INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION: AN EVALUATION OF IRREGULAR CHINESE MIGRANTS IN CONTEMPORARY GHANA

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LEGON MARCH 2015
DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this is an original research conducted by me under the supervision of Dr. Vladimir Antwi-Danso and that all sources referred to in this study have been duly acknowledged. I further declare that this work has not been previously submitted to any other University for the award of any type of academic degree.

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(STUDENT) (SUPERVISOR)

DATE: .................................... DATE: .....................................
DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to Madam Veronica Ardy, my children and two wonderful friends: Phanuel Eli Komla Fiamor and Duke Joe Lassey.
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

There are many people I need to thank for their contributions and support in the completion of this study. My appreciation goes to my supervisor Dr. V. Antwi-Danso for his professional guidance, inspiration and practical assistance through the entire process of this work. Great gratitude goes to the wonderful Librarians of the LECIAD library. My sincere thanks goes the Acting Deputy Director, Finance and Administration of the Ghana Immigration Service, Mrs. Judith Dzokoto, ADI Louis Aikins and Other Senior Immigration officers I interacted with during the course of this study.

I would like to extend my cordial appreciation to my fellow colleagues of Senior Division Coarse 34 at the Ghana Armed Forces Command and Staff College for their wealth of knowledge, cooperation in the last two years.

Last, but not the least, my biggest appreciation goes also to the Director of Immigration Service COP Dr. Peter Wiredu for the Service’s Sponsorship package to GAFCSC.
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<th>Description</th>
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<tr>
<td>ADI</td>
<td>Assistant Director of Immigration</td>
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<tr>
<td>AHSTIP</td>
<td>Anti-Human Smuggling and Trafficking in Persons Unit</td>
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<td>ARR</td>
<td>Arrivals</td>
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<td>COP</td>
<td>Commissioner of Police</td>
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<td>CSOs</td>
<td>Civil Society Organisations</td>
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<td>DEP</td>
<td>Departures</td>
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<tr>
<td>DIS</td>
<td>Director of Immigration Service</td>
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<tr>
<td>ECOVAS</td>
<td>Economic Community of West Africa States</td>
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<tr>
<td>EEV</td>
<td>Emergency Entry Visa</td>
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<tr>
<td>FZB</td>
<td>Free Zone Board</td>
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<tr>
<td>GIPC</td>
<td>Ghana Investment Promotion Centre</td>
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<tr>
<td>GIS</td>
<td>Ghana Immigration Service</td>
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<tr>
<td>GUTA</td>
<td>Ghana Union of Traders’ Association</td>
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<tr>
<td>IOM</td>
<td>International Organization for Migration</td>
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<td>IQC</td>
<td>Immigrant Quota Committee</td>
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<tr>
<td>KIA</td>
<td>Kotoka International Airport</td>
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<td>MDAs</td>
<td>Ministries Department and Agencies</td>
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<td>MIS</td>
<td>Management Information System</td>
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<tr>
<td>MoFTEC</td>
<td>Ministry of Foreign Trade and Economic Cooperation</td>
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<td>MoL</td>
<td>Ministry of Labour</td>
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<tr>
<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non-Governmental Organisation</td>
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<td>OIC</td>
<td>Officer-In-Charge</td>
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<tr>
<td>PPME</td>
<td>Policy Planning Monitoring and Evaluation</td>
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<tr>
<td>SMEs</td>
<td>Small and Medium Enterprises</td>
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ABSTRACT

China’s recent engagement in Ghana has attracted a lot of concerns ranging from human trafficking and labour exploitation to illegal mining activities. Despite the negative aspects, Chinese companies are building vital infrastructures to include hydro-electric projects, water supply and drainage systems, roads, houses among others. The study tried to evaluate issues of irregular Chinese migrants in Ghana. To this end the objectives of the study included: examining the pre-frontier and post-entry measures; a study of current underlying factors influencing the increased movement of Chinese migrants and trend as well as effects of irregular migration in Ghana. To achieve these, some Senior Officers of Ghana Immigration Service were interviewed, official letters, memos, circulars and annual reports were sourced from the Ghana Immigration Service. Other sources include the electronic media such as the internet. Regarding the pre-entry controls, most of the Chinese came on visitors permit or visa and others acquired on-arrival-visa at the entries but overstayed their permit rendering them irregular migrants. The post-entry measures requires foreigners to acquire work permits to enable one to engage in any income earning activity. Besides it is illegal for foreigners to engage in alluvial goldmine. Most resident and work permits were fraudulently acquired with the connivance of some Immigration Officials. The obvious reason for Chinese wanting to be in Ghana is due to gold mining success stories of returned Chinese migrants. It is significant to note the trend of arrivals have substantially increased in the last decade. The increased presence of the Chinese gold miners in communities has rendered water bodies polluted with harmful chemicals, forest cover and lands destroyed leading to violent communal clashes that result some fatalities to both Ghanaian and Chinese nationals and the subsequent deportation/repatriation of some irregular Chinese migrants.
CHAPTER ONE
RESEARCH DESIGN

1.1 Background to the Problem

Migration is said to be an age old phenomenon that involves human mobility and historically tied to economic and social movement.\(^1\) Migration could either be internal or international and in the coming into being of nation state, international migration has assumed a political dimension. “One out of every six people in the world is from China, and as a result, Chinese immigrants are increasingly visible around the globe.”\(^2\) The first significant wave of Hong Kong-Chinese migration to Ghana occurred in the mid-20\(^{th}\) century (1940s and early 1950s). From the 1950s into independence of Ghana and until the late 1980s, Chinese involvement in Ghana was primarily in manufacturing industries especially textiles and more specifically imitation wax print. A few factories in metalwork were established and some entrepreneurs operated restaurants. The next major social change for the Chinese began in the late 1990s with the new wave of Chinese migrants from mainland China.\(^3\) “In the 1990s and 2000s, large Chinese companies became active in Ghana’s construction sector, while individual Chinese traders gained a large amount of influence in retailing of textiles, electrical appliances and daily-used goods.”\(^4\)

With the “end of the Cold War, some 181 million people have left their homes to find opportunities elsewhere in the world, not only from the poor nations to the rich, but from the poor to the less poor nations.”\(^5\) Since the economic reforms of the 1970s, an estimated 18 million Chinese have “lived outside of China in what has become known as the Chinese Diaspora.”\(^6\)
In spite of the anti-Chinese sentiments in many parts of the globe, the Chinese government shows no concern. “For one, it has no incentive to tamper with the exodus of its citizens, which eases domestic unemployment and reaps the benefits of remittances.”

In an attempt to alleviate the socio-economic cost of accommodating irregular migrants, governments in Ghana have occasionally embarked on large scale deportation exercises. A number of such immigrants living in Ghana were deported under the Aliens Compliance Order of the late 1969. In recent times Ghana under the Ghana Immigration Service Act 573 and its Legislative Instrument LI 1691 is undertaking a mass return exercise of Chinese irregular migrants.

Irregular migration is one of the fastest growing forms of migration worldwide, far surpassing regular movements. It is a phenomenon of major concern especially for recipient countries as it possesses economic, political, social, environmental and internal security problems. It is perceived in different ways such as evidence of failing or abused immigration system, exposing vulnerable migrants to exploitation in transit or when reaching destination country, a challenge to national sovereignty as state may not have total control of who enters and leaves the country. It is worth noting to quote Kofi Annan in a 2001 Secretary General report, “It is time to take a more comprehensive look at various dimensions of migration issue, which now involves hundreds of millions of people and affects countries of origin, transit and destination. We need to understand better the causes of international flows of people and their complex inter-relationship with development.”

In 2010, the International Organization for Migration (IOM) estimated that 25.5 to 32.1 million people representing 10% to 15% of the world’s total of 214 million international
migrants are undocumented immigrants. Though the IOM acknowledges the difficulty in making accurate estimates. Assuming these estimates are not far from the reality, it stands to reason that Ghana with abundant natural resources will attract considerable migrants. In recent times the influx of Chinese migrants in Ghana engaged in illegal mining is alarming and for that matter the need for further enquiry into activities of Chinese migrants in the Ghanaian economy.

1.2 Statement of the Research Problem

Available works done on international migration have focused mainly on the exodus of mass of migrants from other parts of the world, including Africa, to the West with very little said about migrants, whose destinations are Africa and for that matter Ghana. Chinese migration to Africa has aroused concern in some Africa communities where local perceptions of Chinese intentions have varied. However in recent times Ghana seems to becoming a destination for international migrants most especially, from China. While this human mobility is escalating little attention is paid in the literature to the motivating factors for the phenomenon. Also the implication for the Chinese influx into Ghana has seen a little brochuring. Recent incidents, involving the activities of Chinese immigrants in Ghana caught global attention.

China’s supposed unique approach to Africa claims to ensure that relationships with Africa countries remain equitable and non-exploitative. This essay seeks to assess this position within the context of Chinese motivation and implications for Ghana’s socio-economic development.
1.3 The Scope of the Research

The study shall cover the migration of the Chinese from the continent of Asia to Africa with particular reference to Ghana.

1.4 Objectives of the Research

The study is informed by the following objectives:

a. Study current underlying factors influencing the increased movement of migrants from China to Ghana.

b. Trend and effects of irregular migration in Ghana.

c. Examine the pre-frontier measures (Visa and Border Controls) and post-entry measures (residence and work permits) in Ghana.

d. Proffer some recommendations.

1.5 Hypothesis

Contemporary Chinese migration into Ghana is of mutual benefit to both sending and receiving States.

1.6 Rationale of the Research

The increasing surge of Chinese migrants in Ghana, especially in the face of Ghana’s developmental challenges in attaining middle income status in the foreseeable future, needs some interrogation. While Ghana tends to gain from special skills and expertise from the ‘Asian Tigers’ as emerging world economic force, it is imperative to investigate the legitimacy of their activities, migrant status and the effects on Ghana’s developmental goals. A research question in
this regard is: do Chinese Migrants in Africa act as agents of development, or are they just another facet of the plundering of Africa resources by old and new global players? Areas that need special attention are the retailing, infrastructure and mining sectors of the economy. This study seeks to suggest useful solutions to the phenomenon of irregular migration to Ghana and to add to existing scholar knowledge.

1.7 Theoretical Framework

A number of theories and conceptual framework have emerged in the last quarter of the 20\textsuperscript{th} century with the reason of increasing relevance to the social and political recognition given to the phenomenon of migration. Perhaps the difficulties in studying migration lies in the extreme diversity in terms of form, types, process, actors, motivations, socioeconomic and cultural context among other concept. For this reason Anthony Fielding posits that migration is another ‘Chaotic Concept’ that needs segregations, to enable each constituent to be recognized in its proper historical and social perspective so that its import in each context can be understood.

