented on almost the exact same things, just framed in different sentences. The first was to see the gap between the rural folks/the poor and the city dwellers narrowed. One called for there to be available, amenities which the cities have; such as basics like, good roads, health facilities, light, and water. They called on this because, if these basic things were available, city dwellers who had empathy in them will be extra motivated to move to the rural areas to help and improve the conditions in whatever capacity they could; making their tasks less difficult. Furthermore, they envisaged that everybody at least has a place of abode, improved quality of life, good institutions, schools and the needed infrastructure to makes things actually work, not on just paper but in reality. If these things were in place, the country would be doing better socio-economically. One was quick to outline that these basic public goods and services had to come with better access and affordability to them; of which money should not be a limiting factor. This point can be linked to Nkrumah's thoughts when he asserted that, "the people should have enough to eat without spending too great a part of their income upon food. That they

have a reasonably comfortable place to sleep, they have light, a ready supply of water, education for their growing children and future generation, adequate medical care and welfare services" (Nkrumah, 1973). Furthermore, they spoke about revamping the manufacturing industries so that the youth can be employed after passing through whatever form of higher education. Finally, a passionate outcry for better leadership was made, and they were adamant for this. Realistically, if the right leadership is not available, all that has been mentioned above will never come into fruition. What the future leaders of this nation and continent need to address is, accountability to the nation, service to the people who elected them, and most importantly to be a visionary for what lies ahead.

4.2 Findings and analysis of data gathered from Questionnaires given to top and mid-level members of varying companies and institutions and returnees

This section analyzed the data gathered from fourteen respondents, who each answered an in-depth mixed questionnaire. Just as with the interviews, the questions were separated into the three main themes of this research. The first question asked the respondents if they knew what Pan-Africanism is.
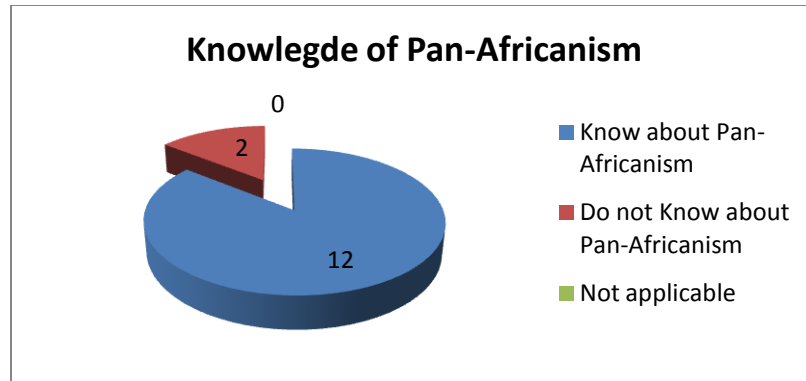
Figure 1: Knowledge of Pan-Africanism

From figure 1 above, twelve (12) respondents knew what Pan-Africanism is, and two (2) respondents did not know what it is. The ones which knew what Pan-Africanism is were directed to explain their understanding of Pan-Africanism. Ten (10) of the twelve respondents explained their understanding of Pan-Africanism as a movement, or ideology of people of African descent who share a common history, common destiny, who will have to have a solid unity to develop economically, socially, culturally and politically for the beneficial welfare of the people according to their African heritage. The other respondents explained it as the quest for the self-actualization and empowerment of the African - man or woman, young or aged - regardless of creed, class, tribe, ethnicity, marital status, educational background, gender or sex; and to possess the freedom to think, speak and live peacefully. Finally, some saw it as a vehicle, for Africans, to free themselves from colonialism and all kinds of foreign domination, to establish for themselves a true African culture amongst their kind. For the respondents who did not know what Pan-Africanism is, a contingency question was used to try and

link the understanding of Pan-Africanism; and Dr. Kwame Nkrumah was used, as was done with the interviews.

If Nkrumah was a great leader

0

1

13

- Great
- Not great
- Not applicable
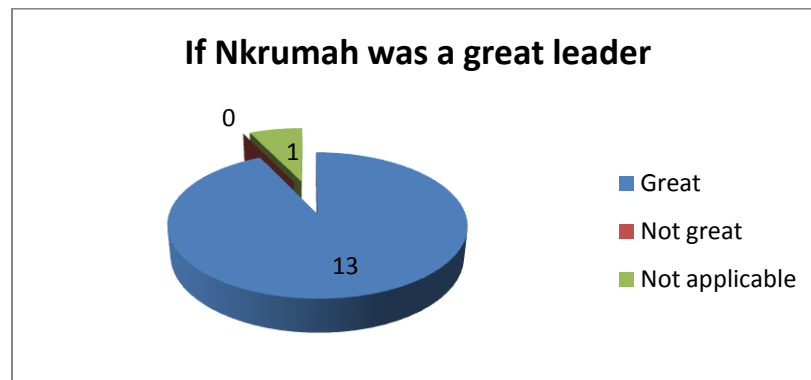
Figure 2: If Nkrumah was a great leader

From figure 2 above, the ones who knew what Pan-Africanism all agreed that Nkrumah was great leader for both Ghana and Africa. Of the two respondents who did not know what Pan-Africanism is, one agreed that Nkrumah was a great leader and the other believed it did not apply to his/her knowledge. The next question used a Likert scale to determine from my respondents the success rate of Nkrumah's leadership.

