DATA ON AFRICAN/GHANA-CHINA AGENCY

INTERVIEW 1 October 15, 2022).

Speaker 2 0: 00
China-African relations in the last name years, for me has kind of expanded from state centred to include civil society organization, individuals, and all kinds of non-state actors. So, unlike before, where the beginning of the relationship between Africa and China was only the government machinery or government officials who were leading the relations, now, even individual, civil society organization have all come to begin to play different roles in our relationship with China.

Speaker 1 1:01
Okay, so let me ask you this. When you read some articles, you have these western commentators who are saying that Chinese are just exploiting Africa. Thus, in the form of neo-colonialism. They are known as the pessimists. And then we have the optimists who are also saying that the Chinese are in a way, helping Africa to develop economically and in infrastructure space. And then we have those who are saying that we should accommodate both the Western, and then the Chinese. So I want to know from you, is the Chinese exploiting Africa? Are they contributed to our development? Or is a way of we accommodating the two, the Western and the Chinese?

Speaker 2 2:02
If you ask me, I will say that both arguments. The pessimist and the optimist, because at one hand, if you look at Chinese investment in Africa, you will be tempted to believe that they are contributing significantly, especially to our infrastructural development. You talk about the stadiums, hospitals, you name it. Even the AU headquarters was funded by China. So to some extent, they are contributing to our development, and they are giving us favorable loans, even though some argue that it is contributing to the increase debt of African countries, but they are giving us soft loans. Okay, however, if you also consider other side or other activities, by the Chinese in Africa, especially in Ghana, with regards to the respect to the environment, you won't be far from arguing that they are abusing or kind of, I wouldn't say there is a neo-colonialism. But you know, the activities are impacting our environment. Because of the power status of China, we are unable to tackle the issue that we are supposed to. You know, the relationship between China and Ghana for example, is mutual. By but it's not balanced. Okay, is mutual but is not balance in the sense that if you look at China's GDP, China's power, economic power, China's international power, compared to Ghana, Ghana is only 10% of China's global power. So for China to sign, let's say to billion infrastructure agreement with Ghana, is just like Ghana, signing an agreement with a city in China. Because if you compare the GDP of Shanghai alone, I'm sure it will be 20 times more than that of Ghana. So the relationship is not balanced. So Ghana is unable to enforce rules and regulations to ensure that the Chinese respect our laws regarding the environment.

Speaker 2 4:53

So in other words, they are using their financial might to exploit us. Thus, the using their power status in international affairs to exploit our weak institutions.

Speaker 1 5:17

Yeah, they are using the economic power, or they are using an economic might, and international relations status to exploit the loopholes in our institutions. So, for me, I rather propose a marriage between China and the West. So we tap some things from China, and others from the West. I propose that because when it comes to soft loans, we'll get them from China, when it comes to the infrastructure, we get them from China, but something like respect to the environment, the West, they are a little more about the environment than China. So, a marriage between the two will be the best way for me.

Speaker 2 6:27

But when you say the West, they care a little more for the environment than China, you know, that the Chinese in a way do not interfere into our private affairs, but the West do. Okay, now, the economy, the environment are also part of our internal laws. So if you say that they don't care about the environment, but the West who do interfere in our activities care about the environment, I don't get it.

Speaker 1 7:19

You see the west, when they are giving you loans, they include the agreements, specific target areas, for example, that okay, this loan, you need to commit certain percentage into the protection of the environment. Hence, in most of the loans that we take, there is a component that goes into environment, okay. However, because China doesn't like influencing what you use your money to do, they give you their money, and leave you to do whatever you do with it, which to some extent is good, but the disadvantage, is that because of our weak institutions, our politicians don't use those monies well. Okay. Just take the IMF agreement that we just entered as a case study. Do you know why we can't go to China to go and take a loan to save the economy? Because China is going to add no strings, nothing, they will just give us the money. And the politicians won't use it well. But the West, IMF, said no, your economy is in trouble. You need to stop this, stop this, stop this to make the economy stable before they leave you to manage it on your own. So both have disadvantages and advantages. That is why I propose some sort of marriage between the two.

Speaker 2 8:59

My next question is, do you think local communities play a role in exposing the challenges of the Chinese activities in Ghana?

Speaker 1 9:19

Yes, for the past few years, especially with regards to illegal mining activities, the local communities have been at the forefront creating so much noise and complaining about how the Chinese are destroying our environment due to illegal mining. Now, have you ever hear reports of local communities, especially through the media, about complaint by some of the, you know, activities of Chinese human rights abuses, and all those issues, and especially when it came to the issue of our water bodies. Because the local communities, they are the immediate people or the receiving end of the Chinese activities, especially when it comes to water. They continue to play a critical role in exposing some of these Chinese activities.

Speaker 2 10:57
On the same question, do you think the role of the media and civil society organizations are in a way challenging the activities of the Chinese in Ghana?
Speaker 1 11:16
They are not only challenging, but they are playing and influencing how we approach China in the sense that the media, civil society organizations, an organization like IMANI, have been making so much noise about how we should approach Chinese activities, and how to tackle illegal mining. You know with so much proposal from civil society organizations, and even the media, through the war against galamsey was propelled by the media. And they played a critical role in the early stages that we made soo much gains against illegal mining. If you check the records, you could see that it wasn't even the effort of the government, but the media and civil society organization. So when you realize, when they tune down their effort a little, Chinese illegal mining picks up again in our water bodies, and were in a mess again. So yes, the media and civil society organizations, they play a role in exposing Chinese activities, especially with regards to illegal mining, and also influence how government approach these Chinese activities. And not only illegal mining, but also retailing business. There's a constant war between local traders and Chinese traders. You know, the law that banned foreigners from engaging in retailing business. It is always the media and civil society organizations such as GUTA. They have been making so much noise about these things. And when it comes to our relations, the media and civil society organisations play a very, very very key role.

Speaker 2 13:39
These noise or these protests from the media, civil society organizations, and let's say the community people, in a way has it influenced government decision on how to deal with the Chinese?

Speaker 1 13:52
To answer this question, I will say, to some extent, yes. Last time, I was telling someone that the Sino-Ghana relations is in two strikes: the government level and also the individual level. For the government level, the noise from the media and the organization, play a little role in influencing anything, I doubt. However, when it comes to the individual level, something like, you know, the Chinese engaging in illegal mining and retailing business in Ghana, that is not part of our formal relations with China. These are individuals who are in Ghana, doing their own thing. Maybe the Chinese state don't even know that some of them exist, that is why I said that Sino-Ghana relations is in two strikes, the formal level and also the informal level, including individuals and other non-state actors. So, yes, for the government level, there hasn't been much influence, but at the informal individual level such as fighting galamsy, GUTA and that one yes, their noise have yielded some results influencing the way government approaches China.

Speaker 2 15:43
So, would you render their activities as being ineffective when it comes to the government level?

Speaker 1 15:52

For government, I will say the activities are ineffective, okay. Because if Ghana, let me give you an example, the Sino-Ghana, 2 billion infrastructure agreement (Sinohydro deal). When they were going to sign that deal, those civil society organization, even media house was not contacted. They gathered at the government level and went and signed that deal, and that's it. But at the individual level, where you know, *galamsey*, community noise about water bodies and all that, for that one, the media and the civil society organisation can influence. However, let me add this, if you read about FOCAC, you realize that the Chinese have increased the focus of FOCAC to include the role of civil society organisation. That so far to me has been ineffective, because the formal relation is between government-to-government. So, that is what I have say about that.

Speaker 2 17:17
But international relations is evolving now, of which civil society organizations are included to the equation. Okay, maybe this will be my final question. Do you think non state actors, like the media, civil society organization and local communities in Ghana usually provide first level agency for the government to take action?

Speaker 1 17:58
Again, I'd adopt two-way approach to answer this question. The individual and civil society organization to some extent, yes. Because, like I was saying, the media, the individuals, the civil society organization, they provided a lot of suggestions based on their contact with the Chinese activities in some of our communities to suggest to government how they should go about the fight against *galamsey* for example. And same about GUTA, individuals were complaining that what people are doing is that a Chinese will give money to a Ghanaian to go and take a shop in Makola in his name, meanwhile the shop is for the Chinese. So an information like this from the individual, and GUTA members then take on the information like this then suggest to government how to deal with a situation like this. So yes, at the individual level, they play a lot of roles in suggesting to government how to go about Chinese activities in Ghana. However, I doubt how they'll be able to do that in our formal relations with China. Because sometimes the government don't even tell them that they are going to do something, you just hear that the President is in a state visit to China, and by the time the President comes back, an agreement is signed. So it is after the agreement is signed that when it comes to public knowledge, and sometimes, they begin to expose some weaknesses and all that is in the agreement. And then also, maybe they are unable to do that because at the state level, they are unable to make that contact with the Chinese government to be able to influence any policy decision from government. Again, at the individual level, yes, but the level, I doubt if even have any influence at all.

Speaker 2 20:43
So, in other words, we are saying that the government do not pay much attention to these civil society organisations in terms of the Chinese activities in Ghana?

Speaker 1 20:53
Yes, its formal relations with China. But at the individual level, were to tackle Chinese activities in Ghana, the civil society organizations and the individuals play some roles in influencing how government approach the issues.

Speaker 2 21:17
So why do you think the government is not able to, you know, address this issue, at the National or the international level?

Speaker 1 21:24
You see, our national politics is, we still operate the winner takes all system. And, until recently, we don't even consider, I am not sure government, in our early days in the Fourth Republic, even consider the views of civil society organisation in any policy decision making. It is recently that civil society organizations are able to, you know, influence government policy, and governments sometimes invite them to hear their views, and all that. So I think with time, our democracy is still developing with time, maybe we'll be able to do that in the future. But for now, because we still operate in the winner takes all. And issues in Ghana, are seriously fought on political lines. Any slight opposition, the government takes it as a threat or sabotage. So sometimes they just do their own things and after that the civil society organization realizing any loophole in some of government decision in contract, they also go and punch holes and attack and all that but influencing, until maybe we are able to overcome the winner takes all. That is when we will be able to make any serious impact. If we are able to overcome the winner takes all syndrome, I'm not sure we will be able to take the views of civil society organisation.

