

**LEGON CENTRE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS AND
DIPLOMACY.**

**TOPIC: AN ASSESSMENT OF GHANA'S ENGAGEMENTS
WITH ITS DIASPORA UNDER THE FOURTH REPUBLIC**



(10406532)

**THIS DISSERTATION IS SUBMITTED TO THE UNIVERSITY OF GHANA, LEGON,
IN PARTIAL FUFILLMENT OF OF THE REQUIREMENT FOR THE AWARD OF
THE MA DEGREE IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS & DIPLOMACY**

DECLARATION

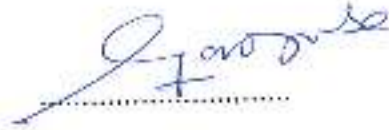
I hereby declare that this dissertation is the product of an original research that I undertook under the supervision of Dr. Boni Yao Gebe. This work has never been submitted partially or wholly elsewhere for any award, and that all sources used, have been duly acknowledged.



ANGILA AKORFA APEDOOH
(STUDENT)

DATE

Nov/20/2020



DR. BONI YAO GEBE
(SUPERVISOR)

DATE

Nov/20/2020

DEDICATION

I dedicate this work first to the Almighty God, the source of my strength. I am also dedicating it to my selfless parents. Mum and Dad, you have encouraged and supported me through this journey. God richly bless you!

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My profoundest thanks go to the Lord Almighty, for endowing me with wisdom and strength to finish my Masters Programme. To him is all the glory!

My heartfelt appreciation goes to Dr. Boni Yao Gebe for his patience, encouragement and useful criticisms in the course of putting this dissertation together. You are the best supervisor ever!

Again, to Dr. Delali Badasu, I can't thank you enough for the support you gave me right from helping to shape the topic, giving me research materials and of course your constant encouragement and ultimately granting me my first interview. May the good Lord bless you..

My appreciation also goes to all my interviewees, Mr. Ernest Amporful of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration, Miss Annabelle Mckenzie of the Year of Return Secretariat, Mr. Ben Nsiah Anane of the Ghana Tourism Authority, Mr. Jake Obeng Bediako, Office of the President.

To the Christlike maidens, God bless you for all the support.

Finally to all the lecturers and my classmates at LECIAD, you made every experience memorable!

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AU	-	African Union
EC	-	Electoral Commission
CIDO	-	Citizens and Diaspora Organisations Directorate
DCA	-	Dual Citizenship Act
ERP	-	Economic Recovery Programme
FDA	-	Foreign Direct Investment
FDI	-	Foreign Direct Investment
GDP	-	Gross Domestic Product
GIPC	-	Ghana Investment Promotion Centre
GLA	-	Ghanaians Living Abroad
GTA	-	Ghana Tourism Authority
IMF	-	International Monetary Fund
IOM	-	International Organisation of Migration
NACD's	-	North American and Caribbean Diasporians
MPFA	-	AU Migration Policy Framework
MIDA	-	Migration for Development in Africa
MFARI	-	Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration
NDC	-	National Democratic Congress
NPP	-	National Patriotic Party

- ODA - Official Development Assistance
- PANAFEST - Pan-African Historical Theatre Festival
- PNDC - Provisional National Defence Council
- ROPAA - Representation of People Amendment Act.
- UN - United Nations
- UNESCO - United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DECLARATION.....	.i
DEDICATION.....	ii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	.iii
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.....	iv
TABLE OF CONTENTS	vi
ABSTRACT.....	viii
CHAPTER ONE.....
1.0 INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1 Background to the study.....	1
1.2 Statement of the Problem	3
1.3 Research questions.....	5
1.4 Research objectives.....	5
1.5.Scope of the Study	6
1.6 Rationale of the Study.....	7
1.7 Conceptual Framework	7
1.8 Literature Review	12
1.8.1 Conceptualization of the African diaspora	14
1.8.2 State-Homeland Diaspora Relations: Conceptualization of Diaspora Engagement Policies.....	16
1.8.3 Limitations and Strengths of Literature Review.....	19
1.9 Research Methodology.....	20
1.10 Sources of Data.....	21
1.11 Data Collection Methods.....	21
1.12 Data Analysis and Interpretation.....	22
1.13 Ethical Considerations.....	22
1.14 Arrangement of Chapters.....	22
References	24
CHAPTER TWO.....	26
AN OVERVIEW OF ENGAGING THE DIASPORA	27
2.0 Introduction	27
2.1 Diaspora and Development Origin.....	31
2.2 Intra Regional African Migration.....	33
2.3 Contemporary African Migration beyond Africa.....	36
2.4 Exodus of Ghanaian Migrants and the Formation of the Ghanaian Diaspora.....	37
2.5 Linkages between the African Diaspora and their countries	40
2.6 Benefits and Challenges of Diaspora Engagement.....	43
2.7 The Ghanaian Diaspora and the Nation State: Modes of Engagement.....	46
2.8 The Fourth Republic and Engaging the Diaspora.....	47
2.9 The African Union and Diaspora Engagement.....	56
2.20 Conclusion.....	61
References.....	62
CHAPTER THREE.....	66
A CRITIQUE OF GHANA’S DIASPORA REGIME.....	66

3.0 Introduction	66
3.1 Gains from Engaging the Diaspora.....	66
3.2 Ghanaian Diaspora Associations and their contribution to Ghana’s development.....	69
3.3 An Ideal Engagement Strategy.....	73
3.4 Diaspora Engagement Without a Policy Guide	73
3.5 Mapping out Diaspora Engagement Programmes under the Fourth Republic.....	77
3.6 The Implications.....	84
3.7 Conclusion.....	89
References	90
CHAPTER FOUR	92
SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS	92
4.0 Introduction	92
4.1 Summary of Findings.....	92
4.2 Conclusions.....	96
4.3 Recommendations.....	97
BIBLIOGRAPHY	99
APPENDIX.....	108

ABSTRACT

The discourse on linkages between migration and development is receiving a lot of scholarly attention. With the increasing interest in the discourse of the diasporas of Africa as a great potential contributor to Africa's development, it has become imperative for research to be conducted on the new methods and policies that African states have implemented to tap into this developmental potential. In view of the foregoing, this study seeks to investigate the strategies Ghana has adopted to engage its diaspora under its Fourth Republic. Within the framework of transnationalism, the study adopts a qualitative research approach aimed at exploring the state led engagement initiatives undertaken during this period. It identifies the successes and challenges that have been associated with their implementation and whether or not these programmes have culminated into gains for Ghana's political and socio-economic development. The policies are also critically examined to determine whether or not they have been undertaken on the long term being continued by successive governments. Relying on primary sources of data obtained by interviewing experts on the topic, as well as secondary sources comprising books and journal articles, the study found that most of the programmes were not long term not because successive governments failed to continue them; rather these were not designed to be long term and some lacked proper coordination. The study thus concluded that Ghana's engagement with its diaspora has been conducted in an ad hoc manner mainly due to a lack of a comprehensive national engagement policy. The study thus emphasized the need to launch the national engagement policy and also extend more rights to its diasporians amidst other pragmatic ways of integrating them into the homeland.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

Migration is an age long phenomenon that is influenced by a multiplicity of factors. Whether forced to flee from imminent danger or seeking economic refuge popularly referred to as ‘greener pastures’, humans have migrated to different parts of the world. The phenomenon of transnationalism or cross border migration has resulted in the establishment of transnational links that have been theorized today to include the concept of diaspora and in effect, studies on the diaspora. Over the years, the concept of diaspora has been undergoing a fast evolution from hitherto, one with a negative connotation to a more appealing one. In the past, the diaspora could be defined in terms of forced migration and its negative implications on a group. In modern terms however, the term has taken on a broad dimension to include voluntary migration, its diversity and its influence on engagements with the state it describes as its homeland.

The argument of what should constitute a diaspora has evoked several differing views from scholars in the field. While some scholars like Safran (1991) posit that the study of any diaspora should be done from the perspective of the Jewish dispersal, other scholars like Zeleza (2008) assert that Diaspora, refers to a process, a condition, a space, and a discourse; the continuous processes by which a diaspora is made, unmade and remade, the changing conditions in which it lives and expresses itself, the places where it is moulded and imagined, and the contentious ways in which it is studied and discussed. It is worth noting, however, that all though scholars posit

different conceptions of the diaspora, all seem to converge on the point that not all migration or dispersals qualify to be diasporic.

Studies on the African diaspora which has been described as one of the largest diasporas in the world, undoubtedly has received recognition due to its connection with the continent as a result of a resurgence of what is described as black internationalism. According to the AU, the African Diaspora refers to the geographic dispersal of peoples whose ancestors, within historical memory, originally came from Africa, but who are currently domiciled, or claim residence or citizenship, outside the continent of Africa, thus “people of African origin living outside of the continent, irrespective of their citizenship and nationality, and who are willing to contribute to the development of the continent and the building of the African Union”. The International Organisation for Migration (IOM) and the Migration Policy Institute have defined ‘diaspora’ as emigrants and their descendants who do not live in the country of their birth or ancestry, either on a temporary or permanent basis, yet still maintain effective and material ties to their countries of origin .These ties or linkages between the African diaspora and their homeland Africa contributes to a revolution of development of the continent by providing both material and economic benefits to many African countries. Studies have shown that the continent continues to rely heavily on diaspora remittances for development. The concept of the diaspora quickly incites a mental image of assistance aimed at development. It is therefore commonplace to find countries especially developing countries make efforts at establishing ties with its diaspora so as to harness some potential for its development. According to the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (2018), North Africa and Sub-Saharan Africa are reported to have about over 25million international migrants in 2017. It is therefore not surprising that the 2017 Migration and

Remittances Data compiled by the World Bank revealed total remittances from the African diaspora to Africa exceeded 33 billion dollars. This figure has increased to over 54 billion in 2019.

All across the African continent, policy programmes are being outlined for the purpose of engaging the diaspora. The African Union as a body itself has made the diaspora its sixth region. Ghana's engagement initiatives with the African diaspora are worth mentioning. Remittance flows more than doubled from 7 million dollars to 16 million dollars when the 4th Republic started. Ten years after the ushering in of the 4th Republic, there was a dramatic increase in Ghanaian total remittances from 46 million dollars to 136 million dollars by 2001. By the close of the 2015 fiscal year, migrant remittances to Ghana were at a total of 2 billion dollars (Quartey, 2009).

The above information then suggests an increasing level of remittances flow resulting from Ghana's engagement with its diaspora. In view of this, this study examines how Ghana engages its diaspora by assessing the implementation of diaspora engagement policy instruments over the span of the fourth republic.

1.2 Statement of the Research Problem

Ghana, due to a shared history in the Transatlantic Slave Trade and colonialism, has been in constant touch with the African diaspora. This is mainly because the diaspora has played no mean a role in influencing Africa's political, social and economic lives. Citing the efforts by the members of the African diaspora's such W.E.B Du Bois and Marcus Garvey who influenced involvement in liberation struggles for the African continent as well. The benefit of remittances to aid development in the sub region and several other benefits derived from the African diaspora have sparked interest in diaspora engagement discourses amongst African states. Today, a lot of African countries including Ghana seek to harness a lot of potential from the diaspora for developmental

purposes. Again, technological advancements have increasingly made it easy for diasporians to maintain long term, economic, social cultural and political links with their homeland. Statistics from the IMF report on remittances in 2018, indicate, the diaspora contributes over 46 billion as remittances to the continent. Owing to the huge potential financial benefits homelands derive from their diaspora, African countries are responding to the call for more effective means of tapping into this huge resource for continental development. It has therefore become imperative for Ghana to also strengthen its ties with its diaspora by implementing policies aimed at engaging the diaspora for national development.

Eventhough Ghana is yet to implement a comprehensive National Diaspora Engagement Policy, it must be mentioned however, that it has been involved in diaspora engagement since independence. Diaspora engagement has however taken on a major shift to focus strategically on socio economic engagement as seen in the last two decades, following the inception of Ghana's fourth Republic. Under the fourth republic, Ghana has intensified its diaspora engagement through the implementation of key policy programmes and initiatives aimed at harnessing resources from the diaspora. They include the historic Panafest celebrations started in 1992, the Diaspora Home-Coming Summit in 2002, the establishment of the Non-Resident Ghanaian Secretariat for Investment in 2003, the Joseph Project in 2007, creation of Tourism and Diaspora Relations Ministry 2007, and the Constitutional Review Commission (CRC) for Diaspora Engagement in 2010, the creation of the Diaspora Support Unit in 2012, the Year of Return Programme in 2019 and Beyond the Year of Return Programme in 2020. All these policy instruments are geared towards harnessing resources from the diaspora as well as strengthening ties and maintaining a close link with the diaspora. It is against the background of ongoing discourse on the diaspora and national development, and again the numerous potential Ghana can harness for its development

that this research seeks to investigate Ghana's engagement with the diaspora under the Fourth Republic, by examining the content and nature of the specific policy instruments that each government initiated, whether or not they have been consistent, the challenges or benefits of the policy instruments and finally how those policies have promoted an effective engagement with the diaspora and the accumulation of resources for national development.

1.3 Research Questions

1. What policies have each government under the fourth republic put in place to actively engage the diaspora?
2. Were the policies long term in that, successive governments ensured continuity of these policies?
3. What are the successes chalked, and challenges encountered in the implementation of the various Diaspora Engagement policy Programmes under the fourth republic?
4. Has the AU's diasporic clause and its recognition of the diaspora as its sixth region contributed to Ghana's engagement with its diaspora under the fourth republic?

1.4 Research Objectives

The study generally examines diaspora engagements of governments under Ghana's fourth republic outlining specific policies that have been implemented by each government. The objectives of this research in this regard are to:

1. Identify the policies or programmes that each government under the fourth republic put in place in order to actively engage the diaspora;

2. Determine whether the policies were long term, in that successive governments ensured their continuity;
3. Determine the successes chalked and the challenges encountered in the implementation of the various Diaspora Engagement Programmes under the fourth republic
4. Determine whether the AU's diasporic clause and its recognition of the diaspora as its sixth region, has contributed to Ghana's engagement with its diaspora under the fourth republic;

1.5 Scope of the Research

The study explores Ghana's engagement with its diaspora from the inception of the fourth republic, thus from 1992 till 2020 under the governments of Jerry John Rawlings, John Agyekum Kuffour, John Evans Atta Mills, John Dramani Mahama and lastly Nana Addo Danquah Akuffo Addo. This period is characterized by peaceful democratic change of government in Ghana and personal commitments from all the administrations towards enhancing diaspora engagement. There are therefore a significant number of programmes to assess and hence its selection for this study. The research therefore outlines specific policy instruments that have been formulated and implemented under each government in its relations with its diaspora. It also assesses new initiatives taken by each government aimed at increasing the country's engagement with the diaspora. The study also explores the AU'S clause on Diaspora Engagement and other policies it has implemented to assist member states in diaspora engagement. The aim is to help the researcher ascertain whether its implementation by Ghana as a member state significantly contributes to the country's engagement with its diaspora.

1.6 Rationale of the Research

The findings and recommendations from the study seek to contribute to knowledge on diaspora engagement policies that Ghana has implemented under the fourth republic as it will serve as a good academic resource which other researchers can make reference to or can build on. It will also serve as a resource base to inform policy makers on the progress that Ghana has made in its engagement with its diaspora, the existing challenges and opportunities there are, with the overall aim to make a case for a better and well- coordinated diaspora engagement than exists currently.

The selection of the fourth republic is crucial to the study because this period marks the end of coup d'etats in Ghana, paving way for a more stable political atmosphere for the country to better engage its diaspora in order to harness their potential for national development. It makes the case that Ghana is better positioned under a stable political atmosphere to do more to develop a well coordinated engagements with its diaspora. The period is also significant because it was in 2001 that Ghana decided to formalize its relations with its diaspora by organising a Homecoming Summit that focused on enhancing dialogue and exploring the opportunities for relations and for identifying ways of tapping into the acquired capacity of Ghanaians living abroad. It is also during this period that the AU introduces the diaspora clause to engage the African diaspora for continental development and thus the study seeks to critically interrogate whether the AU promotes or hampers its member states' (in this case Ghana) engagement with its diaspora and this disproves claims of the latter as articulated by one of the scholars on the topic.

