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THIS DISSERTATION IS SUBMITTED TO THE UNIVERSITY OF GHANA, LEGON, IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF THE MASTER OF ARTS DEGREE IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

LEGON JUly 2015
DECLARATION

With the exception of reference to other works which I have duly acknowledged, I hereby declare that this dissertation is the result of an original research conducted by me under the supervision of Dr. (Mrs). Afua Boatema Yakohene and that no part of it has been submitted anywhere else for any purpose.

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DATE:……………………………………………

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my dear wife, Agnes Apodita Abota, who sacrificed a lot to enable me get to this level, and to my children for their unflinching support throughout this journey.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Glory be to God Almighty.

First and foremost, my profound gratitude goes to my supervisor, Dr. Mrs. Afua Boatemaa Yakohene, for her unrelenting support and guidance throughout the conduct of this study.

Further, I am extremely grateful to officials of all the institutions who granted access to very confidential information for the completion of this dissertation. This also goes to all the members of the Ghanaian communities in United Kingdom, Canada and Germany.

I acknowledge and appreciate all my friends, course mates, and colleagues at work, who contributed in diverse ways to support the conduct of this study.

My final appreciation goes to everyone who has directly and/or indirectly made an input which has led to the successful completion of this dissertation.
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CRC</td>
<td>Constitutional Review Commission</td>
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<tr>
<td>DAB</td>
<td>Diaspora Affairs Bureau</td>
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<tr>
<td>GDU</td>
<td>Ghanaian Diaspora Unions</td>
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<td>GIS</td>
<td>Ghana Immigration Service</td>
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<td>GIPC</td>
<td>Ghana Investment Promotion Centre</td>
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<tr>
<td>GRA</td>
<td>Ghana Revenue Authority</td>
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<tr>
<td>GSGDA</td>
<td>Ghana Shared Growth Development Agenda</td>
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<tr>
<td>IOM</td>
<td>International Organization for Migration</td>
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<tr>
<td>MDAs</td>
<td>Ministries Departments and Agencies</td>
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<tr>
<td>MFA&amp;RI</td>
<td>Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration</td>
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<tr>
<td>MOH</td>
<td>Ministry of Health</td>
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<tr>
<td>MIB</td>
<td>Migration Information Bureau</td>
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<td>MIDA</td>
<td>Migration for Development in Africa</td>
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<td>NRGS</td>
<td>Non-Resident Ghanaians Secretariat</td>
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<tr>
<td>ROPAA</td>
<td>Representation of People Amendment Act</td>
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<tr>
<td>ROPAL</td>
<td>Representation of the People Amendment Law</td>
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ABSTRACT

It is indisputable that Ghanaians in the diaspora are capable of making significant contributions to the political and socio-economic development of Ghana through financial resources as well as acquired human and social capital. Under different political dispensation since independence, various governments have pursued several initiatives such as the Pan African Festival (PANAFEST), Emancipation Day celebration, enactment of the Citizen’s Act 2000, the Returnees Project, Homecoming Summits and Presidential interactions with Ghanaian communities abroad aimed at tapping into the rich professional skills and financial resources of the diaspora to drive investment and national development. This has helped Ghana position herself strategically as a fully-fledged middle-income country. The study focuses on two specific objectives which are to assess the initiatives, programmes and projects instituted by various governments since 2000 towards engaging the Ghanaian diaspora for national development and secondly to ascertain how effective or otherwise the current diaspora engagement policies have contributed to Ghana’s socio-economic development. Using a qualitative research design, the study finds that a well formulated and executed Diaspora Engagement Policy would contribute effectively towards harnessing the resources of the diaspora for national development. The study concludes that Ghana is yet to benefit fully from the diaspora because the objectives of the engagement policies have not been fully achieved.
CHAPTER ONE

RESEARCH DESIGN

1.1 Background to the Study

The emergence of the diaspora as a major developmental actor in an increasingly interdependent and globalising world has reshaped and redirected government-engaging policies towards its “outer citizens”.\(^1\) It is acknowledged that individuals, groups and communities in the diaspora are capable of making significant contributions to the political and socio-economic development of their home countries through financial resources as well as acquired human and social capital that they may have accumulated in the destination country.

Kapur notes that diaspora often constitutes an amazing pool of talent and expertise for a nation’s economic growth and development.\(^2\) Diaspora, literally meaning ‘dispersion’ is one of the main concepts used in this study. The concept, as defined by Gabriel Scheffer\(^3\) involves “ethnic minority groups of migrant origins residing and acting in host countries but maintaining strong sentimental and material links with their countries of origin and their homeland”. The term diaspora can also refer to a process, a condition, a space and a discourse. According to the International Organization of Migration,\(^4\) “emigrants and their descendants who live outside the country of their birth or ancestry either on a temporary or permanent basis, yet maintain effective ties to their country of origin” can be described as Diaspora. The definition of African Diaspora entails various complexities and also highlights the reality of multiple identities and development.\(^5\) The African Union has defined the African Diaspora to consist of “persons of African origin living outside the continent irrespective of their citizenship and nationality and who are willing to contribute to the development of the continent and the building of the African
Union”. The African Diaspora also refers to “the geographic dispersal of peoples whose ancestors within historical memory, originally came from Africa but are currently domiciled, or claim residence or citizenship, outside the continent of Africa.” In the Ghanaian context, the diaspora entails all Ghanaians living outside the territory of Ghana. They have the capability to accelerate continental and national development towards the acquisition, usage and application of knowledge. They are also in a very good position to facilitate access to financial flows from their host countries to facilitate development on the continent.

Migration as a concept has often been confused with other terms such as emigration and immigration. According to Butler, 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. Internal migration involves the movement of persons to a new home within a country whilst external migration involves the movement of persons to a new home in a different country. Emigration is the activity of leaving one country to move to another whereas immigration is the moving of persons into a new country. There is an ongoing debate on the positives and negatives of migration in developing countries. Migration is usually motivated by push factors which include conflicts, low wages, and poor employment avenues in the home country, and pull factors which include relative peace, well paid jobs and better working conditions in developed and more industrialized countries.

In the 1970s, it was common for scholars to allude to the fact that migration had a negative toll on the development of a country due to the effects of brain drain which included the transfer of professional medical officers to foreign lands to seek greener pastures. However, in the last
decade, governments have realized that emigrants contribute a great deal of benefits toward national development.\textsuperscript{10} For example, it is estimated that within the last decade, Ghanaians abroad sent between US$7.0 – 10.0 billion as remittances into Ghana, making them valuable assets to the nation.\textsuperscript{11} These substantial inflows are expected to increase as the government steps up efforts to mainstream concerns of the diaspora’s role in national development strategies and plans. One of the key questions on migration concerns its benefits and costs for the receiving economies. Migration in the short run has adverse effects on labour market opportunities of the resident country’s working population and this forms the reason for opposition to migration policies.

It has been difficult to estimate with any measure of certainty the number of Ghanaians in the diaspora. The Ghana Foreign Ministry, through its missions abroad, estimate that the total number of people of Ghanaian origin living in Europe, Canada and the United States is about 500,000 in 2006. The European Union has estimated the number of Ghanaians in the diaspora as being between 1.5 million and 3 million within the same period.\textsuperscript{12} There is, however, no doubt about how significant the number of Ghanaians living abroad is.

To ensure their active participation in national development efforts, Ghanaians in the diaspora and people of African descent, including those who wish to return and settle permanently in Ghana or invest in the Ghanaian economy, have in the past been given special recognition and incentives to encourage them to reconnect to their roots so that they can be integrated into Ghana's developmental efforts.\textsuperscript{13} One of the many key incentives put forward by successive governments to harness the potential of the diaspora is the \textit{Right of Abode} in the Ghana
Immigration Act 2000, Act 573\(^\text{14}\). Another legislation is the Representation of the People Amendment Law (ROPAL) passed in 2006, which allows Ghanaians living abroad to exercise their franchise in general elections conducted in Ghana.

In April 2014, the Ghana government through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration (MFA&RI) established the Diaspora Affairs Bureau to put together an action plan for the development of a Diaspora Engagement Policy of Ghana\(^\text{15}\). The overall objective of the plan of action is to enhance the Government of Ghana's capacity to engage the diaspora in national development strategies and plans by focusing on two (2) areas. The first is the provision of support for the development of an intended Ghanaian Diaspora Engagement Policy with a view of facilitating stronger cooperation between the Government of Ghana and the diaspora. The second area of interest is the strengthening of the technical and institutional capacities of the officers that handle diaspora relations in the Foreign Affairs Ministry and other institutions.

1.2 Statement of the Research Problem

The government of Ghana has over the years, particularly, since the year 2000, pursued several initiatives such as the Pan African Festival (PANAFEST), Emancipation Day, the Joseph Project, the Returnees Project, Homecoming Summits, Listening Events and presidential interactions with Ghanaian communities abroad to effectively harness the huge potential of the Ghanaian diaspora\(^\text{16}\). High on the agenda of these initiatives has been how best governments can tap into the rich professional skills and financial resources of the diaspora for investment and national development as Ghana positions herself strategically as a fully-fledged middle-income country\(^\text{17}\).
Some successes along with challenges have greeted these afore-mentioned initiatives. An assessment of the government’s engagement of the Ghanaian diaspora towards national development is imperative for the formulation and implementation of policy alternatives. Much attention has not been paid to this problem as literature on the subject matter is limited. Without an evaluation of these engagement policies, the Ghanaian government will not be able to assess the impact of these policies and how it has influenced the diaspora to contribute substantial resources towards national development.

1.3 Research Questions

The research questions of this study are:

- What are the policies and programmes that various governments have rolled out to engage the Ghanaian diaspora towards national development between 2000 and 2014?
- To what extent did these policies succeed in promoting socio-economic development?
- How can these policies be re-invigorated in the light of current global trends and aligned with Ghana’s developmental priorities in order to fully benefit from the enormous opportunities that the diaspora offers?

1.4 Objectives of the Study

The overall objective of this study is to assess the engagement policies of Ghana formulated and implemented between 2000 and 2014. Specifically, they are broken down as follows:

- To assess the initiatives, programmes and projects instituted by governments since 2000 to engage the Ghanaian diaspora for national development.
• To ascertain how effective or otherwise the current diaspora engagement policies have contributed to socio-economic development.

• To ascertain how these policies can be re-invigorated in the light of current global trends and aligned with Ghana’s developmental priorities in order to fully benefit from the enormous opportunities that the diaspora offers.

1.5 Scope

The study interrogates initiatives and activities rolled out between 2000 and 2014, due to increased efforts by the NPP and NDC administrations to effectively engage and harness the potential of the Ghanaian diaspora for national development. This period marks an era of greater awareness of the need for enhanced diaspora relations and as such most of Ghana’s diaspora policies were developed during that time.

1.6 Rationale

This study offers various stakeholders such as governments, diaspora, etc. the opportunity to maintain or redevelop foreign policies to engage Ghanaians in the diaspora, so as to maximize the benefits derived from them, as well as the benefits they derive from the state. The work contributes to ongoing discussions on diaspora engagement policies with the aim of underscoring the need for governments to always ensure that policies targeted at the diaspora are undertaken in a more concerted manner to inure to the development of the state.
1.7 Hypothesis

A well formulated and executed Diaspora Engagement Policy will contribute effectively towards harnessing the diaspora for national development.

1.8 Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework of the study is transnationalism, and it describes the tendency among immigrants, particularly in recent decades to maintain ties with their country of origin while also integrating into their country of destination. Diaspora and transnationalism are important concepts in both political and policy debates and academic research. Diaspora has become a politicised notion while transnational approaches have not yet found entry into public debates to the same degree. While diaspora is a very old concept, transnationalism is relatively new. Not only in public debates but also in academic analysis, the terms have fuzzy boundaries and often overlap.

During the early 1970s, scholars in the field of international relations coined the term ‘transnationalism’ to describe the growth of non-state institutions and governance regimes acting across national boundaries. The emergence of transnationalism as a key field of study in international migration proceeded rapidly in the latter part of the 1990s. Across a range of disciplines, academics sought to define and trace the development of transnational communities and practices, and examine the ramifications for identity and citizenship in an increasingly globalized world. According to Basch et al., the economic, political and social relations of migrants create social fields that cross international boundaries, thus migrants are confronted by social exclusion in both origin and destination, and a need for family reproduction in the face of
economic and political insecurity. In this case, Portes et al.\textsuperscript{24} stresses that, for migration to be described as ‘transnational’, it needs to involve a significant number of people engaging in ‘sustained social contacts over time’, with more than just occasional trips and activities across national borders.