Speaker 2 23:56
So finally on the scale of 10, how would you rate Ghana relation with China in terms of being mutual or unusual?

Speaker 1 24:09
I will say five and half.

Speaker 2 24:11
Five and half, any reason?

Speaker 1 24:14
Well, I mention the power dynamics, that even though is mutual is not balanced. You see, for example, US relations with the EU, to a very large extent is balanced. Because of the power dynamics between the two sides. But take Ghana for example, our GDP is around 60 billion. I'm not sure but Shangai alone GDP will be more than 100 billion . So you know sometimes is just like you saying that you have agreed with your junior brother to do something once you are the one suggested it, your junior brother has no choice than to accept it. You got the point, China, they are the one calling the shots, they are providing the money. So whatever the case be they stand to win, even though we benefit but to their advantage, great advantage. So that is why I think that even though it is mutual, it is an agreement between the two sides by its own balance. That is why, for me, I suggest, I was discussing with a friend the other time that if Africa is to gain something from China, then we should be signing agreements with China on regional basis: West Africa, thus, all the countries, we signed an agreement. If it is this Sinohydro deal, so they build roads across the West Africa sub-region. If we sign agreement like this, it will be better than you going individually. Look at Togo and Burundi

for example, Burundi GDP is around 2 billion, 2 billion is a chicken change. The tax China collects from Beijing alone in a day is more than 2 billion. So those are some of the reasons why I think, even though one may say that because there is agreement between the two side, the relationship is mutual. If you look at the other dynamics of it, I will rather say it's five and half over ten.

Speaker 2 26:52

Thank you very much… I really appreciate.

Speaker 2 27:04

Yeah very well, very well very well.

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Interview with GUTA Official

Speaker 10:07

So, this interview is for academic purpose, yes, and not for publication. If I'm to see in a publication, I can sue you. Yes. Yeah. You welcome to our national Secretariat. So let's give a little background about GUTA. GUTA is the full name of Ghana Union of Traders Association. We are made up of sector associations, we have about 68 sector associations, which means GUTA don't operate on one on one basis, an individual cannot join GUTA but you come under a sector. So, we have the confectionaries dealers, we have the national spare parts dealers, such as Abosuakai, Magazine-Kumasi, Koforidua-Kokonpe, Takoradi-Kokonpe. So, some of the Association are National in character, and some of the muscles sector associations. We have the electrical dealers and is also national in charater. So, GUTA is made up of sectors, about 68 sectors. We have regional basis, and then we have district basis too. So in Eastern region can have some of our members in Asaman-Kese, Keda..., so, like I said earlier on, GUTA is made up of sector associations, and that have come together to form the Ghana Union of Traders Association. The main focus of GUTA is to seek welfare of traders in the Ghanaian business community. So, what we do is that we collaborate with government of the day, and then to calve policies in connection with trading. So, our sector ministry is Minister of Trade. But we deal with other ministries, too, when it comes to importation, like the Ports and Harbour, Minister of Transport because of spare parts. So, you can see that GUTA deals with is all the sectors of the country. So that's what we do. And our members apply their trade, mostly we are into importations and exports. Mostly, our members apply their trade to the Asia countries like China talking about Japan, we go to Dubai, go to UK, some apply their trade in Europe, such as UK, Holland, Germany. And some also apply that trade within the West Africa sub region. We trade with Togo, Benin, Nigeria, Ivory Coast and few other countries. Wherever businesses is, you will see GUTA member there. So this our setup. Mostly we are an advocacy group. So we do advocacy; we do trade education; we make input into policy of government, and then we also seek the welfare of traders by area of looking for funding. When we talk of cheaper credit for businesses, we will also look at an area of GRA that is revenue. Yeah, we also speak on behalf. But for some time, as you all may be aware, most of volume of trade is in China, quantum volumes of trade in China, most of our people go to China, especially the professional people, those who deals in these spare parts, electricals, we also trade in India too, those who are into electricals. So basically, that's what we do. So we've been trading with

China, with volumes. Now the volume cannot be on top of my head, especially the volume we do now. I was out of the country and have not done on research on that yet to find out the current volume that we do with China. But we do a lot of volumes with China. Yes. So far, that is what we do, So we were able to maximize our relationship with China, we have a good relationship with China when it comes to trading. But in recent time, there has been some challenges as a result of the COVID-19. Were import reduce drastically. And then also, because of the high freight on importation from China. We used to acquire a container to import our goods at a rate of 3500, some 3800 dollars. And it shot up to about 11,000 to 12000. Yes, as a result of the COVID. And the reason being that containers went to Europe and they were stuck there, because of the close down. So is like the demand and supply push factor? If the demand is higher than supply is not there, it increases prices, so that is what happened with our trading with China. But so far, it has been okay with China. But in recent time, if you had GUTA agitating about the relationship with Chinese in Ghana, as a result of taking over, as you know, GIPC, that is Ghana Investment Promotion Centre or authority, frowns on Chinese going to retail business, a certain part of retail business that has been preserved for Ghanaians. And we find that the Chinese are entering into those areas. GIPC law says if you're a foreigner, you can't do a taxi business, you want to do a taxi business, there are certain fleet that you have to bring. You can't do hairdressing business. You can't do certain retail business. But these foreigners doing that retail business. And we think it's against our laws, and is not helping the trading community. So we express our displeasure with our Ministry of Trade. And a taskforce have been formed and we are working on that seriously. But apart from that, we've had a cordial relationship with China. Ghanaians have benefited from the activities between the Ghanaian business and the China because we're able to procure products that the country is demanding for, and then at a little cheaper costs compared to what we used to import from Europe and stuff. So price wise, China is on the cutting edge against other countries who are also doing trading. But basically, most of our business are into importations. Yes. But like I said few of our members also do exports. They identify a product in the country where the demand is so hight, but the export is not only in China, we do export to Europe, with like a pineapple juice and other mangoes and also they export possible to Dubai and other European countries. So it's been fruitful business that we have been doing with them. And when we talk of welfare with our members too, we seek their welfare in the area of funding. One of the challenges of the credit community is funding, that's cost of doing business. Cost of doing business is extremely expensive in this country. But as it stands now, your reference rate was mentioned, the policy rate of Bank of Ghana is about 19%. And then we borrow at a rate of 25-27%. So it's on the higher side. So that's a difficult so we try to look for cheaper credit for our members to apply their trade to this area of welfare, we also help them and we'll also help them in the area of policy. When government comes up with any policy that is detrimental to the business community. We also intervene in those areas. So it more or less we have been the mouthpiece of the trading community in this country. We speak on their behalf. So for this what we do in general, if you have any questions going forward, we can

Speaker 2 8:54
Okay, so. So I would like to know, some of the benefits or opportunities, the trade between China and the Ghanaian traders. Some of the benefits we've gotten?

Speaker 1 9:09
Is two-way, China has benefited, we also have benefit from them. Because it's like I said earlier on, is demand and supply. What people are demanding here. When we look around the world, we find them in China. And that has really helped so that we don't have shortage of goods and services and products. So as Ghanaian community, we as Ghanaian businesses have benefited from China by getting what the country needed, and what consumers are looking for. I think China government also has a relationship with our Ghanaian government. So they have this bilateral relationship, they have that relationship. And Chinese have done a few things for Ghana and the trading communities. Some Chinese companies also have come here to establish business, by soo doing they are employing Ghanaians. So Ghana has benefited, they employ some of our members. And some of them to also build facilities. When I say facilities, I'm looking at credit facilities to our members, they give credit facilities to our members. So it's a benefit. Instead of going to the bank to borrow at a higher rate, if a Chinese company can give you a credit facility you prefer to go in for that. But one of the things that is not helping the business community is the high rates of duty. the duty rate is extremely on the higher side, which we are advocating and talking with government. And then we also have the spoken about the interest rate. And we also have a challenge in the area of forex, exchange rate. exchange rate is to now $1 to a cedi is about 8.5. Yes, yes. Which is extremely high. So assuming you're looking for $10,000, you as expected to raise about 85,000 Ghana cedis, compared to about some three, four months ago, when I was even traveling in December, I changed the dollar, at 5.6. So between, and that is about 56,000. So between December and now, we need almost about 14,000 difference, to top up to get the same $10,000 is how difficult it is. So it's a major concern. So most times, our issue would come in, if government will be able to stimulate the cedi against the dollar, it will also help the trading community. In recent times, business has not been too healthy. Most businesses are complaining as a result of this exchange rate. So we asked what measures or what are the pragmatic measures they put in place to halt the fall of the cedi against dollar. And that's what we're working on now. Government intervention is what we're looking forward for. So we are engaging government, what can government do to halt this free fall of the cedi against the dollar. So this is what we do. These are our activities when it comes to GUTA.

Speaker 2 12:30
So okay, so I would like to know how you protect your traders from these negative?

Speaker 1 12:39
Yeah, what we do to protect our traders in those measures, once when they have issue at airports. We step in as an association, an organization where they have issue with the shipping lines, we step in, and then we speak on their behalf. When have issue with GRA. Recently, we went to EOCO, when they invited some of our members, we stepped in. Because have to seek their welfare. Our primary motive is to grow businesses. How Ghanaians businesses will grow? So anything that will be negative effects on their businesses we intervene. So our members are happy with us. Interventions for them, like I said just yesterday, we went to intervene for some of our members behalf.

Speaker 2 13:37
Okay, that means you have been really effective,

Speaker 1 13:40
Extremely effective. And government any government policy that comes we make an input into it. We've told government that any policy that they're going to come out with in the area of trading. We expect and we pray that government give us space to input into the policies since we are going to work with those policies.

Speaker 2 14:11
Does GUTA exposes these Chinese traders engage in illegalities?