1.7 Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework proposed for this study is transnationalism. The study is conducted within the framework of transnationalism. Transnationalism is a term often used to describe the social phenomenon of the delicate interconnectivity among humans and the ever-declining social

and economic importance of borders between nation states. Transnationalism is often used both more narrowly – to refer to migrants’ durable ties across countries – and, more widely, to capture not only communities, but all sorts of social formations, such as transnationally active networks, groups and organisations. (Faist 2010). Transnationalism – and transnational spaces, fields and formations – refer to processes that transcend international borders and therefore appear to describe more abstract phenomena in a social science language. By transnational spaces we mean relatively stable, lasting and dense sets of ties reaching beyond and across borders of sovereign states. Transnational spaces comprise combinations of ties and their substance, positions within networks and organisations and networks of organisations that cut across the borders of at least two national states (Faist 2000).

In migration research, the concept of transnationalism was coined to focus on the grass root activities of international migrants across borders as being something distinct from the dense and continuous relations of macro-agents such as multinational or transnational companies. In this sense, the term ‘transnationalism’ builds upon – yet is distinct from – transnational relations in the political science sub-discipline of international relations, and differs from that usage in its focus on non-state actors (Portes 1996). Diaspora and transnational perspectives also emphasise deep connections to national or local territories, especially in the case of migrants. One of the earliest proponents of transnationalism was the 20th Century writer, Randolph Bourne, who used the term to demonstrate a new way of perceiving relationships among differing cultures when he wrote about a trans- national America. The term transnationalism was first used in international relations (IR) to explain the activities and the influence of transnational actors such as multi-nationals corporations and International Non-Governmental Organisations (INGOs). Scholars in

International Relations adopted the term transnationalism in the 1970s to represent the increase of non-state institutions and governance regimes role of acting across national boundaries.

In the last decade of the 20th century, transnationalism as a concept has been seen as an approach that saw migrants coming 'back in' as important social agents as against large organizations such as multinational companies and political parties that had been the object of earlier research of a transnational character. Put another way, the traditional understanding of transnationalism, which involved the activities of multinational corporations, was adopted by scholars of diaspora and migration studies to also highlight the activities of individuals as migrants and not only the transnational companies. Although the terms diaspora and transnationalism are used interchangeably sometimes, or even in the face of the evolution of the term 'diasporic transnationalism', there still exist some disparities between the two. Diaspora relates most often to religious, ethnic and national groups and communities, whereas transnational approaches connect to all sorts of social formations, including the ones already mentioned, as well as to phenomena such as networks of businesspersons and social movements. The other respect concerns the even narrower term 'transnational community'. Contemporary definitions of the diaspora, may relate to a form of transnational organisation spanning a specific country of origin and a set of host countries. In contrast, 'transnational community' encompasses a broader range of phenomena, such as cross-border village communities or borderland communities. Thus, transnational communities encompass diasporas, but not all transnational communities are diasporas. However, it is evident that in order to better understand how diasporas operate in relations to connections to their state of origins and destinations, the term transnationalism is the appropriate concept that best describes this relationship.

Scholars like Caroline Nagel (2002) criticized the concept that its applicability has come to mean so many things to such an extent that the term loses its original content. Nagel's (2002) view is that there is a conceptual conflation and overuse of the term so that transnationalism is often used interchangeably with 'international', 'multinational', 'global' and 'diasporic'. There is also the problem of suggesting that all migrants engage in transnationalism. Ludger Pries (2008) also argues that the concept is at risk of degenerating into what he describes as a 'catch all and say nothing'. They argue that it is not all migrants who engage in transnationalism and even among specific groups or local communities; there is great difference in migrants' border-crossing practices. Adding his voice to the debate, Portes *et al* (2001) assert that irrespective of the meaning attached to the concept of transnationalism, under diaspora studies, for any group of migrants or diaspora to be called transnational, that group must include a significant number of people engaging in 'sustained social contacts over time', across national borders. Another criticism of the concept of transnationalism is the claim that it facilitates the activities of trans-border crimes and transnational criminal networks. Kapur and McHale (2005) assert that 'diasporas have been a boon to international crime', and thus suggest that much like any international industry, many criminal networks rely on expatriated populations to help facilitate their activities. The concept has also received a backlash for its association with migration vices such as human trafficking.

Irrespective of the criticisms of the concept, transnationalism is employed to underpin this study because the concept is often used to describe the social phenomenon of delicate interconnectivity among humans and declining social and economic borders between nation states. It is a concept that has been predominantly used to discuss issues of migration and diaspora relationships. It is the concept that can best explain the integration of international migrants into their host nations and also explain how they are still able to make ties with the homelands or roots. Transnationalism

has often placed emphasis on the economic and political interconnectivity maintained by migrants with their countries of origin. This has often been seen in Europe and America, where Polish and Russian immigrants retain associations with their relatives back home; sending money, investing in business, paying visits to relatives and maintaining interests in the political activities in their home countries. This is also the case in Africa, where financial remittance is a significant part of national economies.

Furthermore, Basch *et al* (1992) capture the transnational idea much better when they noted that transnationalism is “a process by which trans migrants, through their daily activities, forge and sustain multi-stranded social, economic, and political relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement, and through which they create transnational social fields that cross-national borders”. Although not all transnational migration can be defined as diasporic, In cases where migrants get integrated into host societies, Carstens (2003) argues that a form of cultural transnationalism becomes apparent. He argues that the construction of cultural products and outlooks can create transnational imageries, which are able to produce and promulgate new forms of “transnational publics.” This results in the cases where visual culture emerges as an alternative form of identification with the homeland.

This form of transnationalism places importance on kinship and emotional relations grounded in the shared associations and identifications with the homeland. This is usually evident in the way diasporians transport their culture into the host nations. It can also explain why some diasporians are not able to properly integrate into host nations. It is however worth noting that the concept of transnationalism helps to better appreciate the reasons and processes that facilitate diasporians building ties with the homeland. It is concept that brings to fore the linkages between migration and development and in this case, how diasporians though off the borders of a country can still

maintain some form of links with it. It is therefore the reason the possibility to claim a Ghanaian diaspora exists and a reference point to initiate the conversation of such a diaspora's contribution to the development of Ghana or a diaspora engagement policy. Therefore, since the transnational ties the Ghanaian diaspora maintains with the home country could be explored when discussing the Ghanaian diaspora. The researcher thus deems the concept appropriate for the background against which the discourse on Ghana's engagement with its diaspora is set.

1.8 Literature Review

The literature review highlights contributions of existing scholarship to the understanding of the historical and contemporary conception of diaspora, the African diaspora and finally the evolution of diaspora engagement policies.

It has become commonplace for countries especially developing countries, to have engagements with their diaspora. Joseph Harris emphasizes the ways in which diasporas impact the economies, politics and social dynamics of the host country and the homeland. It is therefore imperative to understand the notion of the diaspora as has been explained by scholars in both historical and contemporary times, in order to better appreciate its significance to the discourse of diaspora engagement policies.

Ankomah et al, 2012 reveals that “originally, *diaspora* comes from the ancient Greeks, who equated this term with conquest, migration, and expanding colonization. Classical diaspora refers to the practice of forcibly removing people from their homelands to places of exile (e.g., Jews, early Christians, Palestinians, and Africans).” The concept of ‘diaspora’ has since evolved from being used formerly to describe firstly the Jewish exiles and how they envisioned a conceptual

homeland to which they would return, to what now seems to be any form of international migration that requires it migrants to maintain effective ties to the country of origin.

Rogers Brubaker (2006) describes the proliferation of the term as being broadened to include the various intellectual, cultural and political perspectives, semantic, conceptual and disciplinary spaces. In terms of semantics, he criticizes the proliferation of the term to include all dispersed communities, adding that even though the concept emerged from the Jewish and classical perspective of dispersion; it does not necessarily apply to all dispersed communities. He therefore outlines three core elements that should constitute a diaspora. The first being a form of dispersed community across state borders as associated with the classical diasporas. The second criterion is the orientation to a real or imagined 'homeland' as an authoritative source of value, identity and loyalty. Then finally, he cites the maintenance of a boundary, over an extended period of time.

William Safran (1991) in his definition of the diaspora outlines six characteristics of the diaspora.:1) "they, or their ancestors, have been dispersed from a specific original "center" to two or more "peripheral," or foreign, regions; 2) "they retain a collective memory, vision, or myth about their original homeland, its physical location, history and achievements;" 3) "they believe that they are not and perhaps cannot be fully accepted by their host society and therefore, feel partly alienated and insulated from it"; 4) "they regard their ancestral homeland as their true, ideal home and as the place to which they or their descendants would (or should) eventually return when conditions are appropriate"; 5) "they believe that they should, collectively, be committed to the maintenance or restoration of their original homeland and to its safety and prosperity"; and 6) they continue to relate, personally or vicariously, to that homeland in one way or another, and their ethnocommunal consciousness and solidarity are importantly defined by the existence of such a relationship. He also seems to emphasise the element of a connection to a homeland.

Scholars like Akyeampong (2000) however criticize Safran's work with the assertion that "however useful a prototype for diaspora might be, the Jewish dispersion was a unique historical event and should not define the nature or essence of subsequent dispersions". Robin Cohen (2008) takes the same position when he points out that Safran's work limits the definition of the diaspora to only the concept of returning to their homeland using the Jewish and some classical diasporas like the Armenian and Irish diasporas as a yardstick. To make up and sufficiently address the evolution of the term, he suggests four additional characteristics to the ones Safran outlines. These are 1) "that the groups that disperse do so for colonial or voluntarist reasons". 2) "that there should be more recognition of the positive virtues of retaining a diasporic identity than is implied in Safran's original list". 3) "that diasporas often mobilize a collective identity, not only a place of settlement or only in respect of an imagined, putative or real homeland, but also in solidarity with co-ethnic members in other countries" 4. "that 'diaspora' can be used to describe transnational bonds of co-responsibility even where historically exclusive territorial claims are not strongly articulated".

1.81 Conceptualisation of the African Diaspora

Following from the discourse on the diaspora, it is not surprising that the African diasporas, described as "one of the largest diasporas in the world" (Zezeza 2008), has also undergone evolution. While scholars attribute the first use of the term to George Shepperson, they do not fail to recognize the complexity in the definition of what has become known as the African diaspora. George Shepperson in his definition draws some similarities between the Jewish dispersion and the dispersion of Africans from the lenses of forced migration due to slave trade. He argues that "African American and Caribbean intellectuals themselves had for a long time recognized and articulated connections between their own people in exile and that of the Jews".

Alpers (2008), opines that Harris's conception of the term constitutes "the first attempt to define the diaspora beyond the original boundaries set forth by Shepperson" in 1965. Harris (1993) defines the African diaspora as a concept subsuming the following: "the global dispersion (voluntary and involuntary) of Africans throughout history; the emergence of a cultural identity abroad based on origin and social condition; and the psychological or physical return to the homeland, Africa. Thus viewed, the African diaspora assumes the character of a dynamic, continuous, and complex phenomenon stretching across time, geography, class and gender".

Zezeza (2008) in his definition of the African diaspora argues, quite simply, that the "African diasporas include all those peoples dispersed from the continent in historic and contemporary times, who have constituted themselves or been constituted into diasporas". He further asserts that an attempt to categorize African diasporas is by no means an easy task. He begins with the historic categorization where he argues that, "in terms of dispersal of populations we can identify four broad movements: Intra-African, Trans Indian Ocean, Trans-Mediterranean, and Trans-Atlantic". He however focuses on the last three which he says "qualify to be regarded as potentially constitutive of diasporas". He further posits that studies on the African diaspora has over a long period, centred on the Atlantic World, that is the popular narration of the dispersal of African peoples through forced migration, pointing mainly to the Trans Atlantic Slave Trade which culminated into the formation of the New World, to the neglect of the Indian Ocean and Mediterranean stories of both forced and voluntary migration where Africans travelled as sailors, traders, clerics, concubines and slaves.

He describes the contemporary diaspora as one consisting of three different waves of dispersal, wave of colonization, waves of decolonization and finally waves of structural adjustments. "The diasporas of colonization includes the students who went to study abroad and stayed, seamen who

became settlers, and many others who could migrate and become citizens according to the prevailing immigration regimes in the host country”. The diaspora of decolonization include besides “the so-called ‘indigenous’ Africans, European and Asian settlers, those who relocated overseas during the struggles for independence and immediately after”. The diaspora of structural adjustment “have been formed since the 1980s out of the migrations engendered by economic, political, and social crises and the destabilizations of SAPs”. They include “professional elites, traders, refugees and students”. He further makes a distinction between African migration and African diasporization based on the duration of their stay away from the homeland. Thus a migrant could only become diasporan “as a result of *prolonged* settlement followed by *permanent* settlement in the host country; otherwise he/she is only a temporal migrant”.

Based on the above assertion, he further argues that unlike the historic, the contemporary diaspora have to “negotiate temporary prolonged permanent intention, duration degrees relations with the historic diasporas themselves and also not just with ‘Africa’ but with their particular countries of origin and the countries of transmigration. The revolution in telecommunications and travel, which according to him, has compressed the spatial and temporal distances between home and abroad, offers the contemporary diasporas, unlike the historic diasporas from the earlier dispersals, unprecedented opportunities to be transnational and transcultural, to be people of multiple worlds and localities”(Zezeza 2008). They are able to retain ties to Africa in ways that were not possible to, for earlier generations of the African diasporas.

1.82 State/Homeland-Diaspora Relations: Conceptualization of Diaspora Engagement Policies

As Zeleza(2008) rightly puts it, “one critical measure of the diaspora condition as a self-conscious identity lies in remembering, imagining and engaging the original homeland, whose own identity is, in part, constituted by and, in turn, helps constitute the diaspora.” The above assertion suggests a kind of engagement between a state and its diaspora that makes it possible for both to influence each another. The African diaspora has engaged the continent in several significant ways. In terms of politics, the concept of Pan Africanism was embraced by both political leaders in the diaspora including W.E. Du Bois and Marcus Garvey and those on the continent like Dr, Kwame Nkrumah. We see the role the above mentioned diasporans play in the liberation struggle for independence on the African continent. On the subject of music to religion to fashion and food, the African diaspora has constantly engaged the continent creating a powerful linkage and common cultural expressions with the continent. While copious work has been done on how immigrants or diasporians reach out to the homelands or homestates, increasing interest in how states implement policies to reach out to its diaspora usually the contemporary diaspora or what is generally termed as diaspora engagement policies seems to gaining grounds in recent scholarship.

With regard to the discourse on Diaspora Engagement Policies, Gamlen (2006) states that there is general assumption that the concept of diaspora engagement policies has generally been attributed to countries of the global South and those poorer countries are the ones who engage their diaspora for the purposes of nation building. He however disproves this claim, arguing that “states using diaspora engagement policies are found in all geo-political regions. They are not all poor, and some of them are transnationalizing a civic model of citizenship. He further posits that diaspora engagement policies cannot be seen as singular, discrete, or historically sui generis”. “Rather, they form a constellation of institutional and legislative arrangements and programmes that come into being at different times, for different reasons, and operate across different timescales at different

levels within the state. Discussion of diaspora engagement policies usually highlights the home-state's extraction of economic and political benefits from the diaspora. The former are extracted through investment policies" (Levitt and de la Dehesa 2003), while the latter are pursued by the promotion of external expatriate lobbies. Accordingly, diaspora engagement policies can be broken down into three main categories: The first being "capacity building policies aimed at discursively producing a state-centric 'diaspora', and developing a set of corresponding state institutions to govern the diaspora". Secondly, "extending rights to the diaspora, this suggests playing a role that befits a legitimate sovereign", and lastly, "extracting obligations from the diaspora, based on the premise that emigrants owe loyalty to their legitimate sovereign".(Gamlen,2006) Essentially, Gamlen suggests that Diaspora Engagement Policies are those policies that states employ to engage those they deem as their nationals abroad. It is in the light of this assertion that African countries or home states engage their diaspora and therefore within this context that this study which seeks to examine the strategies or policy programmes Ghana has employed to engage its diaspora for the purposes of its development, is set.