Nkrumah's success as a leader

10
8
6
4
2
0

no success | little success | average success | very good success | extreme success
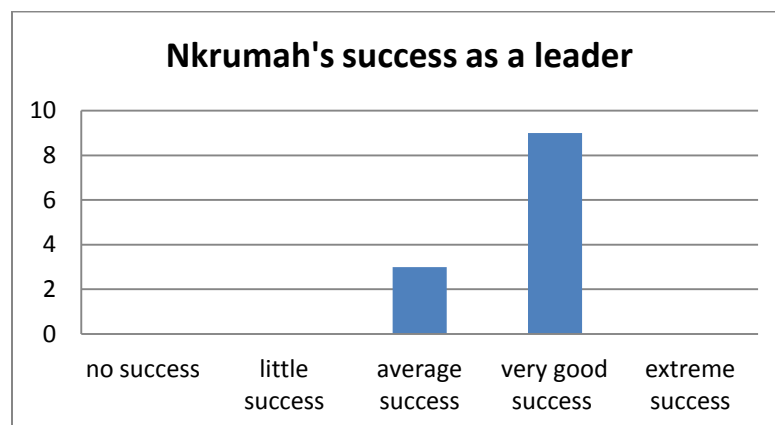
Figure 3: Nkrumah's success as a leader

From figure 3 above, on a scale of 1-5; where, 1 = no success, 2 = little success, 3 = average success, 4 = very good success and 5 = extreme success, the average rating of Nkrumah's success as a leader was 4. Upon finding out the basic understanding my respondents have about Pan-Africanism, the set of questions probed to gain an insight to the aspects which the respondents did and did not like about Pan-Africanism. Majority of the responses, in regards to what they like indicated, unity for Africa, which can serve as a platform for economic progress, given the vast amount of resources and untapped potential Africa has. Furthermore, they indicated that it encourages and promotes cultural integration, making people of African descent know that they share a common heritage, and they are more alike than what the boundaries of nations and currency differences may suggest; and as a result of knowing this, there would be solidarity amongst the African people, enhancing their will to preserve the African culture. Some singular responses included that through Pan-Africanism, there is an opportunity for political integration, where all the nations of African could be governed by a single leader. However, this point was raised skeptically, with that particular respondent admitting it was not an easy concept to put through, given the era we find ourselves in. Furthermore, that the Diasporas are part of Africa and they have a vested interest in it. Also, one respondent talked about it providing a platform to explore the idea of inherent African socialism. Another different response was the idea that Pan-Africanism promotes the mentality the African person can manage his/her own affairs, and that the African is no less a human being than any other race and as

such must not accept the inferior mentality but rather strive for development. On the opposite end, more than half of the participants either did not have any dislike to the Pan-Africanism ideology, or did not provide any aspects that they felt was negative. The ones which did indicated issues such as, too much emphasis on race, the black race to be specific. A question was then raised on how the skin color affected the quality of work produced, the quality of life, socio-economic development and the sorts. Thus, the issue of the skin color "should be secondary and immaterial to development and quality of life". To a large extent, I would like to agree with this point, however, as I described in **Chapter 2** of this paper, the first Pan-African congress held, sought to address the predicaments and injustice towards the people of the black race as a result of the issue of the "color line". It was on this basis, that the Pan-Africanist idea was founded on; thus, it will be very difficult to ignore. However, given the elapsed amount of time, the focus may well be shifted towards on how a person serves his or her generation and impacts on the people and environment around them. Some may also argue, that knowing the true history of being African or of African descent requires you to understand to a great extent the race problem which is still ongoing, so as to know what shall be constituted in shaping that positive impact for future generations and the environment around them, in this case an African environment. Another point raised was that the Pan-Africanist idea can be too idealistic. This would suggest that the Pan-Africanism will solve all the issues, at most socio-economic issues of the African continent. This frustration is understood as, and there is no one solution to a problem.

However, at the stage Africa is, in terms of being decades behind the developed part of the world, Pan-Africanism as suggested, will most likely bridge the gap immensely. Other responses indicated that Pan-Africanism has so far failed to harness new African realities and has become a little stagnant to the world. Furthermore, on a scale of 1-5, the respondents were asked how were to learn more about Pan keen they -Africanism.
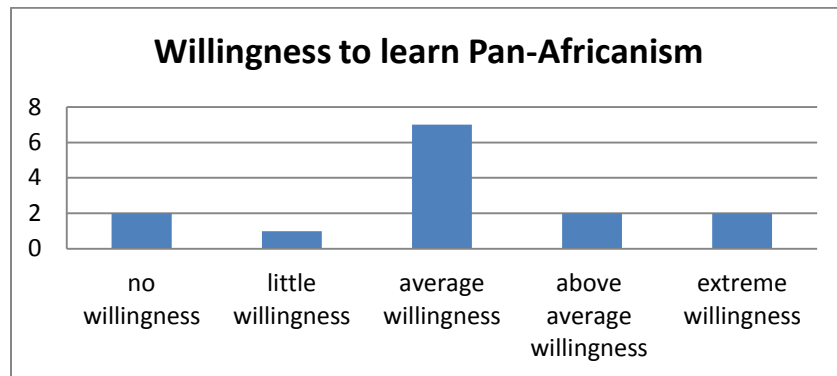
Figure 4: Willingness to learn Pan-Africanism