In transnationalism, the focus is on the capabilities of migrants to participate in activities that transcend national borders. The capabilities in this instance, are the extent to which individuals and communities identify with the social, economic or political processes in their home countries, which is a prerequisite for them to engage in transnational activities. Practically, the capability of individuals, families and communities to become involved in transnationalism may depend on their skills and resources available, which in turn influences the length of time and opportunity structures in their countries of destination.\textsuperscript{25} The capabilities also focus the internal organization and the level of motivation of the migrants to maintain group solidarity, especially, the extent to which communities in different host countries collaborate and mobilize for a common purpose, or even identify with that purpose. According to Portes, transnationalism has at least three distinct dimensions: economic, political and cultural.\textsuperscript{26} The economic dimension is embodied in the vastly increased flows of migrant remittances. Some “transmigrants” (as they are sometimes described) have also developed a distinctive form of entrepreneurship, selling goods from their country of origin to fellow migrants (and, subsequently, to natives). Landolts notes that, those in the destination countries also sell goods produced in the county of destination to non-migrants in the origin country.\textsuperscript{27} The political dimension of transnationalism allows migrants to continue to vote in their country of origin, perhaps, while also voting in the destination country, if they have dual citizenship. The cultural dimension of transnationalism
follows from and reinforces the other two components: in maintaining economic and political ties with their country of origin, migrants are less likely to discard cultural endowments such as language, music and arts, and maintain a more pervasive sense of identity.

Vertovec identifies six themes in trying to understand and conceptualize the term transnationalism, these are, social morphology, consciousness, cultural reproduction, avenue of capital, political engagement and reconstruction of place or locality. According to Vertovec, transnationalism refers to both social space and consciousness which suggests that a group is transnational in social spaces and must therefore possess a transnational consciousness.

Anthropologists, such as Glick-Schiller et. al., Szanton-Blanc and Basch were among the pioneers of the concept of transnationalism as they investigated the phenomenon. They described transnational migration as the cross-border processes of migrant groups whose social relations and practices form a connection between two or more states. According to Basch et. al, transnationalism was “a process by which transmigrants, through their daily activities, forge and sustain multi-stranded social, economic, and political relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement, and through which they create transnational social fields that cross-national borders”. According to Basch et al, modern day migrants are quite different from the later nineteenth and early twentieth century immigrants in terms of purpose. Whilst these earlier migrants generally broke away from their homeland societies and embraced the social and economic practices of their receiving country, today’s migrants do not sever links with their ancestral homeland by building and maintaining links with both their country of origin and destination country.
The key assumption underlying the concept of transnationalism is that migration can no longer be seen as a one-dimensional journey, that is, as a simple change from living in one country to another. Instead, many migrants continue to maintain strong ties with their country of origin in their new living environment, whether in an economic, political or cultural sense. Also the sending countries have become increasingly involved in the “migrant community” of the receiving country and they set priorities and pursue their own interests.

Critics of transnationalism such as Nagel\textsuperscript{35} think that transnationalism is potentially a dangerous conflation; Nagel\textsuperscript{36} explains that, transnationalism is often used interchangeably with ‘international’, ‘multinational’, ‘global’ and ‘diasporic’. There is also the problem of suggesting that all migrants engage in transnationalism, because of its similarity to other concepts like migration, but the difference lies in the maintenance of constant ties with home country. Some scholars such as Lucassen\textsuperscript{37} argue that the distinction between global, international, and transnational should be made clear. Alternative terms, such as “translocalism,”\textsuperscript{38} “bi-localism,”\textsuperscript{39} “bi-nationalism”\textsuperscript{40} and “trans-state activity”\textsuperscript{41} were proposed.

Elrick\textsuperscript{42} states that transnationalism, theoretically, as a concept, fails to explain transnational migration. Authors like Dahinden\textsuperscript{43} argue that scholars should focus on other dimensions of transnationalism, not just linking it to what it is already known about it. Waldinger & Fitzgerald\textsuperscript{44} claimed that migrants have always maintained ties to their countries of origin therefore, there was little new about the concept.
Again, Elrick\textsuperscript{45} questions the empirical attributes of transnationalism to represent a phenomenon in its own right and highlights the similarities with concepts like globalisation. He further argues that too many claims were based on case studies, particularly of Latin American and Caribbean migrants, who have a particular social and historical relationship to the United States.\textsuperscript{46}

Furthermore, the critics indicate that the range of social actors covered by transnationalism has widened to include not just transmigrants, but also social movements, advocacy networks, business networks, religious organisations and, increasingly, criminal and terrorist networks. This is an indication that the concept of transnationalism is likely to fuel criminal activities across national borders. According to Arquilla and Ronfeldt\textsuperscript{47} current security discourse often place migration, cross-border crime and terrorism together as external threats.

The relevance of transnationalism to this study is that, it cuts across economic, political and cultural aspects which are the three distinct dimensions of the concept, and these are the areas that this work seeks to assess with regard to the diaspora policies in Ghana.

1.9 Literature Review

Migration serves as an opportunity and a challenge to many countries.\textsuperscript{48} The benefits of migration include the transfer of capital, information and technology thus making migration a major agent of change for countries in the 21\textsuperscript{st} century. On the negative side, migration can rip countries off their human capital through the effects of brain drain, thus, hindering development. According to Atuguba,\textsuperscript{49} some push and pull factors account for the migration of people. High level of unemployment, low wages, poor socio-economic conditions, poor governance and
political instability are amongst the factors that push people to migrate. The pull factors, however, include quality education, better wages, good socio-economic conditions and political stability. Atuguba\textsuperscript{50} however holds the view that, cheap cost of transportation, communication and low cost of financing migration further increase the tendencies for one to migrate. One fifth of the world’s migrants are from sub-Saharan Africa and it is also projected that by 2025, 10 percent of Africans would migrate to other continents because of these push and pull factors.\textsuperscript{51}

Atuguba\textsuperscript{52} asserts that, remittances in Ghana are very important because they help in the alleviation of poverty. Ghanaians abroad send monies to their families back home so that they can cater for their daily expenses. Even though he admits to the dangers of governments’ reliance on remittances which includes higher interest rates in receiving countries which will lead to dollarization and subsequently, weaken government’s will to maintain fiscal discipline thorough excessive borrowing. Governments tend to overspend hoping for growing inflows of remittances to help shore up the debt. Atuguba\textsuperscript{53} believes that, by formulating sound policies the country will receive more remittances than foreign direct investment and official development assistance to meet the developmental needs of the receiving country.

Currently, Ghana lacks a comprehensive and a composite migration policy or act. However, some aspects of migration can be found in different legislations and acts such as the Ghana Investment Promotion Centre Act (GIPC)\textsuperscript{54} and the Immigration Regulations Act 2000. Atuguba\textsuperscript{55} argues that when there is a comprehensive policy on migration, administrators and policy actors can have a clear cut operation procedure and strategies to manage migration in the country to harness the developmental capabilities of the Ghanaian diaspora.
The effort of GIPC to bring Ghanaians living abroad and non-resident Ghanaians back to Ghana to contribute their acquired skills and resources to the development of the nation is a laudable one. Yet, it will also impact negatively on the remittances that it receives into the country. This calls for an evaluation of the “pros and cons” of each engagement policy and its impact on socio-economic development.

Awumbia et. al.,\textsuperscript{56} profess a similar observation\textsuperscript{57}. Touching on the Ghanaian migration and engagement policies, Awumbia et. al.,\textsuperscript{58} state that “Ghana lacks a well-defined, well-articulated and all-encompassing migration policy and this obviously makes the management of migration difficult”. Successive governments have over the years, since the post-independence era, formulated policies and programme to manage migration for socio-economic development. According to Awumbia et. al.,\textsuperscript{59} Ghana pursued a liberal migration policy under Dr. Kwame Nkrumah’s Convention Peoples Party to enhance the Pan-Africanist ideological orientation and position in African unity issues.\textsuperscript{60} The launching of the Ghana Dual Citizenship Regulation in 2002 and the establishment of Ministry for Tourism and Diasporan Relations in 2004 were purposely to enhance access to the contribution of Ghanaian international migrants while meeting some of their needs.\textsuperscript{61} To further stress on the importance of migration, the Non-Resident Ghanaians Secretariat (NRGS) was set up in May 2003 by the Ghana Investment Promotion Centre (GIPC) and the office of the National Economic Dialogue to promote further links with Ghanaians abroad and to encourage their return to Ghana for nation-building.

The Government of Ghana further passed the Representation of People Amendment Act (ROPAA)\textsuperscript{62} to engage the Ghanaian diaspora to contribute to the development of the country
through exercising of their right to vote. This implies that, the current migration situation has the potential to impact on Ghana’s political development which includes issues of transnationalism, return migration and feminization of migration. A holistic diaspora engagement policy in Ghana will take into account the multifaceted nature of migration and also incorporate engagement policies into the development agenda of the country.

Badasu asserts that, the role of the diaspora in the socio-economic development of Ghana has been aided by multilateral and bilateral donors. He maintains that, the capacity and framework to formulate and implement appropriate strategies and policies will promote and consolidate diaspora participation towards socio-economic development. Badasu describes the ad hoc basis of engagement as an unsustainable process of translating such diaspora engagements into socio-economic development of the Ghanaian economy. The inconsistencies in the Ghanaian government’s pronouncements with regards to the developmental role of the diaspora and the lack of concrete national action plans and engagement policies have led to segmental community development instead of a holistic and comprehensive approach that is nationally designed and coordinated. According to Badasu, “the limitations associated with the Dual Citizenship Law and the lack of political will and commitment towards implementing the Representation of People’s Amendment Law to allow non-resident Ghanaians to vote in national elections” gives evidence to his assertion.

Nilsson asserts that, there has been a paradigm shift in the acceptance of the migration development nexus since the new millennium from the common knowledge of the negative influences of local socio-economic development in the 1970’s. In 2006, The United Nations
reported the massive positive gains of international migration, and its significant contribution to the development of both the destination and home country. With the focus on policies of the diaspora engagement, the benefits of migration have hinged on the transnational ties between the Diasporas and their homeland. This is, however, an indication of the neglect in the study of the state’s role in the provision of an institutional framework to harness the full potential and benefits of the diaspora through proactive interactions. This means that, the state should not sit back and channel the benefits of the diaspora towards socio economic development on the wishes and impulses of the diaspora but rather, formulate and implement policies to initiate the interaction process between the diaspora and the state. Gamlen\textsuperscript{69} believes that, states can engage in policies such as money remitting policies, dual citizenship, absentee voting reforms and cultural enriching programmes so as to maximize the benefits of the diaspora towards national development.