Ankomah et al. (2012), assert that in its diaspora engagement strategy, "Ghana has devised rather unorthodox methods to target its intended market". He explains that through policies, special invitations, conferring of traditional titles, free land offers, and advocacy of pan-Africanism, the government and people of Ghana have been able to transform diasporans from passive visitors to the country into active cultural brokers, marketers, willing ambassadors abroad, and active participants in the country's economic development efforts. He reiterates that, "the diaspora market in Ghana is constituted by Africans dispersed from the continent by the trans-Atlantic slave trade now settled in the Americas, and more recent Ghanaian migrants live in Europe, North America, and other places of the world". (Ankomah et al 2012). He further restricts the Ghana

diaspora market to Blacks residing in North America and the Caribbean and Ghanaian migrants in Europe and North America. He outlines certain factors that influence the decision by African American and Caribbean Diasporans (NACDs) diasporians to visit or even seek residency in Ghana: (a) “Many cannot trace their heritage to a particular country in Africa and have adopted Ghana as their homeland” (b) “Kwame Nkrumah’s (first prime minister and president of postindependence Ghana) efforts at pan-Africanization and the establishment of the African Union and Marcus Garvey’s call for Blacks to go back to Africa, which was a precursor to pan-Africanization, have encouraged those with African heritage to want to return to the motherland” . (c) “Prominent pan-Africanists, like W. E. B. Du Bois and George Padmore, are buried in the country, and their grave sites have become a historical monument for pilgrims from the diaspora”. (d) “Ghana is also replete with many artifacts related to the Transatlantic Slave Trade with stations of the slave route scattered throughout various regions of the country”.(Ankomah et al. 2012)

He further classifies Ghana’s engagement efforts into two broad categories; the state/government policies, and then the contribution of civil societies both in Ghana and abroad.

1.83 Limitations and Strengths of Literature Review

The review of the literature revealed a gap of inability of scholars to ascribe a concrete definition to the term diaspora, thus making it difficult to conceptualize the term ‘Ghanaian Diaspora’. However, the above literature clearly gives a concrete guideline on the kind of engagement that can exist between a state and its diaspora and how states can leverage on this relationship to efficiently harness resources from its diaspora for national and homeland development without a compromise on strengthening the ties between the two. The review also shows some of the means

by which Ghana has been engaging its diaspora over the years. The researcher however notes a general limitation of finding literature (in this case books) on Ghana's state-diaspora engagements thus the inclusion of Ankomah et al work as the only literature sufficient to address the sub topic.

This study therefore fills in the gap by proposing a concrete definition for the Ghanaian diaspora and also outlining the specific engagement policies that have been implemented by successive governments under Ghana's Fourth Republic for the purpose of engaging the Ghanaian diaspora for national development.

1.9 Research Methodology

The study adopts a qualitative research approach because it allows for an in-depth research using a range of techniques with the aim to understand reason, opinion and motivations. In this type of research approach, sample size is usually small since it does not focus mainly on "how many" but how well the sampled views display knowledge in relation to the topic. The benefit of qualitative approach is that it is an open-ended approach and its ability to evolve as the study progresses enhances the quality of the data and insights generated. It also allows the researcher understand the issues from different perspectives for a more descriptive and analytical study. It requires the study of human behavior, exploring the attitudes, feelings and ideas that humans display and how they affect their decisions. Relating it to the topic, this approach will help better understand the rationale behind the economic, political and social ties that form the basis for integration of the diaspora into homelands for national development. The methodology is also crucial to appreciating how different stakeholders matter in the design and implementation of diaspora engagement policies at varying levels and times in promoting an active engagement with Ghana's diaspora. The study employs the purposive sampling method which requires a selection of key personalities

with expertise on the topic, from key stage agencies who have been involved in facilitating Ghana's engagement programmes with its diaspora. Their views are sampled through semi structured interviews. Snowball sampling is also employed for the study since targeted participants recommended other participants whose responses were crucial to the objectives of the research.

1.10 Sources of Data

The study employs both primary and secondary data. The researcher uses interviews as source of primary data for this study. In all, about six respondents are sampled and interviewed from diverse state agencies that play active roles in Ghana's engagement with its diaspora. Mr. Ernest Amporful, The Director of the Diaspora Affairs Bureau at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration is interviewed. Jake Bediako of the Director of the Diaspora Affairs, Office of the President is also interviewed. Former Director at the Centre for Migration Studies, Dr. Delali Badasu at the University of Ghana is also interviewed. An official of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration was interviewed under strict anonymity. Manager for the Year of Return Secretariat, Miss Annabelle, Mckenzie is also interviewed. Mr Ben Anane Nsiah of the Ghana Tourism Authority is also interviewed. Secondary data in the form of published online articles and books are also consulted to consolidate the primary data for the study.

1.11 Data Collection Methods

Primary data was collected from all respondents to the research, using semi-structured interviews. This was done with the aid of an interview guide outlining potential interview areas with open-ended questions. Face to face interviews were conducted for four of the respondents while zoom or virtual interview was conducted for two respondents. All interviews lasted for about 45 minutes

to an hour. Some responses were recorded using an electronic device and others in the form of hand written notes.

1.12 Data Analysis and Interpretation

Recorded data was transcribed for faster and easy analysis. Transcribed data was carefully read and important aspects of the data were then analysed along developed themes based on the objectives outlined in the study. Some of the responses are however quoted directly in certain parts of the study.

1.13 Ethical Considerations

This research is conducted with strict adherence to the principles of anonymity and confidentiality.

Principle of anonymity: The decision by participants of the study not to reveal their identity is duly respected. The study did not disclose the names of some interviewees nor quote directly comments from the said respondents .

Principle of confidentiality: Participants who decided not to divulge information they consider sensitive have their decision duly respected.

1.14 Arrangement of Chapters

The study is organized into four chapters.

Chapter One is the **introduction**. This constitutes the background to the study, the statement of the research and the general research design.

Chapter Two outlines the overview of the diaspora, the conceptualization of the Ghanaian diaspora and some highlights of Ghana's engagement with its diaspora. It also highlights efforts made by the AU to facilitate the diaspora Engagements for member states.

Chapter Three focuses on the specific policy instruments that have been initiated and their implementation by the various governments under the fourth republic as well as challenges faced in their implementation.

Chapter Four provides a summary of findings, conclusions and recommendations of the study.

REFERENCES:

1. Akyeampong, Emmanuel, "Africans in the Diaspora: The Diaspora and Africa. *African Affairs*, Vol. 99, No. 395, Centenary Issue: A Hundred Years of Africa (2000), pp. 183-215.
2. Alpers, Edwards. "Defining the African Diaspora" (2008).
3. Ankomah, Paul et al. A Creative Approach to Development: The Case for Active Engagement of African Diaspora in Ghana, *Journal of Black Studies*,(2012) Vol.43(4) pp.385–404.
4. Awumbila, Mariama et al. "Migration Country Paper: Ghana." Paper prepared as part of the African Perspectives on Human Mobility Programme: (2008.) Centre for Migration Studies, University of Ghana.
5. Bauböck, Rainer & Faist Thomas, "Diaspora and Transnationalism: Concepts, Theories and Methods" (2010) IMISCOE Research, Amsterdam University Press.
6. Bolaji, Mohammed Hadi Abdul-Ganiy. "The African Union's Call for Global Pan-Africanism and the Ghana Diaspora Relations in the 21st Century." *Journal of Black Studies* vol. 46.1 (2015): 62-101.
7. Brubaker,Rogers. 'The "diaspora" diaspora', *Ethic and Racial Studies*, (2005), vol. 28 pp. 1-19.
8. Carstens, S. A., 2003. 'Constructing Transnational Identities? Mass Media and the Malaysian Chinese Audience', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 26 (2), pp.321-344.

9. Cohen, Robin. "Global Diasporas: An Introduction". London: Routledge, 2008, pp.20-22.
10. Gamlen, Alan. "Diaspora engagement policies: What are they and what kinds of states use them?" (2006).
11. Harris E. Joseph, "Global dimensions of the African Diaspora", First edition. (1982).
12. Harris, Joseph. "Global Dimensions of the African Diaspora" Howard University Press, Washington, (1993).
13. Kamei, Seraphina. "Diaspora as the 'Sixth Region of Africa': An Assessment of the African Union Initiative, 2002–2010." *Diaspora Studies* 4.1 (2011)
14. Kapur Devesh & McHale John, "Economic Effects of Emigration on Sending Countries", *Oxford Handbook of the Politics of International Migration*, (2012).
15. Kivisto, Peter. "Theorizing transnational immigration: a critical review of current efforts." *Ethnic and racial studies* Vol.24.4 (2001): 549-577.
16. Nagel Caroline, "Geopolitics by another name: Immigration and the politics of Assimilation" *Political Geography*, (2002), Vol.21, Issue 8.
17. Portes, et sA., "Introduction: The Debates and Significance of Immigrant Transnationalism', *Global Networks*" *A Journal of Transnational Affairs*, (2001) 1(3), pp. 181-193.
18. Safran, William. "Diasporas in Modern Societies: Myths of Homeland and Return." *Diaspora: A Journal of Transnational studies* (1991), vol.1, pp.83-99.
19. Schiller, Nina et al. "Towards a definition of transnationalism." *Annals of the New York academy of sciences* 645.1 (1992).
20. Schiller, Nina et al., "From immigrant to transmigrant: Theorizing transnational migration." *Anthropological quarterly* (1995), 48-63.

21. Vertovec Stephen , “Conceiving and Researching Transnationalism: *Ethnic and Racial Studies* (1999),Vol.22.2. pp.447-462.
22. Zeleza, Tiyaambe Paul. “The Challenges of studying the African Diasporas”, *African Sociological Review/Revue Africaine de Sociologie*, (2008) vol. 12, pp.4-21.
23. Africanews.com Africa's diaspora remittances rise to \$35.2 billion in 2015 - World Bank.
<http://www.africanews.com/2016/04/20/africa-s-diaspora-remittances-rise-to-352-bn-in-2015-world-bank/> .

CHAPTER TWO

AN OVERVIEW OF THE DIASPORA AND GHANA'S ENGAGEMENT WITH THE DIASPORA

2.0 Introduction

This chapter is organized into five segments. It begins with the discussion on the formation of global Diasporas, and then it defines the African diaspora, narrowing it down to the linkages between the African diaspora and their countries of origins, the conceptualization of a Ghanaian diaspora, and then concludes with Ghana's engagement with its diaspora and the contribution of the AU to Ghana's engagement with its diaspora.

As already stated in the preceding chapter, it is generally difficult to attribute one specific definition to the concept of the diaspora. First and foremost, since trends in human migration have changed over the years, the linkage of the formation of a diaspora to forced migration or dispersal of a group is gradually giving way to a more nuanced and contemporary discourse on what should constitute a diaspora.

Historically, the development of the concept of diaspora has been attributed to William Safran,(1991), who outlines six features that constitute a diaspora: 1) "They, or their ancestors have been dispersed from a specific original "center" to two or more "peripheral," or foreign,

regions”; 2) “They retain a collective memory, vision or myth about their original homeland, its physical location, history, and achievements”; 3) “They believe that they are not and perhaps cannot be fully accepted by their host society and therefore, feel partly alienated and insulated from it”; 4) “They regard their ancestral homeland as their true, ideal home and as the place to which they or their descendants would (or should) eventually return when conditions are appropriate”; 5) “They believe that they should collectively be committed to the maintenance or restoration of their original homeland and to its safety and prosperity”; and 6) “They continue to relate, personally or vicariously, to that homeland in one way or another, and their ethno communal consciousness and solidarity are importantly defined by the existence of such a relationship”. He also seems to emphasise the element of a connection to a homeland.

P.T. Zeleza,(2009) also attempts a definition of a diasporic identity which he states in a broad sense, “implies a form of group consciousness, constituted historically through expressive culture, politics, thoughts and traditions in which experiential and representational resources are mobilized, in varied measures, from the imaginaries of both the old and the new world”. He then defines diasporas as “conscious social and cultural communities created out of real and imagined genealogies and geographies (cultural, racial, ethnic, national ,continental, transnational) of belonging, displacement and recreation, constructed and conceived at multiple temporal and spatial scales, at different moments and distances from the putative homeland”.

“While there is no one definition, scholars generally agree that in order to qualify as ‘diasporas’, migrant communities should display several characteristics. These include a history of dispersal from a homeland; a collective memory and idealisation of this homeland; an ongoing connection or idea of return; a strong group consciousness and a difficulty to integrate into the receiving/host countries”. (Cohen 2008)

It would therefore seem easy that following from some of the definitions of the diasporas and how they are created, the notion of the African diaspora would simply be defined as the diaspora that is associated with Africa. However, Zeleza(2009) makes it evident that the construction or conception of Africa in itself poses a great challenge to defining the African diaspora. Several scholars in the area have diverse perspectives on its constitution. George Shepperson who is believed to have been the first to use the term, first joined “African” to “diaspora” in 1965. He explicitly did so because of the close parallels he saw between the Jewish diaspora and the dispersal of Africans as a consequence of the slave trade. Shepperson argued that African American and Caribbean intellectuals themselves had for a long time recognized and articulated connections between their own people in exile and that of the Jews. By his application of “diaspora” to the experience of “The African Abroad,” as the session at which he presented his paper was entitled and his paper makes plain, he declared as an historian and an outsider that he, too, saw such parallels. Shepperson’s achievement here was to “recognize the great similarities in the comparative histories of these two great dispersions, especially the role of “slavery and imperialism” in the forced migration of both Jews and Africans, and to name the one by the term used for the other”.

Perhaps PT. Zeleza’s(2009) definition of the African Diaspora incorporates both the historic and the modern or as it were the contemporary conception of the term. In his definition of the African diaspora he argues quite simply, “that African diasporas include all those peoples dispersed from the continent in historic and contemporary times, who have constituted themselves or been constituted into diasporas”. He further asserts that an attempt to categorize African diasporas is not an easy task. He begins with the historic categorization where he argues that, “in terms of dispersal of populations, we can identify four broad movements: Intra-African, Trans Indian

Ocean, Trans-Mediterranean, and Trans-Atlantic”. He however focuses on the last three which he says “qualify to be regarded as potentially constitutive of diasporas”. Zeleza(2009) further posits that studies on the African diaspora has over a long period, centred on the Atlantic World, that is the popular narration of the dispersal of African peoples through forced migration pointing mainly to the Trans Atlantic Slave Trade which culminated into the formation of the New World, to the neglect of the Indian Ocean and Mediterranean stories of both forced and voluntary migration where Africans travelled as sailors, traders, clerics, concubines and slaves.

He describes the contemporary diaspora as one consisting of three different waves of dispersal, wave of colonization, waves of decolonization and finally waves of structural adjustments. The diasporas of colonization “ would include the students who went to study abroad and stayed, seamen who became settlers, and many other others who could migrate and become citizens according to the prevailing immigration regimes in the host country”. The “diaspora of decolonization include besides the so-called ‘indigenous’ Africans, European and Asian settlers, those who relocated overseas during the struggles for independence and immediately after”. The “diaspora of structural adjustment have been formed since the 1980s out of the migrations engendered by economic, political, and social crises and the destabilizations of SAPs”. They include professional elites, traders, refugees, and students. He further makes a distinction between African migration and African diasporization based on the duration of their stay away from the homeland. Thus a migrant could only become diasporan “as a result of *prolonged* settlement followed by *permanent* settlement in the host country; otherwise he/she is only a temporal migrant”.