Speaker 1 14:19
Yeah, we do. You see all these envelopes here, they are Chinese companies that we are looking to document and we'll give them to government to look into their activities. So what we saw was that some of these Chinese come in the name of manufacturing, and they go into trading. Some of them too, when they go for GIPC license to trade in certain area, you don't see them in those areas. For example, what we identified was a one Chinese company was supposed to be trading at Osu but he is at Kantamanto, which is against the law. You don't have to be at the marketplace. So if GIPC is has given you a location and you have relocated different place, it is against the law. there are discrepancies in their activities. Where, as an advocacy group and an organization that is seeking the welfare of our members, we also go into that. So we collaborate with the government in some of these areas.

Speaker 2 15:19
And do you think because exposing them or trying to settle these things it brings chaos?

Speaker 1 15:27
It's no. So there is a saying that when you go to Rome do as the Romans do. So if you are in Ghana and doing the right thing, why won't the foreigner do the right thing. So I'm not exposing you to because you're my competitor, I'm exposing you because I want a level playing field, that we will all be at the start, when the whistle is blows, we should all be at the at the edge of the mark, so that you don't take one step ahead of your competitor. So we expose the bad activities of foreigners. And if not only foreign as our own members too, because they should be parity in a system. Thus we must all do the right thing. So we've, engaged some of our members and we have reported them to government to look into their activities. So it's not only looking at foreigners alone, we also Tell, and as part of our advocacy program, we also educate our members. We do education for our members, periodically, as we do some dos don'ts. We are even at a committee at the Revenue, GRA, and then we have been having tax reform, tax education: They need to pay tax to government. We also tell government the need to facilitate our trade. Because is symbiosis give-and-take affairs. If you need more revenue from us, they have to facilitate our trade. So we do all that. So it's like you're not targeting certain people, foreigners alone. Yes, we are saying, when you come to Ghana, you must do what Ghanaians do. So we have been exposing some bsd nut in the system.

Speaker 2 17:02

So comparing the relationship between Ghana and China in the past, What do you think and can suggest ways Ghana can improve the relationship with China?

Speaker 1 17:15
This one, which will be government-to-government, is government policy, is a foreign policy. So what we do is that what we think we need from China, we need input into the ministry and adapt so they will advocate. So it's going to be government to government. We cannot say Chinese do this for us, but the relations between Ghana and China is government to government affairs. So we make input into so we tell our ministry, what we think Chinese are doing that is right. We tell our ministry, what we think Chinese are doing that is right, and which area they can help us. Yes, and mostly what that we want from, especially from China is we want to identify the manufacturing companies, so that we partner them and set up here, not as retailers are not as important, but also want to go into manufacturing, so that if government to government can talk on that area. We believe the need of this country now is manufacturing, people are not going into manufacturing, because they think it is not attractive; It is difficult to go in there because utilities are expensive; Credit is expensive, you can't go and borrow at the rate of 27% and go to manufacturing, it is not safe. While the Chinese is going to borrow at his or her bank at 3%, which means that if you are producing the same products in Ghana, in China, China will be cheaper than that of Ghana, that is why people go in for importation.

Speaker 2 18:41
So do you think time is coming Chinese goods will take over the market,

Speaker 1 18:45
It has already taken over the market. Most of the products because it's expensive to produce in this country, the same products come from China with the same quality will be cheaper than that of Ghana. The reason being that cost of production here is expensive. I mentioned utility, I mentioned borrowing credit is expensive 27% / 3%. Utility, tariffs are expensive. Water, electricity expensive compared to our competitors who are in China. So you can see a lot of China products in our system, because our production center is not doing too well. And that's one of the areas we also advocating because we are not only interested in the trading alone, we also want to go to manufacturing, but as much as it's concerned is difficult to go into manufacturing process cost of production is extremely high. So we advocate for our manufacturers to an AGI that is government should intervene that anybody want to go into manufacturing must be able to get some cheaper credit and utilities for a cheaper for them. Because when you do manufacturing then you can employ more people to make things smooth so that we can take care of this unemployment situation in the country.

Speaker 1 20:09
Thank you very much very grateful
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INTERVIEW 3 (Scholar, September 13, 2023)

Speaker 2 0:01
Over the last 10 years, considering how much China give us loans and grants to African countries, even though in the last10 years, the amounts have reduced because the Chinese economy is not doing as well as it was in the last 10 years. Yes. It's in a good relationship. Unlike Africa-European mostly a lot us relationship.

Speaker 1 0:57
So would you rate our relationship between China as being mutual, very mutual, or un-mutual?

Speaker 2 1:08
Mutual because we benefit and Chinese benefits as well. When it comes to Chinese loans, concessionary loans, grants we know how it is utilized within our jurisdiction. So yes, I will say it is mutual.

Speaker 1 1:37
Okay. So I think my conversation with one, participants said it is mutual, but it is not balanced. It is not balanced, because he was looking at the geographical size, and then the kind of resources they are taking from us and what we're benefiting from them. So would you also say it is balanced? Or it is not balanced?

Speaker 2 1:55
No, it's not balanced.
I'm looking at the Ghana- China relation in comparison to Ghana, let's say EU or America relations. Let's say EU, America, loans that we get from the IM F which is from the West, mostly they determine what kind of projects and then how the project should be implemented. Most of the IMF-World Bank loans, most of them usually yearned toward policy, macroeconomic stability rather than physical projects. Unlike the Chinese loans, that we are able to determine that this is what we want to do with it . And then you see a lot of tangible projects infrastructure projects being done across Africa, thanks to the Chinese, hither to we really didn't have the infrastructure. Particularly with the loans from the west No. So it may not be balanced but it's still mutual, because we get to benefit, we get to build one for what we need. The Chinese also get what they need or what they want from us. It may not be balanced because so long that they have the cash. They will dictate what goes on, so long as we get what we need, Why not?

Speaker 1 3:39
Okay. Okay. So for the past 10 years, we'll be witnessing Chinese influx into our mining sector. And then even the small scale trading business. Do you think local communities that is Ghanaian local communities play a role in exposing and challenging the activities of the Chinese in Ghana?

Speaker 2 4:01
Unfortunately, no. Okay. I don't think local communities play a role in exposing them. I think local communities actually aid them okay. Because like the former Chinese ambassador said

in two years ago, when he said that the Chinese nationals do not know our villages, they don't know where the galamsey is done, where we have gold in Ghana. Even though they come in, it is the Ghanians who show them there. Ghanaians take them there. A lot of the time, the Ghanaians do the work for them, the community members who work for them in those mines and they don't expose them enough. Because they protect them, that's why they are able to carry out their nefarious activities. Huh.

Speaker 1 5:01
When you look at the Atewa issue, when it came up, I think the community members stood up against the Chinese mining in the forest.

Speaker 2 5:13
That was not small-scale mining. The Atewa issue was supposed to be the bauxite concession when the government said they were doing barter to take Sinohydro facility to build interchanges at Kumasi, Tamale, Takoradi and some other projects and in returns gave Chinese concession. So it wasn't illegal mining or small scale mining they didn't want. It wasn't just the Chinese the community didn't want, they don't want any mining in the forest. I think Initially, Ibrahim Mahama's companies was given concession and they said no, they just didn't want anybody in the forest not just the Chinese.

Speaker 1 6:09
Okay. Okay, so please, with the same question when it comes to the media and civil society, do you think they play the role of exposing and challenging the activities of the Chinese in Ghana?

Speaker 2 6:21
Yeah, I think Civil Society, media are trying to expose them, unfortunately, like I said the local community members not help that much, most of the civil society or the media do not live in these villages, they do not know the forest, as well as the indigenes of the communities. So the community members are able to hide the Chinese from the media or the CSOs who try to expose them. But the media is doing a good job, we've seen several documentaries from joy FM and their sister organisation in Kumasi, one of the multimedia I don't remember. Where Ohemeng Tawiah is…Yes. Yes. Yes. Yes. So they've been doing a good job, a number of radio stations and CSOs trying to expose them as and when they have information on them, so yes,

Speaker 1 7:45
okay. So how would you rate them? How effective are these media and then organization influencing the government on the Chinese actions? In terms of how the ability to influence a government policies or decision against the Chinese activities in Ghana.

Speaker 2 8:18
Yeah for example, the current prosecution of Aishai Huang, the so-called Chinese in the *galamsey* kingpin, I think it is basically because of the work that a lot of media houses are doing. That's why eventually the government's could no longer protect her or do anything about it but prosecute her. So yes, I will say they are doing a good job. In terms of numbers I

will give them 8 out of 10.

Speaker 1 8:58
Okay. Okay. Because the reason I'm asking this question is that the last time I engaged someone he said, the civil society groups are doing their best, but at the individual level, they are able to prompt the government to take action, but at the national level, like the engagement between Ghana and then China, at the national level, the civil society's role is not that effective there.

Speaker 2 9:29
When it comes to influencing relationships, like bilateral between Ghana government and Chinese government, there is little civil society organizations can do, but when it comes to influencing the government to take some actions, like the example I gave about Aisha Huang like maybe not allowing the Chinese to take up the case. Those are some of the things they can to influence the government to take action, but influencing the government on the diplomatic relations between Ghana and China, there is little they can do.

Speaker 1 10:22
Okay. Alright. So I think this will be my last question. Do you think non-state actors, like the media, civil society organization, local communities in Ghana usually provide first level of agency, that is they prompt the government to take action whenever there is issue?

Speaker 2 10:48
let me say state institutions get to know of some of these illegal miners be it the Chinese or whatever, even before the community members get to know. Because a lot of them before they go to the communities, they engage at some level state actors, such as the Minerals Commissiin, the police or some level of the soldier mostly before they even get there, the state actors are aware of them. So not like the community members will prompt state actors again because they are the only reason those institutions are there.

Speaker 1 11:45
I think two years ago, we had the #SaynotoGalamsey or #GalamseyStop. It started from the social media, Twitter, then the musicians came in and then the media also came in to campaign against the Chinese illegal mining in the mining sector. I want to know from you, was it the reason why the government stood or the this current administration stood to fight the galamsey to the latter?