From figure 4 above, where, 1 = no willingness, 2 = little willingness, 3 = average willingness, 4 = above average willingness and 5 = Extreme willingness; the average score stood at 3. It is worth pointing out that of the two respondents who earlier indicated that they had no knowledge of Pan-Africanism, one rated 4 as his/her willingness to learn about the ideology. The next set of questions on the theme of Pan-Africanism required my respondents to share their opinions on whether or not Pan-Africanist ideas could still be used in the modern era to bring positive transformation to Africa.
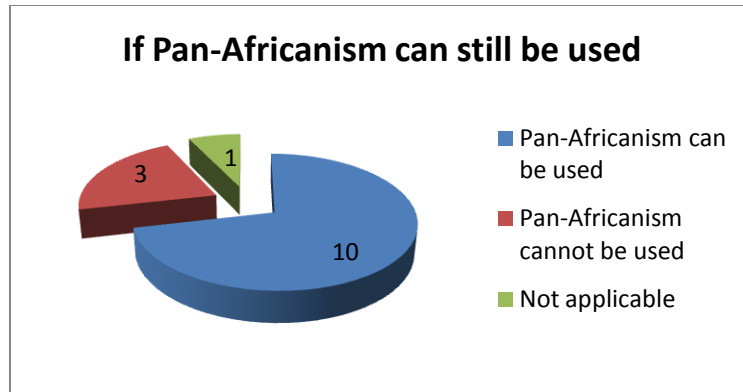
Figure 5: If Pan-Africanism can still be used

From figure 5 above, the figure above, ten (10) respondents believed that it could still be used in the present era, three (3) believed the opposite and one (1) respondent did not provide an answer that question. For the respondents who believed that Pan-Africanist ideas could still be could be implemented, the following ways of doing so was suggested. Educating, explaining the ideology to others and encouraging public discussion about it. In other words, to conscientize people about Pan-Africanism, giving them an opportunity to ask questions and even challenge the idea. Other suggestions included formulating policies that promote African culture and the use of African products and finally, by genuinely and effectively mobilizing the resources of each African nation. For the respondents who answered no, their reasons included globalization, the fact the world is fasting becoming a global village, so it could suggest that influence from the other part of the globe may hinder the Pan-Africanist ideas. A different reason given by another respondent was that Africa may not hold the most viable solutions to its developmental problems and thus, could benefit from solutions from China or

the West which may be cheaper, more qualitative and more scalable. From the responses received, majority of the respondents do believe that Pan-Africanist ideas can still be used to effectively lead national transformation for Ghana, as well as other African nations. Furthermore, the responses suggest an average number of the respondents do want to learn more about Pan-Africanism and its ideas. This could either be due to the reason, that they have no further interest about the subject, or they believe that they know all that is important to know about it.

The next set of questions was concerned about the second theme and a very important aspect of this research. These questions were aimed at finding out if my respondents could be categorized as neo-elites, as explained in **Chapter 2**. The introductory questions to this theme sought to find out how these individuals go about inspiring the people they work with, as well as how they manage resources, both human and material in their various occupations. These questions were important as to gauge if the respondents could, to a certain degree, provide strategic ideational, managerial, organizational, inspirational and leadership inputs, if given the opportunity to lead the society. The most common responses gotten included, leading by example, through this the others around them find inspiration. This suggests that these individuals are held with high regard in their various occupations, because they have that self-belief that their leadership rubs off positively to those around them. Another common response included inspiring people by motivation; challenging their thoughts, beliefs and making them question the status quo rather than accept things on face value. A unique response of

which all most all the respondents indicated, was showing care and concern, and to a certain extent a forming a strong bond with the people they worked with. This was done by, deliberately taking an interest in the professional and personal welfare of their colleagues and subordinates. On a different level, some respondents indicated that they inspired others through honesty, integrity and aligning corporate vision & goals with the employees' vision & goals. I see this as very important for the platform of leadership in our society. If such individuals are to take the helm of leadership, or are to guide others to that same position, the need of honesty and integrity, whilst make sure the goals and objectives are achieved as a result of them be accurately aligned, is paramount. Furthermore, some responses provided regarding the management processes employed by my respondents include, identifying the right people to work with, and nurturing/grooming them to become part of the team, which involves adhering to the organizational values that guide them. Also, being innovative by striving hard to find out what needs are to be met, so that they can be delivered it in as unique a manner as possible was another process mentioned. The next set of questions probed to find out the opinions of my respondents, concerning varying issues of the Ghanaian society and to a certain extent, the African society.

Ponder about appalling socio-ecomonic state

0

14

- Do Ponder
- Do not Ponder
- Not applicable
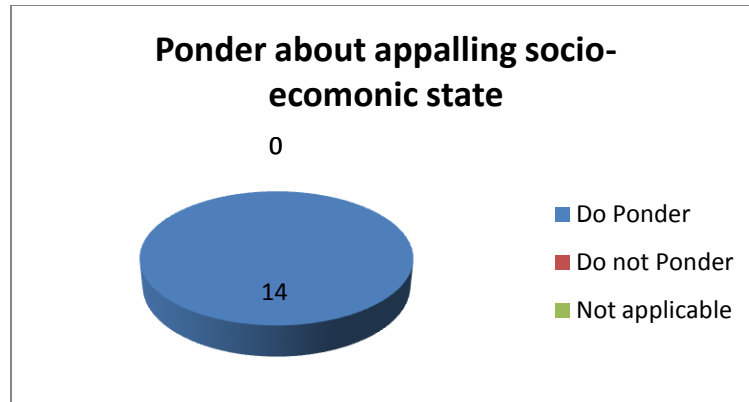
Figure 6: Ponder about appalling socio-economic state

