A STUDY OF CHINESE INFILTRATION INTO SMALL SCALE MINING IN GHANA AND ITS IMPLICATIONS ON NATIONAL SECURITY

BY

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DECLARATION

I, KobbyAnyimiah William Ackah, hereby declare that this dissertation is the result of an original research conducted by me under the supervision of Dr.KumiAnsah-Koi and that no part of it has been submitted in part nor in whole to any institution, organisation or anywhere other than the purpose for which it was written. It does not incorporate without acknowledgement, any material previously submitted for a Degree or Diploma in any institution or previously published or written by any other person except where due reference is made in the context.

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INTEGRI PROCEDAMUS
DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to the abundant grace of the Almighty God in my life.
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ASM  –  Artisanal Mining
CPMRD  –  Conflict, Prevention, Management and Resolution Department
EPA  –  Environmental Protection Agency
GIS  –  Ghana Immigration Service
GNA  –  Ghana News Agency
GDP  –  Gross Domestic Product
IDC  –  International Development Centre
KAIPTC  –  Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre
MMSD  –  Mining, Minerals and Sustainable Development
MC  –  Minerals Commission
MD  –  Mines Department
GSD  –  Geological Survey Department
NGS  –  National Geographic Society
PMMC  –  Precious Minerals and Marketing Commission
SALW  –  Small Arms and Light weapons
SSM  –  Small-Scale Mining
UNDP  –  United Nations Development Programme
WANEP  –  West Africa Network for Peacebuilding
Galamsey  –  Gather and Sell
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ABSTRACT

Globally, small-scale mining has become a very important sub-sector especially in developing countries since it significantly contributes to poverty reduction and stimulates economic growth. In Ghana, small-scale mining of gold which dates as far back as the sixteenth century contributes substantially to the total gold production of the country annually and provides employment for an estimated one million people. Since the 1980s, a number of regulatory and legal frameworks have been implemented to sanitize the sector and make it the sole preserve of Ghanaians. Despite the numerous challenges that confront the sector, especially its attendant problem of environmental degradation, the latest threat to the sector has emerged to be the involvement of Chinese migrants in small-scale mining. The influx of Chinese migrants into the small-scale mining sub-sector has created a myriad of security challenges for the country including violent clashes between some mining communities and these Chinese small-scale miners. This evolving trend is believed to be a threat to the national security of Ghana. This is because the contemporary vision and tenets of security are comprehensive and multi-faceted, diverse in its identification of the sources and manifestations of security and insecurity. The main objective of this study is to examine the infiltration of Chinese nationals into small-scale mining in Ghana and its implications on national security. Specifically, the study seeks to explore the nexus between Chinese immigration into Ghana and national security in Ghana, examine the activities of Chinese immigrants in small-scale mining in Ghana and establish the impact of Chinese immigrants involvement in small-scale mining on national security.
CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION

1.0 Background to the Study

Notwithstanding enormous research on the relationship between conflicts and natural resources in Africa, most political leaders have not been able to come up with definite policies to completely reverse the menace of the resource curse. The discovery of resources on the continent is often met with scepticism regarding management, exploitation, corruption, poverty and conflict. Most African countries have not benefited fully from their huge mineral deposits as a result of bad contracts with foreign companies, corruption and export of the minerals in their unrefined state. Since resources from these mining activities do not always trickle down to communities where the resources are exploited as well as create the anticipated employment opportunities, people in such areas as a way of survival engage in illegal small-scale mining despite its dangers. Small-scale mining (SSM) has no universal definition and the criteria used by various countries in defining SSM ranges from investment costs, labour requirements, ore production, capacity, size of concession or any combination of these. In Ghana, the criteria used to classify SSM includes size of concession and duration of license and it is defined as mining operation over an area of land in accordance with the number of blocks prescribed. An estimated thirteen to twenty million men, women, and children from over 50 developing countries are directly engaged in the artisanal or small-scale mining sector.

According to Hilson, the SSM industry in Ghana dates as far back as 2,000 years ago. Garvin Hilson further states that the relics of alluvial gold extraction and mining activities have been found that date as far back as the sixth century, and there is a wealth of evidence indicating that
precious metals recovered from regional artisan activities were enticing Arab traders to certain areas of the country as early as the 7th and 8th centuries AD. Botchway stated in his study that the wealth and power of large ancient Ghanaian empires and cultures can be traced to the rich gold deposits of the Western Sahara. Currently, Ghana is the second largest gold producer in Africa and gold contributed about 6.5% of Gross Domestic Product in 2012.

Small-scale mining activities in Ghana, particularly of gold is extremely widespread, although the bulk of the activities tend to be concentrated within Ghana’s greenstone belts (Birimian and Tarkwaian) and alluvial areas especially along the paleo-placer terraces of the Offin, Pra, Ankobra and Tano rivers and their tributaries.

Garvin Hilson observes that although the small-scale mining industry in Ghana has been in existence for such an extensive period and employs large number of individuals, it had never received the needed recognition and had no clear legal regulatory framework for a very long period. It was for decades treated as an informal industrial sector, due largely to the rudimentary, unmonitored and uncontrolled practices until the launch of the Economic Recovery Plan (ERP) by the Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC) government in the mid-1980s.

In 1986, PNDC Law 153 was enacted to create a climate more favourable for mineral investment. Foreign investment was promoted, and a series of tax breaks and benefits were offered to foreign companies seeking to acquire mineral prospecting licenses in Ghana. In 1989, the government fully regularized the small-scale mining sector through the enactment of the Small-Scale Gold Mining Law, PNDC Law 218. Institutional reforms included the
establishment of the Minerals Commission (MC), Precious Minerals Marketing Corporation (PMMC), strengthening of the Mines Department (MD) and the Geological Survey Department (GSD) as well as the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA).  

The law also saw to the establishment of the Small-Scale Mining Project, which later became the Small-Scale Mining Department within the Ghana Minerals Commission. The Small-Scale Mining Department is charged with providing technical support to prospective and registered small-scale miners in Ghana and promoting their activities. In 2006, PNDC Law 218 was replaced with the Minerals and Mining Act, Act 703. The Act introduced the licensing regime for small-scale mining operations and restricted the sector to Ghanaian citizens solely. 

Since the regularization of the small-scale mining sector in 1989, two types of small-scale miners have emerged: legal and illegal. Legal small-scale miners comprise those who have acquired mining licenses from the Minerals Commission of Ghana to cover their concessions. Illegal small-scale miners include those mining, and/or processing ores without the requisite mining license and they usually operate on concessions held by other companies. Illegal small-scale gold or diamond mining is popularly known in local parlance as ‘galamsey’, which means ‘gather and sell’. Most small-scale miners in Ghana are engaged in the extraction of gold and diamonds simply because they can generate wealth quickly and it provides employment for a lot of people.  

Currently, it is estimated that over one million people are involved directly in small-scale mining in Ghana and in 2012, it accounted for 34% of the total gold produced in Ghana. Garvin Hilson
and Clive Potter states that as is the case in majority of developing countries, the rapid growth in Ghana’s artisanal and small-scale gold mining sector can be attributed to the acute lack of jobs and accompanying poverty nationwide. Among the negative repercussions of this surge in the sector are pollution of water bodies and destruction of farm lands. The country has also recorded several accidents at these illegal ‘galamsey’ sites, resulting in loss of lives and properties.

However, the biggest challenge to the mining industry in contemporary times is the involvement of foreign nationals, especially Chinese migrants, in small-scale mining. This development is clearly against the laws of Ghana. Regardless of the Minerals and Mining Act, Act 703 in 2006 which prohibits foreigners from participating in small-scale mining, deepened economic and political ties between Ghana and China have led to the influx of Chinese migrants into the country and their subsequent infiltration into the small-scale mining sector. According to the South China Morning Post, nearly Fifty Thousand illegal prospectors have left China for Ghana since 2005. The Ghana Immigration Service (GIS) has indicated that most of these migrants use tourist visas to enter Ghana via neighbouring countries.

The illegal mining business is gradually becoming mechanized due to the injection of huge capital by the Chinese. The Ghana News Agency (GNA) reported that the Chinese nationals use sophisticated machines, including excavators, bulldozers and explosives, among others, to look for gold. Armed with guns, these foreign Chinese illegal miners have been able to subdue everything, including farmlands, rivers, buildings and human beings, which present an obstacle to their scramble for gold wherever the precious mineral is found. The Chinese are often assisted by locals to acquire the concessions. Politicians, government officials, traditional rulers,
security personnel, business men and opinion leaders are among a tall list of powerful and influential Ghanaians said to be strengthening the resolve of Chinese illegal miners whose activities have devastated large acres of land and water bodies across the country.\textsuperscript{19}

The gradual muscling out of indigenes in small-scale mining has recently led to conflicts between the Chinese, local communities and the security services. Recently, residents of Obuasi had to run for their lives when armed illegal gold miners brandishing guns and firing indiscriminately went on the rampage, whilst others have gone to the extent of attacking some security personnel. Through such confrontations, some Chinese and Ghanaians have lost their lives. The increasing numbers of Chinese entering the country to operate in remote areas where their activities are difficult to monitor has the potential of transforming the situation into a national security nightmare.

1.1 Statement of the problem

Ghanaian authorities have arrested 120 Chinese for possessing fake entry permits and engaging in illegal mining\textsuperscript{20}, Community attack Chinese miners, and Chinese miners shoot dead one person and many other headlines of arrest of Chinese nationals, are some of the few news headlines that have heralded the dailies in Ghana in recent times. The issue of Chinese migrants’ involvement in small-scale mining has become a regular news item. Although, the influx of Chinese immigrants into Ghana and their infiltration into the small-scale mining sector is creating security challenges for the country, there seems to be very little research on this development. Most of the available literature deals with the socio-economic challenges of small-scale mining such as by Amankwah and Anim-Sackey.\textsuperscript{21}
This dissertation therefore intends to investigate which facet of Ghana’s national security, be it economic, social, political, environmental, cultural or social, that the activities of these Chinese immigrants threaten most. The correlation between migration and national security would also be drawn and recommendations made at the end to better appreciate the perceived security threats posed by Chinese immigrants to Ghana.

1.2 Objectives of the Study
The main goal of this study is to examine the infiltration of Chinese nationals into small-scale mining in Ghana and its implications on national security. The research specifically seeks to:

i. Explore the nexus between Chinese immigration into Ghana and the national security of Ghana;

ii. Examine the activities of Chinese immigrants in small-scale mining in Ghana; and

iii. Establish the impact of Chinese immigrants involvement in small-scale mining on national security

1.3 Research Questions
In order to accomplish the goals of this study, the following research questions are addressed in the study.

i. What is the relationship between Chinese immigration to Ghana and the national security of Ghana?

ii. What are the activities of Chinese immigrants in small-scale-mining in Ghana?
iii. How does Chinese immigrants’ involvement in small-scale mining impact national security?