This segregation calls for a better integration of theory and empirical research. While there is no simple and easy prescription for such recognition, it could immensely benefit from case studies with theoretical flair which focus on specific and rely on deep understanding of societies involved. Therefore the units of analysis in this regard are the individual, household, and communities. It is believed that individual migrant seldom make decision in a vacuum about whether to leave and where to go, since immigrant earnings or emigrant remittances are often pooled into household economy.\textsuperscript{10} Similarly it is in this distinction between individual decision making, on one hand, and household or family decision making on the other, that Massey et al.
sort to locate the difference between neo-classical microeconomic migration theory and the new economics of migration. “The economic theorists argue that households send workers abroad not only to improve income in absolute terms, but also to increase income relative to other households, and, hence to reduce their relative deprivation compared to some reference group.”

In explaining international migration, there are several approaches namely the neo-classical economist approach, the new economics of labour migration, the dual labour market, the relative deprivation, institutional and the world system theory approach. The neo-classical approach has to do with decisions of individuals to migrate base on the rational comparison of what they stand to benefit in both the sending and receiving states. In this theory the rate of returns on investment and wage differential in different parts of the world and in some sectors of an economy that compel people to migrate gives credence to it. The theory considers migration as a demand as recognized in neo-classical economics where the decision to migrate as an individual is attributed to disparities in comparing relative gains and cost of whether or not to migrate to other destinations. Therefore the theory understands migration to be driven by differences in returns to labour across markets with geographical partitions as no limitations to the Chinese. In this perspective Massey et al. state: “In this scheme, individual rational actors decide to migrate because a cost-benefit calculation leads them to expect a positive net return, usually monetary, from movement. International migration is conceptualized as a form of investment in human capital.”

In so far as wage differential exist between two countries as an initiation factor, international labour flows will persist. Also income inequality may instigate emigration from any country.
Eventually, if remittances or return migration cause increased inequality in the sending society, the rate of emigration may increase. Therefore the argument that the individual migrants are pre-eminently rational and a utility-maximizing agent hold in this context. The current trend of migration by the people of China from certain provinces to Africa and for that matter Ghana seems to be informed by this theory, any critique of theory embedded in others are mere adjustment or as an enhancement of the neo-classical economic theory.

1.8 Literature Review

The system of migration is characterized by migration policies and in analysing international migration policies the emphasis is normally on how the nation states control the entry and exit of its citizenry as well as immigrants. The extent of controls often met with the proponents of the moral argument where Jonathon Moses concludes that the argument for free human mobility is a reasonable one, just and good argument. He further reiterated that; “It is common today to assume that national controls on human mobility are natural and longstanding. In doing so, we ignore or discount most of human history, where migration has been understood as a fundamental need where welcoming foreigners has been seen as an act of civility. All human societies are products of migration, but our current perspective blinds us to this historical truth and has us imagine that our communities are hermetically sealed from the outside world.” In this regard no matter a particular migration control regime, irregular migration has grown in the past decades and for that matter developed and developing countries have no choice but to deal with it. The current trends in international migration pose a challenge to the traditional notion of nation state and citizenship.
“The assumption that a state must necessarily be built on homogenous national community is becoming increasingly anachronistic. The late twentieth century witnessed one of the most significant trends in migration regarding the emergence of transnational communities known as Diasporas.” These are communities of migrants who settled permanently in countries other than where they were born, but are aware of their country of origin and continue to maintain links with it. Two kinds of migrant situation arises, thus the ‘Chinese Overseas’ and ‘Overseas Chinese.’ The former term refers to those Chinese migrants who do not settle permanently in their destination countries whiles the latter group of migrants is liken to the diaspora situation. During this period, Hollifield was of the view that the force of economic globalization was at work, buttressed by transnational social networks and communities. He concluded that globalization has called for a structural demand for foreign labour and a loss of control of borders, to this end, the institutions of sovereignty and citizenship have been transformed or weakened. In this regard the world can be said to have been ‘individualised,’ states ‘de-territorialised’ and states agenda, ‘de-nationalised.’ Works by Yasemin Soysal and David Jacobson focused on the evolution of rights for immigrants or foreigners. Both authors posits: “the rise of a kind of post-national regime for human rights wherein migrants are able to attain a legal status that somehow surpass citizenship, which remains grounded in the logic of nation state. Jacobson, more so than Soysal, argues that individual migrants have achieved an international legal personality by virtue of various human rights conventions.” Both authors view these developments as presenting a distinctive challenge to traditional definitions of sovereignty and citizenship. But Soysal in particular is careful not to use the term post-national or transnational citizenship, opting instead for the expression post-national membership. These transnational flows have led to multiple identities, where the country of origin the country of
residence can both be sources of identity and rights giving rise to dual citizenship in some jurisdictions in the world. Ghana among some other countries have eventually assume such multiple identity status. This phenomenon is facilitated by the modern transport and communication resources, which allow migrants and their descendants to maintain close links with their country of origin and other groups in the diaspora. Ronald Skeldon believes that the term ‘Diaspora’ has become one of the most prominent in international migration vocabulary in the early part of the twenty-first century. For him, the word in the past was associated with migrants expelled from their homeland as a result of either farming, strife or political persecution, but wherever destination they found themselves the desire to go back home is always evident.23 Today we have the Chinese Diaspora. Ronald argues that the term ‘Diaspora’ has become “an embodiment of all population movements, voluntary and forced, irrespective of the number migrants relative to the population of origin.” He further attempted differentiating and also showing some similarities between migration and diaspora. For him “migration gives the impression of a definite move where migrants eventually becomes a citizen of another country whiles diaspora draws the attention to looking back to the importance of linkages between origin and destination, and to the fact that migrants may return or at least continue involvement with their country of origin.”24 Consequently he recognizes the role of the overseas Chinese in their immense contribution to the development of infrastructure in southern China.25 Ronald concludes that: “international migration is an integral part of states and those that have little movement of their populations are likely to be economically stagnant.”26 This statement supports the argument for the gains of migration. From the forgoing discussions, China have actually open its international migration flood gate to the world and in Ghana, the ‘New Entrepreneurial’ migrants operates large retail and wholesale outlets of affordable Chinese
products. Some of them divert some of their profits in to destructive gold mining business where no formal royalties are paid to their host communities. Almost all Chinese construction entities operating in Ghana employs a host of labour from China as part of the contract terms. This Ghana-China migration enterprise stands to be more beneficial to China than it is to Ghana. Therefore there is no equity in these enterprise but rather a mass depletion of natural resources.

John Salt in *International Migration Into The 21st Century* recognizes that many migrants have place themselves in an irregular position, mostly after entry the host country legally. According to him a lot more migrants put their destinies in the bosom of traffickers and human smugglers. He is of the view that “migration streams seen as mobility streams are dynamic and plaint, involve different types of people and motivation, have different roles and methods of insertion into the host societies and are managed by different agencies and institutions.” According to Hammer, migration may be seen as a “process that begins when the potential migrant is still in his country of origin and the process ends when the migrant either returns to that country or settles permanently, with full rights of citizenship, in the country of destination.” He also recognizes that, in the settlement process, the migrant must pass through the following ‘gates’ in acquiring citizenship:

a) External controls by embassies and border authorities in the area of ensuring travels are made on genuine travel documents and acquisition of valid visas among others;

b) Internal alien control to monitor compliance with regulations on temporary residence or exercise of economic activity;

c) Acquisition of permanent residence right; and

d) Acquisition of full rights of citizenship.
Theoretically each of the above ‘gates’ can be used by states to restrict entry, exit, temporary or permanent settlement of migrants. The rational for states to regulate the different types of international migrants can be informed from two angles, thus what states do based on their relation with other states since states are no isolated units but part of larger system that interact culturally, economically and politically, and that regarding internal considerations where the focus is on the threats pose by the migrants. In this case the level of analysis may vary from the individual or state to the international system. In this regard, Killingsworth, warns on the need to be circumspect when drafting and implementing migration policies. He is of the view that restricting legal migration may just increase clandestine movements.\textsuperscript{30} Salt in his contribution to migration as business argues that international migration has become inevitable; it can be managed by states but not controlled or eradicated by them. The Individual-State dichotomy must be merged with the myriad of bodies which have become part of this management process. Hence international migration could be seen as international business with vast budget, providing hundreds of thousands of jobs worldwide, and managed by set of individuals, agencies and institutions, each of which have vested interest in developing a sector of business in what I refer to as ‘International Migration Enterprise.’ Therefore from this perspective migration may be examined in contractual terms. According to Salt, “migration business may be thought of as a system of institutionalized networks consisting of organizations, agents, and individuals each of which stands to gain some form of remuneration from international movement.”\textsuperscript{31} Undoubtedly the population movement from China to Ghana where households contribute and even acquire loans for family members to migrate and invest such monies into the ‘galamsey’ business attest to this phenomenon of migration business.
Stephen Castles and Mark J. Miller in *The Age of Migration* noted that the post-Cold War period has witnessed the growing of international migration across the globe and these international population movements constitute a key dynamics in globalization.\(^{32}\) In their view, “one of the dawns of the twenty-first century’s unfolding drama that has captured the attention of people and leaders of the world is the emergence international migration, and has been described as a force for social transformation.”\(^{33}\) They noted how population movements across borders had a history of transforming states and cultures. Again, they observed its globalized dimensions, linkages with both domestic and international politics, and socio-economic implications as one of unique feature of the twenty-first century. They argue that the global order based on sovereignty of states is giving way to “novel form of interdependence where the lives of millions of people are inextricably weaving together the fate of state and society.”\(^{34}\) Their concept termed ‘age of migration’ stem from the growing inequalities in the wealth between the North and South having the potential to induce population movements in quest for desired wellbeing of humanity and welfare maximization. As a result, they argue that states around the world will increasingly be affected by international migration either as receiving societies, land of emigration, or both.\(^{35}\)

In considering the authority of a state, international law consent states to regulate the movement of persons across their borders and such authority is said to emanate from the concept of international system of states where states have the primary authority over their geographical jurisdiction and population. For that matter in managing migration, it is important to concurrently take into account the legitimate sovereign authority of states and fundamental human right of all migrants. In this regard states sought to manage it in a variety of ways including control oriented measures which focuses on prevention or reduction. This includes
tighter border controls, deportations or repatriations, visa policies, labour inspection and internal checks including hotels among others. Therefore irregular migration poses some challenges to states to deal with issues not only because it infringes the sovereign prerogative of states to determine which nationality may enter their country and under what condition within the confines of its immigration laws, but also an obligation to safeguard the human rights of the individual migrants. Therefore the rules of entry and exit formulated by state(s) regulate migration flows. State sovereignty and control are at issue in debates about citizenship, and since citizenship and sovereignty are cornerstones of international legal system, migration always has the potential to affect international relations. Irregular migration is a phenomenon that assumes a global outlook. In dealing with irregular migration it is important to understand the economic rationale that would aid policies to undercut the profitability of smugglers and traffickers. Today issues of migration leading to political crisis in both developed and developing world is very much alive as postulated by Hollifield in *The Politics of International Migration* in Migration Theory. One significant effect of migration is social change to destination countries who were previously homogeneous societies but now evolving into complex multicultural societies. In certain territories, this has been seen as appropriate and desirable, while other jurisdictions it is the subject of much repugnance. All these population movements have shaped the modern world by producing profound and lasting changes in lifestyle, language and culture, social and economic structures, and political and administrative system. In effect every state across the globe is a migrant destination country and Ghana is no exception. As a result, the tagging of nations into either origin, transit or destination country is definitely unacceptable as countries have migrants, send migrants or have some number of other nationals transiting through its frontiers. To this end a familiar ‘Weberian’ metaphor summary to this social process
is, “the speeding train of international migration is fuelled by economic and sociological forces, but it is the state that acts as a switching mechanism, which can change the course of the train, or derail it altogether.” It can however be said that the local communities where these mining (‘galamsey’) takes place are in tune to the presence of the Chinese for making available some hardware equipment that aid mining operations. Contrary to this is the indiscriminate nature to which the Chinese have engaged in small scale mining. Therefore there was the need for the government of Ghana to become that switching mechanism to control the continuous involvement of Chinese in the ‘galamsey’ business.