Speaker 2 12:23
So I think what happened with that media campaign was not to stop only Chinese illegal mining but was supposed to stop illegal mining. And not only illegal mining, actually, but mining in our forest reserves and water bodies which was taken up most social and traditional media, and that was when the government actually came in. Because they saw that people bought into the action the media took, and Nana Addo personally put his presidency on the line to fight the menace, whether it is successful or not is another question. But I think yes, it was largely because of the actions of the media, that the governments also came in to fight it.

Speaker 1 13:24
As you said at the beginning of our discussion that two years ago, the Chinese ambassador was a bit furious about the way we are reporting the Chinese illegal mining, would you say the activities of these civil groups have affected the relation between Ghana and China in any way?

Speaker 2 13:46
No, no, no. I don't think so. Because all those involved in illegal activities are not agent of the state so there's no way the Chinese state can take any action if they are fighting people who are involved in illegalities, being the Chinese or whatever, so no, I don't think whatever we are doing here as a people will affect our relationship.

Speaker 1 14:25
Okay, I think during the first time Ashia Huang was arrested, we heard the famous statement the senior minister made. That if we arrest this lady it is going to affect the 3 million or billion agreement we had with China. So because of that the state should deport her. So with that circumstance or scenario, would you still say that the activities of these civil groups would not affect Ghana relationship with China?

Speaker 2 15:06
No it wouldn't, it was just our fear as a nation that if someone commits a crime in your country and prosecute that person… if prosecuting Chinese illegal miners or Chinese committing crimes Ghana will affect our relationship with China so be it. Because I don't think China would want to release any Ghanaian because of the relations, the person has committed a crime because of the relationship they have with Ghana or even America or Russia or wherever, unless the person did not commit a crime. So I don't think the issue would have caused… I don't think that has anything to do with our relationship.

Speaker 1 16:13
Okay. Okay, so please your last thought on Ghana-China relation

Unknown 16:24
Like I said in the beginning, it's a mutual relationship, we both benefit. Just that how balance the benefits is the question that comes to mind. So maybe our leaders should negotiate whatever it is that we have to negotiate the Chinese, we'd have to fight for the best part so that we benefit as much as if not more than what they stand to benefit.

Unknown 16:59
Okay, so thank you very much for your time.

INTERVIEW 4 (Scholar (September 16, 2023)

Speaker 1:07

Work is on a Ghana China relation. We are using civil society groups, the media as agency, that is the ability to influence or as I say, some level of power in the bilateral relation between Ghana in France. So, first question is how would you describe sino African relations in the past them? Yes.

Speaker 2 0:31
Okay. Before I come to the last decision, I think China's relations with Africa, started in several decades right after the Chinese Civil War, there about. China, even sorted African votes to cement her place at the UN Security Council. China is Africa's largest trading partner for 14 consecutive years since 2009. So it tells you how China and Africa have been, and even currently, when you look at almost 55 countries apart from us Estwatini, all of them now have diplomatic relations with China, China has made deliberate effort win almost all the African countries, even those that used to have ties with Taiwan like Baurkina-Faso and Liberia, they are having diplomatic ties. So yes the relationship has been there. It intensified from the 1950s. By if you asked me within the last day, years, at best I would say that the relations is a give and take relations. That's how I see it. I read an article and that was where the argument was going. And I think I agree with that. Why do I say is a given public relations and

Speaker 1 2:01
I wanted to ask that question.

Speaker 2 2:05
I want you to look at the situation is like Africans need China's money and investments China also needs Africa's resources and the youthful population. So China gives to Africa, Africa gives to China. So in the last ten years, I will say that is more or less a given public relations.

Speaker 1 2:26
So with this give and take relations, how will you describe it, as a mutual or it is unmutual?

Speaker 2 2:33
So if I look at it from this way, are we talking about in Ghana or selling Africa, in Ghana? All right. From the government perspective, I will say it is mutual. But if I'm speaking, usually there are negative narratives about Chinese presence in Ghana and all that. So as a layman or a Ghanaian ordinary Ghanaian speaking, you are tempted to just see at a glance that it is exploitative or not mutual. This is the case the government represents the people. And I'm not sure two countries may go into bilateral relations without each other getting anything from it. I wouldn't say it is very mature. But at best, I think it is mutual in the sense that both Ghana and China have agreed to go into that relations and I'm sure there is something that each of them seeks to benefit from, that is why they go into it. So if I'm to go by this since the government represents the people. I think it is mutual, but I can't confirm weather it is very mutual. I can't talk about it, but I think I'll go for mutual.

Speaker 1 3:46
okay, but one participant argued that the relationship between Ghana and China is mutual but then it is not a balanced. Do you agree to that?

Speaker 2 4:00
That is what I gave a second point that if you are coming from the ordinary Ghanaian perspective, you are quick to conclude that it is not very mutual because of this narrative, because of the narrative that O Chinese are taking our gold, they are taking our diamonds, our timber, and the rest. Its like anything Chinese in Ghana has a negative connotation. So the ordinary Ghanaian is likely to fall for it, if I can use that word that trap to easily conclude that it is exploitative or it is not mutual, but from government perspective and since I'm saying that the government represents the people I think it is mutual from that angle. So I will turn to not fully agree with that person who says it is not mutual. I think it is mutual from the government perspective.

Speaker 1 4:52
Okay. So when you were speaking you said the relationship is in twofold we have the local level and then the national level. That is the government-government and then the individuals, let's say Ghanians, and then the Chinese who are in the country, Okay. So my third question is, do you think local communities play a role in exposing and challenging the activities of the Chinese in Ghana?

Speaker 2 5:14
Okay, I would say to some extent, yes. Yeah, sometimes it takes the local communities to put pressure on the Chinese or the demonstrates towards Chinese activities. Remember, when we say Chinese activities in Ghana, it cuts across mining, lumbering and the rest. But most at times we focus on the mining more. So yeah the local communities, to some extent, I will say to some extent, because sometimes the people themselves there are part of the problem. They are complicit. You will get the chiefs there, you will get the youth there, you get your opinion leaders, some of them leading the Chinese on to do those activities. So sometimes it gets to the point where the actions become soo devastating, that is where you get the general local community standing up against the Chinese presence. So I'll say to some extent. It is not always the case because some of the local are part of the problem. They people live on inside So to some extent, when the problem gets worse, then you get the local communities coming together to mobilize or put pressure on government to take actions. So I will say to some extent.

Speaker 1 6:30
So you will not say that their activities are effective Or, their activities are not important in Ghana China relations? Because I remember during the galamsey fight against galamsey People were inciting the youth or the the leadership against the Chinese activities here. To the extent that the Chinese Ambassador made a public comment that is as if we are against the Chinese here. And then it is going to affect our relationship with China.

Speaker 2 7:24
Oh yes, if you are taking it from that angle, then it has an influence, but I'm saying to some extent. It is not a major influence. Even sometimes if, if I get what you sent me there are other factors that come into play. Yeah, the local people play a part, but their influence is not

so much, that's why I saying that to some extent, their activities, if they put pressure or if they play a role in exposing them to some.

Speaker 1 7:56
Okay, so with the same question. Do you think the media plays a role in exposing the challenges and activities of the Chinese in Ghana?

Speaker 2 8:06
Yes, to this one, I'll say to a very large extent, in fact, I can even say more than 95% of the time. The media has been playing a major role. In fact, I dare say that they are the most effective. You look at some of the work they are doing. You look at Joyfm Erasmus Asare Donkor, he's been doing fantastic job. It takes the media to bring out some of these things. It got to a point that joy FM and some of the media stations, I recall either GTV or so, they went to River Pra, River Ankobra and they fetch water, samples of the water and brought it to the studio to display to Ghanians. Just to whip up the public sentiment on how devastating these illegal activities are. So as for the media, I will say that to a very large extent. In fact, it will be the most influential. Why do you even think Akuffo Addo made declaration that he is ready to put his presidency on the line? It was because of the exposure the media brought illegal activities. You even ask yourself, how did we hear about Ashia Huang erh? This woman was involved in Rosewood activity, rosewood is banned, lumbering Rosewood is banned in Ghana. But she was involved in and it took the effort of the media to bring this to the public eyes. So as for the media, yes, I will say that to a very large extent, as I said, more than 95% of the time. They are very influential in that.

Speaker 1 9:41
Okay, so you think their activities have influenced our relationship with China?

Speaker 2 9:45
Very, very much very much.

Speaker 1 9:47
So what about the civil society groups?

Speaker 2 9:51
Okay, as for the civil society groups to, I will put it in this way, also, to some extent, just like the local communities. You see, the civil societies groups, I see them as more of a press conference organizers. They organize press conferences, they speak about it and nothing go to sleep, but some are doing very well. But most of the time they blow hot and cold, they just come out organize a press conference, and they don't put in any much pressure on government to make any decision concerning Chinese activities. So as for them, yes, they are there they are made up of the elites in society. Some of them are very powerful. But most of the times when they come out, they make the noise for a while, they go back to sleep, and it will take another media attention or media sentimental exposers for them to come again and do something like that. So just like the local communities, I think the civil societies too, they are also to some extent, they play such role but the most for me is the media.

Speaker 1 10:58
Okay. So the three the three agencies all, that is the local community, the media, the civil society groups, do you think that their activities in exposing Chinese in a way alert the government to take a decision, which affects our relation with China. That is, all three of them put together.