1.4 Hypothesis

Ho: The involvement of Chinese immigrants in small-scale mining is a fundamental threat to Ghana’s national security.

Ha. The involvement of Chinese immigrants in small-scale mining is not a fundamental threat to Ghana’s national security.

1.5 Theoretical Framework

The two main concepts in this study are national security and immigration. The theories on national security and immigration are numerous in the extant literature. However, for the purpose of this study, the neo-classical economic theory guides the issue of migration whereas the neo-liberal concept of Comprehensive Security is the theoretical framework for national security. This section only presents an overview of the neo-classical economic theory and neo-liberal theory of Comprehensive Security as detailed discussion of these theories are made in the Chapter Two of this study under immigration and national security respectively.

“The most basic neo-classical economic model originally developed to explain migration in the process of economic development is the works of Hicks and Lewis.” “The fundamental assumption of the neo-classical theory is that migration is stimulated primarily by rational economic considerations of relative benefits and costs; mostly financial.” “The neo-classical theory understands migration to be driven by differences in returns to labour across markets and
highlights that migration results from actual wage differentials across markets or countries that emerge from heterogeneous degrees of labour market tightness.”

According to Kurekova, an adjustment and “empirical tests to the model found that the linearity relationship in the wages-migration tandem does not hold and that both the degree of wage differential and the level of the country’s income matter.” Similarly, the ability to migrate is associated with costs and therefore it is not the poorest individuals who migrate, nor the poorest countries which send the most labour.”

Lucia Kurekova stated that “observed migration patterns tend to be therefore hump-shaped: migration rates accelerate with the growth of a country’s wealth as more individuals or households are able to fund migration.”

This seems to be the case of recent Chinese nationals’ migration to Ghana where there are household and provincial supports for migration to Ghana in the pursuit of small-scale gold mining.

According to Kurekova, the theory has been subjected to criticism on conceptual grounds as indicated by Arango as well as on empirical grounds as advocated by Douglas Massey et al. However, owing to its analytical rigour and its ability to propose a set of testable hypotheses and useful tools for analysing not only the causes but also the effects of migration, it occupies a prominent position in current academic and policy-related research hence the use of this theory in this study.

The Comprehensive Security Theory is conceptualized as an approach towards security issues which is broader than the traditional realist concept and includes economic security, environmental security, and human security. Buzan, a proponent of the neo-liberal theory of
comprehensive security, stated that security has to be understood not only as military and state security, but as well under the aspects of other socio economic factors and the integrated, subjective feeling of security or insecurity of individuals in a certain society.\textsuperscript{32} Buzan advocates that security is taken to be about the pursuit of freedom from threat and the ability of states and societies to maintain their independent identity and their functional integrity against forces of change, which they see as hostile.\textsuperscript{33} In this regard, the national security threat of Chinese nationals’ involvement in small-scale mining is examined in the light of its impact on economic, environmental and human security within their area of operations and Ghana as a whole.

\textbf{1.6 Literature Review}

Several studies have been carried out that examine the effect of migration on national security such as by Luther Smith\textsuperscript{34} and Charles Hirschman\textsuperscript{35}. In advance countries like the United States, the debate on immigration and national security heightened in the aftermath of the September 11 terrorist attacks. The field of artisanal or small-scale mining has been well researched with several studies in Ghana and other African countries such as by M. Mabutet. al.\textsuperscript{36} What is limited in the literature is the involvement of foreign nationals’, especially Chinese nationals as the case may be, for Ghana in small-scale mining. It is in this regard that this study is being carried to provide some literature on the involvement of foreign nationals in small-scale mining and its effect on national security.

National Security is the requirement to maintain the survival of the state through the use of economic power, diplomacy, power projection and political power.\textsuperscript{37} National security may be defined as the measurable state of the capability of a nation to overcome the multi-dimensional
threats to the apparent well-being of its people and its survival as a nation-state at any given time, by balancing all instruments of state policy through governance.  

Lyons, and Mastanduno explained that throughout the Cold War, national security was viewed as protection of the state against the threat of a nuclear war or external threats. But earlier, Buzan had argued that too little had been devoted to the concept of security in international relations due to the narrow view of national security. This resulted in the redefining of national security and the concept of comprehensive security that categorized security into five different fields: military, political, economic, environmental and societal. Based on this broad definition of national security, it can be inferred that the current infiltration of Chinese migrants into small-scale mining can have negative ramifications on the national security of Ghana.

Traditionally, security has been defined in terms of states and the qualities of statehood. Until the end of the Cold War, national security, as it was known by most of the countries involved in the arms build-up focused on the military defence of the state. Hsiung notes that the traditional concept of national security embraces two distinct characteristics. That is, security is commensurate with national survival in a system of world politics that is inherently contentious and anarchical and the State is the central unit of analysis. Secondly, understanding force postures and capabilities is a key tenet of traditional security. This view of security is in sharp contrast with the comprehensive security approach that this study adopts.

The concept of comprehensive security was a new element of security concept that developed out of the post-Cold War debate over the complications of security and as a result of the surge in
research and studies on security.\textsuperscript{44} Hsiung, states that the topical issue on the agenda of nations in the twenty-first century is the new meaning of security and its place in world politics.\textsuperscript{45} He adds that a nation’s security is no longer the traditional national defence of military security. Rather, security has economic, environmental, and human dimensions.\textsuperscript{46} This means that national security should be examined in the context of economic security, environmental security, and human security; and these together makes up the principles of comprehensive security. Buzan explains that security has to be understood not only as military and state security, but as well under the aspects of other socio economic factors and the integrated, subjective feeling of security or insecurity of individuals in a particular society.\textsuperscript{47}

In 1994, the United Nations Development Programme(UNDP) also adopted a comprehensive security concept in its approach to human security. The UNDP contended that human security has two main principles. Firstly, human security involves safety from such chronic threats as hunger, disease and repression and secondly, protection from sudden and hurtful disruptions in the patterns of daily life, whether in homes, in jobs, or in communities.\textsuperscript{48} In their comprehensive security approach, the UNDP acknowledged seven key components of human security namely:

1. Economic security such as assurance of a basic income;
2. Food security such as access to food and water;
3. Health security such as access to healthcare and protection from preventable diseases;
4. Environmental security such as protection from harmful effects of environmental degradation;
5. Personal security such as freedom from threats by the state, groups, or individuals;
6. Community security such as freedom from harmful community practices; and
vii. Political security such as fundamental human rights, and freedom from political oppression.\textsuperscript{49}

Human Security in the view of Weiss et al., is based on an individual and collective sense of protection from perceived present and potential threats to physical and psychological well-being as well as protection from all manner of agents and forces affecting lives, values, and property.\textsuperscript{50} Hsiung added that human security is often subject to domestic structural conflict, or inequities of society such as gross inequality in income distribution, and brute atrocities by the victims’ own government.\textsuperscript{51}

Buzan posits that economic security concerns access to the resources, finances and markets necessary to sustain acceptable levels of welfare and state power.\textsuperscript{52} Mijalković and Milošević asserted that the development and protection of the economic system certainly represent vital national priorities and interests for each modern state that strives for economic stability, independence and security.\textsuperscript{53} Economic security concerns itself with the protection of economic potentials from physical endangerment as well as an absence of threats that might threaten economic stability and independence.\textsuperscript{54}

Economic security has also gained prominence in the literature due to the perceived limitations of the traditional security model that emphasised individual, states and military security. According to ValeriuIoan-Franc and Marius Diamescu, these developments are based on two principles: the state’s security interests should not be contradictory to citizens’ security interests and the security conditions necessary for the welfare of the population, which the state must
ensure, are not limited to military issues as they also include political, social, economic, cultural, ecological matters. 

Ioan-Franc and Diamescu advocate that in order to correctly understand the relationship between the economy and security, it is necessary to clarify the term “economic factor” and the concept “state of security”. They explain that economic factor means an element, a condition or a circumstance that determines the occurrence of a process, an action or a phenomenon; which element contributes to the production of a phenomenon or process. They add that in studies on security, an economic factor suggests the existence of an element, a condition or a circumstance that may help to create security and as such any factor having a positive influence should be maximized, and those with a negative influence requires measures to eliminate its causes.

Andree Kirchner asserts that the relationship between environment and security has been under consideration since the 1980s mainly by two groups: the environmental policy community, addressing the security implications of environmental change and security, and the security community, looking at new definitions of national security, particularly in the post-Cold War era. He added that these groups concur that the impact of environmental degradation, the depletion of the ozone layer and trans-boundary pollution, have clear security implications. This resulted in the revision of national security dimensions among the security community.

In the post-Cold War era, more prominence has been given to the role of environmental factors in shaping global security and international relations. This has featured in several studies, like those of Klare and Thomas, and Miller. Following from this, Obi notes that in the light of
these changes in global security concerns, the ecology-security nexus is important in defining new responses to security and its implications for peace, democracy, and development in West Africa.63

Finally, it must be acknowledged that some authors disagree with the extension of the definition of national security to cover areas such as economic, environmental and social security. These authors hold the view that the addition of economic goals to national security objectives complicates the making and implementation of national security strategy and diverts a significant portion of military resources away from more appropriate, core national security ends.

The topic of migration has also been extensively covered in the existing literature. According to the National Geographic Society (NGS), human migration is the movement of people from one place in the world to another for the purpose of taking up permanent or semi-permanent residence, usually across a political boundary.64 It notes that migration occurs on a variety of scales: inter-continental (between continents), intra-continental (between countries on a given continent), and inter-regional (within countries).65 Although the Society, in its human migration guide identified several forms of migration, the form of migration which have semblance to the involvement of Chinese migrants is chain migration.

Chain migration is a series of migrations within a family or defined group of people. A chain migration often begins with one family member who sends money to bring other family members to the new location. 66 This seems to be the current situation in Ghana where Chinese
migrants from a specific province in China migrate in small units over time to small towns in Ghana with mineral deposits to engage in small-scale mining.\textsuperscript{67}

The infiltration of Chinese migrants into small-scale mining is multi-dimensional and requires consideration from all angles of migration. Portes points out four different angles to consider in migration studies. These are the origins of migration, the directionality and continuity of migrant flows, the utilization of immigrant labour; and the socio-cultural adaptation of migrants.\textsuperscript{68} In Ghana, the illegality of the Chinese migrants’ involvement in small-scale mining is further exacerbated by their illegal immigration as some migrants have expired visas and that makes them illegal immigrants in the country. The larger problem of illegal immigration manifests itself in three key areas that are symptoms, not the core issue. First, illegal immigration compromises national sovereignty by showing an inability to defend our national borders and enforce immigration laws since some of the Chinese immigrants enter Ghana through our neighbouring borders with tourist visas but end up overstaying in the country. This inability can be attributed to either lack of resolve, incompetence, or both.\textsuperscript{69}

The concept of artisanal or small-scale mining has also been researched extensively and literature on it abounds in works of several authors. Thomas Hentschel, Felix Hruschka, and Michael Priester state that despite many attempts, a common definition of artisanal or small-scale mining is yet to be established.\textsuperscript{70} They add that in broad terms, artisanal and small-scale mining refers to mining by individuals, groups, families or cooperatives with minimal or no mechanisation, often in the informal (illegal) sector of the market.\textsuperscript{71} However in some countries, artisanal and small-scale mining are not differentiated. In other countries, a distinction is made
between artisanal mining (as purely manual and on a very small-scale) and small-scale mining (as mechanised and on a larger scale). In some West African countries (Mali, Niger and Burkina Faso), small-scale mining is differentiated from artisanal mining by the presence of permanent, fixed installations established once the existence of an ore body is confirmed.\textsuperscript{72} In this study, artisanal and small-scale mining are deemed to be the same and therefore may be used interchangeably.