1.9 Definition of Key Concepts

**Irregular Migration:** In this research is also called “illegal migration” or “unauthorized migration”. It occurs where international movement, residence and /or work abroad is conducted against the laws and regulations of the origin, transit and destination countries. For the host countries, the migrant may not have the necessary documentation and authorization under immigration laws and related regulations to enter, reside of work there. Often migrants enter legally and then overstay their permit thereby putting themselves into irregular form of migrants. In considering the county of origin, it means migrant crosses an international boundary without a valid travel document or does not fulfil the administrative requirement. The term encompasses smuggled and trafficked persons; and persons who use unapproved routes.

**Migration:** Is a term used in this research to refer to international migration. Normally, a conceptual distinction is drawn between migration and immigration (emigration), where the former refers to internal migration and the later to movement across national borders.

**Director:** Refers to the Director of Immigration Service (DIS).
Service: Refers to Ghana Immigration Service.

Immigration Officer: Means any officer of the Ghana Immigration Service duly trained by the Service and assigned to act on behalf of the Director of Immigration. Currently Ghana does not have any career Immigration Officers performing functions of the Service at the Foreign Service.

Other Nationals: Means foreigners who either decides to reside permanently, temporarily in another country or use same as a transit point.

1.10 Methodology and Sources of Data

In carrying out this research qualitative and quantitative analysis was adopted and data collated through primary and secondary sources. The primary sources of data were mainly based on unstructured interview of Officers from the Migration Bureau, Enforcement and Operations units of the Ghana Immigration Service. The secondary sources would be relevant textbooks and journal articles from the Balm, LECIAD and Centre for Migration Studies libraries. Additionally annual and monthly reports of the Ghana Immigration Service would be used as well as data on arrivals, departures, deportation and repatriation of Chinese nationals.

Data would be analysed qualitatively based on the overall objectives and needs of the research that correspond to the problem under investigation as well as the employment of quantitative methods on numerical data in the form of tables, percentages and simple proportions to aid inferences.
1.11 **Arrangements of Chapters**

The research is organized into four chapters.

Chapter one is the Research Design.

Chapter two would consider an overview of Chinese Migration in Africa.


Chapter Four: Summary of Findings, Conclusions and Recommendations.
Endnotes

4 Ibid.
5 Kwong, P. op. cit.
6 Ibid.
7 Ibid.
12 Ibid., p. 434.
15 Ibid., p. 11.
17 Ibid., p.30
19 Ibid.
20 Ibid.
24 Ibid. pp. 151-152.
25 Ibid. p. 152.
26 Ibid.
33 Ibid.
34 Ibid., p. 2.
35 Ibid., p. 4.
36 Brettell, C. B. and Hollifield J.f., op cit., p.11.
39 Brettell, C. B. and Hollifield J. F., op cit. p.188.
CHAPTER TWO

CHINESE MIGRATION IN AFRICA: AN OVERVIEW

2.1 Brief Historical Perspective

The voyages of Ming dynasty Admiral Zheng He to African in early 15th century, has been acknowledged as China’s benevolent intentions toward the continent of Africa.\(^1\) Park reports that “China’s migration to Africa has a long history. The earliest confirmed Chinese migrants to African coasts arrived with the Dutch East India Company in Cape, now part of South Africa. Small numbers of convicts and company slaves arrived in the mid to late 17th century, followed by some contract labourers and artisans who arrived in South Africa’s early colonies in the early to mid-19th century.”\(^2\) During 1904-1910, over 63,000 contract miners were imported to the Transvaal to work in the gold mines and later most of them were repatriated to China.\(^3\) These Chinese migrants hail from the northern territories notably Shandong, Hebei, Guangdong and Fujian.

In modern times, Chinese migration to Africa can be traced in Chinese international policy under Mao Zendong in the late 1950s-1970s even though individual migration to Africa was halted. The period witnessed a China’s political interest in Africa where it showed keen interest in anti-colonial struggles and post-colonial solidarity with newly independent African countries. To maintain the new diplomatic relations with Africa countries, Mao sent 150,000 Chinese technicians and workers to the continent in its aid programs to work in agriculture, technology and infrastructure development. At the end of the contract majority of the migrant workers were said to have return to China. Until the 1970s there were no migrants from Taiwan and Hong Kong on the continent. The most significant of such migration flows during the period was the
50,000 Chinese contract workers that built the Tanzania-Zambia railway line. Even though the population of Chinese traders in Africa is difficult to verify, Raphael Kaplinsky, a Director at the Department of Policy and Practice at the Open University in the United States estimates that, the number of Chinese traders in Zambia as of the year 2007 is 30,000, an increase of 3,000 in the last decade. He also estimated that in South Africa alone, the Chinese population is about 500,000. The implications on job losses and aggravation of poverty in Africa make the situation quite challenging.

2.2 Emigration from China and Labour Export

Many states sort to dismantle barriers to emigration that has existed prior to 1980s, especially the former Communist countries. Notable is the Chinese liberalized emigration legislation of 1985. The collapse of the Soviet Union as a result of the end of the Cold War and with the opening up of China to the global market have reduced or eliminated restrictions to emigration. The globalization of the Chinese economy did not only generated trade and FDI flows, but also international migration. Therefore the world now fully embraces previously isolated countries. In this perspective Barsky believe that: “People have the inalienable right to move around as they wish, for whatever reason they think appropriate. Borders between states are an aberration, the idea of the nation is reprehensible in its consequences, and the restrictions imposed upon people who wish to travel from one region of the world to another are absurd and hurtful.” In the last 30 years there have been significant changes in the Chinese Government’s policies and perspectives on emigration. According to Biao, China has been decoupling emigration and politics domestically and wish to deal with migration as an apolitical and neutral matter where exit and entry management should be an area of service rather than control. This gave Chinese citizens unprecedented freedom of international movement.
control system in the past, the year 2002 began a liberalized passport regime that allowed persons who were to work with Chinese companies overseas, irrespective of who owns the company, private passports became another option to public passports.\textsuperscript{11} The old passport regime which allows the employer to hold on unto such passport so long the migrant remain working overseas. Therefore the introduction of private passport was of great relief to the citizenry. The restrictions associated with the ordinary public passport were eliminated thereby encouraging a freer movements across borders. Migrants may now decide to change their status willingly or overstay their various permits whiles living overseas. With the emergence of the flexible passport system, emigration of citizens became well monitored.\textsuperscript{12}

According to Biao, “labour export known as ‘laowu shuchu’ is a practice where companies organize and send workers overseas to meet a destination country’s demand for labour. Organized labour export can take two forms.”\textsuperscript{13} One has to do with companies who deals with project workers overseas in the light of projects subcontracted to the said company. The second category is the specialist labour-supply firms as indicated by Biao. These two categories of labour export entities can be divided into four groups. The first has to do with companies owned by the Ministry of Foreign Trade and Economic Cooperation (MoFTEC).\textsuperscript{14} The second is an affiliates of the Bureau of Labour, who are task with both internal and overseas labour placement.\textsuperscript{15} Thirdly, there are firms who trade in construction hardware but also export labour to take care of the construction material and machinery upon request by their international cliental.\textsuperscript{16} The last category has to do with firms who supply staff in some special areas such as seamen.\textsuperscript{17}
“The coastal province of China, particularly Guangdong, Zhejian, and Fujian, have been, for many centuries, regions that sent migrants out into the world. Most of the world’s overseas Chinese are from particular areas within these few provinces. In some villages over 80% of the people have migrated over the past three to four centuries; these areas are characterized by a long standing tradition of emigration that has gained self-sustaining momentum.”

It has become a norm for people of these villages to migrate overseas. Park notes that the young people from these areas are compelled under the circumstances to travel out of China with the hope of making some monetary gains before returning home. Migration then becomes a measure of one’s courage, worth, and success; it has become culturally valued. Significantly these provinces still maintains a long-standing tradition as the lead regions that send Chinese migrants to Africa. It has also been observed that since the 1990s, prominent urban areas such as Beijing, Tianjin and Shanghai have become new places of migrant origin. “Ma Mung also reports on large numbers of migrants from the Dongbei region, including the north-east provinces of Heilongjiang, and Liaoning and Hubei of central China.”

Some Chinese migrants have been observed to be rational in their choice of a destination which is informed by linguistic connections among groups of migrant to Africa. These groups emigrates from one country to the other if the two countries speak the same language. Two examples of such linguistic informed movements are cited in Park by Ma Mung and, Carling and Haugen. Ma Mung elaborated on the ‘The French Connection’ where migrants from Zhejiang province (Wenzhou) who lived in France migrated to Francophone countries in Africa. In the case of Carling and Haugen, they reported Portuguese-speaking Chinese who initially migrated to Cape Verde and later moved to Mozambique and Angola since these host countries speak Portuguese.
Park notes that a potential Chinese migrant arrives in Africa by various means including direct
government to government arrangement for some small number of Chinese professionals and
labourers who are linked to development aid projects. According to him others migrants arrive in
Africa through private licensed employment agencies that tend to work in governmental projects
in construction, oil fields and mines. A lot of self-determining migrants travel to Africa through
informal social networks of associates, family and interpersonal acquaintances. Former migrants
to Africa set up semi-legal or unlicensed job recruitment agencies to facilitate emigration from
China for prospective migrant for a fee. To be able to pay for such charges, some individual
contract personal loans and contributions from close relations. A study conducted in Free State
province of South Africa according to Park indicates that the young population in China prior to
initiating their move to the continent of Africa goes for loans of large sum which takes years to
repay. Also available are the human traffickers/smugglers, sometimes referred to as ‘snakeheads’
that facilitates this population movement.