From figure 6 above, when asked if they pondered deeply about the appalling socio-economic state of Ghana, all the respondents answered yes to this question. Moving forward, the opinions of my respondents, concerning the current state of Ghana and Africa's socio-economic status as compared to that of the "developed" nations was that, for a fact, things are falling apart on the whole continent, Ghana very much included. Their reason for this predicament was clear; poor, careless, visionless, corrupt, apathetic, selfish leadership. Some responses questioned the attitude of the Ghanaian, for quietly taking what has been served to them, existing (not living) and going about their daily lives with the "saa na ɛtiɛ" / "Ɛnyɛ Hwee" (that is how it is / it is nothing) attitude, doing or saying nothing. Other responses indicated that Africa has the opportunity to learn from the mistakes of the "developed" nations, but Africa is not using that opportunity. For example, valuable time continues to be wasted on selfish political ambitions rather than coming up or implementing policies to develop Africa, as against the developed nations who do not spend valuable time engaging in tribal or political conflicts. Some

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singular responses indicated that Ghana is currently ideologically confused, as well as the citizens increasingly neglecting their culture.

Sympathize with disadvantaged citizens
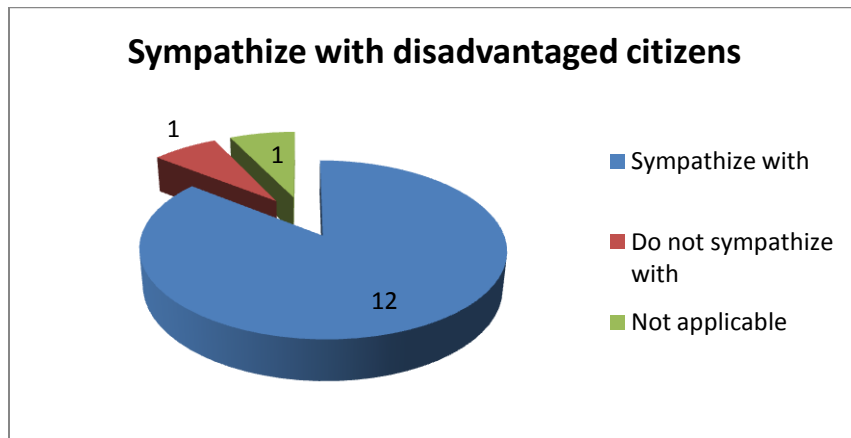
Figure 7: Sympathize with disadvantaged citizens

From figure 7 above, when asked if the respondents sympathized with people who are adversely affected by the appalling socio-economic conditions of the country, twelve (12) respondents answered yes, one (1) respondent answered no, and the other provided neither a yes nor a no answer.

Sadness felt for disadvantaged citizens
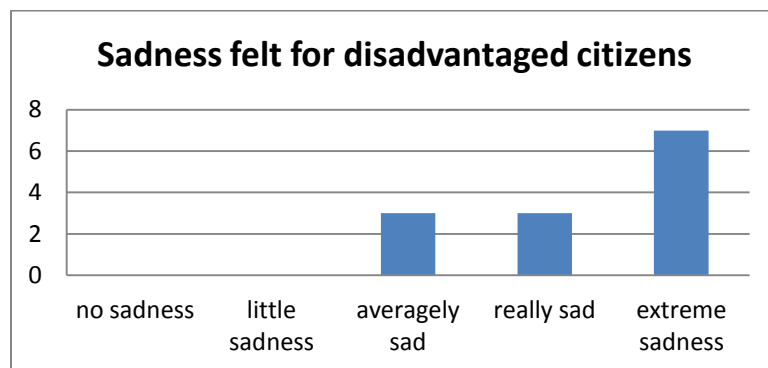
Figure 8: Sadness felt for disadvantaged citizens

Furthermore, from figure 8 above, on a scale of 1-5, where 1 = no sadness, 2 = little sadness, 3 = averagely sad, 4 = really sad, 5 = extreme sadness, the average score of sadness felt by the respondents when they came across a fellow citizen living in abject poverty with no sight to end was 4.
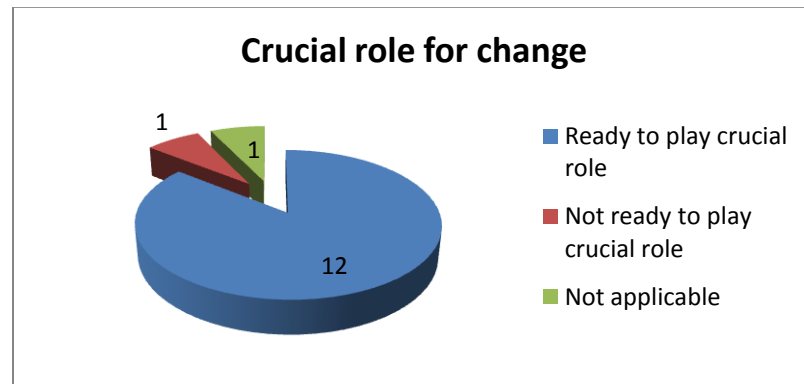
Figure 9: Crucial role for change

From figure 9 above, when asked if the respondents would be willing to play a crucial and significant role to help change Ghana's appalling socio-economic predicament, twelve (12) respondents said that they would be willing to, one (1) respondent answered oppositely, and the other the other provided neither a yes nor a no answer. The final question concerning being a neo-elite, asked the respondents if they were willing to effectively collaborate with like-minded individuals to drive a transformational change for Ghana and Africa.