Although the small-scale mining sector, over the years, has been overshadowed by the large scale mining companies in terms of their contribution to the economies of countries, several reports have highlighted the sector’s immense contribution. The sector produces substantial percentages of the world’s supply of valuable extractives, generates export earnings and revenue for national governments, and provides employment for millions of people around the world.\textsuperscript{73} This study assumes that the small-scale mining sector in Ghana, despite its environmental issues, is a good economic venture and hence is a constitutionally preserved sector for Ghanaians. This means that the sector should be protected from infiltration by foreign nationals since that poses an economic, human and environmental security risk to the nation.

According to a 2005 World Bank report, up to 31 percent of industrial minerals, 20 percent of coal, 12 percent of metallic minerals, 10 percent of diamonds, and 75 percent of non-diamond gemstones come from small-scale mining.\textsuperscript{74} Reliable estimates of employment levels in small scale-mining indicate that the sector provides direct employment for between 13 million and 20 million people in at least 55 countries worldwide, and that an estimated 100 million people depend on small-scale mining directly or indirectly for their livelihoods.\textsuperscript{75} While individual
small-scale activities in any particular country may involve only a relatively small percentage of the population, collectively these numbers are of great significance, far outstripping the numbers attributed to the more capital-intensive, large-scale operations that typically come to mind in the context of mineral and gemstone mining.\textsuperscript{76}

Hentschel et al., states that the small-scale mining sector is perhaps better known for its high environmental costs and poor health and safety record, and many continue to view it as dirty, unprofitable and fundamentally unsustainable.\textsuperscript{77} However, in many parts of the world, artisanal or small-scale mining activities are at least as important as large-scale mining activities, particularly in terms of the number of people employed. Small-scale mining can play a crucial role in poverty alleviation and rural development as most of those involved are poor and mining represents the most promising, if not the only, income opportunity available.\textsuperscript{78}

Although small-scale mining is a significant sector that provides a livelihood for millions of people around the world and produces a sizeable proportion of the world’s extractive commodities, it is also associated with serious negative social, environmental, and security consequences. Even though small-scale mining has the potential to contribute positively to social and economic development and can provide much-needed income in fragile rural economies, the sector is closely linked to poverty. Further, the World Bank advocates that the mining of some minerals has been widely identified as a source of finance for violent conflicts that have victimized millions of people and caused severe social and economic disruptions.\textsuperscript{79}
1.7 Significance of the Study

Most of the earlier research on small-scale mining in Ghana has focused on the environmental impact of illegal mining activities in mining communities. This study examines small-scale mining not only from the national security point of view but also the involvement of foreign nationals’ especially Chinese citizens. The study is well timed given the numerous media reports on the activities of Chinese nationals in small-scale mining and the recent deportation of over two hundred Chinese nationals involved in illegal mining activities in the country. This study would not only serve as a springboard for future research but also provide an in-depth expose on the activities of Chinese migrants in small-scale mining and the risk such activities pose to the national security of Ghana. It would also add on to the few extant literature on security threat in the small-scale mining sector since most literature on the sector had examined its effect solely on the environment.

Most of the communities in Ghana where illegal small-scale mining is taking place possess many of the necessary underlying conditions for conflict and is currently undergoing changes which, if not well-managed, could lead to significant instability. The widespread poverty and a general lack of opportunity for people in these areas to earn a decent income have aggravated the problem. Additionally, there is evidence on the ground that relations between Chinese nationals involved in small-scale mining and communities have grown increasingly tenuous with instances of open confrontation and xenophobic attacks on Chinese nationals. This study would provide policy makers with a critical review of the situation so as to inform policy initiatives in securing the national security of the country.
1.8 Scope and Limitation of the Study

The study examines the involvement of Chinese migrants in small-scale mining and its impact on national security. This means that although there are reports of several foreign nationals involved in small-scale mining, this study is limited to Chinese migrants only. This is due to the recurring media reports on the activities of Chinese nationals in small-scale mining and the periodic deportation of such nationals from Ghana. National Security based on the comprehensive security concept is very broad. This study examines national security from three main points; economic, environmental and human security.

The limitation of the study stems from some of the data used in the study. Data on Chinese migrants involved in small-scale mining for instance is not available due to the illegality of the practise. Further, some Chinese migrants, although involved in small-scale mining, use Ghanaian nationals as decoys for their activities. The study also relies on secondary data which have been obtained by other institutions. Some of these data are not independently verifiable but would be used since it is the only available information.

1.9 Research Methodology and Data Sources

The qualitative research approach was used in this study. Even though the qualitative research method has been critiqued by some authors as subjective, it is ideal to explore and understand opinions and have comprehensive understanding of a problem. It offers ample information and the fundamentals for better understanding of a phenomenon. It also provides in-depth information about the problem as respondents are closer to the source of information.
The descriptive and qualitative nature of the study resulted in colossal reliance on secondary data. To this end, aside published books, journals and reports relevant for the purpose of the literature review, other unpublished sources such as academic journals, research and seminar papers, government publications and bulletins are cited in this research. Some of the institutions whose public available data or research were used in the study included Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre (KAIPTC), Ghana Immigration Service, Ministry of Interior and Ministry of Defence of Ghana, Ministerial Taskforce on Small-Scale Mining and West African Network for Peacebuilding (WANEP). The data obtained from these sources is complimented by primary data obtained through the interview of security analysts and experts in migration and national security.

The total sample for this study was five experts in the field of immigration, national security and small-scale mining. The nature of the study and the information required necessitated the use of the purposive sampling technique for selecting respondents. The purposive sampling technique was used to sample the five respondents who were mainly security analysts and experts in the field of immigration. In the purposive sampling technique, no probability techniques are used in sampling respondents and this means that members of the population do not have an equal chance of being selected for the study. This technique is usually used when the researcher wants to select a sample to achieve a particular objective. This technique was used because, there was a need to select individuals who had extensive knowledge in the research problem and their opinion could be used in the study.
Data collection for this study was accomplished by employing a structured and unstructured interview guide. Extensive interview sections based on the structured interview guide were used for the primary data collection.

1.10 Organisation of the Study

The study is arranged in four chapters. Chapter One commenced with the background to Small-scale mining, immigration and national security. This is followed by a statement of the problem, the objectives of the study and research questions which guide the study. The final sections of Chapter One discussed the existing literature that has bearing on the study, significance, scope and limitation of the study, and the research methodology and sources of data and concluded with the organisation of the study. Chapter Two examines the theories of immigration and national security and the threat posed by Chinese migrants to the national security of Ghana in the light of the Comprehensive Security Framework.

Chapter Three discusses the activities of Chinese migrants in small-scale mining and the effect on national security. This is also discussed within the framework of comprehensive security. Finally, Chapter Four will consist of the summary of significant findings from the study, conclusions drawn, and recommendations for academia, policy formulators, and government.
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2.1 Introduction

This section of the study examines the extant theories on immigration and national security. The theories are then narrowed to the theories adopted as the framework for this study. The Chapter concludes with a discussion of the threat posed by Chinese migrants to the national security of Ghana in the light of the comprehensive security framework. The discussion is supported with the responses provided by the experts on immigration and national security that were interviewed for this study.

2.2 Migration

Reviewing the extant literature, it became evident that there are multiplicity of theories that have been propounded to explain migration in both the local (internal) and international (external) context. A similarity of all these theories is that each ultimately strives to describe the issue of migration although they are premised on fundamentally different concepts and assumptions.

Hein de Haas stated that several migration researchers, over the past decades, have bemoaned the absence of a comprehensive migration theory, although there have been numerous calls or attempts to develop a general migration theory.\(^1\) Up to the early 1980s, the theoretical debate on migration tended to be rather polarized, with Neo-Classical views on one hand and Historical-Structuralist views (Neo-Marxist, Dependency, World Systems) on the other.\(^2\) As
identified in Chapter One of this study, the theoretical framework for this study is guided by the Neo-Classical Economic Theorem as adjusted by the Human Capital Theory.

2.2.1 Neoclassical Economic Theory of Migration

One of the foremost theories in explaining causes of migration is the neo-classical theory with its fundamental hypothesis that migration is inspired primarily by rational economic considerations of relative benefits and costs, mostly financial but also psychological. The central tenet of the neo-classical economic theory of migration is the assertion that migration is premised on economic factors. Migration patterns are further assumed to be influenced by factors such as distance and population densities.

Hein de Haas concedes that the economic perspective of migration, assumes that people are expected to move from low income to high income areas, and from densely to sparsely populated areas, supporting the general notion that migration movements tend towards a certain spatial-economic equilibrium. Further, Douglas Massey et al., indicated that the neo-classical economic theory focuses on differentials in wages and employment conditions between countries, and on migration costs; it generally perceives movement as an individual decision based on the assumption of income maximization.

At the macro-level, Hein de Haas states that the neo-classical economic theory explains migration by geographical differences in the supply and demand for labour. The resulting differentials in wages cause workers to move from low-wage, labour-surplus regions to high-wage, labour scarce regions. Migration will cause labour to become less scarce at the destination and scarcer at the sending end. Douglas Massey et al. added that at the macro-
level, the neo classical theory and its extensions, view international migration as a result of geographic differences in the supply of and demand for labour. They add that countries with a large endowment of labour relative to capital have a low equilibrium market wage, while countries with a limited endowment of labour relative to capital are characterized by a high market wage, as depicted graphically by the familiar interaction of labour supply and demand curve.

At the micro-level, Douglas Massey et al., explain that the neo-classical migration theory view individuals as rational actors who decide to migrate because cost-benefit calculation leads them to expect a positive net return, usually monetary, from movement. Hein de Haas also shares the same view as that of Douglas Massey et al. He states that the neo-classical theory views migrants as individuals who are rational in thought and elect to migrate from location to another on the basis of cost effectiveness of different alternatives in order to see whether the benefits outweigh the costs. Hein de Haas further argued that assuming there is free choice and full access to information, migrants are expected to go where they can be the most productive, that is, where they are able to earn the highest wages and this obviously depends on the specific skills a person possesses and the specific structure of labour markets.