What Nilsson\textsuperscript{70} fails to tackle in his study on the engagement policies of the Ghanaian diaspora is to examine the impact of the policies implemented. Nevertheless, Nilsson was able to identify and classify the various engagement policies of Ghana in an analytical frame work (Table 1.1). Nilsson’s\textsuperscript{71} study on diaspora engagement policies has two specific contributions: Firstly, it expands the study of diaspora engagement into the sub-Saharan African context by identifying policies formulated and implemented in Ghana. The empirical analysis of diaspora policies in Ghana according to Nilsson\textsuperscript{72} shows that state institutions in Ghana have since 2000 pursued diaspora engagement policies. However, political relations seem to have been pursued more than socio-economic or cultural ones. Nilsson\textsuperscript{73} describes this observation as strange because “one would assume that the state would be most interested in harnessing the economic potential of the
diaspora”. As Nilsson\textsuperscript{74} states, “The most remarkable policy void concerns remittances while the most intensive engagement, on the other hand, arguably takes place within the party structures, which have become impressively transnational”. Yet, he had not come across any publication taking note of such extensive ties between political parties and Ghanaian diaspora. In his conclusion, Nilsson\textsuperscript{75} asserts that, the lack of data on volume, characteristics and residents of migrants coupled with the lack of administrative capacity in the home state and missions abroad are key shortfalls responsible for the failure of the state to harness the true potential of the diaspora’s contribution towards nation building and development. He further asserts that the scenario is worsened when the embassies abroad are mere extensions of the political party in power. He further summarized Ghana’s Diaspora engagement policies and comment between 2000 and 2001 which can be found in the table below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>POLICY</th>
<th>COMMENT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Political Engagement</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Absentee Voting</td>
<td>Granted by ROPAA (Act 699) which was passed in 2006. However still awaits implementation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dual Citizenship</td>
<td>Implemented in 2002. See the Citizenship Act 2000 (Act 591) Section 16. However bars the holder from certain public offices.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Administrative Support</td>
<td>An NRGS was instituted in 2003 but is now ‘missing’. The missions abroad interact discreetly with Ghanaians with varying degrees of engagement. A Diaspora Support Unit will hopefully be instituted in 2011.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diaspora Consultation</td>
<td>The CRC held consultations abroad in March and April 2011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transnational Parties</td>
<td>Party ties with the diaspora are very strong.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recruiting emigrants as lobbyists</td>
<td>It is happening, according to Mr. Owiredu.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Economic Engagement

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Economic Engagement</th>
<th>The importance of capturing diaspora contributions is emphasized in the most recent development strategy, GSGDA.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Including the diaspora in the National Development Strategy</td>
<td>Ghana is set to reach agreements on the portability of pensions according to Mr. Archer at MOESW.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pension Portability</td>
<td>Allows emigrants to keep money in domestic banks, but has attracted little interest, according to Dr. Addison.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign-Currency Bank Accounts</td>
<td>A Golden Jubilee Bond open to the diaspora was created in 2007. It attracted around $1.14 million from external buyers (Ghanaian and non-Ghanaian).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diaspora Bonds</td>
<td>Engagements with diaspora members</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Investment Promotion</td>
<td>The MIDA Ghana Health project is bringing home doctors in the diaspora on a temporary basis.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temporary return programs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Cultural engagement

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cultural engagement</th>
<th>President Kufuor took note of the diaspora in his inaugural speech of 2001. President Mills did not, however, in his address eight years later. The president, ministers, and MPs often visit diaspora communities abroad</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Recognition</td>
<td>Panafest and Emancipation Day are targeted at Africans in the diaspora, but plausibly attract some Ghanaians abroad as well</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emigrant Tourism Schemes</td>
<td>Homecoming Summit of 2001. (Maybe a mini-version of this Summit in 2011 or 2012.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diaspora Conference</td>
<td>Some reductions are available for humanitarian donations, but these apply to all philanthropists, not only those of Ghanaian origin.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Facilitating remittances in kind</td>
<td>Source: Nilsson (2011)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Smith,\(^{76}\) provides an evolutionary escapade in the reasoning behind the formulation of some key diaspora engagement policies in Ghana. According to Smith,\(^{77}\) the deepening economic crises which made both military and democratically elected countries to engage the external donors to help recover the economy (Structural Adjustment Programme, Economic Recovery Program,
Highly Indebted Poor Country (HIPC) Initiative) led to the realisation of the important role of the Ghanaian diaspora to the economy. Thus, beyond domestic reforms, the government started engaging the Ghanaian diaspora more rigorously by attempting to gain their support. Notable among these initiatives was the Dual Citizenship Regulation Act which enables Ghanaians living abroad to contribute their quota and resources towards national development. According to Bump the act allowed the citizens to retain the right to participate economically and politically towards national development even if they become citizens of other countries.

The Ghanaian government in 2001 organized a home-coming summit which sought to engage the Ghanaian diaspora to discuss their role in socio-economic development. The success of this summit, paved the way for the establishment of the Non Resident Ghanaian Secretariat at the GIPC with the main objective of engaging the Ghanaian diaspora towards socio-economic development of their homeland.

The contribution of the diaspora to national development in countries of origin is both an individual and collective undertaking. Transnational engagement policies and participation is in tune with commitments on the part of the governments and the diaspora. Ong’ayo suggests that, these practices and commitments can emanate from opportunities created by political structures and institutions that help the diaspora to form a positive attitude towards the mobilization of their resources and participate in their country of origin’s development. The success of these engagement and participation relationships is further enhanced by the assemblage of materials such as knowledge, technology and culture, which come together to enhance national development.
According to Oucho, in developed and developing countries discussions on the involvement of the diaspora on homeland development dominate the public discourse, even though it rarely features in national policies. Since the 1980s, African international migration has been viewed as an important resource for development in African countries in terms of the diaspora and remittances. However there is unanimity on evidence and conclusions that more work is still required on the Diaspora migration development linkages and policies so as to enjoy the benefits of the diaspora. According to Sørensen, there are three main components of conceptualizing the international migration development nexus. The first component is combating the root causes of migration by reducing migration and refugee flows by generating local development, preventing and resolving conflicts and retaining refugees in neighbouring or first countries of asylum. Second component is the paradoxical concept of “migration hump” whereby economic policies can reduce migration in the long term, but increase in the short term. Finally, the “transnational” approach is one which views internal, regional and international migration as a basic dimension of development, underlining migration as an essential condition for socio-economic development. These approaches are an indication of the role of the diaspora and remittances on development in general and poverty reduction in particular which tend to address issues either within their disciplinary pursuits or based on anecdotal evidence given either sporadically or with complete lack of empirical evidence in Africa.

Empirically, there is evidence of unskilled migrants remitting more of their income more regularly than their skilled migrants comparing the opportunity cost of investing in the destination countries and remitting funds back home. In this regard, unskilled, lower income migrants are better poised to combat poverty and sustain survival of households in their home
countries. Moreover, there is a tendency for the poorer, lower calibre migrants to embrace the extended family system which, among other things, combats poverty, than the higher calibre, better resourced and individualistic migrants who are less inclined to send remittances back home for poverty reduction among the recipients.

According to Ochua, remittances and poverty reduction in Africa is a step in the right direction, thus there should be a need for policies to find a place in the AU frameworks and national development programmes. For African countries to harness the diaspora and remittances in their development process, they should formulate policies in which involve the diaspora, improve the investment environment and be constantly responsive to changes positively affecting the utilisation of the two resources. Policy frameworks and programmes targeting the diaspora and remittances could benefit from those already elaborated in Latin America where the two resources have made significant contributions. Some African countries like Ghana have incorporated the contribution of their diaspora and remittances in national development planning and programmes such as the GPRS II.

African countries who have sustained engagement with the diaspora have multiple facets of development opportunities. There exists an ambiguity in analysing the impact of migration and poverty on each other, Waddington and Sabates-Wheeler stipulate that poverty may induce people to migrate to improve their livelihoods and that migrants may in turn become further impoverished and more vulnerable. Social remittances to African countries have been neglected by research community, policy makers and national planners. This means that Africa needs a series of African Migration Surveys (AMS) in terms of the Demographics Surveys. Internal and
international migration and their inherent consequences should be factored in the MDGs as well the numerous national specific-terminal year “visions” thereby making them an integral part of mitigating and eventually eradicating poverty from the African scene.⁹⁷

According to Chikezie,⁹⁸ in the past 200 years of human history, the have been clear instances in which the African diaspora has played a pivotal role in the affairs of Africa. One example is freed slaves, such as Olaudah Equiano, who found their way to 18th century London and played a leading role in the abolition of the Atlantic Slave Trade and in setting the sail for the first ship of people hoping to resettle back in Africa, starting with what became known as Freetown, today the capital of Sierra Leone. In trying to engage the African diaspora to contribute to their home country developments, he asserts that African governments should pay attention to four key principles which are:

i. Not only be inclusive but be seen as inclusive

ii. Orient engagement efforts around clearly defined development outcomes and results (as opposed to indulging in tokenism, propaganda, or public relations)

iii. Know and understand the diaspora and meet members half way

iv. Be strategic in focusing on needs and priorities; that is, insist on being demand driven, not supply led, and focus on both the country’s and the diaspora’s strengths while avoiding exacerbating the weaknesses and capacity constraints of both.

To conclude, the literature on diaspora engagement policies in Ghana is scanty. And the existing literature does not review or evaluate the engagement policies. While some authors including Nilsson⁹⁹ have taken time to analyse and classify the diaspora engagement process in Ghana, i.e
into political, economic and cultural groups, others (Atuguba, Badasu 2013 and Awumbia et. al., have recommended that the migration and engagement policies of the Ghanaian diaspora should take a holistic, comprehensive and consolidated form. The purpose of this study however is to assess the engagement policies of the Ghanaian diaspora, thus the study focuses on the assessment of diaspora engagement policies and not its positive impact on socio economic development.

1.10 Research Methodology

For the purposes of this study, the qualitative research method will be employed. Taken into consideration the vast appeals of the quantitative research method and its assumed benefits of reliability and validity, the researcher finds that it falls short in the query to understand the phenomenon of diaspora relations in the specific settings of their contribution to development in Ghana. This is explained further by Nahid Golafshani in his work “Understanding Reliability and Validity in Qualitative Research” that whereas quantitative research seeks to find “causal determination, prediction, and generalization of findings”, qualitative research’s primary occupation is to seek “illumination, understanding, and extrapolation of findings to similar situations.” Furthermore, Qualitative research methodologies are often employed by researchers to seek answers to the whys and hows of human behaviour, opinion, and experience.

This justifies the use of the qualitative research method in this study to explore and understand the policies instituted by the Ghanaian government and the effectiveness in engaging the Ghanaian diaspora for the country’s development.
The researcher uses purposive and snowball sampling techniques in this study. These sampling methods were chosen because the researcher targeted institutions and people from whom certain vital information related to the objectives and research questions can be obtained, and also through whom the researcher can also get other stakeholders to interview in the course of the work. Purposive sampling represents a type of non-probability sampling technique.\textsuperscript{107} It is also known as judgmental, selective or subjective sampling. Purposive sampling is appropriate for this study because the sample being investigated is quite small and it was a suitable way to locate experts in the field of study.\textsuperscript{108} The research also made use of the snowball sampling technique to account for other potential study subjects.

In this study, the sampling size included all the agencies in Ghana in charge of diaspora relations, such as, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration, Ministry of Interior, Ministry of Tourism, Ministry of Finance, and the Ghana Investment Promotion Centre (GIPC). Also, Ghana missions abroad in the most popular Ghanaian diaspora locations, including, the United Kingdom (UK), Canada, and Germany, and the leaders of those diaspora communities were interviewed. The use of the two sampling techniques lends much credence to the reliability and validity of the data gathered and the findings of the research.

1.11 Sources of Data

The researcher employed both primary and secondary sources of data collection techniques. Semi structured interviews were conducted with the Diaspora Affairs Bureau of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration, the Ministry of Tourism, the Ghana Tourism Authority
and the Ghana Investment Promotion Centre (GIPC). Some Ghana Missions Abroad, such as, the United Kingdom (UK), Canada, and Germany, as well as leaders of Ghanaian Associations Abroad and local diaspora communities provided data through phone and email interview techniques. Secondary data sources utilized in this research includes books, articles, journals, government white papers and internet sources.

1.12 Organization of the Study
This dissertation is organised and presented in four main chapters in addition to the title page, abstract, dedication, acknowledgement, table of content, list of abbreviations and references.

a) Chapter one, contains the introduction, problem statement, research questions and hypothesis, literature review, a justification of methodology and finally the scope, rationale and limitations of the study.

b) Chapter two presents the conceptual and theoretical perspectives on diaspora-engaging policies and also takes a look at policies and institutional architecture for diaspora engagement in Ghana.

c) The third chapter focuses on the assessment of the policies, their success or otherwise in contributing to national development from 2000 to 2014.

d) The final chapter offers a summary of the findings, conclusion and recommendations.

1.13 Limitations of the Study
The main limitation was the time constraint faced in conducting this study. The researcher also had difficulty in assessing relevant information for an effective evaluation of the policies. In that regard only two of the details of the diaspora policies were available for effective evaluation. The
dual citizenship provisions in the Citizenship Act 2000 and the Ghana Homecoming Summit of 2001 were two policies evaluated in this study.
ENDNOTES


8. Ibid.


20. Ibid.


29. Ibid.


33 Ibid.
34 Ibid.

36 Ibid.

40 Ibid.

44 Ibid.
45 Elrick, T., op. cit.
46 Ibid.
48 Atuguba, R., op. cit.
49 Ibid.
50 Ibid.
51 Ibid.
52 Ibid.
53 Ibid.
55 Ibid.
57 Atuguba, R., op. cit.
58 Ibid.
59 Ibid.
61 Awumbila, E. T. al., op cit.
62 ROPAA, op cit.
63 Awumbila, E. T. al., op cit.
64 Badasu I., op cit.
65 Ibid.
66 Ibid.
67 Ibid.
68 Nilsson, K., op cit

70 Nilsson, K., op cit.
71 Ibid.
72 Ibid.
73 Ibid.
74 Ibid.

Ochua, J. O., op. cit.