In the last three decades, migration in China has seen an appreciation, thus the stock of Chinese
migrants increased by 37.7% during 1990-2000 and 44% during 2000-2010 as shown in table 1
below. The most prominent destination of the Chinese is their own continent, Asia, which
accounted for 52.6% of the total stock of Chinese migrants by the end of 2010. Yet the Share of
Asia has declined over the past three decades, as the proportion in 1990 and 2000 were
respectively 72% and 58%. Chinese migration to Africa is still at a very low level, as it accounts
only for 0.65% of the total Chinese migrant population in 2010 whiles in 2000 it accounted for
0.71%. Therefore the period 1990-2000 saw a rapid growth of Chinese migrants to Africa,
especially in the Eastern and Sub-Sahara regions as illustrated in table 1 below.
Table 1. Chinese Migrant Population and its Changes over Time, 1990-2010

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Destination</th>
<th>Number of Migrant and Geographical Distribution</th>
<th>Changes Over Time</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>WORLD</strong></td>
<td>4,252,389</td>
<td>5,854,387</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More Developed Regions</td>
<td>1,267,042</td>
<td>2,451,968</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less Developed Regions</td>
<td>2,985,347</td>
<td>3,402,419</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>AFRICA</strong></td>
<td>17,319</td>
<td>41,570</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern Africa</td>
<td>5,192</td>
<td>24,067</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle Africa</td>
<td>449</td>
<td>472</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern Africa</td>
<td>2,564</td>
<td>3,664</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern Africa</td>
<td>7,751</td>
<td>11,223</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western Africa</td>
<td>1,363</td>
<td>2,144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ASIA</strong></td>
<td>3,062,115</td>
<td>3,608,324</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central</td>
<td>4,687</td>
<td>4,446</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern</td>
<td>2,335,783</td>
<td>2,776,069</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South-Eastern</td>
<td>552,780</td>
<td>642,304</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern</td>
<td>166,354</td>
<td>166,959</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western</td>
<td>2,511</td>
<td>18,546</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>EUROPE</strong></td>
<td>234,739</td>
<td>412,229</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern</td>
<td>75,460</td>
<td>71,860</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern</td>
<td>31,957</td>
<td>78,921</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern</td>
<td>40,744</td>
<td>100,765</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western</td>
<td>86,578</td>
<td>160,683</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN</strong></td>
<td>49,102</td>
<td>66,599</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caribbean</td>
<td>5,706</td>
<td>7,818</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central America</td>
<td>11,486</td>
<td>15,989</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South America</td>
<td>31,910</td>
<td>42,792</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>NORTHERN AMERICA</strong></td>
<td>785,099</td>
<td>1,482,641</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OCEANIA</td>
<td>104,015</td>
<td>243,024</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australia and New Zealand</td>
<td>96,821</td>
<td>221,498</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Melanesia</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Micronesia</td>
<td>6,289</td>
<td>20,336</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polynesia</td>
<td>828</td>
<td>1,089</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs (2012)
2.3 Current Migration Flows and Types

The current migration flows from China to Africa changed its scale and patterns as a result China’s economic development on one hand and its increasing engagement in Africa on the other hand. Official data from the Department of Economics and Social Affairs of the United Nations indicates that the total number of Chinese in Africa by the end of 2010 stands at 54,568. About half (47.9%) of the Chinese migrants in Africa are concentrated in Eastern African countries, especially Mauritius and Madagascar. South Africa and Botswana are the two very important destinations of Chinese migrants in South African sub-region as they host respectively 3.1% and 5.5% of Chinese migrants in Africa. Western African countries host about 3,000 Chinese migrants representing 5.5% of the stock of Africa’s share of the Chinese migrants, out of which most of them are said to be concentrated in Ghana, accounting for 3.9%. The Northern sub-region host 8.7%, out of which Libya only accounts for 5% of the total Chinese population in Africa. The distribution of the top ten destinations of the Chinese in Africa is in table 2 below accounting for 96% of Chinese migrant population in Africa.

Table 2. Distribution of Ten Top Destinations of Chinese Migrants in Africa, 2010

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Destination</th>
<th>Number of Migrants</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mauritius</td>
<td>22,137</td>
<td>40.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Africa</td>
<td>16,913</td>
<td>30.99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madagascar</td>
<td>3,095</td>
<td>5.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Botswana</td>
<td>3,024</td>
<td>5.54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Libya</td>
<td>2,703</td>
<td>4.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghana</td>
<td>2,130</td>
<td>3.91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egypt</td>
<td>969</td>
<td>1.78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Algeria</td>
<td>606</td>
<td>1.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mauritania</td>
<td>380</td>
<td>0.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zambia</td>
<td>366</td>
<td>0.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>2,235</td>
<td>4.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>54,568</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs (2012)
The new migration flows to Africa as identified by Emmanuel Ma Mung consist of three types of migrants to Africa: temporary contracted labour migrants linked to public building works and large infrastructure development projects undertaken by large Chinese enterprises; entrepreneurs; and transit migrants. Park reports that largest among these cohorts of migrants is the temporal labour migrants. It is believed that about 800 Chinese companies operate in 49 African countries. Even though some of these China Government backed multinational enterprises employs some indigenous workforce, they rather prefer to employ more of Chinese migrants in their oil, mining, infrastructure and public work operations. “Ma Mung reports that there are approximately 80,000 Chinese workers employed by these Chinese firms” in Africa. Others likes Legeay-Gillon in Park reports that in 2007 there were approximately 130,000 Chinese labour force in Africa. Park states that: “the use of Chinese contract labourers has become one of the contentious issues in contemporary China-Africa relations”, most especially with in the face of rising unemployment levels. The proclivity to employ migrant Chinese labour is premise on arguments regarding cost, productivity and cultural affinity. The Chinese investment in mining and oil sectors in Africa has drawn a lot of attention from the western media and created tensions among local communities and eventually becoming targets for organized crime groups. A case in point is the frequent kidnapings of oil workers in southern Nigeria. Another major growing sector with high input of Chinese migrant workers are the construction and infrastructure sectors, in which Chinese SOEs and private entities have become important and influential actors in Africa. The success of China’s companies, particularly SOEs in African constructions and infrastructure sectors can be attributed not only to cost competitiveness in overall bidding price and access to cheap capital through Chinese state-owned banks, but also the use of skilled low cost labour and cheap building essentials from China. Most of these major Chinese infrastructure projects in Africa are funded by ExIm bank at marginal concessional rates.
cemented with natural resource deals. Examples of such natural resource transactions includes the construction of Bui Dam in Ghana and Congo River Dam that were traded respectively with cocoa and crude oil. Baregu reports that some Chinese Small and Medium Enterprises (SMEs) and private construction firms have also emerged in Namibia and Tanzania, and are in competition with their local counterpart.

In Mauritius some Chinese are engaged in agriculture and manufacturing activities in export processing zones and in direct competition with relatively unskilled African labour. Most of these migrants stay for the duration of their contract and return to China. It is believed that majority of temporary labour migrants are semi-skilled and smaller managerial and professional class migrants employed in large construction projects as well as in the financial, telecommunications and media sectors. Migrants in the less skilled category of workers often return to China whiles those belonging to the managerial and professional class most often than not remain in the African host country as independent migrants and also becoming an establish entrepreneurs. With the compilation of information extracted from Ma Mung, table 3 below summarizes list of Chinese investment in large resource extraction and infrastructure project found in some 11 countries in Africa. These Chinese entities are most likely to employ a combination of some Chinese and local workers.
### Table 3: Some Chinese Investment in Africa

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Resource Extraction</th>
<th>Infrastructure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Zambia</td>
<td>Cobalt and Copper</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zimbabwe</td>
<td>Coal and Ferrochrome exploration</td>
<td>Roads, Mobile Telephone Networks, production and distribution of Electricity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mozambique</td>
<td>Coal and Oil infrastructure</td>
<td>Sports Stadium</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethiopia</td>
<td>Drug manufacture and Oil exploration</td>
<td>Construction of motorways and hydro-electric station</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sudan</td>
<td>Oil exploration</td>
<td>Hydro-electric power plants, Power stations and Oil pipeline</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DRC</td>
<td>Cobalt and Copper</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central Republic Africa</td>
<td>Uranium and Oil exploration</td>
<td>Cement factory and sports stadium</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gabon</td>
<td>Timber, Manganese, Niobium, Iron, Oil</td>
<td>Presidential Palace, National Assembly, Senate, City of Information, Hospitals, Railways and Roads.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senegal</td>
<td>Cotton treatment plant</td>
<td>Health facilities, Sports Stadium, Cultural infrastructure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mali</td>
<td>Cotton treatment plant</td>
<td>Congregational palace and Roads</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Algeria</td>
<td>Petroleum Refinery</td>
<td>Residential Construction, Airport expansion, Dams and Motorways</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Another group of migrants are what Ma Mung refer to as ‘small-time entrepreneurs’, traders and small investors or what Carling and Haugen refer to as ‘New Entrepreneurial Migration’ where the emphasis is placed on ‘Migrant’ rather than on ‘Entrepreneur’. They are active in trade, services and light manufacturing. Those migrants with some amount of entrepreneurial abilities and engaged in the export trade of Chinese commodities according to Ma Mung have created the condition for the growth of ‘China Shops’ across the globe including Africa. These migrants were not necessarily entrepreneurs in their country, but upon coming to Africa they get involved in running their own businesses in retail and wholesale trade of Chinese made goods rather than entering into wage labour market due to the inability to communicate in local languages, low
capital required for start-up, as well as linkages to Chinese manufacturers.\(^{41}\) This has resulted in establishment of Chinese shops across Africa.\(^{42}\) Additionally, some of the new entrepreneurs operated restaurants and Chinese traditional medicine clinic or outlets.