Willingness to collaborate

- 0
- 1
- 13

Legend:
- Willing to collaborate
- Not willing to collaborate
- Not applicable
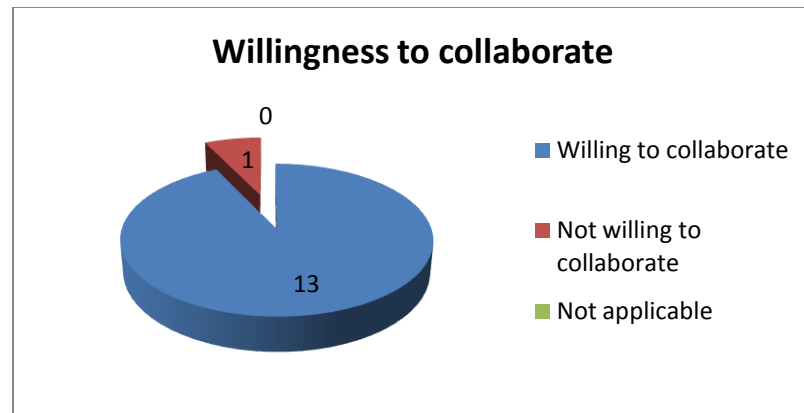
Figure 10: Willingness to collaborate

From figure 10 above, thirteen (13) of the respondents were willing to do so, and one (1) respondent was not willing to. From the responses gotten it, there is evidence that majority of the respondents possess the characteristics of a neo-elite. Finally, it was clearly evident that all but one of the respondents was willing to collaborate to drive transformational change for Ghana. In concluding, if it is possible of having fifteen (inclusive of my two interviewees) out of every sixteen persons willing to drive transformational change in Ghana, it is a very strong number to set in motion the change that is needed.

My concluding theme of this research, neo-colonialism, had the respondents provide responses for three questions. Just as was done with my interviewees, for the context of this research, a guide of what neo-colonialism is was provided from Nkrumah's book.

If neo-colonialism exists in Ghana

- 1
- 1
- 12

■ Believe neo-colonialism exists

■ Do not believe neo-colonialism exists

■ Not applicable
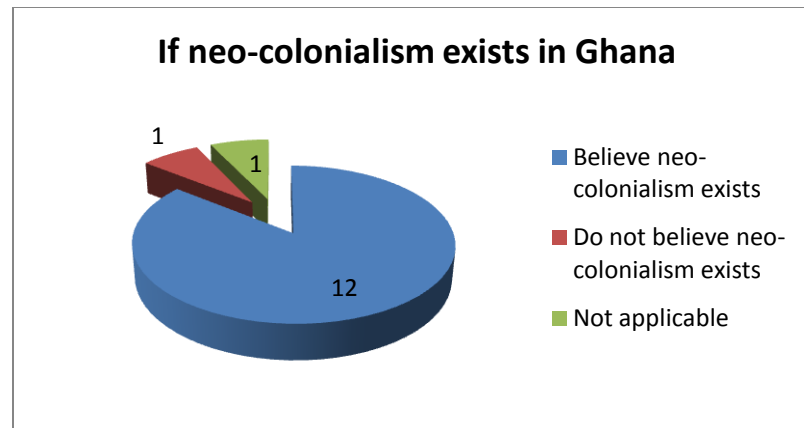
Figure 11: Existence of neo-colonialism in Ghana

Using the guide, from figure 11 above, twelve (12) respondents acknowledged that neo-colonialism existed in Ghana, one (1) respondent believed otherwise, and the other respondent did not provide an answer to that question. The subsequent question probed to find out from the respondents what forms they believed neo-colonialism existed in Ghana. The most indicated form of neo-colonialism by the respondents was Ghana's heavy reliance on external aid from Western nations and their various institutions such as the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF). Their primary concern of this was that these aids had unrealistic conditions attached to them which did more harm than good to the nation of Ghana. A second most indicated form of neo-colonialism in Ghana revolved around international trade and foreign policy. This was explained as the fact that foreign governments, mostly the Western ones, determine the prices of our commodities, controlling the value of Ghana's currency and making the country dependent on them under the guise of 'partnership' and

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'cooperation'. Other unique forms mentioned included, expatriate employees recruited to do jobs which can be filled by local professionals. This results to the expatriates been paid more than the locals, which creates an unbalance against the locals, in the locals own country. Also, cultural neo-colonialism was indicated; this referred to our culture being diluted at the expense of foreign culture, for example the use of foreign language over ours, in our home. After they indicated some of these examples, the last question asked the respondents to provide suggestions which could combat the ills of neo-colonialism in Ghana. Some of the suggestions provided include, taking responsibility for our development, this includes re-building the local industries and needed infrastructure to promote self-sufficiency to stimulating the local economy. If this can be done, we can wean ourselves off the influence of the West, and true independence can begin. Another suggestion included, providing quality education across board, from basic level to the tertiary level. This also takes into consideration, providing education of important relevance to the developmental phase of the nation; such as science and technology, innovation and business. On the issue of foreign aid, some respondents outlined that Ghana has to rid herself off aid by a certain target date. As a country making provisions for foreign aid in its annual budget, it should be something coming to an end. In the meantime, a respondent suggested the coordinating of the aid better, like in the case of Rwanda. The most important and final suggestion indicated, was that of reforming the systems for choosing leaders and public officers. This includes reforming or having adequate checks and balances for the leaders