Nilsson, K., op. cit.

Atuguba, R., op. cit.

Badasu I., op. cit.

Awumbila, E. T. al., op. cit.


CHAPTER TWO

DIASPORA ENGAGEMENT POLICIES AND SOCIO ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

2.0 Introduction

This chapter discusses the various conceptual perspectives on diaspora-engaging policies as well as policies and institutional architecture for diaspora engagement in Ghana will be discussed. The chapter also defines other concepts such as diaspora, policies and transnationalism.

Ghanaian governments over the years have implemented quite a number of policies to engage the Ghanaian diaspora in national development. Some government have put a number of global initiatives in place to realize the full benefits of international migration due to the increased awareness of the role of the diaspora in socio-economic development. According to Nilsson¹, diaspora engagement policies in Ghana can be grouped into three main types, economic, political and cultural engagement policies. The implementation of these engagement policies does not necessarily mean government is fully exploring the benefits of the diaspora towards national development. In many states of origin around the world, diasporas, who were purported as once deserters or traitors in the 1970s are now celebrated as national heroes and agents of socio economic transformation.² Thus, events such as diaspora congresses, and homecoming events are celebrated to honour their contributions to the ‘homeland’.
2.1 Defining Diaspora

Diaspora and transnationalism have been used interchangeably even though the two terms reflect different intellectual genealogies. The use of diaspora often denotes religious or national groups, living outside a homeland (Ghanaians living outside Ghana), whereas transnationalism often refers to migrants across countries or all sorts of social formations, such as transnationally active networks, groups and organisations. The term diaspora has become popular in both academic literature and public discourses since 2000. The concept has often been used by nationalist groups and governments to pursue agendas of nation-state-building. The concept is invoked to mobilise support for a group identity or some political project, sometimes in the service of an external homeland, such as the protection of ethnic minorities living in another state (i.e. kin state protection). Recently, even source countries of migration have used ‘diaspora’ to encourage financial investments and promote political loyalty among economically successful expatriates. Due to its politicisation in multiple ways, scholars such as Brubaker and Gamlen, have argued that, the term should be used with caution so as to properly differentiate it from other similar terms like transnationalism.

Diaspora is an old concept whose use and meaning have recently undergone various transformations. The concept originally referred only to the historic experience of the Jews and Armenians and it later extended to religious minorities in Europe. Safran defined three key characteristics from the Jewish experience that is integral to modern understandings of Diaspora. First and foremost, the idea of forced dispersal that ‘they, or their ancestors, have been dispersed from a specific original “centre”’ has created a meaning of loss displacement and exile, and this emphasises a centered origin in the formulation of diasporic identity. Secondly, diaspora
consciousness is informed by exclusion from or an uneasy relationship with host societies. Finally, Safran\textsuperscript{11} emphasises the continued relationship between diaspora communities and the homeland, whether through collective memory, political engagement, or cultural practice. Critics of Safran’s rigid definition highlight the neglects in the fluidity of diasporic identity.\textsuperscript{12}

In explaining the meanings of diaspora, Cohen\textsuperscript{13} classifies diaspora into three characteristics with old and newer usages. Firstly, the cause of migrations relates to the first characteristic and its older usage refers to forced dispersal (the Jews especially). Newer definitions refer to any kind of dispersal.\textsuperscript{14}

The second characteristic refers to cross-border experiences of homeland with destination location. Older notions of this definition imply a return to a homeland which might sometimes be imaginary.\textsuperscript{15} However, newer uses often does not necessarily mean to ‘return’ but to have a continuous linkages across borders between the homeland and destination location, due to the belief in the migration-development nexus of government and state actors.\textsuperscript{16}

The third characteristic relates to the incorporation or integration of migrants and/or minorities into the countries of settlement. The older notions of diaspora imply that members of the diaspora do not fully integrate (socially, politically, economically and culturally) into the destination country, thus, maintaining boundaries vis-à-vis the majority group(s).\textsuperscript{17} Assimilation with the majority group would mean the end of diaspora, however, newer notions of diaspora emphasises cultural hybridity in the wake of ‘dissemination’.\textsuperscript{18}
From Bauböck and Faist\textsuperscript{19} classification, the Ghanaian diaspora falls under the second characteristic of diaspora. Ghanaian, in the diaspora can be described as the migrants who maintain constant ties with their homeland. For the purposes of this dissertation, the definition of diaspora as proposed by Cohen\textsuperscript{20} will be used. This definition includes groups that voluntarily migrate for trade and labour purposes, and groups with hybrid identities allowing them to operate as members of two societies. This definition of diaspora is accepted because its emphasis on the ability to dwell both ‘here’ and ‘there’ better acknowledges the complexity and heterogeneity of identity, the emotional connections to both ‘home’ and destination location, and the possibility of belonging to different social groups simultaneously.

2.2 Transnationalism in Perspective

Transnationalism, as defined by Vertovec,\textsuperscript{21} is a “sustained cross-border relationships, patterns of exchange, affiliations, and social formations spanning nation-states”. The concept has been increasingly applied to migrant groups all over the world. The large scale of economic remittances coupled with communication improvements and the extent to which globalisation has enhanced the ability of persons to live both ‘here’ and ‘there’ has made transnationalism possible.\textsuperscript{22}

Similarly, in the view of Levitt,\textsuperscript{23} transnationalism is the means by which “ordinary people are incorporated into the countries that receive them while remaining active in the places they come from, and about how life in sending and receiving countries changes as a result”. This transnational experience impacts both the home and host country of migrants. In relation to the central matter of this study (diaspora engagement policies), transnationalism creates social fields
that “are not bounded by national borders’ but instead ‘new forms of representation and participation are emerging that do not require full membership or residence’. Therefore ‘transnationalism means going beyond the binary of emigration and immigration to understand migration and mobility as manifold processes linking together countries of origin, destination, and onward migration”.

Life in the transnational social space has been described as a ‘double engagement’. This view helps explain the migration-development nexus and the complex development linkages that emerge through diaspora. Mohan devised a three developmental category framework for analysing the developmental activities of the diaspora. In the first category, the development ‘in’ the diaspora refers to the use of diasporic connections in the immediate locality to ensure social and economic well-being of the diaspora members. The second category, development ‘through’ the diaspora expands upon development ‘in’ the diaspora engaging global, as well as local networks. The two types of development also help economic development in the host country, through trade and investment. The third category is development ‘by’ the diaspora. Mohan’s typology refers to the economic, political, social and cultural diasporic flows which facilitate development of homelands.

This dissertation builds on Mohan’s typology to consider how development ‘through’ the diaspora can apply to both the host society by looking at how the home country facilitates such development.
2.3 Ghanaian Diaspora Engagement Policies

In July 2001, President John Agyekum Kufour’s government made a significant effort to reconnect to Ghanaians in the diaspora. A three day homecoming summit, which attracted over 1500 participants, a third of which were Ghanaian diaspora were engaged in a series of events on the theme “Harnessing the Global Ghanaian Resource Potential for Accelerated National Development”. This innovative and enthusiastic recognition of the diaspora’s contributions to society sought to integrate political, economic, and cultural aspects of state-diaspora relations.

The government subsequently established the Non-resident Ghanaian Secretariat (NRGS at the Ghana Investment Promotion Centre (GIPC). However, the Secretariat failed to subsequently carry out its main tasks of “coordinating activities and serving as the Centre for projects, programmes and issues involving Ghanaians living abroad.” According to Nilsson “the Secretariat was ill-prepared to say the least for handling the multitude of crosscutting issues that diaspora relations entail because, while it is difficult to find any information regarding the fate of the NRGS, it is obvious that it was never fully implemented”. The secretariat has become a white elephant and has failed to yield any tangible outcomes for the purposes of which it was set up.

2.4 Dual Citizenship

In 2002, the Ghana government passed the Dual Citizenship Regulation Act (DCA, Act 591). This act gives Ghanaians in the diaspora the opportunity to re-acquire lost Ghanaian citizenship while retaining their present one or alternatively, keep their Ghanaian citizenship while seeking to naturalize elsewhere. An interesting aspect of this Act is the Right of Abode, which provides persons who by some reasons could not access the dual citizenship to have a diasporic visa
which facilitate visits to Ghana.\textsuperscript{37} Even though the Dual Citizenship Act provides an opportunity and gateway to diasporic engagement and relationships it certainly has some shortcomings. For example, Awumbila et. al.,\textsuperscript{38} observes that, even though the Act enables Ghanaians in the diaspora to participate politically, it bars them from holding certain public offices including the highest office of the land (the presidency). Aggorso\textsuperscript{39} further highlights that two other challenges of the Act are the high cost of registration and the legal tussle of handling and filling for dual citizenship.

\section*{2.5 Electoral Expansion}

Article 42 of the 1992 constitution of Ghana grants Ghanaian citizens living abroad or home the legal right to vote. However, the opportunity to exercise one’s franchise was limited as one must travel to their constituency in Ghana to do so. This shortcoming necessitated the government to pass the Representation of the People (Amendment) Act (ROPAA, Act 699) in 2006, which grants the opportunity for absentee voting under the John Kufuor administration. ROPAA bill was opposed by the opposition parties, because they felt the government in power at the time was going to use the Diaspora votes to rig the general election; nonetheless, some groups of non-resident Ghanaians including employees at the missions, armed forces personnel stationed overseas, and students traveling on government scholarships have the opportunity to vote by proxy. Alhassan asserts that ROPAA “was introduced amid intense controversy, although not on its principle, but rather on the possible avenues for electoral fraud it would create.”\textsuperscript{40} The Electoral Commission (EC) is charged with the task of providing the road map to implement ROPAA. The problem the EC has encountered lies in the provision of financial and operational viability of ROPAA because the Act was passed without prior feasibility study.\textsuperscript{41}
Ghanaian Diasporas, the state needs to have an idea of the volume, characteristics, and residency of emigrants in addition to a viable place of interaction, typically through the missions abroad. From the experience of the EC, one can deduce three key problems. These are the lack of administrative capacity, geographical location, and political bias.\textsuperscript{42}

2.6 Diasporic Consultations

The Constitutional Review Commission (CRC) established by the John Evans Atta Mills Administration outreach to the diaspora provided a good model of a diaspora engagement strategy that has gone through several degrees of engagement. Ghana’s Constitutional Review Commission (CRC) solicited inputs from the diaspora. The main idea behind such a noteworthy engagement consultation was to make the Ghanaians in the diaspora provide the CRC with unique insights and experience gained from their exposure to foreign political and economic systems and ideas. This is also to make the Constitutional Review exercise participatory, legitimate, and consensual as possible. This necessitates the inclusion of “every Ghanaian living everywhere”.\textsuperscript{43} Participation and consultation makes Ghanaians living abroad part of a larger society. Thus, the Ghanaian diaspora will feel that they have been included in the creation of the new constitution and perhaps been particularly valued for their unique experience and expertise.

2.7 Administrative Support

The Migration Information Bureau (MIB) at the Ghana Immigration Service (GIS) was set up in July 2006 to provide migrants with administrative support. Its purpose is to prevent irregular migration by informing potential migrants about the substantial risks associated with this kind of travel.\textsuperscript{44} It is worth noting that, this engagement with the diaspora takes place before they
migrate. It is a way for the state to maintain ties with potential diasporans. Authors like Nilsson\textsuperscript{45} and Anarfi et. al.,\textsuperscript{46} have describe the focus of the MIB as narrow and too limited because the diaspora issues are too broad and the mandate of the Information Bureau cannot cater for it.