Speaker 2 11:23
Oh yes I do, especially the media, the media is more or less seen as fourth estate of the realm, unofficially, they are the fourth branch of government and is a very powerful agency. So as for the media, in fact, all three of them do play a role. But I think the media stands tall. You see some of the government officials themselves are even accomplices in the Chinese activities. NPP, excuse me not even NPP but government appointees and the party chairmen who lead these Chinese to do some of these things. So sometimes if the media does not lead the front, the politicians will give a blind eye to it, so I think they play a major role. In fact, I can say that if not them, the government or this appointees may do what they want. So the three of them put together, the media at the top of it all, because sometimes the reason I'm saying that people may demonstrate down there in a local community in a mining area there, you get it, it will take the media to bring it to the limelight. You have to cover it, the moment the media comes to play, it comes to the attention of all Ghanaians, then it quicks up the public sentiments. So yes, they play a major role. They play a major role, because if we go back to the Aisha issue, this woman was deported, she came back to Ghana, so are you trying to tell me that the Ministry of Interior did not know that she's back in Ghana? Are you trying to tell me that the government national security did not know that this woman is back in Ghana? But it took the effort of the media to again, bring it out for Ghanaians to know that this woman who was deported is back to the country before the government of the day took action. And I'm sure behind the scenes too some of these things have forced the government of Ghana to maybe alter their bilateral agreements with the Chinese those ones we may not know as outsiders but I'm because of this public sentiments, the media, the news they bring out, look at them committee the government for inter ministerial committee on illegal mining. Some of these, the moment they came to force, they halted almost all mining activities in the country, including small scale miners. These things came about because of the media attention, the people the local communities attention they gave to the activities of Chinese illegal minings and how they were affecting our water bodies. So yes, I do agree, in fact, I support the idea that they play a major role all three of them. But I will put the media at the top.

Speaker 1 14:28
I asked this question because one international relations scholar, also said that, yes, the activities of these agencies in a way shaping our relation with China. However, as you actually put at the beginning of your opening remarks. He said the relations is in two folds, we have the national level and the local level. These activities normally affect our relation at the local level but not at the national level because the government will take decision with China, the media or these NGOs would not know. Yes. So this activities or this agency affects the local level but no, not at the national level. I don't know your view on that.

Speaker 2 15:12

Yeah, that is what I also said here that sometimes the things we will do, the things the local communities will do, the pressure they will put on government, the pressure the media will put on government, the pressure civil society put on government may force government to take certain actions. But at a national level, some of them because of the diplomatic nature we may not know. But in the local communities, for example, let's say there is a village where Chinese presence is there, they are mining, they're polluting their water bodies. They are cutting down trees. I think recently there was some news in Komfo Anokye Teaching Hospital that some babies being born there with deformities, because these people are coming from mining communities. And the link is that because of the chemicals they use for mining, it pollutes the water bodies, and it affects pregnant women, which leads to deformities. So we here as we are saying at the local level, because of this exposure, or exposures, the government can directly halt whatever mining activity is going there at the community local community level. But that does not affect the relationship with China and Ghana at the top. So I do agree.

Speaker 1 16:39
From what you're saying, let's juxtapose it with what the senior minister said when Aisha Haung was arrested. "When we do this, it is going to affect our loan that we are seeking from China". Yes. So from what you just said, let's do the juxtaposition. Compare it, in a way is the senior minister saying that our activities at the local level might affect our relations at the national level
Speaker 2 17:13
He put within a context, Yes, the Chinese government also stands to protect the welfare of its citizens where ever they are. So when they see that the Ghanaian population is not treating their citizens well, they are also compelled to make certain moves. So at that level, it can affect yes, they may try to either hold back or withdraw, or may not even continue certain agreements they have with the Ghanaian government, all in the name of trying to also protect the interests of the citizens in Ghana. So there can be done linkage where local pressure can influences national agreement we have with a Chinese government, it thus happens. We may doubt it because of where it is coming from. Even the Senior minister he is a politician, and you know, where these people go. But if it were to be from a neutral perspective, I think there is nothing wrong with that, for example, if lets say it were to be the inverse, Ghana is China China is Ghana and we have Ghanaians in China and the and they are being maltreated there, Ghana government is likely to also take action because of what the local communities. If you remember, there was a time, was it during the COVID or so, some Ghanians were ejected from their homes in China. And they were sleeping in the streets. Yes. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs came out and also made Ghana's position clear. Maybe we couldn't put out a threat to because of course we don't have anything. Sometimes the local actions can trigger national response.

Speaker 1 19:03
Here is the case these agencies, especially the civil society groups. I remember I met them doing my data collection for my thesis. They are saying that, yes, they may make the noise, but then the government will not listen to them. So how effective are they?

Speaker 2 19:17

Yes, that's what I said to some extent, even the civil societies, I don't want to use the word Toothless Bulldog. They can make their press conferences, they can say everything they want. But at the end of the day, they don't have any bargaining. They are just a group of people who are seeking to promote the interest of Ghanians. So they speak about it and if nothing is done, the worst they can do is go on a demonstration. They will just picket somewhere and somebody will come from somewhere to take their petition, and the case may die off. So as for the civil society organizations, I don't see them so much as being effective when it comes to that. That's why I said "to some extent", it depends on the situation. Sometimes if… those in the forest areas, those CSOs who target the vegetation, they are often sometimes, sometimes a bit effective. But when it comes to the general CSOs in mining, you should know that this mining is a lucrative business for a politicians. If they know that you CSOs the worst they can do is to organise a press conference after your press conference they know you can't do anything else. But the media, the media, they know, the media can shape whatever discourse or conversation we want to have in this country when they come together and throw the limelight on their activities, government has no other option than to bow to the pressure of the media, as for them I know that they are very effective when it comes to that.

Speaker 1 19:17
Okay, so your final remarks, do you think non state actors, that is the media, civil society organizations, the local communities, in a way provide a first level of agency to government in terms of the Chinese activities or in terms of Ghana-China relations.

Speaker 2 21:22
Oh yes, as I said already, I do, especially the media, all three of them, they do have an influence there. But most at times it takes the media to bring the civil societies and their local communities, the attention they need,

Speaker 1 21:47
like Trinity…

Speaker 2 21:50
But the media is at the top. Because when you demonstrate in your local community, and there is no media coverage, it dies there. When the CSOs want to organize a conference, and the media does not cover it, it dies there. I will say that had it not been the non state actors, these politicians will do whatever they like. So they, as you put it, they provide first level agents if I'm to use your word to provide as level agency and they expose these Chinese activities and it prompts government to action.

Speaker 1 22:32
So how would you rate these agencies? How would you rate them in terms of providing first level agency to Ghana-China relations, in terms of effectiveness?

Speaker 2 22:49
Okay, one by one, all three, all three of them combined,

Speaker 1 22:53

all three of them combined.

Speaker 2 22:58
Okay, let's see, let's see the media is there.

Speaker 2 23:04
I want to do it one by one.

Speaker 2 23:07
Maybe let me take it one by one, and put all together. I will say the media is very, very, very effective. So as for the media, I'll give them 8 to 10. The local communities, I will say not too effective. Maybe 5, no the CSOs not too effective so I will give them five, then the local communities I will say well, they are often effective because sometimes the pressure from that place, I will give the local communities 6. And when I put all of them together, because the media is coming to play, I will still go by eight over ten. They do they do do that.

Speaker 1 24:08
Thank you very much.

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INTERVIEW 5 (September 17, 2023)

Speaker 1 0:01
So, as you've already gone through the interview guide, our research or article is based on Africa agency. Thus the media, the civil society groups and then the committee members as agency influencing Ghana-China relations. We are going to examine how these non state actors serve as the first level of agency for the government regarding Chinese activities in the country. So, first what is your take on Ghana-China relations or can you give us a background on Ghana-China relations?

Speaker 2 0:57
From my perspective Ghana-China relations is a cordial relationship the two countries have had for a couple of years. It traces back to the time of Nkrumah. When Nkrumah was propagating his political ideas that socialism, China also stood in supporter of socialism Ghana had a good relationship with China for that matter provided financial and military assistance to Ghana at that time, but when Nkrumah was over thrown, relationship came to a halt.

Speaker 1 2:58
Okay, so, my first question, let me ask you how would you describe sino African relations in the last 10 years? So, you talked about a relation, Ghana China relation beginning in the 1950s in the middle of or at the heat of the Cold War. So, now let's move away from the Cold War, let's come to the 21st century for the past 10 years, how would you describe sino African relations?

Speaker 2 3:38
I will describe it as relationship based on matters of interest engagement. Initially, the relationship was based on political ideas, and so initially the two countries believe in socialism, that's Nkrumah's time and so they were supporting each other. When Nkrumah was over-thrown then it came to a halt. The Chinese foreign policy was based on the idea of "One China" policy, where countries who recognize China as one country, they were permitted to receive assistance from China. You see, China had issue with Taiwan and that matter China needed African countries votes in the UN. So China built that relationship with African countries they and gained their supports. Since then they also supported African countries with assistance and that… so this recent ten years, China has shifted her attention from that policy where the support countries who recognize them as independent or whatever, now, they have shifted the attention to market oriented engagement, where this market oriented engagement I call it the new barter trade. For them, they sit down analyse and realize that this country this is what they need, what can we also offer them? So now China has moved from a third world country to first world country and now industrialized, so they need raw materials to feed their industry. They come to your country, they know that this is what you need. This is what we can offer you. We give you what you want, we take what we also want. So, initially they realize that Ghana we had electricity problem, so they built the Bui dam. They gave in the Bui dam. They realized that we had road issues, interchanges and for that matter, in 2018 they signed an agreement with us. And for that agreement, the Sinohydro deal, they are to construct roads, they are to construct and bridges and other facilities. For that, they will take 5% of our bauxite, they're going to feed their aluminum companies. So, they've shifted from that political ideas engagement to that of market oriented engagement. So for this ten years, it has been market oriented.

Speaker 1 7:51
Okay, so, as you said, our relationship with China is based on markets or based on business or for industrialization. There are three schools of thoughts we have the accommodationists, we have the pessimists and then we have the optimists. The accommodationists argue that we should, Africa should embrace both the West and the Chinese to develop. The pessimists are also saying that the Chinese are in the continent to exploit the African natural resources for their industrialization journey, and then the optimists are saying that the Chinese are here to develop Africa. So my question to you is how would you describe the China Africa relation in terms of these three schools of thought?