The central tenet of the neo-classical theory of migration is the positive trade-off between cost of migration and income at the destination. Douglas Massey et al explains that:

People choose to move to where they can be most productive, given their skills; but before they can earn the higher wages associated with greater labour productivity in the destination country, they must undertake certain investments, which include the material costs of travelling, the costs of maintenance while moving and looking for work, the effort involved in learning a new language and culture, the difficulty experienced in adapting to a new labour market, and the psychological costs of cutting old ties and forging new ones.
Several of the later adaptations of neo-classical migration theory sought to resolve the criticisms of the initial theory. The modification of the neo-classical theory adapted for this study and which is in semblance with Chinese nationals migration to Ghana is the human capital theory. The human capital theory which enriches the neo-classical framework by incorporating the socio-demographic characteristics of the individual as an important determinant of migration at the micro-level was introduced by Sjaadstad in 1962 as cited by Bauer and Zimmermann.\(^{14}\)

These modifications to the neo-classical theory introduced other factors apart from the economic benefits to the migration process. Hein de Haas acknowledged that apart from the expected wage differential which is at the focal point of the neo-classical theory, the likelihood of particular individuals and groups emigrating is also supposed to depend on both the costs and risks of migration and individual human capital characteristics.\(^{15}\) This means that in the light of the human capital theory, migration is dependent on the specific structure and segmentation of labour markets as well as immigration policies. The combination of such factors may explain the heterogeneity and dynamism that characterize real-life migration patterns\(^{16}\) of Chinese nationals migrating to Ghana.

Lucia Kurekova added that at the centre of the human capital theory is a rational individual who migrates with the goal of maximizing his or her benefits and gains.\(^{17}\) The key argument is that migration decisions are not made by isolated individual actors but typically by families or households.\(^{18}\) Further, the decisions of migrants are influenced by a comprehensive set of factors which are shaped by conditions in the home country.\(^{19}\)
Although the human capital theory introduced the role of human capital endowments into the neo-classical economic theory of migration, the central theme of migration remained the same. Kurekova explained that at the heart of the human capital theory is a rational individual who migrates with the goal of maximizing his or her benefits and gains. This view is also fundamental to the neoclassical economic theory. Human capital endowments, skills, age, marital status, gender, occupation, and labour market status as well as preferences and expectations strongly affect who migrates and who does not.

In this study, an assessment is made of the migration of Chinese nationals to Ghana to pursue various economic activities particularly small-scale mining. Given the accelerated economic growth being experienced in China currently, it can be assumed that the observed migration pattern of Chinese nationals to Ghana follows the humped shape migration pattern theory advocated by Kurekova. Lucia Kurekova stated that migration rates accelerate with the growth of country’s wealth as more individuals or households are able to fund migration. Observed migration patterns within such a country tend to be hump-shaped.

2.3 Comprehensive Security Theory

This study adopts a comprehensive security theory approach in the assessment of the relationship between migration and the national security of Ghana as well as the effect of the infiltration of Chinese migrants into small-scale mining on national security of the country. Markus Schmid indicated that the concept of comprehensive security emanated from the neo-liberal theories of International Relations which gave way to broader and wider understanding of security. Citing from Keohane and Nye, Markus Schmid explained that primarily, neo-liberal institutionalists challenged realism and its idea of national security with the notion of
complex interdependence, derived foremost from the rising importance and worldwide interconnectedness of the economy. This resulted in the broadening of the definition of national security and the introduction of the theory of comprehensive security.

In a bid to conceptualise human security, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) expanded the comprehensive security approach and acknowledged that human security has seven key components. However, in this study, national security assessment based on comprehensive security approach would be categorised into economic, human and environmental security. For the purpose of this study, aspects of social security, military security and community security are all discussed as an integral part of human security.

Ulman, in his study on redefining national security, stated that national security must be broadened to accommodate economic, environmental and demographic issues as they are important in understanding the new causes of intra-state conflicts. He added that the focus on only military aspects of national security is therefore, deceptive and very dangerous as it leads states to concentrate on military threats and ignore other harmful dangers affecting their security.

Dorcas Onigbinde advocates that reconceptualising national security in Africa involves looking inside the borders of a country and finding out what factors continue to remain a threat to its peace and stability and that of the individuals within its confines. She states that the presence of ever growing threats also requires a redefinition of national security based also on the fact that security is not focused solely on military issues but on economic, environmental and demographic issues. Economic, environmental and demographic issues
that threaten national security include pollution, poverty, crime, and underdevelopment in communities, all of which fuel conflicts.

2.3.1 Human Security

Nafeez Ahmed in reference to the *Human Development Report of the UNDP* (1997), stated that the theory of human security as an aspect of comprehensive security theory is centred more directly on the protection of people, the scope of their freedom within society, their access to market and social opportunities, and whether their society is in a state of peace or conflict. This means that individuals or people would feel that their security is under threat when they perceive an unequal access to opportunities in their society or when they feel other individuals are better placed to take advantage of resources within their community. It can therefore be assumed that some of the xenophobic attacks on Chinese migrants in Ghana can be attributed to the perception of some indigenes that these migrants are taking advantage of the resource opportunities which should have rather been within their ambit.

Another aspect of the Human Security Concept within the Comprehensive Security Theory is societal security. Societal security is a concept that is closely linked to constructivism and the most important group of authors in this area is the Copenhagen School, a school of thought that stresses mainly identity, culture and knowledge rather than material issues. The central theorem of this concept is the communal identities of societies which share a common feeling of togetherness. Barry Buzan clarified that societal security is about large, self-sustaining identity groups. Consequently, it is not necessarily the state, which is in the focus, but groups of people who share a common identity.
According to Barry Buzan society is about identity, the self-conception of communities and of individuals identifying themselves as members of a community. He further identifies three main threats to societal security. It includes migration, the overriding influence from a neighbouring society or a neighbouring collective (horizontal competition), and integrating as well as secessionist projects (vertical competition). This study examines the threat posed by migrants from China to societies in Ghana where these migrants engage in small-scale mining.

2.3.2 Economic Security
The importance of securing economic security especially among developing countries was echoed by Nafeez Ahmed. He stated that economic insecurity for less developed states as a consequence of their structural drawback in the world capitalist economy contributes to their national socio-political insecurity by destabilization of human security. In this way, human insecurity in relation to economic, food and health security can engender socio-political pressures that result in social discontent, civil chaos, crime, and at most, the eruption of violent conflict. He added that together these phenomena can aggravate the deterioration of other components of human security, namely personal, community and political security, which in turn can aggravate economic-human security in a self-reinforcing cycle, the result of which is potentially damaging for state power and conducive for lengthened intra-state conflicts.

Sasa Mijalković and Goran Milošević added on to the economic security aspect of the comprehensive security theory by stating that economic security implies the protection of vital interests of the society, state, and citizens as well as of the national values and way of living.
against external and internal threats. They added that economic security is a fundamental right of the human being. It is a state when risks and threats are controlled to protect individuals and communities. To this end and in relation with this study, economic security would involve protecting the livelihood of Ghanaians who deem the presence of Chinese nationals in several industries and sectors of the Ghanaian economy as a threat to their economic well being.

Further, Sasa Mijalković and Goran Milošević, acknowledge that economic security is a result of the interaction between internal factors and external ones, which stimulate the whole process of production, distribution and consumption of goods and services produced by a national economy. It is a resource essential to everyday life, which enables individuals and communities to achieve their aspirations. They however, concede that economic security is a complex and dynamic concept. Its complexity stems, on one hand, from the multitude of economic, social, and financial processes and on the other hand, a major role is played by globalisation, seen both as a process and as a phenomenon acting systematically and permanently on national economies.

2.3.3 Environmental Security

The scope of environmental security in this study is taken to be the impact of environmental degradation on security since environmental degradation is a driver of conflict. In this regard, environmental security for the purpose of this study is seen as environmental degradation resulting from small-scale mining by Chinese migrants and the resultant conflict between indigenes and the migrants.
In the context of this study, “environment” is described as the “connection to physical and biological system”. Several researchers and proponents of environmental security have identified several links between environmental concerns and security. Graeger, in her research on environmental security established four reasons to link environmental issues and security. In the first place, she stated that environmental degradation is in itself a severe threat to human security and all life on earth. Further, environmental degradation or change can be either a cause or consequence of violent conflict. Additionally, predictability and control are essential elements of military security considerations, and these are also important elements in the safeguarding of the environment. She finally stated that a cognitive linkage between the environment and security has been established in several post-cold war studies on national security. The conflict in the Niger Delta of Nigeria was exacerbated by the environmental degradation of the farmlands of locals by oil companies, which was brought to global attention by environmental activists such as Ken Saro Wiwa.

It must however be reiterated that not everybody supports the idea that environmental degradation is a national security threat. The opponents of the issues of environmental security being classified as a national security threat see the redefinition of national security and the comprehensive security theory as part of a project of transforming the international system by those who seek to absorb it as a variable of state-centric neo-realist analysis, and therefore dismisses it as a passing fad.

Proponents of the debate that environmental degradation and other environmental issues are national security threats (like Homer-Dixon) have advanced several arguments in support of the redefinition using several studies. Homer-Dixon based the initial arguments of his study
on the premise that human-induced environmental pressures do pose a threat to national and global security. He added that a range of environmental pressures could induce social conflicts with potentially serious ramifications for the security interests of the developed world. In subsequent studies also, Homer-Dixon correlate environmental scarcities with violent conflicts in developing countries and draws attention to the dangers this may pose for international security. This brings to the fore the eminent dangers of the degradation of water bodies and farmlands in areas where Chinese immigrants are undertaking small-scale mining and the resultant conflict that may erupt in these communities between the indigenes and the migrants due to the environmental degradation. Suffice to say that some of these dangers predate the involvement of the Chinese in small-scale mining, just that the extent of damage to the environment was relatively low.

2.4 Nexus between Chinese Migrants and National Security in Ghana

Since this study is built around the Chinese migrants in Ghana, the relationship between migration and national security in Ghana is examined in the context of the threats posed to national security of the country by Chinese migrants within the framework of comprehensive security. Most of the threats identified from the ordinary migration of Chinese nationals are economic in nature. However, when the infiltration of these migrants into small-scale mining is considered, threats to human and environmental security emerge. These additional threats are discussed in subsequent sections of the study when discussing the national security threat of Chinese nationals’ involvement in small-scale mining.