The social network in this migrant business is very important, as the ‘entrepreneurial migrants’ term as Park argues does not only refer to that migrant who originally sets up the business, but also other migrants in the business who often includes relations, friends or individuals from the same location in China.\(^{43}\) The growth of overseas Chinese entities in Africa actually creates a demand for labour and labour migration from China.\(^{44}\) “Carling and Haugen argue, however, that hiring other Chinese nationals has to do with trust rather than pure ethnicity; in other words, workers are recruited amongst relatives or family friends who are known and trusted, not only because they are Chinese.\(^{45}\) Park remarks that the kinship networks accounts more for population movements from particular regions of China to particular areas in Africa but not the broader transnational ethnic networks, a typical example is the Free State province of South Africa where almost all of the new Chinese migrants are from the Fuqing region of Fujian province.\(^{46}\) Often Chinese retailers and other businesses choose areas where their Taiwanese forerunners had established businesses as in the case of Mauritius, Namibia, Nigeria, Lesotho and South Africa.\(^{47}\)

Significantly, China Shops across the length and breadth of Africa are almost identical in their retail trade.\(^{48}\) Additionally several larger Africa cities such as Johannesburg, Casablanca, Accra, Yaoundé and Douala have become home to Chinese wholesale traders.\(^{49}\) “Johannesburg has almost a dozen of these large wholesale centres, each of which has several hundred wholesale stalls; these include China City, China Mart, Asia City, Hong Kong City, Crowne Square, Gold Reef Emporia, Dragon City, African Trade Centre, and Orient City. This form a regional
shopping hub provides goods not for just South Africa but also to retailers and consumers in neighbouring countries.\textsuperscript{50}

The third group of Chinese migrants in Africa identified by Park as the ‘In-Transit migrant’. These are migrants who enters a country legally by way of business or tourist visas but overstay their permits. They eventually get engaged by indigenous Chinese entities with the intension of moving to Western economies with the least opportunity. However, some of the cohorts remain in their host countries after successfully regularizing the stay.\textsuperscript{51} Therefore by their very nature, it is a daunting task for their host country to keep records of them.

\section*{2.4 Settlement of Chinese Overseas and Host Relations}

The ultimate question is; do the Chinese become permanent settlers in Africa? Referencing from the various categories of Chinese migrants in Africa, be it those on contract to large construction projects being run by the Chinese firms, managers employed to SOEs, or with Chinese diplomatic services as discussed shall eventually return to China. Whether or not the independent entrepreneurial migrant will became a permanent settlers in Africa is influenced by the gains of their investment and the tolerant and accommodative levels of host countries. It is for this reasons Park argues that most Chinese in Africa cannot actually be defined as settlers with an exception of some Chinese in South Africa, he classified them as ‘Modern Day Sojourners or Transnational Citizens’. Park argues that those who have lived in Africa beyond ten years have actually become settlers. To him, Chinese settlers in Africa probably number less 20,000 and predominantly based in South Africa.\textsuperscript{52}
The modern day sojourner is much interested in making profit in Africa and go back home successfully. According to Park, one Chinese Ambassador is reported to have said that the dream of most Chinese migrants to Africa was to return home to put up a three-level home signifying their success overseas. Park remarks that: “hardship of live in Africa are worthwhile and surmountable because they are seen as temporal.” The Ambassador explained that there is a “cultural value place on suffering for the long term goals.” He further argued that, “the value of delayed gratification is part of the Chinese philosophy and mentality.” The Chinese key to success is to work with low personal expenditure. A study by Park showed that for the migrant worker, it is enough to work for three years on contract overseas to enable one raise the needed finances for building a new house. Hitherto a migrant need over ten working years in China to save same amount. Thus wages can be 30% to 400% more in Africa than in China. Amongst the entrepreneurial migrants, even the modest return on initial investment can afford continued travel between Africa and China. Often young men who have spent few years in Africa will go back to China to find wives. Many send their African-born child back home to be raised by their grandparents or other family members so they can attend Chinese schools and learn how to ‘be a Chinese’. This is to let them appreciate the Chinese philosophy and mentality.

Park reports that the transnational overseas Chinese operates in a more cosmopolitan, globalized environment. Thus the Chinese can invest in several Africa cities; sustain business interest in manufacturing back home and keep wholesale outlets in other states in Africa. These group of Chinese owns properties in the countries of operation.

Many regional blocks in Africa namely West, East and south; and North respectively over the years have accommodated multitude of foreigners such as French, Lebanese and Indians as
observed by Alden. However according to Park, the Chinese presences has raised some concerns in several countries in Africa. In finding answers to the anti-Chinese sentiments, he blamed the Western media for describing the activities of migrants in Africa as an evasion of the continent of Africa, Neo-colonial and predatory. To him such Western media commentary have informed perceptions and hostile attitudes of host communities. The host communities further believes that most of the contract labourers are probably prisoners brought to do their respective community services due the isolated life style coupled with long hours of work. Therefore their continual presence is seen as inimical to public good. It is important to state that anti-China sentiments are mixed in some context.

The Migrant’s easy access to Chinese manufacturers than their African counterparts may result in an unfavourable trade for the African. Hence the fear of being clouded out in market necessitates some sentiments. Another group of Africans who are alarmed are employees of Chinese entities together with labour unions most often than not associates Chinese companies with bad labour practices. Park reports an example of bad working conditions in the mines run by the Chinese in the copper belt of Zambia.56 However in another breath, there were favourable attributes of the Chinese as Park argues of a situation where Cape Verdeans hailed the Chinese for providing an alternate affordable consumer goods thereby raising their purchasing power. Finally I agree to a larger extent with Park that: “Increased anti-Chinese sentiments in Africa countries may have to do with a Chinese saying, ‘one Chinese is a dragon, many Chinese are bugs’.”57
ENDNOTES

3 Ibid.
9 Biao, X. op. cit. p. 22.
10 Ibid.
11 Ibid., p. 27.
12 Ibid.
13 Ibid., p. 32.
14 Ibid.
15 Ibid., p. 33.
16 Ibid.
17 Ibid.
18 Park, Y. J., op. cit., p. 5.
19 Ibid.
20 Ibid.
21 Ibid.
22 Ibid.
23 Ibid.
25 Ibid.
26 Ibid.
27 Ibid.
30 Ibid.
31 Ibid.
32 Ibid.
34 Haiyan, Z., op cit., p.15.
35 Ibid.
36 Ibid.
37 Ibid.
39 Ibid. p.7.
40 Ibid.
41 Ibid.
42 Ibid.
43 Ibid.
44 Ibid.
45 Park, Y. J. op. cit., p. 8.
46 Ibid.

33
48 Ibid.
50 Ibid.
51 Ibid.
52 Ibid., p. 10.
54 Ibid.
55 Ibid.
57 Ibid., p. 8.
CHAPTER THREE

ISSUES OF CHINESE MIGRANTS IN CONTEMPORARY GHANA

3.0 Introduction

Since the beginning of the 21st century, Ghana has seen the arrival of a new form of Chinese migration. The so called “new entrepreneurial migrants” come to Ghana not as workers in the highly prestigious state projects, but rather in pursuit of their own economic interests. Venturing into activities such as petty manufacturing, general trade, restaurants and mining among others. These independent Chinese migrants are often hailed for bringing affordable new commercial services and goods to low-income households.¹ As a result of the Chinese entrepreneurial presence, there has been the emergence of anti-Chinese sentiments among many Ghanaian entrepreneurs.²

IOM argues; “given that the number of migrants is rising and the trend is likely to persist in the foreseeable future, the management of migration has necessary become one of the critical challenges for States in the new millennium. It is now widely acknowledged that well-managed migration has the potential to yield significant benefits to origin and destination countries.”³ As at 2009 one of the highest officially registered migrants in Ghana was Chinese nationals.⁴
### Table 4. Total Arrival (ARR) and Departure (DEP) of Chinese by Entry and Exit Points, 2012-2013

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>KIA</th>
<th>AFLAO</th>
<th>ELUBO</th>
<th>PAGA</th>
<th>OTHERS</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ARR</td>
<td>DEP</td>
<td>ARR</td>
<td>DEP</td>
<td>ARR</td>
<td>DEP</td>
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<td>74</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>18307</td>
<td>22239</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Ghana Immigration Data Unit.

### Table 5. Chinese Arrivals and Departures, 2000-2013

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>No. of Chinese Arrivals</th>
<th>No. of Chinese Departures</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>1455</td>
<td>1684</td>
</tr>
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<td>1945</td>
</tr>
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<td>1706</td>
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<td>2003</td>
<td>4125</td>
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<td>3841</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
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<td>4534</td>
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<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>4648</td>
<td>5724</td>
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<tr>
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<td>6377</td>
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<td>13985</td>
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<tr>
<td>2012</td>
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<td>16317</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2013</td>
<td>18307</td>
<td>22239</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Ghana Immigration Data Unit.
In table 4 above, arrivals and departure are more skew towards KIA as the most used entry for the Chinese. However entry and exits of these Chinese nationals at the Aflao border post seems to have also appreciated as compared to Paga, Elubo and Others. The entries referred to as “Others” represents a nationwide aggregate of arrivals and departures at all minor approved entry posts. A lot more Chinese were admitted than departed at the Aflao border post in the last two years, majority of those admitted secured their Visas in Togo and those who could not acquire visas in Togo resort to the use unapproved entry points since our borders are such porous. Figures of these clandestine movements could not be establish but adds to the irregular Chinese migrants in Ghana. A case of 9 Chinese arrested at the Tema International Hotel, out of the eights passports retrieved, 6 had no indication of arrival in Ghana suggesting a possible use of unapproved entry around Aflao. The two other passports confirm bearer duly arrived in Ghana and one had a resident permit. All the eight Chinese nationals came from the Guangxi province in China. The indications are that Togo has become a transit country for the Chinese. Observation to this effect is the number of Chinese nationals who entered Ghana through the Aflao border post as indicated in table 4 above and being the second most used entry point by the Chinese in the years 2012 and 2013.

The table 5 above shows distribution Chinese flows in and out of Ghana over the last 14 years is characterized with an increasing phenomenon except for the years 2004, 2005 and 2013 where there was a reduction in the numbers of Chinese arrivals. Official records at the Ghana Immigration Service shows that a total arrivals and departures from year 2000 to 2013 inclusive were respectively 105,987 and 106,793. The year 2013 arrivals were short of 2085 Chinese migrants compared the previous year. This significant fall in arrivals was as a result of the joint
operation conducted by the taskforce mandated to flush out all other nationals engaged in illegal gold mining business. Regarding the departure figures, the incremental phenomenon persists except for 2004. It is remarkable to note that after the year 2009 to 2012; there were more Chinese arriving in Ghana than the numbers departing during the period. Notably are the 4075 more arrivals than departures in the year 2012. It important to issue some caveat here; data on arrival and departure are not absolute in its entirety but includes multiple entry and exit of some frequent sojourners. However it could be inferred that the majority of these arrivals increased the Chinese numbers the illegal gold mining venture since majority of the repatriated Chinese arrived in the country during the period as indicated by a senior official of Ghana Immigration Service. Therefore one can admit that the Chinese are always fluid in their population movements to other countries and are most often than not return to China after some years of sojourning abroad. In Ghana the Chinese are definitely not interested in taking up citizenship but are more focused in enhancing resources that will enable him go back to China and have a better living standard. The idea that the Chinese always have strong home attachment and go back to China is a significant characteristic to their international migration dynamics.