2.1 Diaspora and Development

The three waves of dispersal as argued by Zeleza(2009) as constituting the formation of the contemporary diaspora, is of particular importance to this study because it helps to trace and assess the migration pattern of the African diaspora and in this case the Ghanaian diaspora. As he rightly mentions, a certain pattern of migration usually precedes the formation of a particular diaspora. Adepoju(1995) adds that migration from Ghana and other West African countries could be traced from the pre-colonial era, to the colonial era, through to the independence and the post-independence era. He argues that “in sub-Saharan Africa (SSA), intra- and inter-country movements continue to be a central feature of life of the people”. “Much of this movement he asserts, takes place in diverse political, economic, socio-ethnic and ecological settings but remains essentially intra-regional”. “Migrants from and within the region include temporary cross-border workers, unskilled and temporary contract workers, traders, undocumented migrants, highly skilled professionals, and refugees”.Zeleza(2009)

Zeleza(2009), further argues that unlike the historic, the contemporary diaspora have to negotiate “temporary prolonged permanent intention, duration degrees relations with the historic diasporas themselves and also not just with ‘Africa’ but with their particular countries of origin and the countries of transmigration”. The revolution in telecommunications and travel, which according to him, “has compressed the spatial and temporal distances between home and abroad”, offers the contemporary diasporas, unlike the historic diasporas from the earlier dispersals, unprecedented opportunities to be transnational and transcultural, to be people of multiple worlds and localities. “They are able to retain ties to Africa in ways that were not possible to earlier generations of the African diasporas”. Some scholars on the African diaspora also suggest a move away from the historic focus on slavery and to embrace the emergence of the new diasporas. Koser(2006) for

instance asserts that, “a preoccupation with slavery and its descendants has diverted our attention from striking new patterns and processes associated with recent migrations. According to him, though often conceived in terms of a catastrophic dispersion, widening the notion of diaspora to include trade, imperial labour and cultural diasporas can provide a more nuanced understanding of the often positive relationships between migrants’ homelands and their places of work and settlement”. Vertovec and Cohen (1999) also hold that “diasporas have recently been conceived as a new social form characterized by special social relationships, political orientations and economic strategies; as a type of consciousness that demonstrates an awareness of multi-locality, and as a novel mode of cultural production that interacts with globalization”. “The literature thus implies that diasporas have a new economic, social, political and cultural potential that can be wielded transnationally”.

It is worth noting that in the conception of the contemporary African diaspora or otherwise described as the new diasporas, scholars seemed to be divided on the inclusion of intra continental or intra African migration as part of the description. While some opine that the story of the diaspora can never be complete without the inclusion of the diasporas within Africa, others assert that the African diaspora is primarily composed of those residing outside the continent. Further research into the above debate however indicates that, the decision to include the Intra -African diasporas or not in the discourse on diaspora, usually come up in discourses on the nexus of diaspora and development of countries of origins and destinations. With reference to African diasporas in South Africa, Crush (2011) makes the case for a “spatially inclusive definition” of the African diaspora “that encompasses all migrants of African origin with a development related “interest” wherever they live so long as they are outside their country of origin”. In his opinion, Africa continues to remain the popular destination for many migrants. This includes people of African origin (not just

first-generation migrants) reside in the North, in the South and, crucially, in Africa itself. He further explains “that the majority of migration within Africa is developmental in nature, motivated by the search for better economic opportunity and building sustainable livelihoods at home”, and therefore makes a strong case for the inclusion of African diaspora inside of Africa. Conversely, Crush (2011) points out that, “internationally and within Africa itself, the African diaspora is generally seen as living outside the continent”. Diaspora engagement strategies, are for development he concludes, are therefore targeted at Africans living in Europe and North America. Again, to several others, the AU’s definition of the African Diaspora as “consisting of people of African origin living outside the continent, irrespective of their citizenship and nationality and who are willing to contribute to the development of the continent and the building of the African Union” is the standard yardstick that gives finality to the debate. The above debate is of particular interest to the researcher and to this study as it helps to better understand the factors that have motivated the surge in literature on the engagement of African states with their diasporas for development, and hence that on diaspora engagements for Ghana’s development. The focus however will be to include both diasporas formed within and outside the continent, with main emphasis on Ghana’s engagements with both the African diaspora and Ghanaian diaspora, formed and situated outside of the continent.

2.2 Intra -regional African Migration

The era of colonialism shaped many patterns of international migration in Africa. Due to the development of capitalist enclaves and estate economies in the colonies, with a subsequent demand for (indentured) labour, many migration flows developed. Well-known examples are the movement of African slaves from West Africa to the West Indies, or the movement of African labour to the mines of South Africa. Subsequently, the process of decolonization was accompanied

by large-scale migrations. During the Cold War period many so-called Third World countries were client states of the dominant powers (USA, USSR, and China) and were dependent politically, economically and militarily. In this period, international migration was underpinned by the political conflicts between the Communist Bloc and the West. These had their parallel in the Third World and contributed to armed conflicts in Chad, Ethiopia, Somalia and Angola, to name but a few. Furthermore, the stark contrasts between the developed and developing world were combined with strong political, economic and social links, leading to the migration of labour and students from developing countries to the former colonizers. Migration between the countries of the South was still limited and was superseded by internal movements such as rural-urban migration (particularly to capital cities), traditional nomadic movements and seasonal movement. Much of this migration was a result of the earlier exploitation of natural and mineral resources and the estate crop economies during the colonial period: the Copper Belt in Zambia, mining areas in Zimbabwe, Nigeria and South Africa, and the rubber, cocoa and coffee plantations in coastal West Africa remain poles of attraction for internal and international migrants up to this day.

Even during the colonial period large-scale labour migration took place in West Africa. The migration was stimulated and organized by the colonial powers in their quest for cheap labour needed for the plantation and estate economies. Thus, many workers from Upper Volta and Mali worked in the gold, tin and coal mines in Ghana and Nigeria, and on the cocoa, coffee and oil palm plantations in Ivory Coast, Ghana and Nigeria. This organized migration eventually resulted in chain and family migration to the coastal areas, which was further facilitated by the development of infrastructure (Makinwa-Adebusoye, 1995).

The creation of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) in 1975 also facilitated the international movement of people and also goods and services in West Africa with

the implementation of the Protocol on Free Movement of Persons and goods by the ECOWAS in 1980. The main migration flows in the period 1945–1980 were those from Burkina Faso, Mali and Guinea to Ivory Coast on the one hand, and from Burkina Faso, Mali and Togo to Ghana and Nigeria on the other hand. In 2017, the United Nations Population Division, estimated that although the United States remains an important global destination for sub-Saharan Africans, intra-regional migration is far more common, at least with 71 percent of emigrants moving between countries in the region. South Africa, Ghana, Côte d’Ivoire, Uganda, Nigeria, and Ethiopia are the main destinations, hosting 32 percent of all intraregional migrants. Migration in Africa involves large numbers of migrants moving both within and from the region. An IOM World Migration Report 2020 indicates that, in 2019, over 21 million Africans were living in another African country, this represented a significant increase from 2015, when at about 18.5 million Africans were estimated to be living within the region. Also, intraregional migration especially within West Africa dominates for several reasons, including “visa-free movement among the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) members, the relatively small sizes of many countries in the sub region and the strong networks among the many ethnic groups scattered across the sub region”(.).

2.3 Contemporary African Migration beyond Africa

Zezeza(2010) holds that “while the majority of Africa’s migrants stayed in other African countries, growing numbers went outside the continent, especially to Western Asia and the global North. Migration to the North in the 1990s was characterized by several new trends amidst the persistence of old ones”. In most of the OECD (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development) countries, legal immigration flows decreased in 1993, although migration still played a significant role in annual population growth despite a fall in domestic fertility rates and an increase in ageing

native population. Also, the number of asylum claims decreased, but an increase in the relative importance of temporary and highly skilled workers in the total continued. Immigration for family reunion continued to predominate. Foreign labour force rose in almost all the OECD countries permeating more sectors, including services and self-employment, although foreigners continued to be more vulnerable to unemployment than nationals, particularly in Europe. Infact, some scholars hold that Post-Colonial African immigration to Europe has generally followed the historical and linguistic trails of colonialism, so that Britain and France are usually the preferred destinations of migrants for the former British and French colonies, respectively.

African immigration to North America has also increased rapidly with the U.S.A being the preferred destination of many. Statistics from the US census Bureau indicate that immigrants from Sub Saharan African alone rose from 130, 000 in 1980 to 2,019,000 in 2018. The United Kingdom, France and Italy and Australia are also common destinations for sub-Saharan African migrants.

Anarfi(1982), asserts that the immigration of Ghanaians to EU countries “can be traced back to a combination of factors of a socioeconomic and political nature, the major push factors including economic decline, political instability and dictatorship which were prevalent in the late 1970s”. “The post-independence military coups in 1966-1992 and subsequent regime brought political instability, which consequently changed the dynamics of mobility from single groups to mass movements” (Adepoju, 2005). Later, “push factors included the impact of Structural Adjustment Programmes in 1983 and acute drought and famine in 1983 and 1984” (Osman, 2010), in addition to poverty, unemployment and conflict at the beginning of 1990s. These culminated in the large emigration of Ghanaians between 1990 and 2010 in search of better opportunities abroad having Africa, Europe and North America as the three main destinations.

2.4 Exodus of Ghanaian Migrants and the Formation of the Ghanaian Diaspora

The exodus of the Ghanaian abroad for economic and political reasons is usually blamed on to the economic decline the country faced and the subsequent implementation of Structural Adjustment Programmes in the 1990's. According to Anarfi (1982), in Sub-Saharan Africa, Ghana had been a favourite immigration destination for many African countries due to a relatively vibrant Ghanaian economy, attracting quite a significant number of citizens from neighboring countries. Migrant labourers from the neighboring West African countries “came to Ghana in large numbers to work in the mines, cocoa plantations and as workers in the expanding civil service and the urban economy”. (Anarfi 1982)

Spaan and Moppes (2006) has it that, the mass expulsion of a quarter of a million immigrants in 1969 originating from Niger, Nigeria, Togo and Burkina Faso was a watershed and “marked the start of a decade of economic recession in Ghana”. The resulting labour shortages on the cocoa estates caused a slump in production and, together with hyperinflation and droughts, brought the economy to the brink of collapse. From that point onward Ghana experienced a shift in its status “from immigration to an emigration country”, especially after the discovery of oil in Nigeria. Many Ghanaians went there to work in the oil industry. Ivory Coast and Togo were also countries of destination for Ghanaian migrants.

Nieswand(2009)also adds that in “1983 and 1985, there were mass forced expulsions in Nigeria, which saw about a million Ghanaians returning to Ghana”. As a result, Ghanaians began to seek greener pastures outside the continent with preferred destinations being USA and Canada, UK, Germany, Spain, Italy and the Netherlands. Migration patterns were gradually reversed during the period of Ghana's post-independence crisis. During the 1970s, many Ghanaian migrants went to

other African countries, mainly Nigeria and Côte d'Ivoire, in search of work. An estimated one million Ghanaians worked in Nigeria in the early 1980s. "As a political reaction to Nigeria's economic crisis and internal political tensions, hundreds of thousands of Ghanaians were expelled in 1983 and 1985" (Adepoju 1986). In 1983 an estimated 700,000 returnees met Ghana, suffering under political instability and economic chaos, worsened by disastrous bush fires which destroying food and cash crop plantations all over the country. "Many returning migrant workers and several others who could afford it, left the country during this period" (Van Hear 1998: 204). Many travelled to Western Europe and North America, although this often meant a devaluation of the migrants' cultural and social capital, such as language skills, school and university degrees and work experience. "In Western Europe, Great Britain, Germany, the Netherlands and Italy, are the countries with the largest official Ghanaian populations, ranging from between 20,000 and 55,000" (Bump 2006). "Outside of Europe, Canada and the USA are the most important destinations for transcontinental Ghanaian migrants. In 2000, more than 30,000 Ghanaians officially resided in Canada and more than 65,000 in the USA". (Owusu 2003)

In Ghana two historical layers of diaspora discourses co-exist. Going back to the Gold Coast's role in the transatlantic slave trade and Nkrumah's commitment to Pan-Africanism, "Ghana is one of the focal points of Afro-American 'roots tourism' on the African continent" (Commander 2007; Gaines 2005; Lake 1995; Schramm 2004). Recently the diaspora discourse became expanded to include transcontinental Ghanaian labour migrants. Nevertheless, the 'new' diaspora discourse has a much larger impact on the political field in Ghana. While the inclusion of Afro-Americans often remains rhetorical, state representatives are much more interested in the practical incorporation of transcontinental migrants with Ghanaian citizenship. Recently the term received recognition in the field of development studies and development cooperation. In this context it centred on migrants'

contributions to social and economic development in Ghana and other parts of Africa. This description of the Ghanaian diaspora is of importance to this study since it sets the context for discussion of Diaspora Engagement Policy as one targeting transnational or transcontinental Migration of Ghanaians permanently or temporarily domiciled outside the continent.

Explicitly articulated by Dufoix (2011) is the fact that “in recent decades, the use of the word 'diaspora' has undergone significant changes. Among these, the latest evolution is the rise of the term as a political-administrative category mobilised by more and more states to describe either their nationals living abroad, or a body of people that are connected to the homeland through nationality or only by descent. Most of the time, these descriptions go hand in hand with the elaboration and implementation of policies specifically aimed at these populations: voting rights, political representation, online registration, diaspora-homeland meetings, and so on”. It is against this background that the context for the discussion of a Ghanaian diaspora as one of the many new African diasporas that maintain ties with its homeland and nation Ghana, is thus set.

With respect to adaptation of Immigrant Ghanaians in host countries, Arthur (2006) explains that, Immigrant Institutional Adaptation is an important facet of the making of immigrant identities in host nations. Based on their immigrant behavior in the USA, he explains that as more Ghanaians enter the USA, they begin to develop their own institutions which sometimes they transplant from home to the USA and the West as a whole. These institutions include the Immigrant Mutual benefits and benevolence societies and other social organisations which are designed to assist them to adapt to their new lives. The same also serve the purpose of anchoring the immigrants in the values and traditions of the Ghanaian society. The behavior of Ghanaians is cast within a perspective that recognises the varied and multiple socioeconomic, cultural and political contexts

in which the immigrants connect with their host societies and communities as well as the ones they left behind at home.

2.5 Linkages between the African Diaspora and their Countries of Origin

Very critical to this study is the fact that the concept of diaspora creation cannot be restricted to the historic definition of the diaspora. The concept has rather taken on a broader spectrum to include as the African Union describes it, the “people of African descent and heritage living outside the continent, irrespective of their citizenship and who remain committed to contribute to the development of the continent”. (AU,2005). According to Parnell- Berry (2012), a supposedly “new” post-colonial diaspora of the contemporary age migrates to Europe, North America and beyond in search of a new life. With his approach to the discourse, we can see a trend of African migrants who go to seek greener pastures abroad especially in developed countries in order to scale through economic hardship so that when they make it, they can support their families back at home. Some of these are those who qualify as those ‘living outside the continent’, who take special interest in supporting the development of the continent usually by maintaining ties with their respective countries of origin.

With respect to the discourse on diasporas and their linkages to their home countries Zeleza(2009) argues that, African states are recent colonial inventions that did not exist 150 years ago except for the notable exceptions of Egypt, Morocco, and Ethiopia, which might explain why the Afro-Atlantic diasporas that emerged out of earlier movements and which did not by and large come from these countries, are simply called "African" or identified by their ethnic or regional names. He adds that “the notions of "Asian" or "European" diasporas are not as widespread, since they are often trumped by national identities, for example the Irish diaspora, the Italian diaspora, the Indian

diaspora, the Chinese diaspora, and so on. For Africa, this is of course becoming increasingly true for the "new" diasporas, whose national identities compete with or subsume their continental identities". If that is the case, then wouldn't the above description raise some salient questions on how effective the AU would be in its bid to harness the potential of the diaspora in a manner that would not culminate into competition with member states? I would address this issue as I elaborate on the recognition of the African diaspora as their sixth region of the AU and the initiatives AU has taken to harness their potential later in the chapter.