themselves before they begin their appointments. This in the eyes of my respondents will provide Ghana honest, selfless, educated and courageous leaders who have charisma and vision for the nation. For the respondent who believed that neo-colonialism does not exist in Ghana, he/she gave their opinions on other causes of Ghana's appalling socio-economic condition. The reasons given for Ghana's plight were very similar to the responses gotten from the other respondents when they provided reasons when comparing Ghana and the developed nations. They included, poor and corrupt leadership, which consisted of lack of planning and foresight, apathy of the general populace, and the leaders and citizens having no revolutionary spirit. Finally, the respondent provided suggestions to curb his/her given reasons indicated. Once again, the response gotten were ones already indicated earlier. This include having honest leaders who have a plan with the nations interests at heart and the Ghanaian citizens having a rejuvenation of a sense of responsibility, shunning the "saa na Ɛtiɛ"/"Ɛnyɛ Hwee" (that is how it is / it is nothing) attitude. To cap that point, the respondent said "people need to wake up and take notice and shouldn't shrug about everything; if it bothers you then do something about it and not just grumble and not take any action". In conclusion, majority of my respondents do believe neo-colonialism exists in Ghana and play a role in hindering the development of the nation. The one which did not believe that neo-colonialism existed in Ghana indicated sole reasons for Ghana's appalling socio-economic state lay in the bosom of poor leadership and apathetic citizenship.

Chapter V: Conclusion and Recommendations

5.1 Conclusion

From the onset, the aim of this research was to find out five main things, and upon analyzing all the findings captured from the data collected for this research, I can conclude that despite the presence of neo-elitist traits in majority of my respondents, this does not constitute definite proof that the neo-elite class exists in Ghana. However, there exists a sentiment which captures what Amoah (2010; 2011) theories about. Thus, it remains to be seen if this sentiment will acquire self-consciousness to constitute a new leadership class for Ghana's transformation. On the evidence that this group achieves that self-consciousness, the analysis of the data points to the direction that they will come together pooling their various resources and work towards the objective of national transformation. Further conclusions include that the respondents from the sample population, have given reasons to believe that Pan-Africanist ideas can still beneficial to Ghana and Africa in modern era; however, they have to be modified versions used strategically. In lieu of this, these respondents do have the at least the basic framework of Pan-Africanism, and are willing to learn and implement the ideas of Pan-Africanism to drive transformational change if the opportunity arises. Also, it was clear that leadership is a primary concern for Ghana and Africa and this has to be addressed critically. Finally, there was a strong belief that neo-colonialism does exist various forms in Ghana and plays a significant role in hindering the developmental progress of the nation. Thus, regarding the

conceptual equation, ADT= f{NE + PA - NC} and hypothesis I pointed out in

chapter 1, it can be suggested that once the neo-elite class does achieve

the self-consciousness Amoah (2010; 2011) postulates, with the use of

modified tenets of Pan-Africanism, tackling neo-colonialism, the African

Transformation, starting with the socio-economic aspect, would achieve

enactment.

5.2 Recommendations

As a result of conducting this research, and coming to the above conclusions,

my recommendations in relation to study include that, if Pan-Africanism is to

be used continually, to shape the African transformation, African history has

to be taught from early basic education right through to almost all tertiary

institutions in the country. This is to make sure the people are aware of their

African heritage and their true history which shapes their current welfare.

With this, there will be an easier understanding of what Pan-Africanism is

early on, its importance, and use to people of African descent. A second

recommendation is that the neo-elites should start building a track record

now. As one interviewee pointed out, the politicians of today just make

promises of what they will do if they get to office. When they get there, they

fail the people who put them there, and it creates a serious distrust amongst

the people. Thus, it is important for the neo-elites to start building a portfolio

of the positive social change they make so, when the opportune time arrives,

the people have a genuine reason to believe in them to do a good job in public office. Tied to this point, it will be very beneficial for the neo-elites to begin coming together now, even though "informal" at the start. It is less difficult to create a positive impact as a group than as an individual. Further recommendations include those outlined by the respondents in the research; this includes leadership training/reform programs needed for the current and future African leaders of this nation and continent. Finally, I recommend that further research should be carried out to flesh out the idea of the neo-elite class and theory concerning its centrality to building a new Africa. This is to understand deeper who they are and who they can be, in terms of other roles they can play which have not been spotted by Amoah (2010; 2011) and this research.

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Appendix

<div align="center">

Consent Form

</div>

Please consider this information carefully before deciding to participate in this research.

Research Topic: Pan-Africanism, Neo-elites and Contemporary African Transformation: A Case Study of Ghana.

What you will do in this research: The research will require that you to participate in an interview.

Time required: Participation will take approximately 45 minutes to complete.

Risks: There are no anticipated risks associated with participating in this study.

Benefits: A copy of the full detailed research paper will be sent to you, the participant. This will include the findings of the research as well as conclusions and recommendations, of which the participant of this research may us to set in motion, what this study sets out to find.