The Ghanaian missions provide a broad array of various engagements policies. It is the duty of these missions to assure that diaspora engagement is “a major responsibility”. However there are no detailed guidelines from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional integration or from the government structuring these efforts.\textsuperscript{47} What this means is that, engagement ties and policies between missions and migrants have no central locus and are pursued by the numerous missions independently spread across the world. These engagements have led to community development projects back in Ghana instead of a nationalistic socio-economic developmental focus.\textsuperscript{48}

The fragmented diaspora engagement policies are usually spearheaded by the various Ministries, Departments and Agencies of Ghana since its establishment. The Diaspora Affairs Bureau is responsible for coordinating the activities between the ministry and the International Organization for Migration (IOM). Another key function of the Bureau is to liaise between different ministries, departments and agencies and the Ghanaian diaspora as well as organize monthly inter-ministerial meetings to enhance the contribution of the Ghanaian diaspora to the developmental efforts of the country. In the absence of an integrated diaspora engagement policy, various designated sector ministries and agencies are responsible for the administration of these policies. For example, The Ministry of Interior administers and manages the citizenship related policies such as dual citizenship, while the Ghana Revenue Authority (GRA) administers the tax exemptions toGhanaians living in the diaspora.
2.8 Remittances

The importance of remittances which constitute about 10 percent of Ghana’s GDP cannot be underestimated, yet there is no tangible public policy to harness its full benefits.\textsuperscript{49} Atuguba\textsuperscript{50} observes that, Ghana currently operates a liberalized economy, thus making it difficult to streamline and harness its true potential towards national development. The Ghana Shared Growth Development Agenda (GSGDA) mentions migration management for national development unlike previous developmental agendas such as Ghana Poverty Reduction Strategy I 2003 (GPRS I 2003) and Ghana Poverty Reduction Strategy II 2005 (GPRS II 2005). What is lacking is a concrete framework to help in the realisation of this plan. The GSGDA acknowledges the importance of the substantial amount of remittances to the country. It must be noted that the government is looking at implementing this strategy in the medium term. This study does not focus on the relevance of remittances to economic development but it takes a look at the policy framework in the engagement relationship between the Ghana government and the diaspora on remittances.

2.9 Financial Instruments

The Government of Ghana, through the Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning, has rolled out, in the last decade, a number of financial instruments to attract resources from the Diaspora for economic development.\textsuperscript{51} One of such efforts is the issuing of Jubilee bonds targeted at the Ghanaian diaspora in 2007 even though the Ghanaian diaspora contributed only six percent of the oversubscribed bonds. Financial experts such as Addison\textsuperscript{52} have called for a more solid and stable macroeconomic instrument when dealing with the Ghanaian diaspora. Such policies
should be devoid of partisan and political ties, so as to ensure optimum participation by the Ghanaian diaspora.\textsuperscript{53}

Another instrument which suffered a similar fate like the Jubilee bond is the foreign-currency bank accounts. This instrument allows the Ghanaian diaspora to keep their savings in Ghanaian banks. However, foreign currency deposits have attracted very little interest, if any at all from the diaspora.\textsuperscript{54} Addison posited that:

\begin{quote}
...the general reforms are a prerequisite; without the general reforms there is no point in trying to target the diaspora because they’re not going to bring in their resources … so the general reform is important, it’s a base line. But I think that in addition to that you need to also reach out and educate people in the diaspora on opportunities in the financial sector back at home. A lot of these people do not plan to die abroad. ... If you can convince them our financial products will help take care of their future retirement back home, I’m sure a lot of them would be interested.\textsuperscript{55}
\end{quote}

The circumstances described by Addison, bring us to the objectives of this research. Perhaps if we could evaluate and assess these diaspora engagement policies, the government can restructure, scrap, reorient and even create new engagement policies to harness the full benefits of the Ghanaian diaspora.

\subsection*{2.10 Attracting Diaspora Investments}

The Ghana Investment Promotion Centre (GIPC) is charged to attract potential investors to Ghana. To ensure its effective engagement with the diaspora, the Non-Resident Ghanaian Secretariat was instituted under the GIPC to promote homeland investments from the diaspora.\textsuperscript{56} According to Riddle et al.,\textsuperscript{57} GIPC has taken some unconventional steps to attract, assist, and incubate diaspora investments in the last decade. However, evidence proves that, there is no such diaspora engagement currently. The GIPC’s website does not reveal any such investment

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engagement tailored for the Ghanaian diaspora. Nonetheless, the engagement strategy employed by GIPC in the past was laudable as it made it possible for GIPC to partner the private sector to establish relations with the Ghanaian diaspora and to help them realise a sustainable investment option back home.\textsuperscript{58} Riddle et al\textsuperscript{59} reiterated the notion of Addison\textsuperscript{60} to use nonpartisan and if possible, private sector participation to engage the Ghanaian diaspora in order to harness their full potential towards the social economic development of Ghana.

2.11 MIDA Ghana Health Project

The collaboration between the International Organization for Migration (IOM) and the Ministry of Health (MOH) to invite health professionals in the diaspora back home to work on a temporary basis is, perhaps, one of the most positive engagement activities with the diaspora. The MIDA project offers visiting medical practitioners the opportunity to employ their expertise and experiences in local clinics and hospitals. Medical students in Ghana also have the opportunity to tap into the rich experiences of these diasporan doctors. Thus, the skills that the country once lost are being reinvested in Ghana. Sadly, this engagement program was initiated by IOM and their diaspora-convocation abilities and expertise are absolutely essential in locating and recruiting Ghanaians doctors in the diaspora. The inadequacy of financial means and the poor transnational network needed to launch the program rendered Ghana handicapped to initiate such programmes. Nonetheless, Ghana has the capacity to gradually adopt it fully.\textsuperscript{61} Non-state intermediaries have the tendency to successfully implement diasporan policies with a high degree of engagement and transnational ties. Lessons can be drawn from the benefit of the MIDA programme.\textsuperscript{62}
2.12 Cultural Engagement

Ghanaians in the diaspora are known for the cultural and social ties they maintain. They are known to simulate their native communities and practices (chieftaincy institutions) in their destination country. Chieftaincy institution and other forms of traditional heritages can help facilitate diaspora engagement because it helps to bring together a group of people who want to preserve a common heritage.

2.13 Recognition

Recognizing one’s effort for a good job done paves the way and serves as an important motivating element. In this regard, the Ghana government recognizes the efforts and contributions made by the diaspora and as such accords them the necessary respect and appreciation. In his inaugural speech in 2001, newly elected President Kufuor stated:

I must also acknowledge the contributions made by our compatriots who live outside the country... Many of you do more than send money home, many of you have kept up keen interest in the affairs at home and some of you have even been part of the struggle of the past twenty years. I salute your efforts and your hard work and I extend a warm invitation to you to come home and let us rebuild our country.

In the opinion of the researcher, this acknowledgement by President Kufour marked the first stage of the various engagement policies that were rolled out since the new millennium.

2.14 Diasporan Relations Ministry

The Diasporan Relations Ministry is under the umbrella of the Ministry of Tourism which has the mandate to mainstream Ghanaian culture into all aspects of national life. This is because the mission statement of the Ministry of Tourism is the “sustainable relationship with the diaspora for resource mobilization and investments.” Ghana nurtures a vigorous tradition of cultural outreach to descendants of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade, a tradition that emanates from the
Pan-Africanist convictions of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, the nation’s independence hero and first president. However, Nilsson hints that the Ministry of Tourism does not in any way handle diaspora relations.

2.15 Pan-African Historical Theatre Festival (PANAFEST)

The sense of belongingness and shared heritage plays a vital role in making people come together to fight for a common goal. For this reason, on the 1st of August every year, PANAFEST is held to commemorate the abolishment of slave trade. Authors like Østergaard-Nielsen suggests that the cultural diaspora engagement strategies of PANAFEST target affluent ‘friends of Ghana’ from the other side of the Atlantic. There is a possibility that cultural outreach will gain importance in subsequent years as the diaspora matures. This resonates with the observation that the concerns of Ghanaians abroad “centre around political, economic and governance demands.” Cultural issues are less salient and typically related to a perceived lack of patriotism in their descendants. Manuh and Asante therefore proposes “cultural enrichment programmes” targeted at Ghanaians born overseas.

Conclusion

This chapter sought to explore the various diaspora engagement policies of Ghana between the period 2001 and 2014. To this end, the term Diaspora was defined, the differences between the terms transnationalism and diaspora were clearly established, and the various engagement policies that have been used by the government of Ghana, taking into account the distinction between economic, political, and cultural engagement policies, was discussed. What can be inferred from these initiatives is that a lot more can be done in terms of implementation. With
this in mind, the next chapter examines the effectiveness of the various polices towards the socio-economic development of Ghana.
ENDNOTES

4 Ibid.
5 Ibid.
6 Nilsson, K., op. cit.
11 Ibid.
14 Ibid.
18 Ibid.
19 Bauböck and Faist, op. cit.
20 Cohen, R., op. cit.
23 Ibid.
24 Ibid.
27 Ibid.
28 Mulloy, L., op. cit.
29 Cohen, R., op. cit.
30 Nilsson, K., op. cit.
33 Ibid.
34 Ibid.
37 Ibid.
38 Awumbila E. L., et. al., op. cit.
39 Nilsson, K., op. cit.
42 Nilsson, K., op. cit.
44 Anim., 2010, Cited in Nilsson, (2011)
45 Nilsson, K., op. cit.
47 Nilsson, K., op. cit.
49 Nilsson, K., op. cit.
50 Atuguba, R., op. cit.
51 Badasu, I., op. cit.
53 Quartey, P., op. cit.
54 Ibid.
56 Nilsson, K., op. cit.
58 Ibid.
59 Ibid.
67 http://allafrica.com/stories/200101070055.html
69 Nilsson, K., op. cit.
70 Ostergaard-Nielsen, E., op. cit.
72 Ibid.
CHAPTER THREE

AN ASSESSMENT OF DIASPORA ENGAGEMENT POLICIES IN GHANA

3.0 Introduction

In this chapter the research seeks to first identify some diaspora engagement policies formulated and implemented since 2000, and assess its effectiveness in promoting socio economic development. Basically, this research identifies whether the objectives of these engagement policies have been met. To be able to properly investigate and assess the diaspora engagement policies in Ghana, the researcher conducted interviews with several stakeholders such as the heads of the Ghanaian communities in Germany, Canada and the United Kingdom, some officials at the Diaspora Affairs Bureau of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration, and some officials of the Ministry of Tourism. The chapter will also outline some of the challenges of diaspora engagement policies in Ghana.

The diaspora of developing countries are key agents of socio-economic transformation in their home countries.\(^1\) There is the need for governments to therefore harness the full potential of the diaspora. One of the ways governments can harness this potential is by putting in place diaspora engagement policies.\(^2\) A number of countries including Ghana have instituted effective policies and strategies to harness the enormous potential of the diaspora. Some countries have successfully integrated their diaspora through comprehensive policy frameworks whiles others have tried to integrate and formulate comprehensive policies on diaspora relations so as to utilize its benefits to make significant strides towards socio-economic development. In Ghana, despite the lack of a comprehensive diaspora engagement policy, there have been calculated efforts by
the state to establish well-coordinated institutional policies and mechanisms to enhance the participation of the diaspora in the quest for national development.3

3.1 Key Diaspora Engagement Policies Established in Ghana Since 2000

From the various interviews conducted by the researcher, it was gathered that there are different policies that various governments of Ghana through ministries, departments and agencies have used to engage the diaspora. With regards to the policies, officials of the Diaspora Affairs Bureau maintained that there are mountains of challenges the institution faces in trying to put in place a “one-size-fits-all” policy model to engage Ghanaians in the diaspora more effectively. According to the officials, even when you group the Ghanaian diaspora in categories based on the location, they have a distinct set of needs and capabilities which is usually based on historical experiences as well as present realities of their origin and destination location. However, it is the bureau’s duty to put in place all-inclusive engagement policies and approaches to reflect these complexities of the various diaspora. “The paramount objective of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration is to protect the interest of Ghanaian citizens abroad and ensure the welfare of Ghanaians who return to Ghana.4

The Diaspora Affairs Bureau is also charged with the responsibility of engaging the Ghanaian diaspora in the development of Ghana in a proactive manner thus the Bureau is actively working on the diaspora engagement policies project with IOM. Officials of the Bureau however did not want to provide insights as to what diaspora engagement policies they were likely to formulate. However, they indicated that the policies will include sections of existing laws and legislations which have got to do with diaspora engagement policies. In some instances there are likely to be some variations and amendments to these clauses in the existing legislations. Among the policies
and legislation which will feature in the soon to be “Comprehensive Diaspora Engagement Policy and Act” include, the Immigration Law, Act 573 of 2000, ROPA Act 669 (amendment), Integrated GRA Act 2009, Act 791 and the National Migration Policy. Aspects of the Immigration Act especially the right to return and indefinite stay for people of African descent will be looked at critically, whiles issues and challenges relating to the right of renunciation of Ghanaian citizenship and right to dual nationality will be addressed in the comprehensive policies. In terms of economic policies, the Integrated GRA Act 2009, Act 791, grants tax exemption for returnee Ghanaians after 12 months of continues stay outside Ghana on their household items. Political policies include the full implementation of the ROPA Act 669 by establishing a road map to its successful implementation. The National Migration Policy is to be set before parliament and has been approved by cabinet. The policy document provides general guidelines on migration management.