Just like Ghana, several African governments have also taken initiatives to harness some benefits from their respective nationals abroad. In effect, African diaspora are active in political advocacy, charity and cultural exchange with their respective nations back home. For example, Nigerians in Diaspora Organisations (NIDO) have been established and are actively involved in dialogue with governments at home. "Ghanaian Diaspora in the UK have pressed and received concession from their government to participate in national elections and are also actively involved in modernising political process. African diasporic associations also help new arrivals adapt and insert into labour markets, reinforce cultural identity, and mobilise members' capital for community development projects at 'home' and contribute to charity and development programmes" (Adepoju, 2007b). African leaders are also actively exploring strategies to attract back their nationals to contribute to national development. Leaders of Nigeria, Kenya, Ghana, among others, have held series of meetings with their nationals in Diaspora, encouraging them to return with offers of incentives to do so. Governments have established ministries or agencies of the Diaspora to coordinate diaspora related programmes. Many migrants who also nurse the hope to return home ultimately may have acquired skills and capital that can be productively invested back home, eventhough some of these skills acquired by some, may not match available job opportunities at home. "We need more

evidence-based research on lessons learnt from, for instance, IOM's 'Return and Reintegration of Qualified Nationals' and similar programmes in Africa that facilitate return, retention and reintegration of nationals and which promote their potential for country-of-origin development" (IOM, 2001).

2.6 Benefits and Challenges of Diaspora Engagement

The concept of transnationalism still pose a threat to global security due to its association to diasporas and their relations to their homeland, The upsurge in terrorist activities especially after the 9/11 attack on the US has put a bad name to the concept of diaspora engagement with the homeland with the reason being that these communities facilitate or fund terrorist and criminal activities in their homeland or in some instances in the country of destination. "For example, the Bush administration recently outlawed the al-Barakaat system of diasporic banking among Somalis arguing that it is an easy means of transferring funds to Al Qaida" (The White House, 2001). Because migrants are often faced with the grim reality to survive doing odd jobs, they easily fall prey to the whims and caprices of criminal gangs that often introduce them to all sorts of illegal activities like drug trafficking and these gradually get incorporated into various crime networks. Again, funding from the African Diaspora to support conflict and political insurgencies have also received scholastic attention as constituting one of the banes of diaspora engagement. The Eritrean diaspora is said to have largely funded the conflict with Ethiopia.

Eventhough these transnational dangers still exist, the discourse on the diaspora should not fail to look at the numerous benefits that homelands reap from their diasporas which. Infact this study thrives on the theme that the African Diaspora or in this case the Ghanaian Diaspora has positive potential, which when harnessed can positively impact the developmental agenda of the state. Moreover, many scholars hold that, international migration has moved from being the source of a brain drain to becoming one of the channels of development for developing countries. Whereas migrants were once viewed as unpatriotic, fleeing the country when they were needed most, the discourse has shifted to a positive dimension which views migrants as very much part of the solution to underdevelopment (Ndofor-Tah, 2000; Ozden and Schiff, 2005). The benefit of remittances though the most popular, is only one of the numerous benefits from the African diaspora. The World Bank Report in 2019 indicates that Nigeria, which has a sizable diaspora across the world, is by far the largest recipient of remittance flows with \$23.8 billion, followed by Ghana (\$3.5 billion) and Kenya (\$2.8 billion). With Ghana as the second largest recipient of remittances in Sub-Saharan Africa, flows through official channels have increased from 117.6 million USD in 2007 to an estimated 3.8 billion USD in 2018, equating to 7.4% of GDP. Flows accounts for almost three times of Official Development Assistance (ODA) received and thus provide the Government of Ghana with a vital source of foreign exchange. Again, “remittances are important source of livelihood for many poor households in Ghana and several African countries. According to the ADB (2008), 80% of remittance beneficiaries in Morocco, Senegal, Mali and Cameroun are poor households from remote areas. The remittances are mainly used to meet basic needs like food, education and healthcare. These households usually do not benefit from development assistance. To these households, the major concern is to meet daily and life’s basic needs than to save towards capital accumulation. However, these notwithstanding, some

investments are made in the areas of real estate, industry, and import/export through remittances from migrants”. Migrants more often than not remit family members during funeral celebrations and in times of ill health. “Remittance receipts from migrants are also invested in housing projects for personal or family use as well as for income generating purposes by setting up small scale businesses in various towns and cities”.

Apart from remittances, homelands also benefit from skilled human resource that brings their training, expertise to play in the developmental agenda of the host nation. In Ghana for example, “highly skilled and educated diaspora Ghanaians have returned to contribute to the country’s reconstruction efforts. Herman Chinery-Hesse, a returnee and executive chairman of Soft Tribe, developed a specialized software for tracking inventory, payroll, and accounting used by companies in Ghana. Another returnee, Ken Afori-Atta, established Databank to provide information about Ghanaian businesses to foreign investors. The company established a medium for listing shares of foreign companies on the Ghana Stock Exchange, a novelty in the economic and banking history of Ghana. These returnees are also using their social capital acquired abroad to help the country” (Ankomah et al.2012). “Given their accumulated experience, their connection and interaction with the political establishment in the West and United States, which is more transparent and more accountable than what pertains in Africa, the African diaspora can help to put up programs of reform that can make African institutions more transparent, more democratic, and more accountable. Involving the African diaspora in Africa’s development would give them the urge to campaign for institutionalizing democracy, initiating electoral reforms, stopping human rights abuses, strengthening security of the citizenry, increasing public-spiritedness, and encouraging accountability and probity in public life” (Mohamoud, 2007).

It is for this reason, that Gamlen thus explains “that discussion of diaspora engagement policies usually highlights the home-state’s extraction of economic and political benefits from the diaspora. The former are extracted through investment policies” (Levitt and de la Dehesa 2003), while the latter are pursued by the promotion of external expatriate lobbies. “Accordingly, diaspora engagement policies can be broken down into three main categories: The first being capacity building policies aimed at discursively producing a state-centric ‘diaspora’, and developing a set of corresponding state institutions to govern the diaspora. The second involving extending rights to the diaspora, thus playing a role that befits a legitimate sovereign and the third as extracting obligations from the diaspora, based on the premise that emigrants owe loyalty to their legitimate sovereign”(Gamlen 2006). Eventhough Gamlen’s outline seems to be easily laid out, African states still struggle drafting and implementing policies that would allow for maximum harnessing of its diaspora. As Vezzoli & Lacroix(2010) rightly articulate, “recognizing the value of migrants does not necessarily translate into concrete policies that welcome them to take part in national development”. This assertion accounts for why several African states including Ghana are yet to develop comprehensive policy materials that clearly outline how diaspora engagements should be done to complement development in the home country.

2.7 The Ghanaian Diaspora and the Nation State: Modes of Engagements

Studies on the Ghanaian Diaspora have shown that there is the presence of Ghanaian immigrants “all over Europe, North America and elsewhere” (Higazi, 2005, Arthur, 2008). “In 1995 it was estimated that, at least one-tenth of the Ghanaian population lived abroad: in Africa, North

America, Europe, Asia and Australia in 1995” (Peil 1995). According to Van Hear (1998), “Ghana is one of the ten countries that have produced and are involved in producing a ‘new diaspora’ in recent times”. Ghanaians are now found in every country, rich or poor, and therefore the focus on colonial links particularly to the United Kingdom, for explaining migration patterns in Ghana cannot be used to determine destination trends. It was found that “36.94%, 28.90%, 16.94%, 11.11% and 6.11% of Ghanaian migrants reside in America, Europe, Africa, Asia and Australia respectively. America and Europe taking the first two spots was not surprising as many Ghanaians consider these two continents as lands of opportunities and prosperity. Furthermore, they are likely to have relations in these two continents”.(Ahinful et al., 2013)

Mohan (2006) states that, in the last ten to fifteen years, the discourse on International Migration especially from developing countries to developed ones, has changed fundamentally. Although “brain drain” is still seen as a problem in the context of the emigration of physicians and nurses, it is often highlighted that migrants’ remittances and their loyalty to the Ghanaian nation-state are a resource for the development of the country. (Niewand 2009) “In 2001, Ghana organised a “homecoming summit” in which the President and several ministers of state participated. In this framework, they discussed with affluent Ghanaian migrants ways to incorporate them into Ghana’s development (Niewand 2009). “By employing the concept of diaspora and creating state institutions for migrant inclusion, Ghana has adapted its discourse of national belonging to the conditions of mass migration and to its own economic dependency on migrant remittances. This process of adjustment included an essential modification of the political definition of citizenship. These changes do not only serve the state’s economic interests in the migrants but also migrants’ aspiration of participating in and having an impact on the Ghanaian political field”. (Nilson 2011) In this respect the diaspora policies create new opportunities for Ghanaians in the receiving

countries to participate in the politico socio cultural affairs of the homeland which they usually achieve through their Associations and Transnational groups created in the host land.

2.8 The Fourth Republic and Engaging the Diaspora

In order to put this study into its real perspective, it is imperative to understand Ghana's political trajectory since independence and its relevance in explaining the study's focus of Diaspora Engagement Policies under the Fourth Republic. Ghana just like several African countries attained independence in the 1960's. One remarkable feature about this era is the involvement of the Historic African Diaspora in attaining this feat. The African Diaspora is known to have incensed the fire of redeeming the image of the Black man and promoting the adoption of an African Identity that would unify all African people irrespective of their location. Diasporians like W.E.B Dubois and George Padmore were very instrumental for fomenting the call for Pan Africanism. Infact The first President of Ghana, Osaagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah was greatly influenced by the two Pan-Africanists to the extent that his association with them contributed to the fight for Ghana's independence. His advocacy with other African Diasporians like Marcus Garvey and Du Bois for a united Africa marked his administration's engagement with the African Diaspora. "Because Ghana's foreign policy at the time was tilted towards promoting Pan Africanism, Ghana became a home for freedom fighters and Pan Africanists".(Ankomah et.al 2012) Some members of the diaspora visited and stayed in the country during this period. Nkrumah's efforts at reunification of the continent through Pan Africanism saw a temporary and permanent return of some African Americans and Anglophone Caribbeans to Ghana in the 1960s. Martin Luther King and Malcom visited Ghana, also the boxing legend Muhammed Ali, all visited post-independent Ghana. Others including, Pan-African activists and intellectuals such as W.E.B Du Bois,

St Clair Drake, journalist and writer Maya Angelou and the Trinidadian Pan-Africanist George Padmore.

Nkrumah's regime then became popular for its Pan Africanist as he spearheaded the move for the reunification of the continent. Again, due to the economic and infrastructural development Ghanaians enjoyed under Nkrumah, Ghana was perceived as the gateway to Africa and more people sought to come in.

On February 24, 1966, however, the Pan Africanist dream was short-lived when a group of army cum police personnel led by Colonel Emmanuel Kotoka, Major Akwesi Amankwa Afrifa, Lieutenant-General Joseph Arthur Ankrah, and Inspector General of Police John William Harley overthrew the civilian and democratically elected government of Nkrumah in a coup, and formed the National Liberation Council (NLC), which reigned from 1966–1969. No significant diaspora engagement took place until up about the inception of the Fourth Republic when Rawlings with his newly formed National Democratic Party won the elections and ushered the country into the fourth civilian rule.

With the Fourth Republic was inaugurated, Ghana was once again on the road to parliamentary and constitutional democracy. Rawlings's NDC party sought and successfully won another four-year term in 1996, defeating the main opposition party, the New Patriotic Party (NPP). On December 7, 2001, democracy and constitutional rule were again given another opportunity to thrive as Ghanaians voted to elect a new President and members of parliament. President John Agyekum Kuffour became Ghana's second president under the fourth Republic. After completing eight years in power, Ghana elected yet another leader. Prof. Evans Atta Mills won the elections on the ticket of the NDC in 2008. The unfortunate demise of the President pushed presidential

duties into the hands of his Vice President John Mahama who later contested for the elections in 2012 and won, being elected as the third President of the fourth republic. Ghana is currently under the leadership of President Nana Addo Danquah Akuffo Addo who took power in 2016.

With Ghana's political landscape duly outlined, it becomes evident that Ghana's Fourth Republic has been characterized by some level of peaceful democratic succession of governments. This study therefore is set in this context so as to better appreciate diaspora Engagement in a consistent and stable civilian democracy.

Furthermore, since Nkrumah's overthrow until the Fourth Republic, significant engagements with the diaspora was relegated to the background, no meaningful engagement with the diaspora really took place. Under the Provisional National Defence Council, Chairman Rawlings made attempts to reinstitute Diaspora engagements by the establishment of the W.E.B Du Bois Memorial Centre and the Kwame Nkrumah Memorial Park.

Active diaspora engagements through state and non- state agencies started in the fourth republic. It is a period that saw Ghana's transition from interruptive military juntas to democracy. The first remarkable initiative to actively engage the diaspora when it became a democracy in 1992 was the institution of the Pan-African Historical Theatre Festival (PANAFEST) and Emancipation Day. This was to be a biannual celebration for All African people to showcase African History and culture as well as discuss Africa's challenges through several lectures.

Successive governments have since that time devised several programmes and strategies aimed at engaging the diaspora under the fourth Republic. The individual programmes would be discussed in detail in the next chapter. However, some historical highlights of the programmes would be given in this chapter. It must be noted that because Ghana did not have a comprehensive policy for

Diaspora Engagement, all state initiated programmes aimed at tapping into the potential of the diaspora for national development were left at the mercy of the government of the day. The results have been an ad hoc engagement of the diaspora which would be discussed in detail in the subsequent chapter. It was also under the fourth republic that Ghana decided to draft a National Diaspora Engagement guide to replace the ad hoc engagement of its diaspora, this guide is yet to be implemented. Details on the progress of developing the said policy document will be discussed in the next chapter. The Kuffour led administration which took over power from the National Democratic Party quickly introduced the Home Coming Engagement Summit in 2001 under the theme “Harnessing the Global Ghanaian Resource Potential for Accelerated National Development” which sought to emphasise the relevance of engaging the diaspora for the country’s development. The summit also aimed at helping Ghanaian migrants and Afro-Americans to (re)discover their roots in Ghana .A number of issues like “state-diaspora collaboration, mobilization of resources and the creation of a diaspora database, mobilizing resources from Ghanaians Living abroad and simplifying the process of land acquisition for the Ghanaian diaspora were discussed”.(Awumbila 2014) “Not only was the summit promoted by the newly-created Ghana Investment Promotion Centre (GIPC), a government funded initiative, which brought together 500 Ghanaian migrant businessmen to promote their investment in Ghana. In addition, in order to consolidate its commitment to this initiative, the government established the Non Resident Ghanaian Secretariat in 2003 to coordinate the potential investments of the diaspora and to see to the implementation of the initiatives outlined at the Summit”. (Nilson 2011)

As argued by Vezzoli and Lacroix(2010), “notably, a tension exists between the desire of the government of origin to seek migrants’ financial investments and the limited rights that it is concretely willing to grant.” However, under the Kuffour led administration, the passing of the

Dual Citizenship Act (DCA) in 2002 was a bold step Ghana took towards extending citizenship right to its diaspora as part of its engagement with them. “The Law allows Ghanaians abroad to keep the citizenship of their host country and that of Ghana at the same time. The caveat to the dual citizenship act is that while it entitles one to everything, one must denounce foreign citizenship in order to stand for a political position in the country”(Quartey 2009). According to Quartey (2009), “a total of 5,903 expatriates have made use of DCA within seven years of its passage in order to combine Ghanaian and foreign citizenship”. In the same year, the Right to Abode was given for any “Person of African descent in the Diaspora” to travel to and from the country “without hindrance. Ghana’s immigration Act, 2000 (573) and Citizenship Act 591 gives legal basis to the Right of Abode and Dual Citizenship Rights.

Another step “aiming at the promotion of migrants' inclusion was the Representation of the People Amendment Act, which was passed by the Ghanaian parliament in February 2006 and grants Ghanaian citizens who live outside the country the right to vote in Ghana’s elections”.(Niewand 2009)

In addition, “the Kufuor administration launched the Joseph Project in 2007 to establish Ghana as the homeland not only for Ghanaians but Africans in the diaspora. The government rehabilitated diaspora-related attractions, such as the burial sites of Kwame Nkrumah and W. E. B. DuBois, slave castles, and slave markets, and in 2007 constructed a reception facility for the Assin Manso as part of the Joseph Project”(Klittings 2007). The concept of Joseph is adapted in line with the popular Bible story of a young named Joseph, who went on an involuntary pilgrimage away from home just like the Exodus of Africans and by extension Ghanaians through slavery. The emphasis however is on the reunification with his family and therefore the call for Africans to reunify with their real home. It also introduced a diaspora visa to allow North American and Carribean African

Diasporas(NACDs) free and unrestricted access to the country and also embarked on local media campaigns to educate Ghanaians to host NACDs as long-lost relatives.