Mohan and Kale are of the view that migration of Chinese nationals to Africa has existed for at least 500 years, but has accelerated in the past 5 years as new business opportunities
became apparent.\textsuperscript{49} The first wave of Chinese migration to Africa occurred during the nineteenth century, the same century that saw the first large influx of Chinese migrants to the gold mines of California.\textsuperscript{50} However, some scholars date the point of contact between China and Africa to as early as the fifteenth century and some as early as 600 CE.\textsuperscript{51}

In terms of the population of Chinese migrants in Africa, official statistics on the exact numbers are difficult to come by in the extant literature although several opinions of the numbers are compiled on several websites. Chinese migrants to South Africa comprised the first group of emigrant pool from China and in the twenty first century, numbers in the hundreds of thousands recruited to engage in gold mining.\textsuperscript{52}

Mohan and Kale in their report for the Rockefeller Foundation identified the three phases of Chinese migration to Africa:\textsuperscript{53}

i. Within the years 1850 and 1960, China had long standing communities in South Africa and Mauritius as a result of a colonial demand for labour;

ii. Within the 1960s and the 1980s, thousands of Chinese technical advisors, labourers, and doctors migrated to Africa as part of Chairman Mao’s “Third World” solidarity movement, while apartheid South Africa saw an influx of professionals from Taiwan, with whom it had a political alliance; and

iii. Since the 1990s, in the wake of China’s economic reforms, an unprecedented number of entrepreneurs and migrants from China have migrated in large numbers to Africa.

According to McNamee, the explosive growth of China’s engagement with Africa in recent years has generated significant debate amongst policymakers, scholars and business leaders
These arguments have revolved around the key drivers of Chinese investment in Africa and the impact of China on Africa’s development. Various arguments have been advanced on these lines by Alden and Raine.

There is no consensus on the number of Chinese migrants in Ghana. Database of the Ghana Immigration Services (GIS), United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and the Chinese Consulate in Ghana all give contradictory reports on the number of Chinese migrants in Ghana. Furthermore, most of the census information from these sources date as far back as six years ago. The Reuters News Agency, citing a recent report by the South China Morning Post estimates that more than 50,000 Chinese gold miners have been to Ghana since the year 2005. Two-thirds of these migrants originated from Shanglin, an impoverished county in southern Guangxi province. Shanglin is a place with very limited farmland but is rich in gold. The Shanglin people have had a tradition of gold-mining for generations.

It became evident from the interview sessions with experts in the field of immigration, national security and small-scale-mining that the influx of Chinese migrants in Ghana is due to the availability of work for temporary labour, demand for Chinese products among Ghanaians and the existence of certain natural resources in the country. This means that the basic motivation for Chinese migration to Ghana is primarily economic. When asked ‘what accounts for the influx of Chinese migrants in Ghana, one respondents from the GIS indicated that the influx can be linked to the use of Chinese migrants as temporary labour for large buildings, road construction and large infrastructure development projects undertaken by large Chinese Corporations in Ghana. The respondent said that “most of these Chinese
Corporations constructing most of these major roads, stadiums, the Bui Dam and all these major projects use some temporary labour from China in addition to the Ghanaian workers.

This confirms the report of the Centre for Chinese Studies which found that Africa provides great labour opportunities and Chinese migrants are willing to assume the risks involved in migrating, temporarily, to places so far and so different from home. Even for the migrant worker, three years on an overseas contract may provide enough capital to finance the construction of a new home whereas it might take ten years or longer to do the same on the wages he might earn if he stayed at home. Put another way, wages in Africa can be 30–400% higher than in China.

Further, the respondent from the GIS added that the influx of Chinese migrants in Ghana can also be linked to the high patronage of cheap products from China by Ghanaians. He added that this phenomenon has led to the influx of what he termed as ‘Chinese entrepreneurs’ to Ghana. These migrants were not necessarily retailers or wholesalers in China, but upon migrating to Ghana they establish their own businesses in the retail or wholesale trade of Chinese-made goods. He said that:

"Although there have been several attempts to flush out these migrants due to the illegal nature of their trade, several of these businesses can be found in most of our market centres because some Ghanaians are conniving with them."

The availability of natural resources especially gold and diamond was finally cited as one of the root causes of the influx of Chinese migrants in Ghana. The respondent from GIS stated that currently, the booming small-scale mining business in Ghana has attracted several Chinese migrants. He added that the problem with this category of migrants is that most of them enter the country legally as tourist or with business visas. He however, admitted that
some also enter the country illegally and the service is working assiduously to plug the loopholes that are allowing some personnel of the service encourage this practise.

The escalation in the number of Chinese migrants in Ghana confirms Lee’s argument that migration facilitates the flow of information back from migrants’ destination to the origin countries.\textsuperscript{61} This means that the ability of early migrants to succeed in the destination country lessens the difficulty of the passage for later migrants, and in effect pathways are created\textsuperscript{62} which serve as blueprints for subsequent migration by individuals from the same location.

Further, the fact that most of the Chinese migrants came from one specific province in China confirms Lee’s notion. Hein de Haas also found evidence that the already settled migrants function as footholds in the destination country for subsequent migrants, thereby reducing the risks as well as the psychological costs of subsequent migration.\textsuperscript{63} Through the benevolence of friends and relatives, new migrants may without much effort be able to obtain information and receive support in finding employment and a place to live. According to Appleyard, as cited by de Haas, the formation of an established migrant community at one particular destination will increase the likelihood of subsequent migration to that particular place.\textsuperscript{64} These notions to a large extent explain the surge of Chinese migrants in Ghana.

The immigration status of Chinese migrants, their involvement in activities that they do not have permit to engage in (like illegal retail business and small-scale mining) and their \textit{modus operandi} in the country are the key national security risks.
The use of Chinese migrants as temporary labourers has become one of the most contentious issues in terms of threat to the economic security aspect of Ghana’s national security. This stems from the fact that there is incidence of high levels of unemployment in many areas where these Chinese Corporations are carrying out construction activities. The respondent from Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre stated that their preliminary research has shown that when Ghanaians are even employed, they are paid less than their Chinese counterparts. He added that even with the practice of paying the Ghanaians less than their Chinese counterparts, the Chinese Corporations justify this practice of employing temporary labour from China on the basis of costs, cultural affinity, and productivity.

The second threat of Chinese migrants to national security is also an economic threat which emanates from the activities of Chinese migrants involved in trade and other business ventures without the requisite legal mandate. Chinese migrants who were not necessarily retailers or wholesalers in China migrate to Ghana and establish businesses in the retail or wholesale trade of Chinese-made goods. The trade sector, especially the retail business, is a preserve of Ghanaians and foreigners can only engage in this business after meeting a minimum capital threshold and employing a significant number of Ghanaians.

The ‘Chinese entrepreneurs’, as referred to by the participant from GIS, do not only engage in retail trade without the legislated capital requirement, but also fail to employ the requisite number of Ghanaians. The participant from the Ministry of Interior reiterated it better when he said that “not only does these Chinese businesses flout our laws governing retail business, they also employ relatives, family friends, or people from the same village or town in China depriving Ghanaians the incomes they would have earned from such employment’. He added
that the Chinese cite lack of trust in Ghanaians as the reason for employing Chinese labour over Ghanaians.

Another economic threat to Ghana’s national security originating from the influx of Chinese migrants is the collapse, or possible collapse of several businesses. ‘Chinese entrepreneurs’ in Ghana tend to sell a wide range of low-cost and arguably low quality Chinese products to the lowest end of the consumer market. The participants from Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre and the Ministry of Interior all reiterated the economic risk posed by these cheap Chinese import products on Ghanaian businesses. The respondent from the Ministry of Interior cited the textiles and garments sector as one of the industry’s which is at the brink of collapse due to the import of cheaper textiles from China by the Chinese migrants. He said that: “reports that we have indicate that the Chinese businesses in Ghana are not only importing cheaper textiles from China into Ghana but they are also illegally replicating designs of Ghanaian textile companies and selling them far cheaper than the originals and this is a serious national security threat.”

All the above instances depict the numerous threats that Chinese migrants pose to the economic security aspect of Ghana’s national security. Although all these threats are economic in nature, within the comprehensive security framework, these threats are seen as national security threat due to the negative effect of economic crimes and the fact that most of these activities deprive Ghanaian nationals of economic resources. Mijalković and Milošević, stated that the negative effects of such crimes are most often manifested through increased rates of crime and corruption in society. Further, other businesses acting legally or within the confines of the laws of the countries are faced with unfair competition thus, not being able
to survive. The collapse of several textile businesses in Ghana as result of influx of cheaper alternatives from China being marketed in Ghana by Chinese entrepreneurs is a classic example. Ghana also loses the funds needed to carry out developmental activities from reduced tax revenues due to proceeds from the illegal business activities being channelled out of the country by these Chinese immigrants.
ENDNOTES

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CHAPTER THREE

ACTIVITIES OF CHINESE IMMIGRANTS IN SMALL-SCALE MINING AND ITS IMPACT ON NATIONAL SECURITY

3.0 Introduction

This section of the study examines the activities of Chinese immigrants in the small-scale mining sector in Ghana as well as the impact of these activities on the national security of the country. The impact on national security of the infiltration of Chinese immigrants in small-scale mining is also assessed within the context of comprehensive security.

3.1 Overview of Small-Scale Mining in Ghana

According to Garvin Hilson, the historical prominence of mining in the economic development of Ghana and the presence of large deposits of minerals, such as gold, can be traced to the country’s colonial name Gold Coast, which gave prominence to the gold trade among early colonial settlers in the country.¹

Several statistics exist on the gold production by the then Gold Coast but the first documented production of gold in the extant literature was in 1493. The Ghana Chamber of Commerce estimated that 2,488 metric tons (80 million ounces) of gold were produced between 1493 and 1997² and by 1600, Ghana (then Gold Coast) had produced a total of 8,153,426 ounces of gold (representing 36% of the total world gold output).³ Ghana has been a key contributor to minerals production in the world and it is the second largest gold producer in Africa, after South Africa, the third-largest African producer of aluminium metal and manganese ore and a significant producer of bauxite and diamond.⁴
The small-scale mining sector played an active role in achieving the above statistics as Garvin Hilson asserted that the Ghanaian small-scale mining industry is well over 2,000 years old. He added that vestiges of alluvial gold extraction and winning activities have been found that date as far back as the sixth century, and there is a wealth of evidence indicating that precious metals recovered from regional artisan activities were attracting Arab traders to certain areas of the country as early as the 7th and 8th centuries AD.

Until the 1980s when the small-scale mining sector was formalised by the government, the sector remained informal with little or no regulation. Most small-scale miners in Ghana engage in the extraction of gold and diamonds simply because they could generate wealth easily from the practise. The growing interest and the contribution the sector was making in terms of mineral export resulted in the development of policy and laws to regulate the activities of participants in the sector.