In this research, the researcher assesses three main diaspora engagement policies and their impact on the socio-economic development of Ghana. These are the Dual Citizenship Act, the Ghana Homecoming Summit and Policy on Remittances. The assessment is undertaken in terms of how the policies have achieved the objectives. Even though the researcher wanted to investigate more engagement policies in Ghana, data on these policies were not readily available for scholarly work. The problem of lack of data on engagement policies has delayed the smooth preparation of a comprehensive engagement policy."
3.2.1 The Key Objectives of Diaspora Engagement Policies and their Contribution towards Socio-Economic Development

From the data gathered through the interviews conducted with key diaspora engagement policy stakeholders, there seems to be a consensus as to what the state wants to achieve in terms of its engagement with the diaspora and this constitute the three key areas of all diaspora engagement policies in Ghana although they are yet to be established in a comprehensive diaspora engagement policy. The first key objective is poverty reduction and support for the national balance of payments which focuses on remittances, business investments, and perhaps, capital markets. The second objective is to improve the country’s competitiveness globally by tapping and channelling the knowledge, skills and expertise of the diaspora. Finally, preserving Ghanaian culture and heritage is also a key policy focus. According to the UK Ghanaian diaspora, “the various policies are aimed at leveraging Ghanaians off some of the challenges they encounter abroad, citizenship wise as well as fostering Ghana’s Pan-African objectives (foreign policy) which have been in place since independence. The Pan African Policy aims at making Ghana a destination for Africans in the diaspora. However, the head of the Germany - Ghanaian community indicated that there has been no such policy to engage the diaspora and indicated that efforts made by the government are focused on draining the diaspora remittances. He stated that “the government only expects remittances from us and does not want our involvement in domestic affairs”.

3.2.1 Objectives of Dual Citizenship and its Contribution towards Socio-Economic Development

The Dual Citizenship Policy was made possible through the Citizenship Act of 2002 (Act 591) to enable Ghanaians who have acquired citizenships with other countries to apply for dual
citizenship. The act also allows for Ghanaians abroad and foreigners to hold citizenship of their host countries as well as a Ghanaian citizenship. The objective of the act was to enhance the Ghanaian in the diaspora’s participation in areas of democratic and political processes in Ghana. The Dual Citizenship Act was established to also create a sense of belongingness and cultural heritage among Ghanaians in the diaspora. Some of the members of the diaspora in Canada especially, have also linked the objectives of the dual citizenship policy to economic gains. However they failed to provide an explanation for their position.

To acquire a Ghanaian dual citizenship, the Citizenship Regulations Unit/Department of the Ministry of Interior mandates that any citizen of Ghana who holds the citizenship of another country must apply to be granted dual citizenship by paying the equivalence of 20 US Dollars in Ghana Cedis. He or she must also provide a cover letter, evidence of Ghanaian citizenship, evidence of parents’ citizenship, naturalization certificate, and four passport sized photographs. The application forms must be sealed. The Hon. Minister of Interior would then have to issue the citizen of Ghana a signed Certificate of Dual Citizenship at a statutory fee, which now stands at about $20 if satisfied with the application.\(^6\)

The Ghana government admits that the diaspora play a key role and is an important strategic stakeholder with regards to migration. The Government of Ghana through its interior and foreign affairs ministries adopted the dual citizenship laws and policies to attract the human, financial and capital resources of the “potential Ghanaians” in the diaspora to ignite development in Ghana. The Citizenship Act and policies among other things seek to maintain, secure and protect the rights of Ghanaian migrants while they are abroad. The policy also creates an avenue for the
strengthening of the migrants’ sense of national identity, culture and heritage linkages to Ghana. The Citizenship Act 2000\(^7\) also promotes financial investments and contributions of the diaspora towards development and strategically initiating innovations to solve real problems of the state. Since the passage of the Citizenship Act of 2000, with regards to part three (sections 16, 17 and 18 of the Act); the benefits have been substantial. Dual citizenship has provided the opportunity to promote investment in Ghana.\(^8\) “Most Ghanaians can now afford the luxury of being able to invest both home and abroad”.\(^9\) Marcel Desailly, an accomplished footballer who currently resides in Ghana, acts as a Laureus Academy member and Orphan-Aid Africa’s Lifetime Ambassador to Ghana and France since 2005. In June 11, 2012, Desailly commissioned an ultra-modern sports facility known as the Lizzy Sports Complex, in memory of his late mother at East Legon. The facility has become an important training facility for the youth in sports and children in particular. The sports center has become a camping and training facility for many African sports clubs and national teams preparing for international tournaments. Thus, the Citizenship Act provides an enabling system for the transfer of profit making businesses in resident countries by diasporans which enables them to make investments in Ghana.

Another benefit of the dual citizenship is the opportunity for the diaspora to participate in decision making of both international and national affairs through dialogue. The Act however, allows dual citizens to exercise their franchise in all national elections at home and abroad and also help in building stronger international ties, promote more foreign direct investments, private sector investment and skilled transfer and support initiatives, from the government of the developed countries to Ghana. This aspect of Act has sparked a lot of debate. The Ghanaian union in the UK has raised issues regarding their appointments into key political positions in
Ghana because it betrays the purpose of participating in the public affairs of Ghana. In Article 16 section 2 of the Act, there is an exclusion of Ghanaians with dual citizenship from holding certain public offices. The Article states “Without prejudice to Article 94(2)(a) of the Constitution, no citizen of Ghana shall qualify to be appointed as a holder of any office specified in this subsection if he holds the citizenship of any other country in addition to his citizenship of Ghana

(a) Chief Justice and Justices of the Supreme Court;
(b) Ambassador or High Commissioner;
(c) Secretary to the Cabinet;
(d) Chief of Defence Staff or any Service Chief;
(e) Inspector-General of Police;
(f) Commissioner, Custom, Excise and Preventive Service;
(g) Director of Immigration Service;
(h) Commissioner, Value Added Tax Service;
(i) Director-General, Prisons Service;
(j) Chief Fire Officer;
(k) Chief Director of a Ministry;
(l) The rank of a Colonel in the Army or its equivalent in the other security services; and
(m) Any other public office that the Minister may by legislative instrument passed.

Ghanaian Diaspora Unions in UK and Canada believe that, this provision is an infringement on their fundamental human rights as Ghanaians prescribed in chapter five of the 1992 Constitution.
3.2.2 The Objectives of the Ghana Home Coming Summit 2001 and its Contribution towards Socio-Economic Development

The 2001 Ghana Homecoming Summit is one of the policies which are irregular and sporadic in nature. The heads of the Ghanaian communities in Germany and the UK link its sporadic nature to changes in political regimes and policy focus. Prior to the Homecoming Summit in 2001 various cultural engagement policies and initiatives such as PANAFEST and Emancipation Day Celebrations were used as tools to reach out to the diaspora. The objective of the Homecoming Summit is clearly identifiable in its theme “Harnessing the Global Ghanaian Resource Potential for Accelerated National Development.” The summit brought together about 2000 Ghanaians in the diaspora and sought to find out better ways to advance the country's development. The objectives of the summit are as follows:

- To renew the confidence of the diaspora in Ghana;
- To enhance dialogue and explore opportunities for productive relations between the diaspora and the homeland;
- To identify the means of tapping into the capacities of the diaspora for the creation of the nation’s wealth.

The summit marked some key successes that transformed and ignited further engagement of the diaspora by the Government of Ghana. The successes include the creation of the opportunity for a number of issues such as voting rights and dual citizenship of the diaspora. The creation of the Non Resident Ghanaians Secretariat under the Ghana Investment Promotion Centre was another success of the Homecoming Summit. The Centre, which is now non-existent, was intended to deal with concerns of the diaspora centring on their political, economic and governance demands. The homecoming summit resulted in a five point action plan which was partially
implemented or neglected entirely by the government agencies. These actions include the identification of dual citizenship, franchise for non-resident citizens, the establishment of a non-Resident Ghanaian Secretariat and the establishment of a NRG database.

### 3.2.3 Policies on Remittances and its Contributions to Socio Economic Development of Ghana

Migrant remittances to Ghana have played significant role in the socio economic development and the improvement of household welfare.\(^{15}\) The role that remittances play is in different dimensions and usually is assessed at the socio economic level and the household level.\(^{16}\) According to the officials of MoFEP, if the flow of remittances should increase substantively in Ghana, the country could significantly eradicate poverty among households in the country. This is because even though the BOG is not able to track all remittances to the country, a substantial amount is being tracked through banks. In 2014, there was a 7.5 per cent increase in private remittances (net) to US$1,998.9 million in the country.\(^{17}\) However in 2013 in particular, individual remittances declined by 4.3 per cent year-on-year to US$1.7 billion.

At the macro level, remittances tend to be more stable than other sources of foreign exchange, this is because remittances is often counter cyclical and it helps sustain consumption and investment during economic down turns.\(^{18}\) A key importance of remittances is the fact that it improves sovereign creditworthiness, by increasing the level and stability of foreign exchange. “In the present economic situation where the cedi is depreciating against the major trading currencies such as the US dollars and UK pounds sterling, Remittances help in reducing the free fall.”\(^{19}\) Remittances also provide insurance against adverse shocks by diversifying the sources of household income in times of economic hardship.
At the micro level, there has been a positive indication that remittances reduce poverty in the country. For many families, remittances received from relatives abroad, contributes to spending on health and education. The increase in educational attainment of the young members of recipient households can lead to improvement in the livelihoods of the family as these young members may have a well-paying career in future. Thus, an implication of remittance on the socio economic development of Ghana is that remittances to Ghanaian households decrease poverty in the short and long term. Also, there is a significant stride in human capital formation which will eventually lead to poverty reduction in the country.

In terms of policy framework on remittances the BOG has indicated a difficulty in calculating the private remittances to Ghana because it does not cover remittances sent through informal channels. However the BoG is strategizing to devise means to conduct surveys to capture remittances sent through informal means to have a holistic data on the real amount of remittances received in the country. This According to the MoFEP is to ensure that funds that flow into the country are tracked and properly accounted. The amounts that come through the illegal system are estimated to be the same as those that come through the approved outlets such as the banks. However the Ghanaian Diaspora has suggested that a policy on remittances in Ghana should have measures to reduce transaction costs of remittances that are sent to Ghana. The taxing of remittances will be counterproductive in every economic sense. This is because tax on remittances will redirect remittances that come from formal systems to the informal systems and this will worsen the balance of payments.
3.3 The Effectiveness of Diaspora Engagement Policies in Ghana

There seems to be a chorus about the ineffectiveness of the diaspora engagement policies in Ghana.²⁴ “The number of beneficiaries of an engagement policy speaks volumes of the policy’s effectiveness.”²⁵ There has been no consolidated effort by government and its agencies towards properly evaluating and assessing the various engagement policies to know what real impact it’s had on the economy. Even though not all policy objectives are achieved, there has been no comprehensive evaluation of their impact. This was due to the lack of policy monitoring and evaluation which has made the policies’ alignment with impacting on the socio-economic development of Ghana a very difficult task as there is no proper feedback system.

In a concept paper on Diaspora engagement²⁶, issued by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration, the “diaspora engagement process of Ghana includes identifying engagement goals, mapping diaspora geography and skills, creating a relationship of trust between the Ghanaian diaspora and governments of both Ghana and destination countries, and, ultimately, mobilizing the diaspora to contribute to sustainable development.” In this regard one can infer that, the objectives of the Homecoming Summit were met.