3.1 **Chinese Migrants: Manufacturing and Commodity Trade**

China’s involvement in Africa has drawn a lot of attention and critics not only from Africa but especially from the West. Some Africa critics fear the threat of competition from the Chinese industrial juggernaut and the rise of Chinese trader’s competition in local Africa markets. China’s path to prosperity have become an example to many Africans. Meanwhile, others have voiced concerns over the lack of social and environmental responsibilities of Chinese-owned firms. But also many people from different standpoints believe Chinese action to be beneficial to
African development. Indeed, the accusation that China is a new colonizing power, exploiting Africa’s natural resources and flooding the continent with low-priced manufactured products while turning a blind eye to its autocracies is at the core of most critiques of China’s current engagement in Africa.\textsuperscript{5}

In 2005 and 2007, Ghana Union of Traders’ Association (GUTA) organized a series of demonstrations against foreigners, particularly the Chinese for taking over retail business. GUTA then called for the review of the investment act which is almost two decades old. They proposed a minimum investment amount be raised to $1m from the current $300,000 and the least number of employments increased from 10 to 25 Ghanaian in the case of trading companies. GUTA argued, the Act did not fulfil its mission, because foreigners freely entered the retail business, resulting into unfavourable competition with indigenous people. Odoi-Larbi reports, the influx of exotic goods represented a threat to manufacturers, tax system, and state security.\textsuperscript{6} A senior cabinet minister, Joseph Henry Mensah was reported to have said he does not regard China’s increasing presence in Ghana as a threat to the country. Rather, he regarded it is an opportunity for trade which the country should take advantage of for the benefit of all.\textsuperscript{7}

In recent years, the tendency of the private sector emerging as a main force in Ghana has become quite obvious as stated by an interviewee. Chinese business are opening restaurants and selling a variety of goods from motor cycles to building materials all over Ghana. The idea of the strategic use of economic relations with Beijing as a means of achieving political objectives is not necessary true. On the contrary, many of the Chinese people in Ghana are independent of any state direction. Alden, reports that the behaviour of thousands of newly settled Chinese
businessmen and their conduct in the African communities in which they live and work will matter as much as the diplomacy and concessions made at the governmental level.\textsuperscript{8}

The allegation that Chinese businesses are encroaching on local market spaces and crowding out traders is faced with the unavailability of reliable data, The Ghana Investment Promotion Centre (GIPC) accounts for 482 Chinese projects in Ghana at the end of 2010, out of which 126 are listed as general trade. A local accountant who specializes in Chinese businesses in Accra estimated the number of businesses as being much higher than the 126 stated in official statistics. The Chinese independent entrepreneurs in Ghana are now clearly dominating certain market segments, particularly the shoe sector, where they appear to move a tenfold number of containers compared to local counterparts in same commodity groups.\textsuperscript{9}

3.2 Chinese in the Infrastructure Sector

In the infrastructure sector, most Chinese companies apply for the expatriate quotas to the Minister of the Interior through the Immigrant Quota Committee (IQC) referred to as “the Committee”\textsuperscript{10}. An application can also be made on behalf of any Chinese entity contracted by any ministry to the IQC. Sometimes loans given by the Chinese to the Government of Ghana comes with contract agreements that calls for the services a Chinese firm and expatriates with special skills. There are about 110 Chinese working on the Bui hydroelectric power project in Ghana.\textsuperscript{11} The perception that the Chinese migrants are mere illiterates and prisoners who are imported to do menial jobs in the construction sector is not the case as revealed by a study conducted by an Assistant Director of Immigration (ADI), Bonaventure Kwasi Agortimevor in the infrastructural sector in Ghana about the Chinese.\textsuperscript{12} The study showed that majority of the
Chinese interviewed have over 10 years international working experience in the housing construction industry prior to coming to Ghana. Some had up to 30 years from China and elsewhere. Contrary to the perception of some Ghanaians, the Chinese have the needed expertise to be recruited in multinational companies to ensure professional work done. Based upon the findings of Agortimevor the skills level of the Chinese in the housing sector are higher compared to their Ghanaian counterpart and more qualified for the job. “Interestingly, these Chinese do not only work as engineers but also cut across different fields such as Marketing, Project Management, Administration, Finance, and Human Resources,” said Agortimevor.

3.3 Chinese and Natural Resource Extraction

Illegal small-scale mines are opportunity for Chinese migrants but are blamed for environmental destruction. An interviewed conducted at Dunkwa by Afua Hirsch, a West Africa correspondent for The Guardian on April 23, 2013 reports that in Ghana there are thousands of Chinese involve in illegal gold mining locally known as “galamsey” and are reported to be striping the country off a precious resource. They are said to have destroyed farm lands including cocoa farms. One cocoa farmer said: “they have destroyed my future.” Some locals also complained of destructions caused to their water sources through pollutions of chemicals used for mining. Toxic waste, money and weapons mix is leading to resemblance of violence. These weapons, according to the Chinese are purchased to stop the local people who are alleged to be stealing from the Chinese.

Apart from the security threat posed by the weapons that the Chinese wield, there is also the human security issue associated with the practice of illegal mining. Thus in certain areas people no more gets clean drinking water and in some locations most of the forest cover has been
destroyed. A research commissioned by Wacam, an NGO in Ghana “on water quality of rivers in mining communities of Obuasi and Tarkwa areas revealed that 250 rivers had been polluted by cyanide and heavy metals.” General Daniel Mishio admitted that the scale destruction of these Chinese is so vast that it is difficult to quantify. The authorities in Ghana admit the influx of Chinese miners and their wealthy sponsors is causing environmental destruction and social conflict on an unprecedented scale. One cannot agree more with Yang when he attested to the fact that the impacts of illegal mining on the environment and frequent violence at mining sites have contributed to the local resentment towards the Chinese miners. The Chinese have invested millions of dollars in excavators and industrial equipment for mining. The reporter claim that more than 10,000 migrants arrive in Ghana every year. In Dunkwa, the last two years witnessed the arrival of hundreds of Chinese. According to Hirsch, about 95% of the small-scale mining is illegal. Foreigners have the right to provide equipment and services but according to government figures for August, 2013, only 75 Chinese have the license to engage in mining. In 2011, one Haung Ren Zhong at age forty left his tea farm in China’s Guandong province to seek riches in Ghana. Haung a Chinese who works in one of many illegal Small-scale goldmines in the country, admitted that his work is arduous and at times dangerous but, by his standards, the reward is great. Haung says he earns about 4,000 yaun (£ 420) a month. His salary is paid straight to his family in China after what he needs for his personal expenses are deducted. To him to have the opportunity to travel abroad and make more money as compared to farming tea in China is fantastic. There are however local collaborators to these Chinese activities, some prominent people in Ghana including traditional rulers who benefit immensely. It has become an accepted norm for small-scale miners who work illegally with the Chinese to pay off some police and immigration authorities periodically.
A publication made by The New York Times on June 29, 2013 by Dan Levin indicated that for nearly a decade thousands of peasants from the Guangxi borrow a lot of money for the search of gold in Ghana. As part of the offshoot of the operation to flush out foreigners engaged in illegal gold mine, one of the poor regions in China that were devastated was Shanglin inhabiting about 470,000 people. A family claimed to have borrowed an equivalent of $489,000 for their son who was taken two years ago to Ghana by relative for mining operations. This amount was invested in excavating machines and the dream of this family was to pay for the loans procured, build a house and buy a car. However everything earned by this family over a period of two years went into paying for the machines before the problem of communal clashes in Ghana. As reported by Levin, another 34 year old Wu Jian who fled Ghana claimed to have left an operation worth $326,000 out of monies borrowed from friends, relatives and loan sharks. Such overseas investment in Ghana was said to have been encouraged by the China government but risk of borrowing is left as a burden to the individual or household. He also noted that residents of Mingliang village of Shanglin feel betrayed by the Chinese government for shirking its responsibility after years of encouraging the Ghanaian gold rush. About 24 tons of gold according to the Secretary General (Su Zhenyu) of Chinese Mining Association in Ghana are exported to China annually. It is significant to note that everyone in that community has a relative in Ghana and the area which was once a hub for assembling mining machines as a result became redundant. An observation made at Tarkwa revealed that the Chinese who were formally engaged in the supply of mining equipment are now actively involved in “galamsey”. According to Samuel Amanor, the ‘rags-to-riches’ stories of Chinese miners has motivated more young Chinese men to travel to Ghana.
A study on Chinese business in Ghana by Yang Jiao observed that the first wave of Chinese miners was during 1990s with very few Chinese in Ghana. He noted that in the year 2010, large numbers of Chinese arrived in Ghana at the time gold prices were on the rise in the world market. Like Dan Levin, majority came from the Shanglin county of Guangxi province being noted traditionally for gold mining both in China and overseas. Others came from Heilongjiang, Fujian, Henan and Hunan provinces. Officials of Shanglin believe there were about 12,000 gold miners in Ghana during the period.\textsuperscript{24} These Chinese are found to collaborate with some Ghanaians with small-scale mining license for their operations. Due to difficulties encountered in securing a visa in Beijing for the Guangxi people, they then resorted to visas on arrival at the airport. Others are said to have gone through Togo and Liberia with the aid of some visa brokers in Ghana.\textsuperscript{25} With the soaring of the Chinese numbers in Ghana, some were find out to be undocumented and were smuggled through the land borders with the connivance of some officials. A Chinese visa broker according to Yang collaborate with some officers of the Immigration service who aid the Chinese in extending their visitors permit; and later secure a single or a multiple re-entry visa at cost ranging between $ 200- $ 300 for the re-entry visas whiles an extension to a visitors permit might not be less than 150 Ghana cedis even though real cost at the time was 40 Ghana cedis.\textsuperscript{26}

Illegal gold mining by the Chinese has become a major setback to building a strong economic partnership between Ghana and China. An investigation conducted on 51 foreigners arrested for engaging in illegal mining activities in the Ashanti Region, established that certain Immigration Officers played various roles in the arrival and obtaining fake work/residence permits for them. Among the 51 foreign nationals were 18 Chinese nationals, out of which 3 had genuine visas.
The remaining 15 obtained Emergency Entry Visa (EEV) at the Kotoka International Airport (KIA) that was not properly issued. Further checks revealed that records of the 13 Chinese out of the 15 regarding work permits issued could not be traced. Suspects could not identify those they gave their passports and other documents for processing of the work/residence permit found in their passports. A Chinese apprehended October 12, 2013 at the Kotoka International Airport had on him two other passports. One had a dependent resident permit which he claimed he wanted to renew for the son who was in China at the time. The other one he claimed was given to him by a friend to be delivered to the bearer in China who was to replace another Chinese whose contract has ended with one Kingslake International Salt Industry. This company decided to get a proxy permit in Ghana since the bearer was having difficulties in getting visa in China. This permit was therefore acquired illegally and could be said to be one of the clandestine activities of some officials of the GIS with the connivance of some “Connection Men”. Amazingly the subject’s passport had two different resident permits issued in the name of two different companies, one of which had five years resident permit and both permits of the subject was found to be acquired illegally. Many Chinese businessmen in Ghana believe there are approximately 20,000 illegal Chinese gold miners in Ghana.27

3.4 Categories of Work Permits in Ghana

In Ghana various categories of work permits are issued to foreigners and it includes: Ghana Immigration Service work permit (GIS Work Permit), Ghana Investment Promotion Centre (GIPC) and Free zones.
3.4.1 Ghana Immigration Service Work Permit

In table 6 below, the work permit issued to the Chinese by Ghana Immigration Service’s work permit section in the year 2009 stood at 109; there was a sharp decrease to permits issued by the section in the year 2010 accounting for 44 permits. However the last 3 years have seen an increase in the number of permits issued. There was 43.7% increase to GIS work permit 2012 with respect to the 2011 permits issued. Between 2012 and 2013 there was a 40.1% increase in work permits issued to the Chinese even though there was a marginal percentage decrease as compared to the previous year. These figures actually contain the IQC quota by the Ministry of Interior which has no specific limits regarding quota position.