Under the administration of President Akuffo Addo, 'The Diaspora Affairs', Office of the President (DAOOP), was established in February 2017. The objective behind establishing the DAOOP at the Presidency emphasises the importance the government places on the contributions Ghanaians in the Diaspora to national development and the need to address diaspora issues with urgency. The flagship diaspora programme was the Year of Return in 2019. "This was a campaign which commemorated the 400th Anniversary of the arrival of the first recorded enslaved Africans in Jamestown Virginia, in 1619. The landmark campaign also celebrated the resilience of the African over the past 400 years and welcomed all people of African origin to return to Africa especially to Ghana". (Visit Ghana.com)The programme saw Ghana grant citizenship rights to over 100 African Americans and Afro- Carribeans. Then we have the 'Beyond the Return' is a build -up on the Year of Return programme. It is a 10-year project under the theme, "A decade of African Renaissance – 2020-2030" which will be built on 7 pillars. The project and its pillars were officially unveiled in September 2020. It must be noted that this 10 year programme is expected to run even in the absence of the government that initiated it. Would it be duly followed through or abandoned should a new government take over the affairs of the state? Is this project actually captured in the draft of Ghana's engagement policy? By extension of the discourse, is the 'Beyond the return' programme targeted at the historic or contemporary diaspora? These concerns would be addressed in the next chapter.

2.9 The African Union (AU) and Diaspora Engagement

As one of its objectives, the study will now turn attention to briefly explore the contribution of the African Union to diaspora engagements of member state and in this case, Ghana's. In 2003, the AU amended its Constitutive Act to provide for a new Article 3 (q), which "invites and encourages the full participation of the African diaspora as an important part of our continent, in the building of the African Union." Mangala (2017) asserts that "in order to understand the AU's decision to engage with the global African diaspora, one must consider this highly political choice within the broader context of Pan-Africanism, which has been the ideological glue that has held together Africa's efforts at regional integration and unity". The AU's diaspora engagement policy is an integral part of its narrative as the "third institutionalization of Pan-Africanism."

Mwagiru (2012) also argues quite extensively on the need for the African Union as a mother body to steer clear from engaging the contemporary diaspora because doing so pitches it against national diaspora engagements efforts made by its member states. Rather, she urges the body to take an approach to what she describes as the Diaspora Diplomacy by engaging the historic diaspora instead and possibly other diaspora for benefits. She explains further that "because harnessing diaspora potential is a matter that is being done in the national interests of the different member states, it is therefore not an area that the AU as a body should get into". "The organisation is in any case a servant of the member states and should therefore not be seen to be competing with them, especially in areas that member states consider crucial for their own development. If the AU involved itself in the diplomacy of the diaspora targeting the contemporary African diaspora, it would also create conflict of interest problems with the member states, and this would not augur well for their mutual relations". She further argues that "although it is not stated directly, it would seem that the AU indeed has in mind the historic diaspora as the platform for its diplomacy of the

diaspora. In terms of political cooperation, it intends to appoint diaspora experts (meaning experts from the diaspora) and to give preferential treatment to diaspora populations. This kind of positioning can only be contemplated for the historic diaspora. Such positioning cannot work for the contemporary African diaspora because it would raise too many issues and create too many conflicts with which even governments have found it difficult to deal.” (Mwagiru 2012). Is it really the case that when it comes to diaspora engagement, the mother body competes with the member states?

In response to the question on conflicting interests in the African Diaspora by both the AU and Member States, a Foreign Service Official , under anonymity, rejects the idea. She explains that although it seems the African Union wants to harness the potential of the African diaspora, one major reason for naming the African Diaspora the sixth region is a strategy to include the African Diaspora in the programmes and policies of the AU in its developmental agenda. She asserts that the AU exists because of the decision for member states to come together; it is therefore never the AU’s aim to harness the diaspora for the body. “The body is the member states, so the body serves more as a liaison and acts on behalf of member states. Therefore there is no conflict in place”. She concludes that for the AU, the aim was to give the African Diaspora an identity first and then invite them to partake in continental development. Again, she adds that the African Diaspora has a significant population tantamount to one of the regions in Africa, and thus the need to make it a region on its own was worth considering. The African diaspora has a population of about 140 million. This significant number makes the AU consider them as a large resource to harness as well as to give identity. Furthermore, to answer the controversial question on whether the AU seeks to harness the contemporary or historically, she admits that the Union desires to do both. “As a body with Pan Africanism at its bloodline, it features in every fabric of its discourse thus

anyone who aligns with the vision is accepted including the contemporary diaspora.” She adds that beyond the AU’s decision to harness developmental potential lies in their desire to bring every one of African descent to partake in the activity of the continent as a way of promoting Pan Africanism and the historical diaspora is particularly engaged in order to give them an identity and encourage them to see the continent as their home.

Furthermore, the AU through the creation of the Citizens and Diaspora Organisations Directorate (CIDO) actively encourages diaspora participation in continental development. The Directorate has produced a policy framework which offers guidelines for member states on how to strengthen their diaspora relations.

It must be noted that the guide was first proposed in 2001, in light of the challenges posed by migration and its ramifications (socio-economic, political etc) on the continent. This culminated in what became known as the AU Migration Policy Framework (MPFA), developed in 2006 as comprehensive and integrated policy guideline to AU Member States and RECs, to promote migration and development and address migration challenges on the continent. Following an evaluation of the 2006 MPFA framework, conducted by the AU Commission in 2016, the Commission suggested a revision of the framework. The Member States and RECs “acknowledged the dynamic nature of migration, and the changing migration trends and patterns on the continent over the past ten years and therefore recommended that the AU Commission update the MPFA and formulate a 10-year action plan for its implementation”. The revised Migration Policy Framework for Africa (MPFA) takes into account AU priorities, policies, Agenda 2063, the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and international migration management policies and standards. More importantly, “it provides Member States and RECs with comprehensive policy guidelines and principles to assist them in the formulation and implementation of their own

national and regional migration policies in accordance with their priorities and resources”.(MPFA 2018)

By means of fostering the migration-development nexus, the CIDO Diaspora Engagement Strategies include “instituting policies and environment frameworks that foster diaspora participation in the development of the continent and their countries of origin. Some of these initiatives include establishing national diaspora focal points and/or agencies to manage diaspora affairs, conferring dual citizenship on nationals abroad, diaspora mapping, better investment protection for diasporas, and the facilitation of the transfer of knowledge by diasporas to countries of origin”. The policy guide has as one of its objectives, to create an environment conducive to facilitating the participation of migrants, in particular those in the diaspora, for the development of their own countries. The AU policy framework also outlines certain challenges with diaspora engagement. First, the guide indicates that despite the engagement initiatives it puts across, “there are still major limitations to the inclusion of diasporas in development policy and practice. First, there is a need to build trust among public institutions that deal with the diaspora, with a particular focus on diplomatic missions and targeted outreach programmes. Second, Member States face challenges in maintaining reliable data on individuals and organisations within the Diaspora, as well as on remittances, often lacking the capacity to map and record the Diaspora. Third, there is a dearth of national policies and strategic plans on diaspora engagement, with existing policies rarely harmonized within regional and continental frameworks. In addition to these challenges, the younger second and third generation diaspora remains a relatively untapped resource for origin communities”. (MPFA 2018)

The Director of the Diaspora Affairs Bureau, (MFARI) Mr. Ernest Amporful confirmed that as a member state, Ghana faces all of the challenges mentioned above in its engagement efforts.

Regarding the challenge of tapping into the younger second and third generation, it has not been able to create strong linkages between the second and third generation diasporas and the country. He however hinted that Ghana was taking pragmatic steps to harness their potential through National Service Programme that would be rolled out for them to encourage taking on voluntary work in Ghana as service to the nation. This he says would make them develop a sense of attachment to their homeland and also makes room for further engagement.

Still on AU's role in facilitating diaspora engagement for its states, "in September 2008, the African Union Commission launched the Africa Diaspora Health Initiative to provide a platform by which health experts from the African diaspora can transfer information, skills, and expertise to their counterparts in Africa".(CIDO).

2.20 Conclusion

I observe keenly that Ghana's diaspora programmes seem to be targeted only at Ghanaian diaspora communities living outside Africa. This goes to corroborate the argument I raised earlier that for many scholars, intra African Migration may not really count as diasporic communities within the context of engaging the diaspora for development of the homeland. This is perhaps the reason why Ghana's diaspora engagement programmes target both the Historic and the contemporary diaspora who are domiciled outside the continent. It is also evident that the success of any engagement programme initiated by the state depended largely on the government of the day and its interests in the diaspora. This is mainly due to the absence of a comprehensive State Diaspora Engagement Policy. However, other factors may account for the success or otherwise of these programmes.

These and other critical issues would be duly investigated and extensively addressed in the subsequent chapters of the study.

REFERENCES

1. Aderanti Adepoju, 'Reflections on international migration and development in sub-Saharan Africa', *African Population Studies*, (2011) Vol. 25.
2. Adjei Ebenezer, "Harnessing the Potential of the Ghanaian Diaspora: An analysis of Ghana's engagement with its diaspora", University of Ghana Dissertation, December (2018). <http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh/>.
3. Ahinful Gabriel et al. "Remittances from Abroad: The Ghanaian Household Perspective", *International Journal of Business and Social Science* (2013).Vol.5 No. 1.
4. Akyeampong Emmanuel, "Africans in the Diaspora": The Diaspora and Africa: *African Affairs*, April., 2000, Vol. 99, No. 395, Centenary Issue: A Hundred Years of Africa (Apr., 2000), pp. 183-215 Published by: Oxford University Press on behalf of The Royal African Society.
5. Alpers A. Edward, "Defining the African Diaspora", Center for Comparative Social Analysis Workshop, (2001).
6. Anarfi et al., "Migration from and to Ghana: A background Paper", (2003), Development Research Centre on Migration, Globalisation and Poverty.
7. Ankomah, Paul et al. A Creative Approach to Development: The Case for Active Engagement of African Diaspora in Ghana, *Journal of Black Studies*, (2012) Vol.43 (4) pp.385-404.
8. Arthur, John, "The African Diaspora in the United States and Europe: The Ghanaian Experience", *Research in Migrations and Ethnic Relations Series*, (2008).
9. Awumbila Mariama & Teye Joseph Kofi, "Diaspora and Migration Policy and Institutional Frameworks Ghana Country Report": INTERACT Researching Third

- Country Nationals' Integration as a Three-way Process - Immigrants, Countries of Emigration and Countries of Immigration as Actors of Integration, 2014.
10. Crush, Jonathan, "South Africa's Two Diasporas: Engagement and Disengagement" (rep., pp. 1-22). Waterloo, ON: Southern African Migration Programme. (SAMP) Migration Policy Brief No. 24. (2011).
 11. Dufoix Stéphane, "From Nationals Abroad to 'Diaspora': The Rise and Progress of Extra-Territorial and Over-State Nations, *Diaspora Studies*, (2011) Vol.4:1, pp.1-20.
 12. IOM Ghana Remittances Review Document, Review of Financial Transfers and Remittance mechanisms in Ghana. A study under the ACP-EU Framework Developing Markets Associates (DMAG). (2018).
 13. Khalid Koser, "New African Diasporas", Routledge Publication, (2006).
 14. Mohan Gilles, 'Making Neoliberal States of Development: The Ghanaian Diaspora and the Politics of Homelands', 2008, *Sage Journal* Vol. 26, issue: 3, page(s): 464-479.
 15. Nieswand Boris, "Development and Diaspora: Ghana and its migrant"; *Sociologus* , 2009, Vol. 59, No. 1, Migration(s) and Development(s):Transformation of Paradigms, Organisations, and Gender Order (2009), pp. 17-31.
 16. Nieswand Boris "Ghanaian Migrants in Germany and the Social Construction of Diaspora", *African Diaspora 1* (2008) 28-52.
 17. Palmer Colin, "The African Diaspora", *The Black Scholar*, (2008) pp.30:3-4, 56-59.
 18. Parnell-Berry Bel, "Who are the African Diaspora?" Paper presented at Afrikadag Amsterdam (2012).
 19. Peil Mrgaret, "Ghanaians Abroad", *African Affairs* , 1995, Vol. 94, No. 376 pp. 345-367, Published by: Oxford University Press on behalf of The Royal African Society.

20. Plaza Sonia & Ratha Dilip, “Diaspora for Development in Africa”, the World Bank, (2011).
21. Quartey, Peter. Migration in Ghana: a country profile 2009. International Organization for Migration, (2009).
22. Spaan Ernst and Van Moppes David, “African Exodus? Trends and Patterns of International Migration in SubSaharan Africa”, Research Group, Migration and Development, Working papers Migration and Development series Report No. 4.(2006)
23. Van Hear, Nicholas. New diasporas. London: Routledge, 2005.
24. Vezzoli Simona, Lacroix Thomas, “Building bonds for migration and development: Diaspora engagement policies of Ghana, India and Serbia,” [Research Report] International Migration Institute, Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit (GTZ). (2010).
25. Zeleza Tiyambe Paul, “Diapora Dialogues: Engagement between Africa and its diasporas, from the New African Diaporas”, Indiana University Press, (2009).
26. Zeleza Tiyambe Paul, “African Diasporas: Toward a Global History”, *African Studies Review*, 2010, Vol. 53, No. 1 pp. 1-19, Cambridge University Press.
27. <https://visitghana.com/beyond-the-return/#1590127441713-bede39fc-ba31> –{accessed on 8/08/2020.}
28. <http://www.ghanaiandiaspora.com> {accessed on 18/08, 2020}.
29. <https://elam.hypotheses.org/2419> {accessed on 18/08/2020}.
30. https://www.un.org/en/development/desa/population/migration/publications/wallchart/docs/MigrationStock2019_Wallchart.pdf {accessed on 8/07/2020}.
31. https://www.un.org/en/development/desa/population/migration/publications/migrationreport/docs/InternationalMigration2019_Report.pdf {accessed on 8/07/2020}.

CHAPTER THREE

A CRITIQUE OF GHANA’S DIASPORA REGIME

3.0 Introduction

This chapter opens with a discussion on Ghana’s engagement strategy and the contribution of some Ghanaian Diaspora Associations to national development. The discourse then narrows down to a review of the diaspora policies of the governments under the Fourth Republic and then a critical assessment of all the specific policies under each successive government.

3.1 Gains from Engaging the Diaspora

The migration development nexus brings to the fore what scholars like Gamlen term as ‘diaspora engagement policies’. Diaspora engagement policies are defined broadly by Alan Gamlen (2008) as “state institutions and practices that apply to members of that state’s society who reside outside its borders.” “More specifically, these policies are strategies that ‘court’ emigrants by extending some rights and benefits, but explicitly or implicitly they also seek to capture some of their resources—monetary, ideational or in kind”(Gamlen 2008).

As Agunias and Newland (2012) outline, diaspora plays instrumental roles in key aspects of the economy. This explains why origin states put out diaspora engagement policies to extract some of these benefits. Benefits derived include Remittances, Foreign Direct Investment, Human capital/skills transfers, Capital market investments and Philanthropic contribution and tourism.

In the area of the transfer of knowledge and skills, one popular initiative that has been beneficial to Ghana is the Migration for Development Africa (MIDA) programme. This is an institutional capacity-building programme that aims to develop the potential synergy between the profiles of

African migrants and the demand from countries, by facilitating the transfer of vital skills and resources in different fields (education, social affairs, health and other priority areas of the African diaspora to their countries of origin. MIDA is based on the notion of mobility of people and resources and, as such, offers options for reinvestment of human capital, including temporary, long-term or virtual return.). “Thus in Ghana, Migration for Development in Africa (MIDA) in collaboration with the Ministry of Health and the IOM, rolled out projects that allows Ghanaian medical doctors and other health workers abroad to take short-term working visits to Ghana. Under this initiative, the health professionals have provided services including surgery, dentistry and urology among many other services in hospitals across the country. It has also provided the avenues for Ghanaian health professionals to travel to European and American health institutions for short-term internships”. (IOM Report, MIDA 2004).