Even though four of the mandates of the Diaspora Affairs Bureau of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration relates to policy formulation and monitoring, it has not been able to do much. The bureau was established less than a year ago and is now putting in place plans to initiate and implement diaspora engagement policies. Per the bureau’s mandate, it is responsible for conducting research to inform policy on effective participation of the Ghanaian diaspora in national development. In this mandate, effectiveness is linked with the number of
participation of the diaspora in engagement policies and activities towards the nation’s development. According to the diaspora Ghanaian community in Germany, “these policies put forward by the government are poorly implemented and they are usually not able to involve the diaspora in domestic affairs, even if they do, they are only in to take remittances from us.” The lack of appreciation for the main objectives of the various policies set by the formulator is an indication of the minute effort to educate members of the diaspora on the policy of government.

It is the mandate of the bureau to “disseminate accurate and timely information on government programmes and policies to the Ghanaian communities abroad through the bureau’s website and other social media platforms”. It appears that, this mandate is not being carried out because members of the diaspora assert that the various polices were ineffectively implemented, thus it fails to pull the necessary and right amount of participation needed for its effective implementation. Officials of the Diaspora Affairs Bureau indicates that it was due to the lapses in the implementation process that necessitated the establishment of the bureau to “implement through the Diaspora Affairs Section of Ghana Missions abroad, a robust engagement with the diaspora community, in accordance with annual strategic work plans.” and to initiate policies needed to harness the potential of the Ghanaian diaspora networks and organizations. Officials of the Ministry of Tourism and Creative Arts admit that, “some of the policies are partially implemented; even so, it only engages few members of the Ghanaian diaspora. Thus, only small sections of the diaspora are aware of the programme.”

Another factor, responsible for the ineffective implementation of the diaspora engagement policies is the difficulty in assessing, using and benefiting from the policies by the diaspora due
to administrative red tapes. In an interview with the head of diaspora Ghanaian community in the UK, with regards to administrative bureaucracy, they stated that:

for a country to harvest enormous dividends from international migration, it has to guarantee the protection of its citizens abroad. This is why the promotion and protection of the interests and welfare of Ghanaians abroad is a cardinal objective, however, the fact remains that, institutional links established in the past with it amendments made to get the diaspora involved in national issues, still remains ineffective. When it comes to assessing benefits and provisions of the unaccompanied goods exemption, the process of benefiting is very cumbersome; one has to secure a waiver for humanitarian donations and this alone involves 5 separate agencies with varying degrees of delay.  

“The government is committed to providing effective and efficient consular services to diaspora Ghanaians.” Efforts have been made over the years to expand its diplomatic representation to cater for all Ghanaians over the years. However, budgetary constraints and inadequate personnel has been the major setback in the achievement of this goal. Thus, it is very difficult to provide adequate consular services and provide a better implementation and monitoring role for the established diaspora policies.

3.3.1 The Effectiveness of the Dual Citizenship Policy

Before January 1997, dual citizenship in Ghana was non-existent. Prior to that, any Ghanaian who acquires another citizenship ceases to be a Ghanaian, except through marriage. The dual citizenship law, which was passed on 16th of December 1996 and became operational on January 1st 1997, stated that, a citizen of Ghana may hold the citizenship of any other country in addition to his/her Ghanaian citizenship. According to the head of the UK Diaspora Ghanaian Association, this law means that “one has to be a Ghanaian in the first place in order to apply for dual citizenship”. He further explained that, the dual citizenship law was interpreted in several ways. For instance, only Ghanaians could apply for it, or both Ghanaians and non-Ghanaians
could apply. In a colloquium organised for stakeholders in the diaspora, officials of the Ministry of Interior indicates that “when a Ghanaian marries a foreigner, irrespective of where their child is born, the child automatically has two citizenships.” The shortcomings of this law were quickly detected causing the then Minister of Interior to make a recommendation to Parliament and the Constitutional Review Commission that they have a second look at the law so as to address the challenges.

The Supreme Court was also preyed upon to interpret the provisions of the dual citizenship policy. In a ruling on 22nd May 2012, the Supreme Court made several important pronouncements on dual citizenship that has statutory, regulatory, and travel implications. The part of the pronouncements that is of importance to this study is the political participation of dual citizens.

The first Parliament of the 4th Republic, in 1996, amended the 1992 Constitution by enacting Act 527 to repeal and substitute Article 8(1) with a new Article 8(1), which states that: “a citizen of Ghana may hold the citizenship of any other country in addition to his citizenship of Ghana.” The legislation 527 inserted Article 8(2), was non-existent in the 1992 Constitution. The new Article 8(2) was inserted basically to exclude dual citizens from holding the following offices.

(i) Ambassador or High Commissioner;
(ii) Secretary to the Cabinet;
(iii) Chief of Defence Staff or any Service Chief;
(iv) Inspector General of Police;
(v) Commissioner, Customs, Excise and Preventive Service;
(vi) Director of Immigration Service; and

(vii) Any office specified by an Act of Parliament. With the new power granted by Act 527.

The enactment of Act 591, in 2000 expanded the office that dual citizens were not eligible to hold in Ghana. The Act 591 added the following exclusions

(i) Chief Justice and Justices of the Supreme Court;

(ii) Commissioner, Value Added Tax Service;

(iii) Director-General, Prisons Service;

(iv) Chief Fire Officer;

(v) Chief Director of a Ministry;

(vi) The rank of a Colonel in the Army or its equivalent in the other security services

(vii) Any other public office that the Minister may by legislative instrument prescribes.

However, members of the diaspora feel that the public office holding exclusions in Act 527 are inconsistent with the entrenched constitutional provisions on dignity (Article 15), equality (Article 17) and political participation (Article 55(10) of the 1992 constitution. However, Supreme Court Judge Justice Date-Bah conceded that the plaintiff's argument is “cogent, but I do not think a court has to be persuaded by the cogency of the rationale for a legislative purpose before it can see its way clear to enforcing that purpose. A Court may not necessarily agree with the logic or coherence of a particular purpose sought to be achieved by the legislature, but that is no justifiable basis for refusing to enforce the legislation that seeks to implement this purpose.” Accordingly, the Court held “the legislative purpose implied in the impugned Article 8(2), namely, the devising of a putative framework for loyalty is not irreconcilably in conflict with the letter and spirit of Article 17, whether or not that framework is logically flawed.” What this
means is that the argument of loyalty and allegiance to Ghana is the key recipe for the exclusions made in article 8 (2) of the constitution.

According to the Ghanaian community in Germany, they cannot fathom why the dual citizenship policy limits their participation irrespective of their qualification and expertise. This, they, claim limits their effective contribution needed for socio economic development. In the words Abiwu, cited in Badasu,\textsuperscript{34} “the law reflects the desire to gravitate towards the financial and material resources of the Ghanaian diaspora but not to give them what they deserve as citizens. It appears the country was earlier on averse to dual citizenship for Ghanaians… at the start of all this, the focus was on African-Americans in the diaspora and not Ghanaians.” Ghanaians with dual citizenship have been relegated to serve in non-political positions, thus, they are unable to contribute fully their quota towards public service management. This limitation, the attorney general argued, in the land mark Supreme Court case on citizenship, is due to the issue of divided loyalty. One becomes a dual citizen at birth by the operation of the citizenship laws in 2 or more countries. The Supreme Court struck down the requirement of a dual citizenship certificate in Asare v. Attorney General (2012). According to the Supreme Court ruling, one does not have to do anything to become a dual citizen.\textsuperscript{35} If one is a citizen in 2 or more countries, the person is a dual citizen. No card is necessary to show this anymore than one needs a card to show that he is a "single citizen."\textsuperscript{36} For this reason the dual citizenship certificate issued by the Interior Ministry of Ghana was a “useless” piece of paper sold at $200 to unsuspecting dual citizens.\textsuperscript{37} However, the citizenship policies have been largely successful. The process involved is simple and involves only one institution, which is the Interior Ministry. The citizenship policies have enabled Ghanaians abroad to make significant contributions to Ghana’s development process.
Examples of such instances is where hospitals, schools etc. have received diverse support (both material and financial from diaspora associations (The Kwahuman Association in Europe has donated ambulances, Worae Foundation has donated medical equipment; Youth Learning Network has donated educational materials etc.)

3.3.2 The Effectiveness of the Homecoming Summit

The Ghana Homecoming Summit brought together about 850 participants. After the summit, about five resolutions were reached. These resolutions were either partially implemented or never implemented. Amongst the projects that were not implemented include the creation of the Non Resident Fund to support development projects in the country. The Non Resident Fund was an innovative financial instrument that was supposed to be used to mobilize financial resources of the diaspora to finance key developmental projects.

A non-resident Ghanaian secretariat was established under the Ghana Investment Promotion Centre (GIPC) to handle the Non Resident Fund. Due to poor funding and inadequate resources allocated to the Ghana Investment Promotion Centre and the Non Resident Ghanaian Secretariat, the initiative failed to yield any significant result.

The government and its agencies have done very little to mop up activities discussed with key stakeholders thus they have failed to make an assessment of the programs and actions drawn under the summit. According Osei, cited in Badasu38 “there was lack of effective collaboration between the Secretariat and the Office of the President, and attempts by the Secretariat to organize follow up meetings in 2004 failed due to lack of proper planning and coordination”.

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The diaspora is an important element of the Ghanaian society and every effort must be put in place to reach out to them. De Haas posits that, the failure of the summit to produce concrete results raises significant credibility issues of state institutions to effectively engage the diaspora through well thought-out policies.

An effective diaspora engagement policy is likely to increase the contribution of the diaspora in nation building. For instance, some professional associations have contributed to capacity the building of compatriots back home. The Mental Foundation Ghana (Australia) has been donating to psychiatric hospitals in Ghana. The Foundation and experts from abroad also offers workshops for practitioners here in Ghana. The physicians and surgeons in America and the UK have made significant contributions to the training of their colleagues in Ghana offering by scholarships to practitioners in Ghana and online guidance during critical medical surgeries in Ghana. More so, the financial inflows are enormous and in billions per annum.

3.4 Challenges of Diaspora Engagement Policies in Ghana

The challenges with the implementation of the diaspora engagement policies are no different from the institutional challenges of most institutions of the state. Bottle necks in accessing services are responsible for the delays in response to requests. For instance, there is no concrete duration for the issuance of a renunciation certificate; this could take months and years to acquire as there are too many institutions involved in some of the processes. To acquire a tax waiver, one will have to go through about 5 different state agencies which could rather lead to demurrage lofty loses.
3.4.1 Inadequate Capacity to Offer Consular and Administrative Services

Ghanaian missions abroad, over the years, have strived to expand their diplomatic representation to cater for Ghanaians abroad. However, due to budgetary constraints, inadequate staff and poor attitude of staff towards Ghanaians in the diaspora, it has been difficult to provide adequate consular services. Engagement of the stakeholders in the diaspora is one of the things to consider when trying to reduce the human hindrance elements in the administration of engagement policies. The institutional blockades need to be institutionally readjusted due to their dependent nature which might take time to heal.\(^{41}\)

3.4.2 Lack of an Integrated Database on Ghanaians Abroad

One of the key challenges facing the diaspora engagement policies which the government of Ghana has to struggle with is the sourcing and management of data on Ghanaians in the diaspora. There is an existence of fragmented and uncoordinated data bases from different government Ministries, Departments and Agencies (MDAs) which are often outdated. This has hampered effective planning of engagement policies and support for Ghanaians in the diaspora. The lack of accurate and reliable data on the Ghanaian diaspora, i.e. data on population, location, income levels, education, training and work experience has rendered most of the policies ineffective. The DAB has indicated that without access to timely, simple, reliable and relevant data, both the government and the diaspora will lose the mutual benefits of socio-economic development. The adoption of modern information technology systems by the government can be used to gather and monitor data on Ghanaians in the diaspora. The government can also employ online services to create a worldwide platform to engage its diaspora there-by encouraging the efficient and effective provision of services to Ghanaians in the diaspora.
3.4.3 Lack of Policy Framework and Coordination in Promoting Diaspora Participation in National Development

Attempts by the Government of Ghana through its MDAs to create effective diaspora engagement policies, have been marked with weak structures and uncoordinated mechanisms. These include the inability to create awareness on the need to harness the investment opportunities available in different sectors of the economy by Ghanaians in the diaspora. In the past decade, the government has not established an effective policy framework that seeks to promote diaspora investments in Ghana. The establishment of the DAB is a step in the right direction and has given an indication of a renewed commitment towards diaspora engagement by the Government of Ghana. The ineffectiveness of the various diaspora engagement policies in Ghana is largely due to the ineffective co-ordination policies as it might be institutionalized under different departments. Coordination of activities is critical in the formulation and implementation of policies as it is also a pre-requisite for enhanced monitoring and evaluation.