The absence of current census on the number of Ghanaians employed in the small-scale mining sector makes it difficult to examine the current contribution of the sector. However, based on past estimates, Appiah stated that some 200,000 people are involved directly in the extraction of gold and diamonds. A World Bank country assessment of the small-scale mining sector also estimated the number of people legally undertaking such mining activities to be around 30,000. Given the growth in population of the country over the years, these numbers may have doubled, even if not tripled. It was therefore not surprising that the government in 2012 estimated that over 1,000,000 people are engaged in small-scale mining.
Although gold and diamonds are the most prominent minerals mined on a small scale in Ghana, other small-scale miners’ prospect for other minerals but this is an insignificant part of the population of small-scale miners. In small-scale gold mining for instance, legalised small-scale mining operators apply to the government and are awarded licences to mine in a designated area not exceeding 25 acres for three to five years. According to Appiah (1998), a licensed operator employs between 5 and 20 groups of tributers consisting of 5 to 10 workers each that excavate ore and process gold. The arrangement is that the tributers keep two-thirds of the profits, and the remaining third is given to the concessionaire.

Due to the small-scale nature of the mining activities, most equipment used are primary hand tools such as pick axes, sluice boxes and shovels. Those with bigger concessions and enough capital use water pumps, explosives and washing plants as part of their equipment. Sometimes even the most advanced of small-scale miners operations are rudimentary in design. Such set-ups have locations for crashing the ore into pebbles and grinding and storage of the grounded ore. Other sections are used for the washing, panning and roasting.

The contention in the small-scale mining sector is that if small-scale mining has so many economic benefits, such as employment and income generation as well as contribution to the Gross Domestic Product (GDP), why should the country be alarmed at the infiltration of the sector by Chinese migrants? The response to this question can be traced to the World Bank 2005 Report on the sector. According to the report, small-scale mining encompasses almost the entire spectrum of economic, social, environmental, and security issues from most basic individual human security to issues at the highest order of national security, regional stability, and global security challenges (including organized crime).
Few other sectors have so many diverse security issues in terms of income generation, health, governance, corruption and transparency, institution building, natural resources management, displacement and migration, and conflict mitigation like the ASM sector. This means that the sector is very volatile and therefore the participation in the sector by foreign nationals poses a national security threat and consequently the need to secure the sector in order to secure the national sovereignty of Ghanaians.

3.2 Chinese Migrants’ Involvement in Small-Scale Mining

Illegal small-scale mining has been prevalent in Ghana for several decades now as was highlighted in the literature review. In recent times, however, it has become a very attractive sector to foreigners (especially the Chinese nationals who are now driving the traditional ‘galamsey’ miners out of business in Ghana).

In a recent interview with the Guardian Newspaper, Charles Wereko spokesman for the Ministry of Lands and Natural Resources, stated that:

"Illegal mining in Ghana has assumed alarming proportions and has got to the point where it is threatening the survival of our water bodies." Further, he said that “foreign nationals, especially the Chinese, have made the problem a lot worse. Unlike Ghanaians they have access to huge funds which they have been using to bring an enormous number of excavators into the country, which can destroy large areas of forest in just one day. The rate of destruction is such that, if it is not stopped, Ghana will not have any forest left."

In a recent report, the Ghana News Agency reported that several Chinese Miners who were excavating deep holes in the banks of the Offinso River had been arrested by the Ghana police in a dawn swoop.

Unlike the Ghanaian small-scale miners, the Chinese nationals have excavators to dig the sand and rocks, trucks to carry them to locations where high-powered sand pumping machines are
used to dredge for alluvial gold. The Chinese use small rock-crushing machines, known as “Shang Fa, which costs about $897 each to run their operations mainly in the Ashanti and Western regions of Ghana. The pumps which are specially designed for this purpose originate from their home country China. All the participants interviewed for this study admitted that the influx of Chinese miners and their wealthy backers is causing environmental destruction and social conflict on an extraordinary scale. In the Western Region, mining activities of the Chinese are said to be heavily polluting the River Ankobra and putting in danger the health of thousands of people who depend on the river for their drinking water.¹⁶

Klare in his study on geopolitics of energy stated that there is a wide unanimity that China’s macro-economic priorities are the main drivers to its predominant involvement in Africa, specifically its resolve to access Africa’s natural resources to guarantee the furtherance of its industrialisation and economic growth.¹⁷ China is now the prime driver of world mineral prices and a number of African countries have become key beneficiaries of this process.¹⁸ This may in a way explain the influx of Chinese nationals in regions in Ghana where natural resources like gold are in abundance and their continual involvement in small-scale mining despite the resistance from indigenes and law enforcement agencies.

The increasing Chinese migrant’s involvement in small-scale mining and the tension arising between them and the indigenes can be likened to the discoveries of mineral deposits and immigration of small-scale miners to several sections of Brazil. Thomas Hentschel et al., explain that in the Brazilian scenario, there were frequent reports or occurrences of aggression and violence between local tribes, settlers and foreign miners.¹⁹ Even in non-native areas the
mining boom or even a slow increase of small-scale mining activities in the region had significant impact on existing social structures.\textsuperscript{20}

Over the years, Ghana has experienced a surge in the number of Chinese immigrants in the country. These Chinese migrants may not be dominant in the capital city Accra due to their \textit{modus operandi}. There was consensus in the responses provided when the various participants were asked about where the Chinese migrants are settling and what determines their choice of location. All the participants stated that most of the Chinese migrants who are in the country settle in rural areas where there is prevalence of natural resources like gold and diamond. The participant from the Anti-illegal Mining Task Force stated that since the Taskforce commenced the clampdown on illegal mining, they had rounded up several Chinese migrants in rural areas whose road networks are almost inaccessible. He said that:

“Chinese migrants involved in illegal gold mining have been arrested in areas like the Amansie district of the Ashanti region, Nkronua Forest, Mahem, near Wassa Akropong all in the Western Region, Kyekyiwere and Manso Abodom in Central Region. Amansie for instance, is about 220 km from Accra (where most of these migrants arrive), yet several Chinese have invaded the region and engaged in illegal mining. The Taskforce also came across several incidents where Ghanaians serve as front men for these Chinese migrants”

Responding to the same question on where new Chinese immigrants are settling, and what determines their choice of locations, the participant from WANEP indicated that these migrants choose hinterlands outside regional and district capitals where their activities would be obscured from the security agencies. He said that:

“When these migrants arrive in the Accra, they just move to towns that are miles away from the capital. How they get to know of these towns and how they are able to locate these places is of security concern since most of them cannot even utter a phrase in even English. It is therefore clear that some unscrupulous Ghanaians are aiding these migrants in these illegal mining activities.”

The involvement of Chinese migrants in small-scale mining in Ghana in recent times has generated considerable media attention and headlined newspapers on daily basis.
Considerable attention is being given to the phenomenon because the practice can engender considerable negative effects on individuals and communities, and the broader national and international ramifications can be substantial. Artisanal or small-scale mining (ASM) can, and often does, exacerbate poverty, conflict, and other social ills that are endemic in fragile economies.\textsuperscript{21} Some of the most prevalent negative issues associated with ASM include corruption, perpetuation of warlords, money laundering to support organized crime and terrorist activities, child labour, increased exposure to and transmission of HIV/AIDS and malaria, and sexual exploitation of women and children.\textsuperscript{22} A few of these negative issues are already prevalent in the zones where these Chinese nationals are involved in illegal small-scale mining. It is in this regard that this study is being conducted to do a comprehensive review of the threats to national security posed by these Chinese migrants involved in ASM.

There are several national security threats emanating from the Chinese migrants infiltration into small-scale mining besides the illegal immigration status of the Chinese miners. In terms of economic threats, the Chinese migrants hire their relatives and friends from China; also illegal immigrants, instead of locals as labourers at the mines. When locals are hired, they are paid much less than their Chinese co-workers. Environmentally, Ghanaians have also complained about the water and land pollution caused by the mining. With regards to human security threat, the tension between the Chinese miners and locals has been so high that many migrants have purchased weapons on the black market for protection. The ability of these illegal Chinese migrants to obtain weapons on the black market poses a national security threat. The subsequent sections examine the national security risks of Chinese nationals’ participation in small-scale mining. This is done within the context of comprehensive security theory.
3.3 Human Security

In Africa, the presence of natural resources like gold, diamond and oil have negatively impacted human security as they have fuelled several conflicts in the region where they are located. This has led to many authors associating some African countries with the ‘natural resource curse’. Palley, stated that the notion of ‘natural resource curse’ is closely linked to poor resource management as the mismanagement creates stagnation and conflict, rather than economic growth and development. This means that it is not the mere existence of the resource in a country but how it is managed that results in conflict.

Dorcas Onigbinde asserted that conflicts will continue to increase as long as there is a huge reliance on natural resources and so long as these resources remain scarce and the demand for it increases coupled with the challenge that indigenes do not profit from the wealth. She added that poor resource management has huge implications for peace and security in Africa and this has brought to the fore the need to address these security implications.

The recent clashes in the small-scale mining sector among indigenes and Chinese migrants are similar to the prelude of major conflicts on the continent. In a study on resource management by the International Development Centre (IDC), the Centre established that conflicts over natural resources normally have devastating effects due to the benefits feuding parties expect to get from their control of such resources. They added that for marginalized groups seeking to redress injustices or inequities in resource distribution, conflict is an inherent feature of their struggle for change and can provide the leverage needed to assert their claims.
A classic example of threats to security emanating from natural resource was the conflict that raged the Niger Delta in Nigeria. Dorcas Onigbinde stated that several decades of neglect of the implications of the inequity in wealth distribution among indigenes and foreign migrants within the area has created resentments among various groups. The results have been several clashes between the government, militia groups and other significant actors vying for ownership and control of the resources. She added that although groups use conflict as a medium to promote their demands, it has led to more political instability and the increasing loss of lives and a major threat to human security in the region. At the centre of this national security threat from the existence of natural resource, is the ability of state agencies to manage the exploration of these resources among indigenes and foreigners. The situation should be managed in such a manner that indigenes at no point in time should feel that foreigners are taking advantage of the resource to their detriment since that situation serves as catalyst for conflict.

In the ambit of human security is military security which involves the protection of nationals from all forms of aggression whether within the country or from an external source. The report of the use of sophisticated weapons by Chinese migrants in protecting themselves against xenophobic attacks is a direct threat to national security. The influx of these weapons into the country has several implications for national security. Apart from the few weapons being used by Chinese migrants for protection, the main national security threat stems from how these arms get into Ghana. The successful entry of these arms into the country fuels the growing threat of the use of Chinese arms in conflicts in Africa.
According to Safe World 2011 report, the transfer of Chinese arms to African states has been one of the most controversial aspects of China’s engagement in Africa. They conceded that few accurate figures exist on the extent and scope of China’s arms deals in Africa. The relative scarcity of measurable open source data on China’s arms production and trade means that it is not possible to provide a comprehensive and detailed picture of the Chinese arms proliferation in Africa. Nonetheless, from what open sources exist, it is possible to establish that China’s global exports are rising. Because China’s small arms and ammunition are relatively inexpensive, China is becoming the provider of choice in Africa for small arms and light weapons (SALW) such as the AR-56 assault rifle, a Chinese version of the Russian AK-47. The exact volume and value of Chinese SALW exports are unknown. In the Small Arms Survey, China was ranked as the world’s third top producer of SALW after the United States and Russia, and one of the leading international exporters.