Confidentiality: Your participation in this study will remain confidential, and your identity will not be stored with your data. Personal information of the participants will be treated as highly confidential. During the interview session, any request of the participants to treat any information as confidential, will be granted. Your responses will be assigned a code number, and the list connecting your name with this number will be kept with the faculty member under lock and key and destroyed immediately they data collected has been analyzed. The following clause indicates my adherence to this:

I, **Emmanuel Asaam** as the principal investigator in this research certify that whatever personal details I receive from the participants of this study, will be treated with utmost confidentiality. The information acquired, will be handled in the appropriate manner and will only be viewed by myself.

(Principal Investigator's Signature) _____

Participation and withdrawal: Your participation in this study is completely voluntary, and you may refuse to participate or choose to withdraw at any time without penalty or loss of benefit. You may withdraw by informing the experimenter that you no longer wish to participate and no questions will be asked. You may also skip any question during the interview, but continue to participate in the rest of the study.

> **To Contact the Researcher:** If you have questions about this research, please contact **Emmanuel Asaam**, student at Ashesi University College. Email: emmanuel.asaam@ashesi.edu.gh or emmanuel.asaam@gmail.com. You may also contact the faculty member supervising this work: Professor Lloyd G.A. Amoah E-mail: lgaamoah@gmail.com

Agreement:
The nature and purpose of this research have been sufficiently explained and I agree to participate in this study.

Signature: Date:

Name (print):

Consent Form

Please consider this information carefully before deciding to participate in this research.

Research Topic: Pan-Africanism, Neo-elites and Contemporary African Transformation: A Case Study of Ghana.

What you will do in this research: The research will require that you to fill a questionnaire.

Time required: Participation will take approximately 20 minutes to complete.

Risks: There are no anticipated risks associated with participating in this study.

Benefits: A copy of the full detailed research paper will be sent to you, the participant. This will include the findings of the research as well as conclusions and recommendations, of which the participant of this research may us to set in motion, what this study sets out to find.

Confidentiality: Your participation in this study will remain confidential, and your identity will not be stored with your data. Personal information of the participants will be treated as highly confidential. During the questionnaire filling, any request of the participants to treat any information as confidential, will be granted. Your responses will be assigned a code number, and the list connecting your name with this number will be kept with the faculty member under lock and key and destroyed immediately they data collected has been analyzed. The following clause indicates my adherence to this:

I, **Emmanuel Asaam** as the principal investigator in this research certify that whatever personal details I receive from the participants of this study, will be treated with utmost confidentiality. The information acquired, will be handled in the appropriate manner and will only be viewed by myself.

(Principal Investigator's Signature) _____

Participation and withdrawal: Your participation in this study is completely voluntary, and you may refuse to participate or choose to withdraw at any time without penalty or loss of benefit. You may withdraw by informing the experimenter that you no longer wish to participate and no questions will be asked. You may also skip any question during the interview, but continue to participate in the rest of the study.

To Contact the Researcher: If you have questions about this research, please contact **Emmanuel Asaam**, student at Ashesi University College. Email: emmanuel.asaam@ashesi.edu.gh or emmanuel.asaam@gmail.com. You may also contact the faculty member supervising this work: Professor Lloyd G.A. Amoah E-mail: lgaamoah@gmail.com

Agreement:
The nature and purpose of this research have been sufficiently explained and I agree to participate in this study.

Signature: _____   Date: _____

Name (print): _____

Document: Interview Guide

Purpose: Academic Research (Capstone Project: Thesis)

Topic: Pan-Africanism, Neo-elites and Contemporary African Transformation: A Case Study of Ghana

Principal Investigator: Emmanuel Asaam

Institution: Ashesi University College

Period: 2014 Spring Semester

Instructions:

This interview is to aid me in gathering qualitative data for my researching in determining the role of Pan-Africanism for national transformation, as well as to find out if there exists a different class of people who will drive transformational development for Ghana and Africa.

Theme 1

1. In your own opinion, how do you view Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's leadership for Ghana and Africa, what characteristics of his leadership do you like and which didn't you like?

2. Do you think that Dr. Nkrumah's ideas and vision can still be implemented in modern day Ghana and Africa, to bring positive transformational change?

> Follow up:
>
> What makes you suggest so, what signs do you see that gives you this sinformed feeling?

3. Given that Dr. Nkrumah's ideology in leading Ghana and African revolved around, social equality and a society built on the interests of the people in the society, how do you feel towards learning more about his ideas regarding your own role in building a new and prosperous Ghanaian society?

Theme 2

4. Tell me how you go about inspiring the people you work with and work for you, what management and organizational techniques do you employ?

5. What do you think about the idea of working with other Ghanaian citizens who are independent of the government, with the aim of driving a positive change to the Ghanaian society?

6. Describe the feelings you experience when you come across a fellow citizen who has no access to the basic necessities of life such as food, shelter, water, and education.

> Follow up:
>
> What are your thoughts on the reasons for such people being in those conditions?

7. From your experience as a Ghanaian citizen, where do you think the past and current leaders fall short in terms of building the Ghana of your dreams?

> Follow up:
>
> Could you expand on these points by providing fresh or new suggestions to these short-comings?

Theme 3

8. What are your views on the fact that Ghana's annual budget is heavily subsidized by the World Bank and in turn they "suggest" the country's policies?