Another skills transfer initiative is the University of Ghana and the Carnegie Next Generation of Academics in Africa Project, which for close to a decade has been running a diaspora linkage programme (UG-DLP). “The purpose is to tap into the pool of expertise provided by African Professors in the diaspora to augment its faculty strength and enhance post-graduate training, supervision and faculty research output. Professors invited on the UG-DLP must be available for a minimum of four weeks, normally but preferably for one to two semesters, and willing to teach graduate courses, supervise MPhil/PhD students, examine student theses, engage in research (ideally in collaboration with UG faculty), and support the development of new post-graduate programmes”.(UG)

Remittances are perhaps the most popular benefit home states derive from their diaspora. They comprise both the transfer of money and goods from the diaspora to the state of origin. These can be categorized into two forms, informal and formal. The informal describes the amount of money

transfers that diasporians send to their family members or friends for their upkeep or as part of their contribution to occasions such as weddings, naming ceremonies or funerals. Usually these amounts of money are not tracked by the state financial agencies and consequently cannot be accounted for as part of total GDP. The unofficial means makes it difficult for the Bank of Ghana to trace and estimate the actual flow of remittances to the continent. The formal remittances however are those that are sent through formal channels like the banks, money transfer agencies etc., as contribution to specific projects aimed at national development whether at the grass root level usually done by hometown associations abroad, or at the national level. Ghana is the second largest recipient of remittances in Sub-Saharan Africa, flows through official channels have increased from 117.6 million USD in 2007 to an estimated 3.8 billion USD in 2018, equating to 7.4% of GDP. Flows accounts for almost three times of Official Development Assistance (ODA) received and thus provide the Government of Ghana with a vital source of foreign exchange.

Philanthropic activities also feature prominently as one of the benefits derived from diasporians. “North American and Carribean Diasporas’ (NACD) tour groups have often donated books and other educational materials to institutions in Ghana. The African American Association of Ghana (AAAG) has conducted public education on HIVAIDS prevention”.(Ankomah et al.) One of its members also established a library that serves over 100 students in a coastal town near Tema. The Rita Marley Foundation headed by widow of Bob Marley, collaborated with Water for Humanity (WFH) to install boreholes for Konkonuru, a small town near Aburi in Ghana. “Church communities abroad are also intensively committed to promoting the course of diaspora development in the homeland especially in promoting health and education in disadvantaged regions or urban neighbourhoods. (Sieveking, 2008). Funds raised by the parish members have been used to purchase beds, medical equipment, medicine and training equipment for health care

institutions in the partner church communities in Ghana. In addition, construction and rehabilitation of school buildings was supported and teaching materials and equipment for schools in Ghana provided”(Tonah 2007)

Tourism has been a backbone to all Ghana’s diaspora initiatives. According to the World Travel and Tourism Council Report in 2019, one of the key contributors to the Ghanaian economy is tourism. It is no surprise therefore that the Tourism Ministry features prominently in the diaspora engagement. The historical diasporians in particular and the 2nd and third generation diasporians usually visit Ghana to see the remnants of the slave trade and to connect with their roots. The slave castles, forts and other slave sites are the usual destinations for them. Over the years, this has reaped huge returns for the nation with private entities also sharing in the proceeds. Mr. Ben Anane Nsiah, of the Ghana Tourism Authority hinted that planned interventions to improve the management of tourism in Ghana were underway. This includes site safety mechanism and regulating and licensing site owners in order to consolidate more gains from both the historical and contemporary diasporians for the country’s development.

Following from the great potential the Ghanaian diaspora holds for Ghana’s socio economic development. Is there an ideal way to engage the diaspora so that Ghana benefits from their huge resource? Before the study explores this subject, attention is briefly focused on the role of diaspora Association in promoting Ghana’s development.

3.2 Ghanaian Diaspora Associations and Their Contribution to Ghana’s Development

Eventhough the study focuses on the state initiatives implemented towards engaging the diaspora, it cannot be completed without a look into the role Diaspora Associations play in the development

of homelands as non-state actors in diaspora engagement. There are Ghanaians in almost every country of the world. In countries where Ghanaians are mostly found, “they set up associations to help them cope in the destination country and also represent important links between the diaspora and their homeland. They also serve as vehicles for social-service provision in the places from which these associations originate. In addition, they give the Ghanaian Diaspora access to information they would otherwise not be privy to, and allow them to form opinions, priorities and goals for their own individual and collective development activities”. The most prominent types of organisations existing in Ghanaian communities abroad include hometown organisations (HTAs), umbrella organisations, religious organisations, professional organisations, Old school Students Association, businesses and political party groups.

Below are some detailed activities of some associations which are in line with government initiatives on promoting diaspora engagement.

The Ghana Cooperative (Ghanacoop) initiative was developed by Ghanaian migrants in Italy in order to increase agriculture production and also export such products to the Italian market. In 2007, according to the organization's president, Thomas McCarthy, Ghanacoop made a profit of 1 million Euros (Mr McCarthy, Ghanaweb, 2008). Ghanacoop aims at ensuring development through sustainable environmental processes of biological certification in vegetables and fruit production in Ghana.

The Volta Development Association (VODA), in Italy Brescia. VODA started in 2006 helping women and children in Ghana, and Ghanaian migrants' children living in Italy. As an incentive for the second generation in Italy to attain higher education, the organization has promised to give financial assistance to those who qualify to enter the University. They also teach the second-

generation about Ghanaian culture and language through their cultural and drumming programmes in order to ensure that they do not lose touch with their Ghanaian culture. The association undertakes educational developmental projects in the Volta Region.(Awumbila& Teye, 2014).

There is also the **Council of Ghana Nationals Associations in Italy (COGNAI)**. COGNAI is made up of different associations such as ethnic/town groups, religious groups and provincial associations. Among its objectives are: i) to unite and govern all Ghanaian associations in Italy ii) to promote solidarity and charity amongst Ghanaians/Unions iii) to promote socio-cultural activities iv) to act as a reference or contact centre for the Ghanaian community in Italy v) to promote co-development projects. The goals of the association include: a) to enhance the human potential of Ghanaians in Italy for effective integration/ intercultural representation and to serve as a platform for international dialogue, with particular attention to Ghana (Awumbila & Teye, 2014).

4) **Representative of the Council of Ghanaian Organisations in the Netherlands (RECOGIN).**

REGOGNIN is an initiative of the Netherlands Embassy in Ghana and the Ghana Embassy in the Netherlands. RECOGNIN is an umbrella organization embracing about 36 Ghanaian Organizations, hometown and ethnic associations and churches. RECOGIN was registered with the Amsterdam Chamber of Commerce and inaugurated in 1993. Its activities include mobilization, empowerment, capacity building and information sharing. RECOGNIN also helps school dropouts and the vulnerable; holds job fairs; and promotes the role of the diaspora in the development of Ghana. In recent years it has embarked on several initiatives on migration and development policies affecting Ghanaians in Ghana. Some specific projects undertaken include the following: 1. Promoting investment and business development for Ghanaians and their Dutch counterparts; 2. Supporting sustainable return to Ghana for those who wish to do so, through the

Netherlands Migration Institute (NMI) and the International Organization for Migration (IOM); and 3. Setting up the Ghanaian Diaspora Solidarity Fund for Development through the mechanism of remittances. (Awumbila & Teye, 2014)

5) The **Asanteman Association** of the United States, particularly the New York branch, is one of the oldest of all the Ghanaian-immigrant ethnic associations in the United States. It was founded in 1982. The association aims to portray the rich cultural heritage of the Asante ethnic group, constantly reminding the Asante diaspora of their roots, supporting and promoting the interests of Asante in the United States and fostering friendship and understanding among Asante and others. (Awumbila & Teye, 2014)

6) In October, 2020, as part of their plans in support of Ghana's fight against Covid 19, the **Ghana Union** in Sweden and the **Council of Ghanaian Associations** in Denmark donated an amount of 8,272 euros to Ghana's National Covid 19 Fund.

Irrespective of the efforts diaspora associations make in engaging the homeland, they are sometimes criticized by home governments for not fully participating in the country's development. They attribute their reluctance to unspoken mistrust of the government to utilise funds for its purpose and would rather focus on autonomous homeland engagement which involves collective developments of rural areas and other minor philanthropic engagements in their local communities. Without dismissing their claims of mistrust, some scholars like hold that perhaps the absence of a well-coordinated comprehensive guide makes it difficult to demand certain obligations from these associations in exchange for benefits as should be the case for an effective two-way engagement. (Khakhlary, 2016)

3.3 An Ideal Engagement Strategy

Agunias and Newland (2012) assert that “although every diaspora relation with its country of origin or destination may be unique, there are certain fundamental elements that are necessary components of almost all successful strategies of engagement. Thus a government’s strategy for diaspora engagement needs to include the following four elements: identifying goals, mapping diaspora geography and skills, creating a relationship of trust between diasporas and governments of both origin and destination countries, and, ultimately, mobilizing diasporas to contribute to sustainable development. Throughout its implementation, a diaspora engagement strategy must devote attention to strengthening the capacity of both government institutions and diaspora communities to work with one another and with other stakeholders”. Regarding the need to identify your goals of engaging, it is crucial that the country of origin identify what exactly its developmental needs are so that it can streamline those needs to specific engagement requirements. This helps to clearly identify the country’s needs and clearly articulate their goals. Otherwise, the approach may take on an ad hoc form. The “government of the Philippines, for example, pursues a strategy of large-scale contract labor deployment overseas to reduce unemployment and maintain a stream of remittance income. India and China, by contrast, have in recent years given priority to encouraging diaspora entrepreneurs and highly skilled professionals to develop activities in their countries of origin”. (Agunias & Newland 2012) Ghana’s engagement goals appear however to be tilted towards mainly improving its socio economic status and consequently alleviating poverty.

The second element is “to know the diaspora that it hopes to engage. This involves serious, comprehensive data collection (through a migrant/ diaspora census, for example); mapping the location of the diaspora; compiling inventories of diaspora skills and experience; and engaging a wide range of diaspora members in listening exercises in order to understand what the diaspora

has to offer, what it is willing to offer, and what it expects from the government in turn. It is crucial to acknowledge the diversity of diaspora agendas, interests, and strategies” (Agunias & Newland, 2012). It is only after knowing the diaspora, their challenges and their needs, that origin states can effectively incorporate them into their development agenda. An assessment of Ghana’s engagement strategies reveal that the state initially took interest in engaging the African diaspora/historical until in 2001 where it began to seriously consider Ghanaians living abroad. It is important to note however that to engage both diasporas as the state seeks to do, requires it to acknowledge a distinction between the two in terms of their interests and thus keep the distinctions in mind in engaging. Nilsson (2011) puts it better when he articulates that, “the one plausible hypothesis is that while Africans in the diaspora may find cultural outreach particularly appealing, Ghanaians abroad are more likely to ‘buy into’ economic improvements and political rights, as these are the immediate reasons why they chose to emigrate in the first place”.

Closely linked to the above point is the need to build trust in diaspora engagement between homelands and governments. Building trust is therefore a necessary third element of the diaspora engagement strategy (Agunias & Newland). Too often, diasporas have felt that country-of-origin governments have an interest to milk their resources and give them nothing in return. Rather, all parties must feel that they are deriving value from the relationship. For the country-of-origin governments, building trust with diaspora populations may also involve creating a welcoming environment for diaspora engagement in development activities. This would include steps towards capacity building, improving the domestic business climate, such as greater transparency in regulations and licensing requirements and more consistent application of property law. Other elements of good governance and rule of law are also important in attracting diaspora engagement. In this regard, mention must be made of Ghana’s Dual Citizenship Act (DCA) and Representation

of the People's Amendment Act (ROPAA) and the need to address the challenges of their implementation so that these can give full rights to diasporians to partake in political affairs of the country.

The last element which is mobilizing diasporas for sustainable development, can be achieved if all the three elements are functioning effectively coupled with proper creation of institutions to support and drive these initiatives.

In a nutshell, every well-coordinated diaspora strategy will usually articulate probably not in the same way but similar typologies for diaspora engagement. These are usually spelt out in a well - defined and drafted comprehensive policy guide. An absence of such a policy guide, like in Ghana's case, may hold dire consequences for its diaspora engagement.

3.4 Diaspora Engagement without a Policy Guide

Eventhough Ghana has been engaging its diaspora since Kwame Nkrumah's time, as indicated in the previous chapter; the Fourth Republic remains significant in the history of diaspora engagements in Ghana. It was during this period that Ghana shifted its attention from a previous focus on engaging the diasporas of African descent outside the continent, towards including Ghanaians living abroad. A step that was consolidated by the first Homecoming Summit in organized in 2001. Although not properly coordinated, Diaspora Engagements under the Fourth Republic has yielded some impressive results. In terms of financial benefits, Ghana has seen a tremendous in remittances from 2 billion some few years into the fourth republic to about 2.1 billion in 2015 fiscal year. Irrespective of the gains from remittances, Ghana could reap more benefits if we are to engage the diaspora with a well-defined policy guide. The demerits of engaging without a guide are numerous. One major setback is our inability to evaluate the projects

that have been done. Again without a guide, diaspora engagement is left to the whims of the government of the day. At this point the study explores the implications of the non -existence of Ghana's Diaspora Engagement Policy and its implications for our engagement under the Fourth Republic.

Coffie(2017) clearly articulates that a National Diaspora Engagement Policy spells out the need and ground plan to integrate the diaspora into the national apparatus. Moreover, it qualifies the categories of people that are to be engaged as the diaspora. For instance, does it target first generation emigrants with citizenship or second and third generation non-citizens migrants etc. She further posits that the policy guide also lays down the procedure for implementation as well as noting indicators of measurement against achievement. Again, as argued in the previous chapter, the development diaspora nexus could easily develop into a one sided affair, the diaspora could be the only ones contributing. A policy guide therefore spells out explicitly, the rights and responsibilities that exist between the origin state and its diaspora. This establishes a healthy and potentially effective two way relationship.

If an engagement document is so important to the state's engagement with its diaspora, why has Ghana delayed in the process of completing its national policy guide? Dr. Delali Badasu, lecturer at the Centre for Migration Studies, explains that work was started on the policy in 2015 by the NDC government when she, then Director of The Centre for Migration Studies, led a four member team to start work on development of the policy. She explains however that the fourth draft which was completed in 2016 was put on hold due to a change in government. It was later submitted in November 2019 for approval. According to Dr. Badasu, "...it took some time for the new government to call us to resume work on the policy. As at now the validated copy of the draft is

with cabinet awaiting approval and launching, hopefully later this year”. Dr. Badasu also confirms that diaspora engagements has been ad hoc due to the non -existence of the policy.

“..... It is like you want to cook and you don’t have a recipe, we don’t really have a laid down guideline. So if there is a policy, the various governments would refer to it and if there is none, the government does what it likes and may not continue projects started by the previous governments. The policy itself lays down the procedure and means we can engage them based on the Gamlen’s concept of giving back to the diaspora”.

Jake Bediako, Youth Ambassador at the Diaspora Affairs office of the presidency also articulates that the non-existence of an engagement policy makes it particularly difficult to establish strong linkages between Ghana and the second and third generation of Ghanaian diasporas. The non-existence of the engagement also hinders the promotion of social protection and human rights of Ghanaians in the Diaspora.

3.5 Mapping out Diaspora Engagement Programmes under the Fourth Republic

The history of Ghana’s Engagement with its diaspora can be traced as far back as the Black Liberation Struggle Movement that started in the historic African Diaspora. This period coincided with the liberation struggles of the African continent including apartheid and the general fight for independence from colonialism. These movements were backed by the quest for Black Identity and a common identity for Black People. Pan Africanism was then birthed as the common language with which Black people especially those on the continent could speak in terms of constructing the African identity. As part of agitations for African unity, some leaders moved that Africans in the diaspora should return to the continent where they truly belonged before they were forced out

through slavery. Actively involved in this liberation fight was Dr. Kwame Nkrumah who later became Ghana's first President. Nkrumah's active advocacy for Pan Africanism and a unified continent marked the inception of Ghana's engagement with the diaspora. His strong advocacy saw leading members of the Civil Rights Movements such as Martin Luther King and Malcom X and also the boxing legend Muhammed Ali both visiting post-independent Ghana. Others who made Ghana their home included some African-American academics, Pan-African activists and intellectuals such as W.E.B Du Bois, St Clair Drake, journalist and writer Maya Angelou and the Pan-Africanist George Padmore. Nkrumah continued to engage the diaspora till his overthrow in 1966. Today the mortal remains of W.E-B Dubois and George Padmore have been interred in Ghana at the Assin Manso Slave Site. Eventhough some scholars hold that Nkrumah engaged the diaspora on strictly political basis, Ghana's engagement with its diaspora has taken a drastic turn from to emphasise initiatives that impact Ghana's socio economic life.