**Table 6. GIS Work Permit, 2009-2013**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>QUARTER</th>
<th>YEAR</th>
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<td>9</td>
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<td>206</td>
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<td>109</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>837</td>
<td>1203</td>
<td>1688</td>
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</table>

Source: GIS Work Permit Section.

3.4.2 Ghana Investment Promotion Centre and Free Zones

The quota position of GIPC of one expatriate for a company is conditioned on equity of $50,000 - $250,000 and $200,000 - $500,000, a company could employ up to 4 expatriates. This is what is known as GIPC Automatic Quota. On the other hand the GIPC Replacement Quota is an allocation to a new expatriate an already existing automatic quota given that the former
employee’s position becomes vacant. In the case of the free zones companies the number of expatriates to be employed has no restrictions so provided all documentations are right, GIS will issue corresponding resident permit brought before it. To this end the quota positions are virtually a work permit in itself therefore GIS has no control over this category of work permit but obliged to issue its corresponding resident permits. As in table 7 below, the last three years has seen a declining trend in the GIPC automatic and replacement quota in the year 2011 through to 2013. During the period a total of 478 Chinese were on GIPC work permit comprising of 301 automatic quotas and 176 replacement quotas. Work permits in respect of the Free zones accounted for 155 Chinese nationals from the year 2011 to 2013.

Table 7. Permits Issued by Quota Section

<table>
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<th>YEAR</th>
<th>TYPES OF WORK PERMIT</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
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<td>GIPC AUTOMATIC QUOTA</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>2012</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2013</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>301</td>
<td>632</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: GIS Quota Section.

3.5 Repatriation/Deportation of Chinese Nationals

In the year 2011 the Ghana Immigration Service conducted an operation aimed at flushing out foreigners engaged in illegal gold mining and as a result 24 Chinese were arrested at Dunkwa-on-Offin district. The year under review saw 5 Chinese repatriated as shown in table 8 below. A total of 130 deportations/repatriations cases were recorded for the year 2012 for the Chinese out
of a total of 243 deportations/repatriations cases recorded among 15 other nationals. Thus the Chinese cases represented 53.5% of total cases recorded for the period. An unprecedented number of 713 Chinese nationals were repatriated in the close of year 2013 as shown in table 8 below. During the period total of 1,061 foreigners made up of 21 different foreign nationalities including the Chinese were repatriated. The Chinese alone represented 67.2% of the repatriated cases whiles 32.8% represented total number 20 other nationals repatriated. It implied that out of every 100 people repatriated in Ghana there were 67 Chinese in the year 2013. Their offenses include illegal stay, illegal employment, fake visas and counterfeit documents. The increase in the arrest and subsequent repatriation of the Chinese was as result of joint operation under the auspices of the National Security Secretariat to flush out foreigners in illegal mining in Ghana. With this, most Chinese national have actually put themselves in an irregular position of migrant status by engaging in small-scale mining which is a sole preserves of Ghanaians. However it has been observed that local opinion leaders in mining communities condone and connive with the Chinese to engage in the indiscriminate mining activities which has become a threat to national security by its attendant depletion of forest cover, pollution to water bodies and rendering farm lands destroyed. This incidence “in Ghana points to the vulnerabilities in governance of resources and state control of transnational capital and migration, as both countries embraces neoliberal economic policies.”

Table 8. Chinese Deportations/Repatriation, 2011-2013

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>No. of Deportations</th>
<th>No. of Repatriations</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2011</td>
<td>0</td>
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<td>3</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>2013</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>713</td>
<td>713</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>845</td>
<td>848</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: GIS Annual Reports on Operational Activities.
3.6 Ghanaian Migration Policy

Ghana is believed to lack “a well-defined, well-articulated and all-encompassing migration policy. This obviously makes the management of migration difficult. These notwithstanding, Ghanaian governments, both past and present, have made some efforts towards formulating policies and programmes to manage migration. In the immediate post-independence period under the leadership of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, the liberal migration policy pursued at the time was underpinned by the pan-Africanist ideological orientation and the pursuit of Africa’s unity.”

The Busia-led government of Ghana in 1969 promulgated what came to be christened as the Aliens’ Compliance Order to expel migrants in Ghana. The era saw the demise the liberal migration policy regime. This act was silent on the exit and the condition under which a person departs the country. It also neglected entry into Ghana with vehicle through land borders. With the passing of the Immigration service law, 1989, PNDC law 266, Immigration Service became an autonomous under the Ministry of Interior. Subsequently Article 190 (1) of the 1992 Constitution of Ghana established the immigration Service as one of the public services of Ghana. Today we have the Immigration Act, 2000 (Act573) with legislation instrument 1691 as its implementing regulations of 2001. This Act which is to solve existing problems in migration has been in operations for over a decade. With the influx of Chinese nationals in Ghana there is the need to appraise the whether the legal regime and institutional framework established by the Immigration Act, 2000 (Act 573), adequate to tackle current issues relating to migration. The section 3 of the L.I. 1691 makes provision for foreign national like the Chinese to obtain visas before entering Ghana.
Ghana’s diplomatic missions abroad issues these visas on behalf of Ghana Immigration service for those who desires to visit Ghana. It has come to light that visa applicants abroad are more often than not informed about the implications of visas issued to them. A typical example is instances where an applicant request for a 3-month visa, the visa is actually endorsed for 3 months but regulations allows for an initial maximum of a 60-day stay in Ghana but an extension of a month could be granted by Ghana Immigration for a fee after the initial 60 days or less elapses. Most foreign nationals assume that the 3-month endorsement of their visas grants them an automatic 90-day stay which eventually put them into an irregular migrant position including the Chinese.

Irregular migration need to be delivered in the context of comprehensive approach to migration management, simultaneously taking account of the legitimate sovereign authority of states and the fundamental human right of all migrants. In 2010 three Chinese were jailed after been found guilty of charges of conspiracy and human trafficking of 10 Chinese girls being used for sex trade. The culprits obtained tickets and other travelling documents for the victim and through deceit, lured them to Ghana to work in a restaurant which never existed. This case brought to the fore how James Xu Jin misled the officials of the Ghana Investment Promotion Centre (GIPC) and GIS officials and managed to get documentation to stay in Ghana to run his prostitution business and not a restaurant. Ghana Immigration Service now have Act 2012 (Act 848) which is an amendment of Act 2000 (Act 573) to deal with matters related human trafficking and smuggling, where the offender is liable for prosecution. In this regard the newly established Anti-Human Smuggling and Trafficking in Persons Unit (AHSTIP) of the Ghana Immigration Service have the sole responsibility of countering human smuggling and trafficking.
The immigration laws provide for Immigrant Quota or Work Permit to any foreign national who wishes to work in Ghana. Application in this regard channelled through the Director of Immigration, he/she conducts an investigation and submit a report to the Immigration Quota Committee (IQC) of the Ministry of Interior for consideration in accordance with the investment laws of Ghana. The Director then grant the holder of work permits a residence permit that allows unrestricted exit and entry in so far as the permit stays valid. Also the Ghana Investment Promotion Centre (GIPC) also grants Automatic and Replacement Quotas regarding expatriate employment and the Free zones Board as well. In Ghana, the Investment Act of 1994 encourages foreign investment. The minimum required equity for foreign investor is US $ 10,000 in joint venture or US $ 50,000 for a wholly owned enterprise by a foreigner. Trading companies either wholly or partly owned by a foreigner also require a minimum foreign equity of US $ 300,000 and the firm is obliged to employ 10 Ghanaians.

In ensuring the strict compliance with the immigration laws, corporate bodies that have employed foreign nationals must submit annual returns to the Director. Also constant inspection to bases of foreign nationals in the country by the Enforcement Unit of the Service is another way to ascertain immigration status of foreigners. It could be said that the influx of Chinese nationals has exposed the weaknesses in Ghana’s immigration policies and regulatory environment. The country therefore needs to be protected from foreign exploitation of natural resources. The bilateral engagement with China should not lead to the undermining of state institutions and sovereignty as a nation.
ENDNOTES

10 Act 573, section 25.
13 Ibid.
20 Ibid
21 Ibid
22 Ibid
24 Jiao, Y., op. cit.
25 Ibid.
26 Ibid.
27 Ibid.
29 Jiao, Y., op. cit.
CHAPTER FOUR

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

4.0 Introduction

This chapter concludes the study. It entails summary of findings and conclusions with some recommendations.

4.1 Summary

Migration, be it internal or international is a very old phenomenon of human activity which dates back to human creation. It is one activity that is said to have shaped society. International migration has assumed a political dimension in the world today. In modern times the Chinese have become the most visible people in the world. The presence of Chinese in Ghana occurred in later parts of 1940s through to independence. During this period their activities were ideologically inclined until in the late 1980s where they got involved in the manufacturing of textile, metals and some entrepreneurs established restaurants. However the last two decades was characterised with large Chinese traders trading in wide range of consumables.

On a global scale an estimate of 18 million Chinese have lived outside China since its economic reforms of the 1970s in what has become known as the Chinese Diasporas. The opening up of China to the global market has eliminated restrictions to emigration thereby encouraging international migration. To the Chinese government, there was no need to tamper with the exodus of its citizens since it eases domestic unemployment and increases the benefits of remittances. Migrants are however subject to the laws and regulations of recipient countries and

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in that regard must conform to them appropriately as such but a lot more migrants put themselves in an irregular manner by violating immigration laws of their destination countries.