Currently, Chinese SALW, military and security equipment have found their way into several African countries and regions on the continent which are already awash with various conflicts. This does not only fuel the conflict and insecurity but also contributes to the wider regional instability as they are trafficked across borders. These weapons and ammunition do not only threaten state security if they fall into the hands of rebels and criminals, but also directly affect the security of communities across Africa. Violent crime has also been facilitated through the proliferation of handguns in countries like South Africa, where firearms seized from armed criminals have frequently been of Chinese origin.

The presence of some of Chinese SALW in several communities among Chinese migrants should be a national security worry. Although these migrants are using these weapons to
protect their lives and property from any forms of xenophobic attacks as reported in the media, what remains of the weapons when they depart the country? These weapons could find their way into the hands of criminal elements in the communities, thereby threatening the peace and security of inhabitants in these mining communities.

The Guardian Newspaper in a recent report on the activities of Chinese migrants in small-scale mining in Ghana stated that resentment towards foreigners’, especially Chinese nationals, is widespread in mining communities. The paper reports of frequent attacks by Ghanaians against increasingly heavily armed Chinese miners. The Chinese are also accused of assaulting Ghanaians, whom they employ to operate their machinery. On one Chinese mining site that was visited by the reporter of the Guardian newspaper, the paper reported that the ground was littered with spent shotgun cartridges. The paper quoted one Chinese migrant miner, Huang, as saying “We have the guns to defend ourselves from the locals.” The presence of the spent shotgun cartridges on the mining site means that these Chinese immigrants do not only possess the weapons but they have also been using these weapons.

Apart from the guns smuggled into the country, there are widespread reports that the Chinese immigrants involved in small-scale mining also obtain some of the weapons from the security services in Ghana. The Guardian Newspaper for instance reported that:

“Many of the Chinese guns are said to come from the police, a practice which one senior officer said was indicative of the widespread corruption fuelled by the influx of foreigners propped up by cash from illegally mined gold. “The Chinese are armed and most of the time the guns are sold by policemen,” said a senior police officer, speaking on condition of anonymity. There have been several high-profile cases of police corruption in relation to Chinese illegal mining recently.”
The participants from the Ministry of Interior and Ministry of Defence confirmed that they have had reports of police officers culpability in the arming of the Chinese migrant miners and is one issue that the Inspector General of Police is seriously investigating.

3.4 Environmental Security

The issue of environmental degradation among Chinese migrants should be seen as a national security threat and attended to since there are several instances in the extant literature where environmental degradation has resulted in full-blown conflicts. Several of environmental issues induced conflicts can be traced to the regions of South America/Caribbean, Africa and Asia.

Andree Kirchner, in his study, cited several environmental or natural resource induced conflicts. He stated that in the Philippines for instance, anti-government rebels like the New People’s Army, took advantage of the deforestation in the area and asserted control over a large part of the territory. Comm. 41 Communities disenchanted with the degradation of the environment, which was the basis of their livelihood, supported the actions of the rebels and the result was a lack of security and later, conflict between government and the rebels over control of the forest area. 42

Further, in the 1960s, as a result of deforestation spearheaded by improper agricultural practices and population increase, there was widespread soil erosion in Ethiopia’s highlands. 43 The result was decline of farmland, inefficiency of agriculture, food shortages and exploding prices leading to urban riots and neighbouring Somalia had to face similar problems. Most of
Somalia’s rivers rise in Ethiopia, and Somalis worried that Ethiopian migrants might divert water for irrigation in 1977 went to war with Ethiopia.\textsuperscript{44}

For instance, natural resource constraints have resulted in conflicts over water. On numerous occasions, Israel and its neighbouring Arab states have feuded over access to the Jordan river.\textsuperscript{45} Former Israeli Minister for Agriculture Rafael Eitan stated in November 1990 that Israel must never relinquish the West Bank because the loss of its water supplies would “threaten the Jewish State.” Many military moves in that region were at least motivated by water supply, such as the 1967 occupation of West Bank, the Golan Heights and the Gaza Strip.\textsuperscript{46}

Apart from the past and present instances of resource-driven conflicts as identified above, much of the data on environmental security strive to support the assertion that environmental issues are the foremost and emergent cause of violent conflicts and insecurity in developing countries. A well-established hypothesis in the security literature is that conflicts over natural resources are a persistent basis for hostilities among people in close proximity to the resource. One of the pioneer researchers who have advocated this view is Ullman. Ullman advanced the proposition that resource conflicts are at the root of most violent conflicts in history and went on to provide numerous classical examples to support his assertion.\textsuperscript{47}

The environmental security threat emanating from the Chinese immigrants involvement in small-scale mining stems from their mining practises. Unlike the locals, the Chinese migrants use sophisticated earth moving equipment and pumps in their mining activities. These equipment have the tendency of causing huge environmental degradation. The participant
from the Anti-illegal Mining Task Force indicated that the activities of Chinese migrants have reduced the economic viability of several communities in which they operate thereby ridding many of its inhabitants of their livelihood; mainly farming and source of drinking water. He said that

‘The activities of these Chinese illegal miners are an affront to the very lives of people living in these mining communities. Anything that is seen to impede or have the facade of hindering their access to the minerals is taken out, whether it is a human being, a farm or a river.”

In the interview granted to the Guardian newspaper, Charles Wereko, spokesperson of the Ministry of Lands and Natural Resources stated that:

“Most of these illegal miners use very dangerous substances like cyanide and mercury in processing their ore, which are not biodegradable and leach into the water bodies creating serious problems for the communities who use these sources of water as drinking water.”

Further, he stated that “the extent of this illegality is so bad that now the state agency for processing water to provide clean drinking water for most of the communities in Ghana is not able to do their work, because the cost of cleaning up water has become too expensive.”

The relationship between environmental degradation and national security can be summed up in the words of Edward Page who stated that it might strike some as odd that the notion or concept of environmental security is at all controversial since the fact remains that the relation between environmental change and national security is as relevant as it used to be in the post-Cold War era and must be given all the necessary consideration. The massive degradation of the environment by the Chinese nationals must not only be seen as just an environmental issue but as a national security threat.

3.5 Economic Security

SasaMijalković and GoranMilošević stated that the economic relations within the production and distribution process are among the most important relations in society, for they determine a country's social and political order, its population's quality of life, the level of development
of its national security system, and the country's economic and political influence in international relations. They added that because of this, and primarily due to its significance for the security system, the development and protection of the economic system certainly represent vital national priorities and interests for each modern state that strives for economic stability, independence and security. This means that anything that has the tendency of depriving Ghanaians of their economic livelihood must be seen as a national security threat.

The economic security threat originating from the involvement of Chinese migrants in small-scale mining is the deprivation of indigenes and the community of the economic benefits of the minerals located within their land. The law on small scale mining already sought to ensure indigenes benefit from the minerals in their community by limiting the exploration of these resources in small-scales to only Ghanaians.

As identified in earlier sections, most of the Chinese migrants involved in small-scale mining hire their relatives and friends from China, also illegal immigrants, instead of locals as labourers at the mines. When locals are hired, they are paid much less than their Chinese co-workers. Given the high level of unemployment in Ghana and in these mining communities, this practise by the Chinese migrants has the tendency of developing into conflict between the indigenes and the migrants. In fact, there are already reports of several clashes between indigenes and Chinese migrants engaged in small-scale mining.

The participant from the WANEP indicated that preliminary reports gathered from most of the communities where Chinese migrants had taken over the small-scale mining sector is soaring unemployment. He said that:
"Unemployment rates are soaring in these areas especially as other illegal migrants are hired for jobs and natives of the area are ignored. Moreover, the increased use of sophisticated excavators, machinery and equipment has reduced the need for manual labour and this has curtailed the livelihood of most of the youth who hitherto were employed by the small-scale mining sector."

Economic deprivation is a catalyst for conflict and the earlier this is curbed the better for the national security of the country. A classic example of economic deprivation in a resource endowed region that has resulted in full blown conflict between inhabitants and foreigners is the case of the Niger Delta conflict. Culling from an interview by the Human Rights Watch, Dorcas Onigbinde stated that most gang members in the region reiterated that “there cannot be long lasting peace in the region until there are signs of economic growth and sustainable development. Many gang members stated that poverty and unemployment were the sole factors for their participation in political violence and crime.”

At the national level, the economic security of the country is threatened if there is prevalence of any act or force that seeks to deprive the nation of its resources needed to carry out developmental activities. This means the sale and remittance of the proceeds from illegal small-scale mining by Chinese migrants to their families deprive the government of the revenue needed to carry out development activities in the country. In order to safeguard the revenue from small-scale mining and deter foreigners from engaging in the sector, the Precious Minerals and Marketing Commission (PMMC) only buys gold from small-scale miners who are Ghanaian nationals, which is in accordance with the mandate that set up the commission.

Notwithstanding, the legal provisions that bar the PMMC from purchasing illegally mined gold, the Guardian newspaper reported otherwise. The Guardian claimed to have captured
several Chinese miners entering a PMMC-licensed agent in Dunkwa, a gold-producing centre in the Central Region, each leaving with plastic bags full of what looked like cash.\textsuperscript{55}

All the participants interviewed for the study agreed that although the environmental security threat has been at the forefront of the problems with small-scale mining, the influx of the Chinese miners has heightened the human security threat. They agreed that environmental degradation is something the government has been contending with among even local or indigenous small-scale mining. However, the advent of the Chinese migrants in small-scale mining has resulted in the militarisation of the sector leading to the influx of several arms. Upon the exit of these migrants, there are fears that these weapons might find their way into the hands of criminals who would use them to perpetuate all sorts of crimes.

When asked why state institutions are finding it difficult to deal with the menace of Chinese migrant’s involvement in small-scale mining, a participant from WANEP placed the blame at the doorsteps of the government and state agencies like Ghana Immigration Service. Quoting the Executive Director of WANEP, Emmanuel Bombande he said that:

“The government must be forthright and put our national interest on the table in dealing with the illegal activities of the Chinese.” He added that “Chinese nationals who enter the country must respect Ghanaian laws.”

He added that it is surprising to note that some of the Chinese migrants who are blatantly disregarding the laws of Ghana do not even have the requisite documents to stay in the country.

Some opinion leaders and journalist have accused the Ghana Immigration Service of bias in the handling of the Chinese migrants. The contention has always been that no matter the
country that one finds him/herself, when you are arrested for some criminal activity, you are made to face the full rigours of the law. These comments have come against the background that most of the Chinese migrants that have been arrested were deported instead of facing prosecution. In response to these, the participant from the Ghana Immigration Services indicated that there are several options available in the law for handling cases of illegal immigrants and deportation is one of such options that the legal officers of the service have decided to pursue it.
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CHAPTER FOUR
SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

4.1 Summary of Findings

The study sought to examine the infiltration of Chinese nationals into the small-scale mining sector in Ghana and its implications on national security. Among other issues, the study sought to determine the nexus between migration and national security, examine the activities of Chinese immigrants in small-scale mining and establish the impact of Chinese immigrants involvement in small-scale mining on national security. The study adopted the broad comprehensive security approach and therefore assessed the threats to the national security of Ghana by these Chinese migrants from the economic, environmental and human security perspective.