Speaker 2 8:56
For me I chose the accomodationist, because the Chinese are not really here to develop Africa. Also, they are not here to undeveloped Africa. I believe relationship Africa have with China mature on like the West, they will give you the loans, they will give you strings. That you need to liberalize your economy, you need to practice democracy and stuff. Meanwhile, they will be protecting some authoritarian governments in the interests of their own selfish gain. So for the Chinese, they are just making their foreign policy attractive. Yes, what they do is they make their foreign policy attractive. They've realized that African countries already have good relationship with the West so they are making their foreign policy attractive so that it will shift the attention of African leaders. So every four years, they organize this forum

FOCAC, and they invite all the African leaders to China and they have discussion to listen to their problems, African countries perspective problems and how the Chinese they believe that the have some in the country and be wary once under they've been to death and go where African countries and they believe that they can help African countries move from that world by using the ideas for them, they don't forcefully impose their ideas on us foreign policies. Because they know that we and African countries already have relationship with the West realize that African countries have relationship with the West but still they go to the Chinese. And so, talking about this past 10 years, most African countries have had agreements, market oriented agreements with the Chinese but still they do go to the west for help. So, now Ghana is benefiting from the IMF. IMF is for the West, is propagated by the West but still Ghana has this market oriented agreement, this sinohydro deal with Chinese. Ghana is benefiting both from the Chinese and the West. Their building their roads, they are building their interchanges in Ghana. Ghana also received this amount of funding from the IMF to also invest in the economy. So they are benefiting from the two, but if you say that Chinese are here to develop Africa or Ghana, I'm in doubt of that. Because as a matter of fact, this road that they are constructing, it is their own contractors. Chinese contractors who are constructing the roads, the interchanges and other stuff and the loans this contractor are using is from the EximBank. And the EximBank is a Chinese Bank. So workers, most of them are Chinese. They are not really here to develop Africa. They're here to give what they have and gets what they want, is basically about what they want. They want to get it by giving you what you want. I quite remember I interviewed one executive officer from one of the ministry and he was saying that even those that are working with the Chinese, the Chinese don't want them to learn the technical skills. So, what they do is they do the technical staff at night. What Ghanaians can learn they do it at night when the Ghanaians are asleep. So before they wake up the technical things that they can learn from them, it's already done. So, that's when they leave and gone, you will still go to them and give them contract. When they teach you and learn it, when they leave, you will not give them the contract again. So they are not here to develop, they are here to get what they want at the West, but they are just using different methods. So, for me, I believe in the accommodationist not the optimist.

Speaker 1 16:12
Okay, so, whilst we are talking about the activities of Chinese in the country, do you think that the local communities play a role in exposing the challenges that the activities of these Chinese cause in Ghana?

Speaker 2 16:31
For me initially, the local of communities were playing a role. Community leaders were voicing out; they were complaining about the activities of the Chinese in their respective communities but for now, what the Chinese have also realized is that they… but still media playing it role. They have been a number of documentaries the media brings it out to expose and challenge the activities of these Chinese. Most especially their illegal activities. With galamsey, stalking about retail business and even how they treats Ghanaians that they have employed. The media is doing a lot. This recent time, I think last month, there was this documentary by Media General's Erastus. It was about galamsey and how our bodies are being destroyed and stuff. I was reading article talking about some Chinese who are involved in this activities. There have been a lot of discussions, political discussions that the media

house do organize to expose and challenge the activities of Chinese. But the Chinese are too powerful to the extent that they now have the security agency backing them. Because as part of the this agreements signed in 2019, they provided assistance to the security agencies. So now when you go to Chinese galamsey sites, you will find military men protecting them, when you report them to the police, hardly would the police go there. So the media too is now careful dealing with Chinese, but in recent times I've seen a couple of articles and documentary that there madia brings it to challenge and expose the activities of the Chines.

Unknown 20:08
Okay. So, in the same context what about the civil society organizations?

Unknown 20:16
For me the civil society, thought they are playing a role , it depends on the kind of civil society it is. You see, the same as the media, the media as the media, let me chip in this. You see now the media, some media houses are owned by politicians and so if that politician is part of the ruling government, they will never bring out any information that will make the ruling government unpopular. So with such issues, the media house will be careful, and even when reporting you see that Media House will not report any information that will make the government unpopular. Let's take Wuntumi television as an example it's owned by a politician who is even engage in the same act, thus galamsey. He is a politician and he is also a miner who is engaged in it illegal mining, so if the such media house embark on have any discussion or documentary or any reports on such activities, you will realize that they will not make any or bring any information that will make that ruling government unpopular, the information will be manipulated. Same as the agancies a or the institutions you are talking about. Some of them are politically inclined, they belong to some political parties , just that they've named it as nonpartisan but sometimes when you listen carefully to their issues their discussions, you realize that they belong to a particular political party. So how they fight these Chines, sometimes they do it to make the ruling government unpopular. Others also do it and manipulates the information to make the ruling government popular. For me, I believe they are doing their part because there's this organization that's always speaks about these things. For them, I normally read their articles and you see that they come out boldly speaking again the activities of these Chinese and how their activities are affecting our water bodies and our environment. There have been some agencies that also come out to speak against the activities of the Chinese, most especially in the retail sector. You see foreigners are not they are not permitted to engage in retailing. But the Chinese and other foreigners are now engaging in. So they fight them, sometimes they go to court trying to challenge and expose their activities. So for non governmental organization, they are doing their part but most or some of them sometimes manipulated information, but they are doingtheir best.

Speaker 1 25:16
So, let's put these three agencies together do you think that their activities in exposing the Chinese illegalities the country in a way influence Ghana-China relation?

Speaker 2 25:29

Yes, yes, it influence Ghana-China relations. China has realized that most especially the media is doing a good job challenging them. So, they also introduced their media house "One Media" they write good Information good news about Chinese activities.

Speaker 1 26:17
In Ghana?

Speaker 2 26:18
Yes, in Ghana. I think it is in Accra.

Speaker 1 26:24
wow

Speaker 2 26:22
They write more about Chinese, their activitie, the good ones. So you will see them writing about how China donated this to Ghana, how China is help Ghana bla bla bla, you will never see any information about illegalities the Chinese are embarking in Ghana. It is because of what the local or the media in Ghana are doing. That's why they can turn that information with good news.

Speaker 1 27:09
So, you think this activism is in a way influencing the Chinese government to also find a way to protect its people or its people in the country?

Speaker 2 27:23
Yes, you see, they know that their people are engaging in illegal activities that is why they give assistance to the security agencies so that they protect them. If you know you are doing legal work why would you hire soldiers and police to protect you? The Lebanese and other foreign nationals who are doing their business do you see any military men protecting them? So it's because they are engaged in illegal activities that is why. So for me, I believe the challenge and expose influence Ghana-China relations but for the Chinese they are well determined. Whatever be the challenge, whatever being exposed, they come out with different strategies, different strategies. So you see that now, you don't hear much about Chinese illegal activities in Ghana. Because now they partner with the local people way they look at people, and so they are not just partner with the local people , they the partner with our politicians, our leaders, those they know that they can fight against them, they can challenge them. Because the media for instance, you will come out with a documentaries, you will come out with the information and if the government of the day doesn't take any action, it will not go anywhere. You the local people you cannot fight the Chinese while the military is protecting them. And so, for them, they know that the challenge and exposes are there, so they've also developed a new strategies to counter these challenges.

Speaker 1 29:48
So, you think this non state actors, that is the civil society organizations, the local communities and The media usually provide first level agency for the government to take action.

Speaker 2 31:30
Yes, I believe the local people are doing good. And the other group, civil society organization, I think they are also doing good. The Civil society organization were doing good but now how some of them are manipulated by politicians. Me my problem is how the local people and the civil groups are being manipulated. You see that the media houses though some of them are being manipulated but there had independent media house before the politically affiliated ones came in. So still we have independent media houses doing neutral works. And this civil whatever societies, you realised that some of them are also sponsored by the West. And the West, it's a strategy to fight the against Chinese. So when it comes to matters of Chinese, the civil society at times, they are hash on the Chinese. So though they are challenging and exposing them but sometimes the have agenda. Because where they get their source of funding and there you will understand them why they are doing that. So for them they are doing their best but cannot be compared to the media.

Speaker 32:11
Thank you very much for your time and insight shared.

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INTERVIEWER/PARTICIPANT 6 (**September 20, 2023**)

Civil societies such as A Rocha Ghana have been a consistent voice when the issue of Atewa came up. They should be given credit for holding the government on the issue of Atewa and the Sinohydro deal… the civil society groups and the citizenry are doing well in exposing the activities of the Chinese for the government to act (Participant 6, personal communication …).

Hence by working to together, CSOs, Local community and the Media shine a light on Chinese activities challenge negative impact and prmote transparency, sustainable development and collective to ensure the best interest of the country and people is protected.

They do that in various reasons ways, and one is through demonstration. Another also through other media engagement, where other media panels and discussions on these days to educate their society, and actually change them. And that actually brings that to government to get to know that these are the things that are happening maybe the government don't know where some of these things are going on.

INTERVIEWER 7 (**September 30, 2023) GNCCI**

the business community has always challenged suspicious activities of nationals of other countries involved particularly the retail sector. this includes the Chinese. but we have also noticed that sometimes because some traders are partners to the Chinese businesses, they tend to assist them to engage in trading activities that go against the existing law.

we have as a business community benefitted a lot from the Chinese, that's the truth. however, there have been other problems associated with our relationship as sometimes some of them

(the Chinese) also engage in petty trading and retailing. with their financial muscles, whenever that happens, our people feel threatened and undermined.

There have been demonstration, strikes, court actions and media briefings – all aimed at discouraging such conduct by the Chinese and also to draw the attention of the government to address the issue head-on.