Irregular migration has therefore become one of the fastest growing forms of migration in the world today than regular form of migration. This phenomenon raises a lot of concerns to recipient countries as it inherits economic, political, social, environmental and internal security problems. In the year 2010, IOM estimated that 25.5 to 32.1 million people in the world are irregular migrants contributing to 10% to 15% of the world’s 214 international migrants.

Following the passport regime changes in China, the year 2002 passport regime allowed all personnel assigned overseas by Chinese companies, regardless of ownership were issued with private passport rather than public passport. The former regulations only allowed the issuances of public passports to such employees but these passports are held by their employers to enable the labour exporting companies exercise some form of control over Chinese workers abroad. With the abolishing of the public passport and the emergence of the private passport, citizenry of China have far more freedom of mobility and are likely to overstay or shift to other migrant categories whiles abroad. This flexible passport regime in China has increased the international migration of the Chinese people in Africa and for that matter Ghana. Many independent Chinese migrants travel to Ghana through informal social networks of friends, family and interpersonal connections. Some Chinese contract loans prior to coming into Ghana since it has become a rite of passage for people in many provinces in China to spend at least some time abroad. Young people in these areas are under social pressure to go out into the world and return successful. It is therefore obvious that Ghana’s gold prospect and the market potential for Chinese manufactured
products, light manufacturing, services among others are the potential attractive factors motivating the Chinese to come to Ghana.

To the Chinese, hardship in Africa is temporal and there is also a cultural value attached to any kind of suffering that is beneficial to long term goals. For the Chinese migrant worker, three years on overseas contract may provide enough earnings that might take over ten years to acquire if remained in China. To the entrepreneurial migrant, return on investment can afford continued travel between Africa and China and no matter how long these Chinese stay in Ghana they always go back home to put up a monument depicting gains of working abroad. Therefore gains made in Ghana are plough into developmental projects in China.

For many years, Ghana have played host to large number of foreigners such as the Lebanese and Indians. Currently figures at the Ghana Immigration Service suggest that there are more Indian arrivals in Ghana than the Chinese, however the case of the Chinese seems to have generated some anti-Chinese sentiments among Ghanaians. Though the larger economic impact of Chinese migrant activities has not yet been determined evidence in small-scale mining communities point to the fact that their gold mining operations are against the laws of Ghana. Since these activities are not formalised, the country turns to lose in foreign exchange earnings because most of the gold are clandestinely smuggled out the country. Also those who turn to sell their gold to some licensed buyers pay no tax to the government therefore a loss in tax revenue. The indiscriminate nature of their “galamsey” activities has rendered water bodies polluted, forest reserves depleted and farm lands destroyed. The resort to arms by the Chinese in certain communities is a recipe
for armed communal violence. Obviously these activities impact on our economy negatively and a threat to national security.

In recent past Chinese migrants have assume the irregular status of a migrant in Ghana, the first case trafficked Chinese girls was recorded in 2009 and in that year the highest registered Chinese migrants was recorded by the IOM in Ghana. In this case a supposed restaurant became a brothel where the Chinese were operating in a sex trade with 10 Chinese nationals; subsequently 3 Chinese were jailed in the year 2010. These girls were made to believe a restaurant job awaits them in Ghana prior to the initiation of their international migration. Over last decade, a lot more Chinese nationals arrived in Ghana and it significant to note that from the year 2009 to 2012 more Chinese arrivals than departures.

4.2 Conclusions

The objectives of the Study were to examine the pre-frontier and the post-entry measures in Ghana; it is also the study’s purpose to unravel the factors influencing the increase movement of migrants from China and finally a look at the trend and effect of irregular migration in Ghana. In order to achieve this, the researcher conducted an interview with some Senior Immigration Officers the Operations Unit of the Ghana Immigration Service who had to deal with all Chinese apprehensions. Additionally secondary data was sourced from Ghana Immigration Service’s MIS Unit regarding Chinese arrivals and departures at various entry points; and issues bordering on work and resident permits, the PPME Unit, Quota and GIS Work Permit Section were contacted.
The flow of Chinese people to Ghana was determined by the reforms in China’s economic policy and emigration policy. Specifically the entrepreneurial spirit of establishing business, access to new markets and relocation of excessive production capability. In recent times the gold rash saga have cause more population movements from China.

Findings from the various OICs showed that there are strict and clear laid down policies on the regulations of international migrants in Ghana. Touching on the issue of regulation of immigrants, a Senior Officer of the Operations Unit gave a brief description of what the regulations of the immigrants are. He made mention that visitors entering the country are given a maximum of a 60 day stay subject to prior acquisition of visas aside ECOWAS nationals who are given 90 days. However he added that Ghana Immigration Service has introduced a visa policy known as EEV to cater for visitors/business people who travel at short notice from countries where Ghana has no missions/consulate or where the prospective traveller’s locations to the mission is far apart. Additionally at the Kotoka International Airport, there is a facility known as “Okay to Board” that also serve the same purpose as the EEV. This policy authorises visas to be granted on arrival at the airport or other entry points subject to satisfying specific immigration requirements. Anyone who then wishes stay longer must apply to GIS for an extension of stay. It has been established that a lot more Chinese obtained valid visas from our mission in China to come to Ghana, however as it become difficult and expensive to acquire visas especially for the people of Guangxi, a good number obtained visas upon arriving in Ghana. Majority of the visas obtained were for purpose of visit and tourism.
Relating to the regulation of work and resident permits of Chinese nationals, except for some contract agreements with some MDAs where some Chinese firms are allowed to import Chinese expatriates with special skills, work and resident permits are issued through the Ministry of Interior IQC but other Chinese entities must register with GIPC to be given certain quota positions as to how many expatriate it can employ. In such a situation the limited quotas are in itself a work permit and therefore, qualified persons must apply for resident permit with the Immigration Service. Also all free zones related companies have no limits to the number of Chinese to be employed. There is also the GIS work permit that is issued directly by the Service to some investors subject to some laid down requirement. This category of work permit and that of the IQC could easily be subjected scrutiny before issuance since both falls directly under same ministry but for that of the GIPC and FZB, the permits are issued and the Director of Immigration will then be informed to enable the Service issue its corresponding resident permit. Therefore GIS is now faced with the difficulty of monitory foreigners under the GIPC quota allocation because some companies after exhausting its automatic quota allocation then applies for work permit for other Chinese expatriates employed by same company. According to an Official of the Service, there are some instances that some Chinese are found working for other companies rather than the company through whom the permit was acquired. One other difficulty in monitory foreign nationals in the country had to do with the improper residential address system in Ghana. For the Chinese wherever they get to stay does not matter to them.

The rush for gold in Ghana coupled with success story in certain provinces in China has been the major contributing factor to the increased Chinese presence in the mining communities. This phenomenon has place a lot of Chinese in an irregular migrant status by way of overstaying their
visitors permit and others had work and resident permits that had nothing to do with mining. Some other Chinese involved in the illegal gold mining had some Ghanaian collaborators fronting their activities. Therefore contemporary Chinese migration was largely directed towards the mining sector and this is seen as an exploitation of Ghana’s gold resources. The extent of destruction caused to farmlands, forest and water bodies points to the devastating effect of Chinese migrant activities to the environment and its associated implications to national security.

The hypothesis set for this study is rejected on the basis that a lot more Chinese are in Ghana for the wrong reasons from illegal gold mining and human trafficking. Even though Ghana will benefit from the infrastructures being put up by the Chinese migrants as a receiving country, China as a sending country gains more in the long run since they turn out employing more Chinese in the name “special skills” into key positions than their Ghanaian counterpart. Invariably they are reducing their unemployment rate and increasing wealth for their nationals. Same can be said for Chinese in the service and light manufacturing.

Irregular migration is therefore a complex phenomenon that can be perceived in various ways: as evidence of a failing or an abused immigration system; as a challenge to state sovereignty, as Ghana may not have total control over who enters and leaves the country; as a potential compromise to national security; as having the ability to expose vulnerable migrants to exploitations either in transit or on reaching the destination country, especially in the light of growing Chinese trafficked cases in Ghana.
It is significant to note that people of China are sojourners who has a strong bond to China to the extent that children born in Africa are sent back home to be thought be a Chinese. Young men who have spent some time overseas go back to China to find a wife. Therefore the Chinese Diasporas can be said to have a transnational character.

Even though it is a difficult task for any government to monitor and control speculating capital and irregular migration, the recent crackdown on Chinese small-scale gold mining activities affords the an opportunity for both Ghana and China to address the menace together since both countries have enjoyed an amiable intercourse since Ghana’s independence. However there is the need to enforce the immigration and mining laws of the country Ghana to the later.

4.3 Recommendations

Increasing border controls should be the first resort to reducing irregular Chinese migration by the deployment of a well-resourced border patrol personnel of GIS to prevent migration by land since the country operates porous borders. This is one unit that seems not to be given the needed attention it deserves. The recent oil finds and the Chinese interest in these hydrocarbons is likely to induce increased Chinese presence in Ghana.

Visa issuance at the Foreign Service should not be done on behalf of the Ghana Immigration service to enable the Immigration Service monitor visas issued to Chinese nationals all over the world wanting to visit any intended purpose. In the light of this, carrier sanctions should be enforced by the state on airlines that bring in Chinese without documentations such as valid
passports and visas. Even though visa control is not entirely effective, it is recommended necessary steps toward reducing irregular migration.

The Ministry of the Interior and the Ghana Immigration Service should be circumspect in the implementation of the rules and regulations regarding work permits and residence permits. The agencies should strictly adhere to the laid down procedures for granting resident and work permits to the Chinese and the need to render those found in the “galamsey” business and deported/repatriated inadmissible to avoid future arrival.

Internal controls are another migration management policy that needs strict enforcement. As employment opportunities play a key role in encouraging irregular migration, inspections to labour sites is an important deterrent and should be intensified especially in the mining communities in Ghana.

In curbing the disregard for the environment and labour standards, Chinese establishments should be given the necessary information about the environment and labour standards and assistance should be given to the regulation institutions, NGOs and Civil Society Organisations to have access to Chinese establishment to ensure compliance. The trade unions should engage Chinese establishment on employee contract and their grievances about Chinese practises should not be disregarded.

Ghana Immigration Service’s flexible visa on arrival policy through the EEV and “Okay to Board” should not be abused to bring in more Chinese national. Therefore there is the need
constantly monitor this facility. Also our mission in Togo must do due diligence to Chinese applications to visa screening and decisions on visa issuance.

The Chinese government should encourage it’s nationals to form a consortium that can raise the needed capital investment for a formal gold mining venture in Ghana and both countries should endeavour to address irregular Chinese migrant problem since Ghana has now become a major destination country for illegal mining in Africa.
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