On the nexus between migration and national security in the context of the influx of Chinese migrants, it became evident from the study that there was a link between the two issues. However, most of threats identified from the ordinary migration of Chinese nationals were economic in nature. Nonetheless, when the infiltration of these migrants into small-scale mining is considered, threats to human and environmental security emerge.

It was obvious from the interview sections with experts in the field of immigration, national security and small-scale mining that the influx of Chinese migrants in Ghana is due to the availability of work for temporary labour, weak regulations in Ghana, the high demand for Chinese products among Ghanaians and the existence of natural resources like gold and
diamond in the country. The major areas that are contributing to the increasing number of Chinese migrants are the ease with which the Chinese are able to enter the borders of Ghana and use of Chinese migrants as temporary labour for large building, road construction and large infrastructure development projects undertaken by large Chinese Corporations in Ghana.

The main national security threats from the Chinese migrants revolved around the immigration status of Chinese migrants, their involvement in activities that they do not have permit to engage in like retail business, small-scale mining and their mode of operation in terms of the use of weapons at the mining sites. In terms of economic security, it was uncovered that the use of Chinese migrants as temporal labour threatens the economic safety of some Ghanaians as it exacerbates the high unemployment situation already existing in the country. Additionally, the exploitation of the gold by the Chinese is likely to deprive a lot of young people in these mining communities jobs. Much needed government revenue for developmental projects from the small-scale mining activities will also dwindle, hence make it difficult for the government to meet its social contract with the people. If the expectations of the people are not met, they could resort to the use of violent means to demand their share from the mining sector because the people have a strong conviction that the resources in their communities are their legitimate property.

In terms of human security threat, it was obvious from the study that the small-scale mining sector is becoming increasingly associated with gun violence. Most of the Chinese migrants engaged in small-scale mining wield arms with the notion of protecting themselves against any attack by indigenes in the areas that they are prospecting for minerals. Some of these guns are
smuggled in the country and some are reported to have been obtained from the security services in Ghana. The presence of the spent shotgun cartridges on mining sites means that these Chinese immigrants do not only possess the weapons but they have also been using these weapons. Also, it was indicated there have been several confrontations between locals of some mining communities and Chinese which has resulted in deaths due to the use of firearms by the Chinese.

The study also unearthed serious environmental security threats in areas where these Chinese migrants are engaged in illegal mining. Unlike the locals, the Chinese migrants use sophisticated earth moving equipment and pumps in their mining activities. These equipment have the tendency of causing huge environmental degradation. The result is the deprivation of indigenes of their source of livelihood which are the farmlands and water bodies being destroyed by these migrants in their mining activities. The situation is further worsened by the use of dangerous chemicals like cyanide and mercury which has the tendency of poisoning the water sources leading to loss of human life and that of livestock and crops.

Finally, it came to light in the study that the state agencies are finding it difficult to deal with the security threats posed by the influx of Chinese migrants because some of their members are culpable in the problem. Other Ghanaians are also involved in the complexity of the problem since they serve as front men for these migrants in obtaining mining concessions, weapons and also in obtaining visas to travel to Ghana under the pretext of employing them in legitimate businesses.
4.2 Conclusions

The ordinary migration of several nationals of one country to another, if not checked, can threaten the national security of the destination country in the long-term. In the Ghanaian situation, the influx of Chinese migrants have had several national security implications that if not checked have the tendency of eroding the peaceful coexistence of Ghanaians and their Chinese counterparts.

It can also be inferred from the study that the national security threats of the involvement of Chinese migrants in small-scale mining is real and not a creation of the media as some assert. There are several symptoms of impending conflict between Chinese migrants and local communities where the former are undertaking illegal small-scale mining. These symptoms are similar to those that preceded full-blown conflicts in certain parts of Africa. One of such symptoms is the increasing economic deprivation in the areas where these migrants are engaged in illegal small-scale mining.

Chinese migrants hire their relatives and friends from China; also illegal immigrants, instead of locals as labourers at the mines. When locals are hired, they are paid much less than their Chinese co-workers. Environmentally, Ghanaians have also complained about the water and land pollution caused by the mining. With regards to human security threat, the tension between the Chinese miners and locals has been so high that many migrants have purchased weapons on the black market for protection. The ability of these illegal Chinese migrants to obtain weapons on the black market poses a national security threat.
Economic deprivation was a catalyst for conflict in areas like the Niger Delta and the Philippines. In these areas many gang members engaged in conflict indicated that poverty and unemployment were the sole factors for their participation in the crime and violence. In the Ghanaian situation there is emerging incidence of economic deprivation which can also result in similar natural resource conflict.

Human security threats have overtaken the environmental threats of illegal small-scale mining with the advent of Chinese migrants in the small-scale mining sector in Ghana. All the participants interviewed for the study were in consensus that notwithstanding the fact that environmental security threat has been at the focal point of the complications with small-scale mining, the influx of the Chinese miners has exacerbated the human security threat. It became apparent that environmental degradation is something the government has been struggling with among even local or indigenous small-scale mining. However, the advent of the Chinese migrants in small-scale mining has resulted in the militarisation of the sector leading to the influx of several arms. Upon the exit of these migrants, there are fears that these weapons might find their way into the hands of criminals who would use them to perpetuate all sorts of crimes.

4.3 Recommendations

The problems associated with small-scale mining are an age old problem that several governments over the years have struggled to resolve. The issue has shot to prominence with the influx of Chinese migrants and foreign nationals into the sector. The government must not see it as a one-sided problem and assume deportation of foreign nationals involved in the sector would resolve the problem as is currently being pursued. It is reported that some of the indigenes who
gave prominence to the issue of Chinese migrants involvement in small-scale mining were themselves involved in the business but are only advocating for the arrest of the Chinese because they are driving them out of business.

The first step in curbing the influx of Chinese migrants depends on strengthening governance institutions especially the security agencies. Members of some state and security agencies over the period have been implicated in the influx of illegal migrants and the ability of these migrants to obtain small arms and weapons. Security sector reforms such as creating stronger borders, robust migration laws, logistic support, training and good conditions of service are very important. Border controls at the country’s entry points must be tightened and monitored by a multiplicity and layers of security agencies to provide the necessary checks and balances. Whilst the Ghana Immigration Service must be strengthened to play its lead role more effectively at the various entry points, there should also be a Special Task Force which will monitor the activities of the Ghana Immigration Service. Technology in terms of close circuit cameras and other state of the art devices must be used at the country’s entry points to monitor the entry of foreign nationals especially the Chinese into the country. This will help provide a good data base on the number of foreigners who enter the country at any time. Collaboration with the Immigration Services of neighbouring countries and the various Airlines must also be strengthened to effectively monitor the movement of foreigners into the country.

Good intelligence is also needed for the security agencies to identity where Chinese the Chinese operate. There is the need to build the capacity of the various intelligence agencies to strengthen the ability to identify and prevent the Chinese from engaging in small-scale mining. A special
intelligence unit which is well resourced could be set up by National Security to monitor the activities of Chinese small-scale miners.

The government needs to develop an appropriate, comprehensive and transparent policy and regulatory framework that focuses on the management of small-scale mining in the country by the Minerals Commission. Processes must be put in place to ensure that those who seek mining concessions have the necessary financial capacity to operate these concessions so that they don’t end up selling the concessions to Chinese immigrants. After the concessions have been awarded, there should be a regular monitoring mechanism in place to ensure that the concessions are being operated by Ghanaians and according to laid down environmental standards. This monitoring must include the security agencies in the communities where the concessions have been awarded. Technology should also be used to monitor these mining areas to identity the real people who operate the mining concessions that have been awarded.

Additionally, since, the locals who have the mining concessions are selling their concessions to the Chinese and also aiding their migration into Ghana due to need for capital to exploit their resources, it is important for the government to support the indigenes with some form of financial assistance or seek partnership agreements with some of the small-scale miners. This will provide them with the much needed capital to do their business.

There is also the need to strengthen the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) to enable it monitor the activities of small-scale miners to prevent the destruction of the environment
especially water bodies. This would go a long way to limit the destruction of the nations’ water bodies and prevent any environmental conflict.

Traditional leaders must also be partnered by the various state agencies so that the activities of Chinese could be nibbed in the bud before it degenerates into full blown conflicts between the locals and Chinese. There must be general education in the mining communities on how immediately inform the appropriate authorities when Chinese migrants start to engage in small-scale mining activities in their communities.

The government must also pursue developmental projects in these mining communities so these Chinese migrants will not go and lure the local leaders with basic developmental projects which the government could have provided. There is the need for government to constantly engage people of the mining communities for their basic concerns to be addressed.

Finally, there is the need for the government to effectively collaborate with the Government of China through their Embassy in Ghana to educate Chinese people who want to go into mining on the rules of the country when it comes to small-scale mining. The Embassy staff must sometimes be sent to some of these mining sites to give them first-hand information on the damage being done to the environment by these miners.
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APPENDIX
UNIVERSITY OF GHANA
LECIAD
STRUCTURED INTERVIEW GUIDE

The purpose of this interview is to collect data for a study on the infiltration of Chinese Migrants into small scale mining in Ghana and its implication for national security. The data being collected for this study would be used solely for academic purpose. All respondents are assured that strict confidentiality would be observed in handling data provided.

SECTION I: BACKGROUND INFORMATION
1. Name of Organisation .................................................................
2. Position of Key Respondent ..........................................................

SECTION II: CHINESE MIGRANTS INVOLVEMENT IN SMALL SCALE MINING
3. In general terms, what accounts for the influx of Chinese nationals in Ghana?
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4. What institutional data exists on numbers of Chinese immigrants in the country?
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5. Where are new Chinese immigrants settling, and what determines their choice of location in Ghana?
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6. What accounts for the increasing numbers of Chinese migrants’ infiltration into the small scale mining sector?

7. What is the effect of Chinese migrants’ involvement in small scale-mining on the following areas of national security?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Threat</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Human Security</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Economic Security |  

| Environmental Security |  

80
8. In your opinion, which of one these three aspects of our national security is most threatened by infiltration of Chinese migrants into small scale mining?

9. Please provide reasons for your response?

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10. Based on your reports, how are ordinary Ghanaians responding to the increasing presence of Chinese migrants?
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11. Why are state institutions finding it difficult to deal with the menace of Chinese migrant’s involvement in small-scale mining?
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12. How can the challenges posed by Chinese/foreign nationals involvement in small-scale mining be resolved?
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