9. Do you feel that Ghana and other African countries can survive without monetary aid from "developed" nations?

10. Describe the ideal Ghana or Africa you envision, given the potential you know this country and continent has.

Document: Questionnaire

Purpose: Academic Research (Capstone Project: Thesis)

Topic: Pan-Africanism, Neo-elites and Contemporary African Transformation: A Case Study of Ghana

Principal Investigator: Emmanuel Asaam

Institution: Ashesi University College

Period: 2014 Spring Semester

Overview and Instructions:

This questionnaire is to aid me in gathering qualitative data for my researching in determining the role of Pan-Africanism for national transformation, as well as to find out if there exists a different class of people who will drive transformational development for Ghana and Africa. The questions are split into three (3) different sections to be able to draw out information based on the three main themes of this research. Some questions in their respective sections are tied to themes of other sections; please answer them how you see fit. Questions in this questionnaire are both closed and open ended. For questions with options please circle the answer you deem the correct one based on your experience or knowledge. For questions without options, please write down your answers in the space provided.

Section I – Pan-Africanism

The questions in this section seek to find out from the respondents, their understanding of the idea Pan-Africanism. The questions also seek to gauge the participants' attitude towards the idea and its uses.

1. Do you know what Pan-Africanism is?

      Yes   No

2 (a). If Yes kindly explain your understanding of Pan-Africanism

……
……
……
……

2 (b). Do you believe Dr. Kwame Nkrumah was a great leader for Africa and as the first president of the Republic of Ghana?

      Yes   No

3 (a). If Yes, on a scale of 1 to 5 , where: 1 = no success, 2 = little success, 3 = average success, 4 = very good success and 5 = extreme success; rate Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's success rate as a great leader and president of the Republic of Ghana; with 1 being the loWest scoring value and 5 being the highest scoring value.

      1.   2.   3.   4.   5.

3 (b). If No, please explain your reasons.

……
……
……

Note: *At this point, if you answered questions 2(b), 3(a) and 3(b), I bring to your attention, that Dr. Kwame Nkrumah was an advocate of Pan-Africanism and played major roles in shaping the ideology, as well as using it in his leadership.*

4. From your general knowledge of what Pan-Africanism is, list three (3) aspects that you like about the Pan-Africanist idea and briefly explain what interests you concerning these aspects.

………
………
………

5. From your general knowledge of what Pan-Africanism is, list two (2) aspects that you **do not** like about the Pan-Africanist idea and briefly explain what you **do not** like concerning these aspects.

………
………
………

6. On a scale of 1 to 5, where: 1 = no willingness, 2 = little willingness, 3 = average willingness, 4 = above average willingness and 5 = Extreme willingness; how keen are you to learn more about Pan-Africanism to broaden and get more in depth knowledge about the idea; with 1 being the loWest scoring value and 5 being the highest scoring value.

    1.   2.   3.   4.   5.

7. In your opinion, do you think that the ideas of Pan-Africanism can still be used as a tool in this modern era to bring transformational and developmental change to Ghana and Africa, socially, economically, and culturally?

    Yes   No

8 (a). If Yes, if you are in a position of national or societal leadership, briefly explain how you would implement Pan-Africanist ideas in bringing this change.

....
....
....

8 (b). If No, briefly explain why you think it cannot work in the modern era

....
....
....

Section II – The role of the Elite class

The questions in this section seek to find out if the participants can be categorized as a new class of people in a society who can lead positive transformation.

1. With your current position at this company/organization, how do you inspire the people who work with and for you?

………
………
………
………
………

2. Briefly explain how you go about your management and organizational roles for this company/organization. What resources, processes or ideas govern this?

………
………
………
………
………

3. Do you ponder deeply the appalling socio-economic state of Ghana and the African continent?

     Yes   No

4. What do you think of the current state of Ghana and Africa in terms of its socio-economic status vis-à-vis the "developed" nations?

………
………
………
………
………

5. Do you sympathize with the people who are adversely affected by the appalling socio-economic state of Ghana?

Yes   No

6. On a scale of 1 to 5 where: 1 = no sadness, 2 = little sadness, 3 = averagely sad, 4 = really sad, 5 = extreme sadness; how sad are you when you see Ghanaians living in abject poverty with no sight of an end of the situation for them; 1 represents no sadness at all, 5 represents extreme sadness?

1.   2.   3.   4.   5.

7. If you had the opportunity, will you be willing to play a crucial and significant role in changing Ghana's appalling socio-economic status?

Yes   No

8. Are you ready to effectively collaborate with like-minded individuals such as yourself to drive a transformational developmental change for Ghana and Africa, socially economically and culturally?

Yes   No

Section III – Neo-Colonialism

The questions in this section seek to find out from the respondents, their view on the idea of Neo-colonialism; if they think it exists in Ghana and Africa and in what various forms.

Guide: In his book, ***Neo-Colonialism, the Last Stage of Imperialism***, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah described neo-colonialism as a system in which former colonial powers, through social, economic, cultural and political avenues, control and influence the affairs of their former colonial territories. As a result of this, it serves a platform to continue the exploitation of these countries rather than foster development. This ultimately increases the gap between the rich and poor countries of the world, leaving the underdeveloped nations in a continuous state of appalling socio-economic condition.

1. From the guide above, and from your experience and observation, do you think neo-colonialism exists in Ghana?

     Yes   No

2. If Yes, list and briefly explain three (3) forms or ways neo-colonialism exists in Ghana

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3. If No, briefly explain giving reasons, for the current poor socio-economic condition of Ghana based on your understanding of the situation

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4. If you responded to **question 2**, please provide three (3) suggestions, one each to your identified problem

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5. If you responded to **question 3**, please provide three (3) suggestions, one each to your identified problem.

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Thank You for Participating