3.5 Conclusions

Diaspora issues in Ghana, like other countries are multifaceted and involve various stakeholders with varying degrees of interest. The lack of coherent and comprehensive policies on diaspora engagement in Ghana has resulted in poor co-ordination, duplication of efforts and waste of resources. However, the research uncovered that there are various contributions and benefits if the Ghanaian government engages effectively with the diaspora. Some of the benefits included the setting up sports facilities to develop the youth in sports, as well the training and capacity building of medical personnel’s, physicians, psychiatrist and surgeons in Ghana by their compatriots in the diaspora. Engagement policies such as the dual citizenship has played a role in mobilizing human and capital resources of Ghanaians to help develop the nation in various ways.
The government of Ghana engaged the diaspora through the organisation of a Home Coming Summit in 2001 to iron out the way forward and to foster diaspora development engagement. The Summit was successful to the extent that it laid the foundation for further engagement and benefits such as the dual citizenship.

Ineffectiveness has characterised the diaspora engagement policies in Ghana. Policies such as the home coming Summit failed to actualise the five action plan and resolution reached by participants of the Summits, which included various government MDAs and over 1000 participants from the Diaspora. The actions plans included the identification of dual citizenship, franchise for non-resident citizens, the establishment of a non-Resident Ghanaian Secretariat and the establishment of a NRG database. The dual citizenship policy has been heavily critiqued by the diaspora in particularly, for not allowing them to participate fully in the public service of Ghana. For this reason, Adamu Daramani a security management expert was sent to jail for being elected MP while a dual citizen.

The chapter also uncovered three challenges of the diaspora engagement. These are lack of policy framework and coordination in promoting diaspora participation in national development, lack of an integrated database on Ghanaians abroad and inadequate capacity to offer consular and administrative services.

However, an assessment of the diaspora engagement process is performed annually by the DAB and assessment for the 2014 year was performed in May 2015. Unfortunately, at the policy level, there hasn't been such an evaluation, but the Diaspora Affairs Bureau has been holding
project review meetings with stakeholders within the engagement process so as to have a fair idea as to how the various policies are faring. The ministerial review and evaluation schedules have been used to cater for lack of a comprehensive evaluation process of the engagement policies, however, this review is mainly used at the ministerial level and is not published to the general public and for that matter, the various stakeholders in the diaspora.
ENDNOTES


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CHAPTER FOUR

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

4.0 Introduction

This chapter gives the summary of findings, conclusion and recommendations drawn from the study.

4.1 Summary of Study

The emergence of the diaspora as a developmental actor in an increasingly interdependent and globalizing world has reshaped and redirected government engagement policies towards its “outer citizens”.\(^1\) It is undoubtable that the diaspora is capable of making significant contributions to the political and socio-economic development of their home countries through financial resources, acquired human and social capital.\(^2\) The effects of brain drain made scholars allude to negative connotations of migration four decades ago.\(^3\) With the numerous benefits that can be derived from people in the diaspora, governments over the world have initiated and implemented various policies to engage the diaspora in harnessing the vast potential and contributions to the nation. Ghana has also since the 21st century established some key diaspora engagement policies.\(^4\)

The government of Ghana has pursued several initiatives such as the PANAFEST, Emancipation Day, establishment of the Citizen’s Act 2000\(^5\), the Returnees Project, Homecoming Summits and presidential interactions with Ghanaian communities abroad with the aim of tapping into the rich professional skills and financial resources of the diaspora for investment drives and national
development as Ghana positions herself strategically as a fully-fledged middle-income country. However, without an assessment of these engagement policies, the Ghanaian government will not be able to assess the impact of these policies to determine how it has influenced the diaspora to contribute substantial resources towards national development.

The study focuses on two specific objectives which are to assess the initiatives, programmes and projects instituted by various government since 2000 to engage the Ghanaian diaspora for National Development and secondly to ascertain how effective or otherwise the current diaspora engagement policies have contributed to socio-economic development.

The conceptual framework of the study is transnationalism, and it describes the tendency among immigrants, particularly in recent decades to maintain ties with their country of origin while also integrating into their country of destination. The key assumption underlying the concept of transnationalism is that migration can no longer be seen as a one-dimensional journey, that is, as a simple change from living in one country to another. Instead, many migrants continue to maintain strong ties with their country of origin, whether in an economic, political or cultural sense. Another dimension is the role of the sending country in becoming increasingly involved in the “migrant community” of the receiving country, setting priorities and pursuing its own interests. This study falls under transnationalism because the Ghanaian diaspora are made of a group of persons who maintain constant ties with Ghana, through cultural, political and economic way. Ghanaian in the diaspora are able to contribute their quota political through the right to vote under the ROPA Act. Economically, they are able to make investments both home and abroad through remitting and establishment of developmental structures such as the Lizzy
Sports Complex. Ghanaian experts and specialists also transfer their knowledge and expertise to local professionals through periodic capacity building and training.

In terms of research methodology, the researcher adopted a qualitative research design because qualitative research seeks answers and in-depth understanding into human behaviour and policies, which can be difficult to detect or find answers to when undertaking quantitative research. The researcher employed both primary and secondary research data collection techniques. Semi structured interviews were conducted with some officials of the DAB of the MFARI, the Ministry of Tourism and Creative Arts, the Ghana Tourism Authority, Ghana Investment Promotion Centre (GIPC), Ghana Missions Abroad, for instance, the leaders of United Kingdom (UK), Canada and Germany Ghanaian Communities Abroad and local diaspora communities Abroad. Secondary data sources utilized in this research included books, articles, journals, government white papers and internet searches.

### 4.2 Summary of Findings

In Ghana, despite the lack of a comprehensive diaspora engagement policy, there have been calculated efforts by the various governments of Ghana, institutions with the Ghanaian diaspora to establish well-coordinated institutional mechanisms and policies to enhance the diaspora's participation in national development. This study identifies the various fragmented diaspora engagement policies enacted and implemented since the beginning of the 21st century, and an attempt to evaluate them based on the policy objectives and targets and the actual outcome of these policies.
The research reveals that the DAB is trying to put in place a “one-size-fits-all” policy model to engage Ghanaians in the diaspora more effectively. The DAB has recognized the distinct set of needs and capabilities of the diaspora and thus taken measures to reflect these complexities of the diaspora in the all-inclusive engagement policies. The Diaspora Affairs Bureau officials were not forth coming on the kind of diaspora engagement policies they were likely to formulate. There is however difficulty in the formulation of a one-size-fit-all policy that is able to satisfy and address the diverse needs of the Ghanaian diaspora.

There are three key focus areas or objectives of the all diaspora engagement policies in Ghana. These are poverty reduction and support for the national balance of payments, improvement in the country’s competitiveness globally by tapping and channelling the knowledge, skills and expertise of the diaspora and finally, the preservation of the Ghanaian culture and heritage.

The dual citizenship policy was made possible through the Citizenship Act of 2000 (Act 591) to enable Ghanaians who have acquired citizenships with other countries to apply for dual citizenship. The objective of the act was to enhance the Ghanaian in the diaspora’s participation in areas of democratic and political processes in Ghana as well as creating a sense of belongingness and cultural heritage among the Ghanaians in the diaspora. The policy has encouraged most dual citizens to make investments both home and abroad, hence improving on the socio economic gains of the policy. In a broader sense, the Citizenship Act provides an enabling system for the transfer of profit making businesses in resident countries by the diaspora which enables the diaspora to make investments in Ghana. The diaspora can now partake in key decision making in both countries even if they are nationals of the destination countries.
The main challenge of the policy is the limitations and exclusions of article 16 section 2 of the Act, which prevents dual citizens from holding the following offices, Chief Justice and Justices of the Supreme Court; Ambassador or High Commissioner; Secretary to the Cabinet; Chief of Defence Staff or any Service Chief; Inspector-General of Police; Commissioner, Custom, Excise and Preventive Service, Director of Immigration Service, Commissioner, Value Added Tax Service, Director-General, Prisons Service, Chief Fire Officer, Chief Director of a Ministry, The rank of a Colonel in the Army or its equivalent in the other security services; and any other public offices that the Minister may by legislative instrument prescribe. The Ghanaian Diaspora Unions have said the provision is an infringement on their rights contained in article 10 of the 1992 Constitution.

The Ghana Homecoming Summit is one of the policies which are irregular and sporadic in nature. The reasons for the sporadic nature of the homecoming summit have been linked to changes in government regimes and policy focus. The objectives of the summit are to renew the confidence of the diaspora in Ghana, enhance dialogue and explore opportunities for productive relations between the diaspora and the homeland and identify the means to tap into the capacities of the diaspora for the creation of the nation’s wealth. The homecoming summit in 2001 marked some key successes that transformed and ignited further engagement of the diaspora by the Government of Ghana. Among the successes include the creation of the opportunity for a number of issues such as the voting rights and dual citizenship of the diaspora to be discussed. The challenges with the implementation of the diaspora engagement policies are no different from the institutional challenges on the domestic front in most institutions of the state. Inadequate capacity to offer consular and administrative services, the lack of an integrated
database on Ghanaians abroad and the lack of policy framework work coordination to promote diaspora participation in national development are the main challenges of the diaspora engagement policies in Ghana.

The DAB, performs annual assessment of the diaspora engagement process through the ministerial review and evaluation schedules to cater for lack of a comprehensive evaluation process of the engagement policies. The lack of coherent and comprehensive policies and policy frameworks on diaspora engagement in Ghana has resulted in poor co-ordination, duplication of efforts and waste of resources.

**4.3 Conclusion**

From the findings, the research accepts the hypothesis which is, ‘a well formulated and executed Diaspora Engagement Policy will contribute effectively towards harnessing the diaspora for national development.’ This is because although the engagement policies of Ghana have not been entirely successful, it has accrued some benefits to the nation. For instance the training of medical practitioners, surgeons, psychiatrics and physicians through capacity building programmes. The frequent inability of government to effectively implement the policies that it formulates is at play in the difficulty of formulating the one-size-fits-all policies. It has made the formulators unable to know what to include as there are very few success stories from the individual policies implemented over the years. Nonetheless, the diaspora holds a huge potential for socio-economic development for Ghana and therefore should necessitate the highest priority to ensure all citizens whether abroad or in Ghana contribute their efforts to the nation’s development.
4.4 Recommendations

The researcher came up with the following recommendations. Firstly, the various institutions charged with the implementation of the various engagement policies should be informed of its intended objectives so as to draw realistic and effective action plans to meet the set objectives.

Secondly, sensitisation of the public, especially the diaspora community on the existing policies is key to creating the needed awareness to enhance their participation for their effective implementation.

Thirdly, diaspora functions are scattered in various government MDAs and the DAB needs to take its central role of coordinating and serving as a linkage between various government agencies more seriously, to enhance harmonization of policies and initiatives which have in the past resulted in fragmented policy actions, duplicated efforts and depletion of the nation’s scarce resources.

The diaspora is a key strategic agent making the nexus between migration and development a reality. Without their strategic intervention, the crystallization of the relationship between the two fields would not be possible. Giving consideration to this statement, the Government of Ghana could establish unity among Ghanaians in the diaspora, so that connecting with homeland institutions would be faster and easier. This, if achieved will help in the effective implementation of programs and policies to mobilize and influence the Ghanaian diaspora to contribute more than they are doing to the domestic economy of Ghana.
The DAB in conjunction with MDAs should be strengthened administratively to formulate, implement and monitor effective diaspora engagement policies with effective framework that will ensure full involvement of the Ghanaian diaspora towards the nation’s socio economic development. The various institutions charged with the implementation of the various engagement policies should be informed of its intended objectives so as to draw realistic and effective action plans to meet the set objectives. The policies should be simplified to avoid ambiguities (e.g. the challenge besetting the dual citizenship application per the Supreme Court ruling in the case of The State versus Asare). The government must show commitment by providing engagement institutions like the DAB with sufficient and sustainable funds to enable the institutions work smoothly and efficiently. In the case of the DAB, programs are usually funded through international non-governmental organisations and sponsorships.
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