INTERVIEWER 8 10 OCT 2023

The local communities and csos play a vital role because they are directly affected by these chines activities. hence they can organise protest, engage in dialogue with authorities and voice their concerns to ensure their voices are heard. the media also have the power to investigate and uncover wrong Chinese activities in Ghana.

so, with regard to how effective the media, CSOs and local community can be against the illegal engagement of the Chinese in Ghana they organize collect effort and also expose wrong doing which can create public trust leading to scrutiny which helps the government to ensure the right things are done and implement stricter regulations and enforcing existing legislations. but then the level of effectiveness can vary depending on the strength of evidence presented and the level of public support. however, their actions can make a significant impact in addressing these issues…yeah

…most often the CSOs form the grassroot of the work they do, by promoting social change and advocating for the right and interest of the community… they also ensure that through their research, and community engagement they are able to raise awareness on the negative impact of Chinese activities in Ghana and also push for policy change in Ghana. The media on the other hand, also plays a role in exposing and holding those who are responsible accountable. They report illegal activities and create awareness and demand for action. Hence, they (NSAs) work together to leverage their respective strength challenging the government to take action.

INTERVIEWER 9 12 OCT 2023

The. CSOs play crucial role in raising awareness among the public and advocate for policy to address the illicit engagement of Chinese in Ghana.They provide evidence that helps to get a clear picture on the negative impact of Chinese activities on the Ghanaian society.In similar faction,the local communities are those who have first-hand experiences from the Chinese activities.Hence the local communities have been actively engaging with the CSOs and leveraging social media platforms to expose the negative impact of Chinese activities on their livelihoods,health and environment.To this,I believe that the Organization(CSOs) and the indigenous people (local communities) play crucial role in challenging and exposing Chinese activities in Ghana.

To some extent they're effective in challenging the government as some of their claims paint horrible scenes and go viral.During this situation,the government are left with no other option

than to act swiftly.A typical example is the "Aisha Huan" case where she was found with the Ghanaian citizenship card.The local people and CSOs raised alarm and the government had to act.

The media, as a non-state actor, has proven to be highly efficient in confronting various activities, particularly when it comes to scrutinizing Chinese actions. It has been instrumental in this regard through impartial reporting and investigative journalism. Through these investigative efforts, the media uncovers unlawful practices, environmental harm from unauthorized mining, and human rights violations linked to China's involvement in Ghana.

INTERVIEWER 10 October 15, 2023

Look, if you take the Bui Dam case for example, Sinohydro and the CBMW signed an agreement and this made it possible for the workers to form a union. This was a clear example where Ghanaian workers and their Unions challenged their Chinese management or employers – and it’s a big thing

The. CSOs play crucial role in raising awareness among the public and advocate for policy to address the illicit engagement of Chinese in Ghana.They provide evidence that helps to get a clear picture on the negative impact of Chinese activities on the Ghanaian society.In similar faction,the local communities are those who have first-hand experiences from the Chinese activities.Hence the local communities have been actively engaging with the CSOs and leveraging social media platforms to expose the negative impact of Chinese activities on their livelihoods,health and environment.To this,I believe that the Organization(CSOs) and the indigenous people (local communities) play crucial role in challenging and exposing Chinese activities in Ghana.

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INTERVIEWER 11 (OCTOBER 20, 2022).

Speaker 1 0:00

Okay, so I'm recording your voice okay. Okay... the article is based on agencies influencing Ghana China relations. As in, we are examining how some non-state actors, their activities influence Ghana China relations. So first, in your view or from your background as International Studies scholar, how would you describe Sino-Africa relations in the last 10 years?

Speaker 2 0:53

Wow, it seems to be a mutually beneficial one, or that is what we are made to believe. I see that the Chinese particularly in the last 10 years, I've taken keen interest in Africa. So there are lots of business sorry, businesses tripping in here and investments as well, basically, and we also see a number of African governments example the Ghanaian government soliciting for support and also looking for partnership with Chinese enterprises and the Chinese government. So basically, that is what in my view, that is how the sino African relations has been in the past 10 years.

Speaker 1 1:42

Okay, how would you argue with those who are saying that the Chinese are in the continent to exploit Africa. You know, we have three school of thought, we have the pessimists we have the optimists, then we have the accommodationists? While the pessimists are saying that the Chinese are in the continent to exploit Africa in the form of neo-colonialism, then the optimists are saying that the Chinese are here to help develop Africa. And then we have the accommodationists, who are also arguing that we should just allow the Chinese and the West to, you know, help Africa develop, because Africa is benefiting from the two bodies, So what is your opinion on that?

Speaker 2 2:32

Well, I think, largely, what that is Africa, get some rewards they seek the countries that are partnering with the Chinese enterprises of the Chinese government, are getting what they seek. And I think on that basis, it's basically a mutually beneficial relationship, why is there a beneficial relationship to African Africa with those countries? So if that's the case, then what I say is optimistic point of view. But then it is only when Africa is benefiting to the detriment of the china or is not really affecting the Chinese. That is when it will be like an optimist voew. I mean, Africa is on the benefits inside, right? And then the Chinese government or Chinese enterprises have nothing much to gain or lose. And then the pessimist side would be Africa not benefit benefits in anything. So I think I'll go with accommodationist. As far as Africa is not being depleted, is not being taken advantage of, and these partnerships or collaborations or investments are promoting or developing the continent, then I think there's nothing really to worry about. So we can accommodate them. Of course, we are not mutually exclusive from the world. So we cannot say that we do not want any Chinese or Westerners in or on the continent or in Africa. So I think if it not harming Africa, if it's not harming African countries, then they should just be accommodated. Am I answering the question?

Speaker 1 4:40

Yes, yes. Okay. So what would be your idea or your view on those who are saying that, yes, Ghana's relation with China is mutual but then it is not balanced? Because some participants are saying or argued that, yes, our relation with China is mutual but then it's not balanced. It's not balance because they are looking at the geographical size, and then the kind of a benefit Ghana is getting from China and then what China is also getting from Ghana?

Unknown 5:18

In my perspective, I agree with them, I agree with them. I agree with that school of thought to some extent because as a Ghanaian, looking at what the effects of especially Chinese mining on the country, on our resources, on our water bodies, on our forest, I would say that is not balanced. These are precious minerals, right, that have been exploited. And sometimes for the construction of some roads, that does not even end up spending five years or even three years so comparing exploits in a certain quantity of gold, I don't know how it's measured, but in years to build in a rule that will not last for five years, I do not think, is a balanced relationship. So I think it's only balanced when as much as the quantity that have been taken has been given. Yeah.

Speaker 1 6:40

Okay. Would you also agree or disagree with those who are saying that relation with China is a give-and-take relations?

Speaker 2 6:50

Sometimes, sometimes I think that is a give and take relations. I can speak from the perspective of a Ghanaian living in Ghana. I see that the government benefits to some extent from Chinese and is like, okay, the Chinese has given Ghana this but not necessarily, but China is not taking anything or exploiting anything from that. Though, the others may argue that, well, it may not be on paper that China is getting this by then there is maybe a back door something or there's a hidden agenda. However, I think there are times where the Chinese in their goodwill, gives African countries certain things and is like Ghana, expecting anything in return is just like, Goodwill gift or something.

Speaker 1 7:50

Okay. Okay. So my next question is looking at it, we have Chinese in our community now, especially the mining communities. Okay. And then we have Chinese engage in all sorts of

illegal activities. Okay. So do you think the local communities play a role in exposing and challenges the activities of Chinese in Ghana?

Speaker 2 8:19

Yes, yes, yes, I think the local communities play a role in exposing Chinese activity activities in Ghana, because they are the host communities. Sometimes when I don't say exploiters, but less than them, just use the word Chinese. Go on to these communities or go into these communities, that governments may not be aware. Right. So it may just be an arrangement that has been made within the community with maybe some community leaders. And so governments may not be aware. In this instance, it's only the local community, or citizens within that community, that will help draw the government's attention, because maybe it's some remote community with just a few people. And we know that obviously, there are no government agencies and organizations in every community in Ghana. So there are some communities that the government may not have to keep their eyes keenly sets on. Right. So the host committee or the local community can, that in this instances, the local community play the role in drawing the government's attention to what is going on in your communities,

Speaker 1 9:52

So how effective are those activism?

Speaker 2 10:04

I do not see much of it, I do not see much of local communities speaking about the activities of Chinese in their communities, because like I said, maybe the Chinese have spoken to some community leaders. They've had a headway with them. So it's kind of like just maybe a mutual consent on the other level. Right. So there isn't much that the local, the folks, the local folks do but for maybe some concerned local citizens, which barely exists at that level, because we are looking at local communities. I don't know what that is the same level at which I'm thinking about it. I'm looking at the typical local communities, where sometimes they may not even have access to proper communication or road network, or they may not be exposed to certain things, as much as maybe the bigger towns and cities.

Unknown 11:11

Okay. Okay. So in other words, you also side with those who are saying that the community, people rather aid the Chinese in these activities rather than exposing them?

Speaker 2 11:29

To some extent, to some extent, because I don't think, I think, yeah, I agree with them. Because if foreigners invade your land, and you are not on, you're not consented, or you are not on the same page of whoever doing that, you would definitely let out. You report, the community leaders would get consent, get agitated, and look for ways to put it out there for

governments to come to their aid. So I think the most of the time, yes, the local communities are actually in, can I say embed of these activities, yeah.

Speaker 1 12:14

Okay. Okay. So, the next question is, what about the media? Do the media play a role in exposing and challenging the activities of the Chinese in Ghana?

Speaker 2 12:27

Absolutely. The media plays a key role, I mean central role. In my perspective, I think that the media has done a yeoman's job when it comes to exposing Chinese activities, expecially when it comes to illegal mining, which we call galamsey. But in recent times, it's been on the low, but on two, three years ago, you realized that almost every media house is talking about Chinese activities that are going on in some local communities, and trying to raise awareness about trying to draw government's attention and all that. So I think that really the media plays an outstanding role when it comes to this.

Speaker 1 13:11

Okay, so on the same context, what about the civil society organizations?

Speaker 2 13:18

Yes, yes, I think that civil society organizations, none comes to mind at the moment. But I know that when the talk of galamsey was high, there are several organizations, NGOs, and civil society organizations that were talking about to trying to draw government's attention, because you see, it goes beyond just Ghana, and then it becomes a major, it's not just a national issue, but it becomes a major issue, because when our water bodies are polluted, and it means that we have to depend on other countries, and all that and, you know, when our forests are depleted for in order to exploit minerals, and it means that well, that is climate change, and all it's affecting the climate, and then there are climate change issues here and there. So civil society organizations, NGOs, and other individual activists were speaking about these things, and I think that some of them still speak about it, but not as much as it was a couple of years ago.

Speaker 1 14:22

Okay. So putting these three agencies together, how effective are they influencing government action against Chinese.

Speaker 2 14:35

I think that, like I said, in recent times, these activisms have been on the low. Some years ago, I think that they really pressured government because everyone was talking about it. When series of certain communities came up talking about how the Chinese activities in their

communities are affecting locals, affecting the water bodies, livelihoods and all that, the media then picked these stories, they highlight them, they are talking about it, you hear various TV stations, you see them in print media, you see social society organizations talking about it. I mean, even drew international eyes here. So I think that these, these agencies, right, puts pressure on government to attend to it. But for the intervention of these agencies maybe we wouldn't have had certain government interventions when it comes to illegal mining, you know, I think when the most of these things were going on, when most of these activities were going on, government seized some materials, they seized some equipments of some of these illegal miners and all that. So I think that these agencies played a key role and but for the intervention, maybe certain government initiatives may not have been taken.

Speaker 1 16:01

Okay. And you think their activities are influencing Ghana's relations with China?

Speaker 2 16:12

Yes, but I don't think, to a large extent, I don't think the influence is to a large extent, maybe it's just subtle, something small, because the interventions by governments have not really also been, have not been strong, you know, as strong as maybe, should I say citizens would have it, right?. Government have taken some actions, but then the actions do not seem stand, or did not seem strong. So I don't feel like I don't think that it has influenced our relation with China much because of the subtle nature in which I'm not so adamant that the position of government…

Speaker 1 17:03

okay. So, in other words, you also arguing with those who are saying that Ghana-China relations are in two forms, the local level and then government level. And these activities normally affect the local relations we have with the Chinese in our localities, but it doesn't affect our international bilateral relations with China?

Speaker 2 17:22

Not much, not much, because actually, in my view, government has not really been strong on putting in initiatives to cause the Chinese to desist, that's the ones that engage in illegal mining to desist from the act, right. That means government position is not so firm on that. So it hasn't affected our bilateral relations much.

Speaker 1 17:47

Okay. So this will be my last question. Probably. Do you think the non-state actors, in this case , the civil society organizations, the local communities, the media, usually provide first

level of agency that is in exposing and challenging the activities of Chinese prompt the Ghanaian government to take action on some of these activities?

Speaker 2 18:14

Well. Yes, yes. Yes, I think so. I think so. Because like I've said, sometimes these Chinese enter from the local level, right? It's not always that maybe there was an agreement or MoU signed between the Chinese government and then Ghana's government or the government of any African country, sometimes they enter from the local level, so till attention is drawn from that area government is unaware. And Ghana, for instance, it seems from my opinion, it seems that most of the activities only comes Chinese activities when it comes to illegal mining is at the local level than its at the government level, like between the two states. So if the local communities don't draw attention, the media and other non-state actors don't come in, the governments may not be aware, may not in quote be aware and may not take necessary action to mitigate the act. So yes, I think that most to the first level, they provide a festival of agency.

Speaker 1 19:35

Okay, so on the scale of 10, how would you rate these agencies, taking this one by one?

Speaker 2 19:42

Let me start with the media, I think I'll give the media six. I should have given them higher but I'm giving them six because it seems that they are works around galamsey is under low in recent times. So I'm giving them six, just a little bit above average. Local community, the local communities I think could do better. So I'll give them a four, and Civil Society of Organisations as well, I think I'll put them at the same level of the media that is to says six as well, because I did not hear much of them as I used to hear lately. Some time ago, so yeah.

Speaker 1 20:34

Thank you very much. You're welcome.

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INTERVIEWER 12 (OCTOBER 25, 2023)

Speaker 10:00

Permit me to record your voice. Okay. All right. So in your view, how would you describe Sino-African relations in the last 10 years?

Speaker 2 0:09

Okay in last 10 year, I think Africa and China have been profiting from each other and it been a good relations because if you're looking at China's foreign policy since the civil war in 1947, China have supported several African liberation movement that's actually catapulted to another event, subsequently in the coming years, which actually created a bond between Africa and China. They have benefited from Africa, maybe economic wise. And also Africa also benefiting from China by sending people to China and other things. The relations have been a very good political relations.

Speaker 1 1:07

Okay, so you also agree with those who are saying that it is a given take relation. Okay. Okay. So my second question is, how would you rate the relationship between Ghana and China, is it a very mutual, mutual or it is not mutual?

Speaker 2 2:26

If we are going to compare our relation as Ghana with other foreign countries, the kind of support they give to us, and the kind of clause you see in their support system, like Ghana going to the world bank for money and other things, if you look at those kinds of things, you realize that the Chinese don't place such clauses when it comes to granting such grants to Ghana. And though we have the mutual benefit from China also, we also benefit them from them, like they are also benefiting, we also benefit and we can see that incorporated to our roads when it comes to development and other things. They are are making money out of us but are also helping us develop, looking at Sinohydro roads in Ghana. Through that I will say they have a very mutual relations with us than any other.

Speaker 1 3:27

Okay, okay. Okay. So, let's come to our communities, we have various Chinese activities going on in our communities. So, as an agency, do you think the local communities play a role in exposing and challenging the activities of the Chinese in Ghana?

Speaker 2 3:52

Their contribution and actually exposing Chinese activities is very low. The reason being that they are the major factor actually contributing to the elaboration of most of these Chinese activities. And common activities we can spot is illegal mining. Most realize that kings or queens who have give lands to these people mining over there which society is supposed to speak against but they fail to speak against which is making things very difficult. So in our contribution as citizens in our local communities, I think we are making a poor task to that.

Speaker 1 4:48

Okay, so you mean, you also agree with those who are arguing that the local community are even aiding the Chinese to exploit our natural resources and also cause pollution to our environment. Okay. Okay, so my next question is, what do you think about the media? Do you think the media play a role in exposing and challenging the activities of the Chinese in Ghana?

Speaker 2 5:19

Okay, the media play an influential role in bringing out the light, most of these activities, or some of these activities, we get to know them by the media through our televisions, read or news agencies and other things. They would't have even been known or known that there are illegal activities in our community. Some of you might be in the community to even know, but through televisions other media organizations, and I think it makes sense that the media is contributing to that. Whatever be the case, I feel that their contribution is still less.

Speaker 1 6:16

Okay, so whether it is small or big, do you think their activities in a way influence Ghana China relations?

Speaker 2 6:43

Yeah, I think so.

Speaker 1 6:53

Okay. Okay. So in the same context, what about the civil society groups? We have IMANI Ghana, we have the Arocha Ghana, we have WACAM, do you think their activism in a way, also influenced the Ghana-China relation, or what they are doing in a way that can influence Ghana-China relations?

Speaker 1 7:19

Okay, I think whatever be the case, the civil society are also contributing their quota to this by organizing conferences to prove to the world about some of these activities from the Chinese here. Sometimes their construction, their illegal mining activities, in other places. This civil societies actually demonstrates some of these things about why we are giving in our land for most of these Chinese to come and degrade the place and destroy the place altogether, which cause some environmental hazards. And these civil societies draw the attention of the Environmental Protection Agency and other Agencies as a premium call that there is more work to do. And in building the bond between Ghana and China, it shouldn't be

about illegal mining, it should have a better mutual benefits. It should be our development. It shouldn't destroy our societies.

Speaker 1 8:21

okay Okay, so putting the three together, how effective is these agencies influencing Ghana-China relations?

Speaker 2 8:38

Okay, whatever be the case, I think is less effective. If we are going to have a broader look, but partially when we are looking at the civil society and the media, I think they are contributing a little to that. But for the local people, it's very difficult to say they are trying to push against their activities that are illegal. But rather, they are supporting those illegal activities to actually happen, which shouldn't actually be supported, because they are those give the lands to the Chinese backdoors and start working on place we don't even know. And they destroy our water bodies but the civil society, they don't have lands to give to the Chinese people. The media doesn't have land to give to the Chinese people. The civil society groups and the media are contributing their quota to it. Through demonstrations and other things. They kept on demonstrating and talking about Chinese activities and how things have been. Even though Chinese are also Helping in various sectors when it comes to oil and other construction works for the government, which is actually providing some form of some form of resource. There are individual problems located which is illegal mining and mostly you find the Chinese people in this act, and mostly the local people connect to them.

Speaker 1 10:28

So, if I get you, the media and civil society groups are playing their role, but it is just minimal, but when it comes to the local communities, in fact, it is zero. They are not doing anything, they are rather aiding the Chinese. Okay. Okay. So I think this one would be my last question. Do you think that non-state actors, such as the media, the civil society organizations, the local communities in Ghana usually provide first level of urgency in exposing and challenging Chinese activities, which prompt government to take action?

Speaker 2 11:12

Yeah, I think one way or the other, they do that. And one is through demonstrations. Normally on their plate cards and you will realize that they are saying that their land has been given to the Chinese and they are destroying our environment, they are destroying the water bodies.

Speaker 1 12:25

Okay. Okay. So, on a scale of 10 how would you rate these agencies' activism? How is it influencing Ghana-China relations?

Speaker 2 12 12:35

On a scale of 10 I will give them six out of 10.

Speaker 1 12:40

That is for the whole group, thus for the whole three agencies? What about individually, when you're rating them individually?

Speaker 2 12:48

Okay, individually I will say Seven for civil society, seven for the media and two for the local communities.

Speaker 1 12:55

Okay, okay. Okay. Mr. A.A, thank you very much for your time. Thank you.

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