As the first President of the Fourth Republic, Rawlings is said to have ignited the fire that was almost quenched after the demise of Nkrumah, with the introduction of the PANAFEST celebrations and the Emancipation Day commemoration. "Panafest is a biannual pan-African arts and cultural festival held in Ghana since 1992 .Highlights of this festival include a grand *durbar* (parade of chiefs dressed in traditional regalia), indigenous dances and musical performances, and reenactments of slave marches to the dungeons. Ghana has also hosted Emancipation Day, a holiday commemorating the abolition of slavery of the British trans-Atlantic slave trade, since 1834. The event includes reenactments of slave processions, wreath laying, musical concerts, and memorial services for the founders of pan-Africanism: Kwame Nkrumah, W. E. B. DuBois, Marcus Garvey, and George Padmore. The celebration draws many visitors from the Americas." (Holsey, 2008). It created a platform for people of African descent especially those outside the

continent to connect to their roots. Most African Americans who participated in the celebration always used the occasion to reconnect to their roots. The ancient Elmina and Cape Coast slave castles and forts always became an attraction site for the celebrants. This biennial celebration impacted the Ghanaian socio economic life, as more gains were harnessed from these celebrations. It raised the importance of such towns as Cape Coast and Elmina to the extent that the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) became particularly interested in the festivals and consequently, the Cape Coast and Elmina castles in Ghana were elevated to the status of world heritage sites. This celebration became short lived with the inception of the second government of the fourth republic.

Under the Kuffour administration, the PANAFEST celebration was no longer the only big diaspora event. Its prominence was replaced by the Homecoming Summit instituted in 2001. The first Homecoming summit which was organized under the theme ‘Harnessing the potential of the Global Ghanaian Resource Potential for Accelerated National Development’, amplified the significance of the Ghanaian diaspora to the country’s development agenda. A number of issues like state-diaspora collaboration, mobilization of resources and the creation of a diaspora database, mobilizing resources from Ghanaians Living abroad (GLA) and simplifying the process of land acquisition for the Ghanaian diaspora were discussed during the summit. In fact, it marked the inception of attention given towards actively engaging the Ghanaian diaspora. The Non Resident Ghanaian Secretariat was established in 2003 under the Ghana Investment Promotion centre(GIPC), to facilitate and promote investments in the homeland from the diaspora.

In 2002, the Dual citizenship Act was passed in order to extend citizenship right to its diaspora as part of Ghana’s political engagement with its diaspora. “The Law allows Ghanaians abroad to keep the citizenship of their host country and that of Ghana at the same time. The caveat to the dual

citizenship act is that while it entitles one to everything, one must denounce foreign citizenship in order to stand for a political position in the country”. According to Quartey (2009), a total of 5,903 expatriates have made use of DCA within seven years of its passage in order to combine Ghanaian and foreign citizenship. In the same year, the Right to Abode was given for any “Person of African descent in the Diaspora” to travel to and from the country “without hindrance. Ghana’s immigration Act, 2000 (573) and Citizenship Act 591 gives legal basis to the Right of Abode and Dual Citizenship Rights. It is worth noting that while the Dual Citizenship Act allows for Ghanaians to keep their citizenship while at the same time being citizens of the country of destination. The Right of Abode on the other hand is offered those who have to give up their Ghanaian citizenship to take up foreign one. It is also granted to persons of African descent in the diaspora. The Right of Abode is akin to an indefinite Residence Permit. The holder is generally not subject to immigration control and may engage in work or employment without the need to obtain a work permit. The Right of Abode may be granted under these two instances. The first is to a Ghanaian citizen who has lost their Ghanaian citizenship by reason of acquisition of the citizenship of another country. This scenario often occurs in countries which do not allow dual citizenship like Germany. A Ghanaian who wishes to acquire the citizenship of the foreign country will be required to renounce their Ghanaian citizenship before they will be granted the citizenship of that other country. If such a person wishes to reacquire their Ghanaian citizenship, they may apply and be granted a Right of Abode.

The second category of Right of Abode may be granted to a person of African descent in the Diaspora. Unlike the Ghanaian who has lost their citizenship, an African Diasporian must, among other requirements, show that they meet the residency requirement. In other words, they must have resided in Ghana for a minimum period of time before they are eligible to apply. In 2016, under

president Mahama, the Right of Abode was conferred on 34 people of the Historic Diaspora. In November, 2019, the Akuffo Addo led government conferred Right of Abode on 126 African Americans and Carribeans. The biggest limitation of the Citizenship is found in Chapter 10, Article 194, and clause 2(a) of the Ghana's constitution which stipulates that, "a person shall not be qualified to be a Member of Parliament if he owes allegiance to a country other than Ghana.

The Director of the Diaspora Affairs Bureau hints the government's plans to pass a 'Homeland Return Act' to address all issues relating to the legalities of diaspora settlement in Ghana and to facilitate acquisition of Ghanaian citizenship by diasporians while they are still abroad.

It must be noted that Article 42 of the 1992 Constitution of Ghana states that: "Every citizen of Ghana of 18 years of age or above and of sound mind has the right to vote and be registered as a voter for the purposes of public elections and referenda." However, the Representation of the People Law, 1992 (PNDCL 284), the law that operationalized the constitutional provision as stipulated in Article 42, did not allow Ghanaians living abroad to register and also vote from their locations, even though Article 42 does not state that only Ghanaians in Ghana could enjoy that right.

In order to rectify the anomaly, the Parliament of Ghana in 2006, passed the Representation of People's Amendment Act (ROPAA) (Act 699) as an amendment to PNDCL 284 so that Ghanaians living abroad could exercise their voting rights during general elections in Ghana. A big challenge with this Act is that, its implementation is yet to be carried out but the Electoral Commission of Ghana, 11 years after it was passed. In June 2020, the EC however only submitted a Constitutional Instrument (CI) that spelled out the guidelines for its implementation later in that year adding that due to challenges the country has faced fighting the COVID 19 pandemic; and lack of the logistics

and financial preparedness, it was not feasible to implement the ROPAA in the upcoming 2020 general elections.

In 2007, still under the Kuffour administration, Ghana decided as part of its 50th independence celebrations, to celebrate African excellence and to inaugurate "The Joseph Project". The President indicated that Ghana would use the year to bring together, more closely, people in Ghana and brothers and sisters in the Diaspora and establish herself as the true gateway to the Homeland for Africans in the Diaspora. The Joseph Project was launched as a tourism call for all diasporians to return home and be reunified with the continent. This program targeted the historical diaspora who were forced out of the continent through slavery. The government rehabilitated diaspora-related attractions, such as the burial sites of Kwame Nkrumah and W. E. B. DuBois, slave castles, and slave markets, and in 2007 constructed a reception facility for the Assin Manso as part of the Joseph which houses a Garden of Commemoration for meditation, an interfaith prayer hall to pray for the spirits of the ancestors, and a Wall of Return on which can be etched the name of a returnee/pilgrim or that of an ancestor or deceased relative as proof of their presence as part of the return project.

Under the President Atta Mills administration however, no major diaspora projects were implemented. The organization of the Homecoming Summits became erratic. The Panafest celebrations were still observed yet not sustained. An engagement strategy in this regime took the form of administrative support by the creation the Diaspora Support Unit in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 2012. This was to serve as a platform for Ghanaian entrepreneurs who have returned from abroad to exchange ideas on how to grow their businesses. The unit was later upgraded to the Diaspora Affairs Bureau to coordinate diaspora affairs through the missions and embassies abroad.

Under President Mahama's government, the Home coming Summits were still not organized on a sustained basis, however the Panafest celebrations were organized in 2016. In recognition of the political rights of diasporians, he also conferred citizenship on 34 African Caribbean diaspora members. It is also worth noting that it was under his tenure in office that the work on the National Diaspora Policy was started in 2015.

The Akuffo Addo led administration after taking power in 2016, quickly set up the Diaspora Affairs Office at the Presidency in February 2017 to facilitate diaspora engagements and also attend to diaspora needs with urgency. It was this office in collaboration with the Ministry of Tourism that planned and executed the Year of Return Programme, a flagship programme which was organized in 2019. According to Ms. Anabelle Mckenzie, Manager of the Year of Return Secretariat, it was a year-long programme featuring about 125 events comprising spiritual, tourism, cultural and entertainment events. The Year of Return was organised to commemorate the 400th Anniversary of the arrival of the first recorded enslaved Africans in Jamestown Virginia, in 1619. The landmark campaign also celebrated the resilience of the African over the past 400 years and welcomed all people of African origin to return to Africa especially to Ghana. The accomplishments of the Year of Return programme included the marketing it gave Ghana all over the world, boosting its destination profile. With several publications and broadcast on the event on International media, thousands were drawn to the country. Diasporians including African American celebrities like Steve Harvey, Boris Kodjogre graced the event. Again, the impact on the economy was great. A total of \$1.9 billion was generated into the economy through activities related to the "Year of Return", with about 750,000 arrivals to the country. (Graphic online.com). Furthermore, Miss Mckenzie stresses that African Diasporians have been motivated by the experiences at the event to seek a more permanent connection with Ghana with a burning desire

to repatriate, build or invest in Ghana. Challenges with this programme had to do mainly with issuing visas. Most people had to be issued visa on arrival due to the large numbers coming in to the country. To address challenges with Visa application, the Director of the Diaspora Affairs Bureau indicated that an Electronic Visa system is being put in place to facilitate visa application for diasporians during return programmes. Following from the successes of the Year of Return programme, the ‘Beyond the Return’ Initiative was adopted as an upgrade of the Year of Return Programme. The Beyond the Return is a 10-year initiative, under the theme “A decade of African Renaissance – 2020-2030” which is meant to promote tourism and facilitate homecoming for Africans and Ghanaians in the Diaspora as well as foster economic relations and investments from the Diaspora from the African and Ghanaian diaspora. Intended to create specific avenues or focus areas for strategic engagement with the both diasporas, the initiative is hinged on seven pillars which were officially unveiled in September 2020. The pillars are, Experience Ghana, Invest in Ghana, Diaspora Pathway to Ghana, Celebrate Ghana, Brand Ghana, Give back Ghana, and Promote Pan African Heritage and Innovation.

3.6 The Implications

Ghana’s diaspora engagement programmes implemented under its Fourth Republic can be summarised into three broad categories. Cultural/Social engagement, Economic engagement and then Political engagement.

Cultural/Social

Most of the engagements have taken this form under the fourth republic. The main programmes that have been implemented have always included a cultural display of Ghana as an attraction to diasporians. The Pan-African Historical Theatre Festival (PANAFEST) and the Emancipation Day

celebrations for instance, were both instituted as biannual celebration for all African people to showcase African history and culture as well as discuss Africa's challenges through several lectures. The Homecoming Summit partly included sections of display of Ghanaian cultural for both African diaspora and global Ghanaian diaspora to rediscover their roots. The Joseph Project The emphasis however is on the reunification with his family and therefore the call for Africans to reunify with their real home. The recently held Year of Return programme was also primarily a cultural showcase of Ghana and once again, an invitation to diasporians to learn of their history. This was a campaign which commemorated the 400th Anniversary of the arrival of the first recorded enslaved Africans in Jamestown Virginia, in 1619. The landmark campaign also celebrated the resilience of the African over the past 400 years and welcomed all people of African origin to return to Africa especially to Ghana. The embassies also organize programmes that promote Ghanaian culture like national day celebrations as a means of fostering unity amongst diasporians in the host country and further attracting more of them to take interest in the Ghana. Beyond the Return also falls within this category with an infusion of other aspects of Ghana's engagement structure.

It is evident that tourism has been an underlying attraction for all the programmes above, eventhough some of them have not been organised consistently. It is also true that tourism remains a constant attraction for diasporians and also holds huge economic gains for Ghana, however, it cannot stand as the only sustainable engagement strategy. It may the entry point to all other engagements but should definitely not be the dominant strategy. There are several other engagement areas Ghana has not yet ventured into in its diaspora engagement. In a nutshell, while tourism as an engagement strategy may be significant towards attracting mostly the African diaspora and in some instances second and third generation Ghanaians, unless tourism is

diversified, it remains a limited engagement strategy when it comes to sustaining a long term relationship with the Ghanaian diaspora who may seek other ways of connecting to the homeland.

Political

Ghana's engagement strategy that has tried to give back by to its diaspora certain rights, according to Gamlen's typology for engaging the diaspora, is the Dual Citizenship and the ROPAA. Although these two have not been without challenges, they can be considered as a long term means of engaging the diaspora promoting political inclusion. All governments under the fourth Republic have promoted this engagement strategy. The political mistrust between the two main political parties to trust the embassies to conduct free and fair polls amidst a lack of logistic and financial preparedness have constituted a bane for the implementation of the ROPAA. Meanwhile plans to extend more rights, including as indicated by its intention to pass the Homeland Return Act to address the legalities surrounding diasporian citizenship, is also a step in the right direction.

Another political strategy initiative has been in the form of creating administrative support for diasporians in order to facilitate access to information and serve as a channel for addressing their concerns. In Ghana, the Diaspora Support Unit which has been upgraded to the Diaspora Affairs Bureau under the MFARI, coordinates diaspora engagements through their embassies and consulates abroad. The office of Diaspora Affairs at the presidency was also established according to Mr. Amporful to allow for the office to have direct access to the President so that diaspora issues would be addressed with the relevant urgency. Again, the President also appointed some returnee contemporary diasporians as key managers of the new office so that they can draw from their expertise as well as their experience as diasporians coupled with their skills to push for strategic and more effective ways of engaging the diaspora. The office has also put up a website

(www.diasporaaffairs.gov.gh) containing information about Ghana, as well as a list of embassies, consulates abroad. It also provides the contacts to both intra African diaspora Associations and those outside the continent. The Year of Return Secretariat is another administrative support unit responsible for carrying out the Year of Return Programme and subsequently tasked to coordinate the Beyond the Return Initiative.

Economic

This is perhaps the most uncoordinated aspect of Ghana's Diaspora Engagement strategies. Successive governments under the Fourth Republic have not been able to map out a clear plan on how to maximize economic benefits although that seems to be the main motivation for engagement. This may partly be due to the economic benefits derived from cultural and tourism initiatives. The Ghana Investment Promotion Centre (GIPC) was established Under the Act 478, 1994, as an autonomous government agency mandated to encourage, facilitate and promote domestic and foreign investment. This Act through the Non Resident Ghanaian Secretariat, established in 2003 was meant to guarantee the freedom for non-Ghanaians to establish and run enterprises in potentially lucrative areas such as natural gas, hydropower projects, fruits and vegetables farming, food processing including fish canning; production of agro-chemicals, pharmaceuticals and information technology. Later in 2013, under the Act of 865, 2013, the GIPC Act's coverage was broadened and extended to include the activities that are reserved solely for Ghanaians and also increased the minimum capital requirements for entities with foreign participation. This development enabled the diaspora communities to take part and invest in many different sectors in Ghana, including the agricultural sector.

Again, the GIPC which had oversight on economic engagement, specifically investment promotion through its Non Resident Ghanaian Secretariat, has not been able to properly coordinate these because the secretariat no longer exists. Other temporary programmes like the Diaspora Breakfast meetings do not meet the standard of a well- coordinated initiative.

Furthermore, Ghana has not sought out creative ways to access formal remittances for national development. While the informal way of remitting won't cease, the central Bank in partnership with other financial sector agencies can prepare exciting long and short term offers that can promote sustained economic engagement with the diaspora.

Dr. Badasu also hinted that the diaspora engagement policy draft recommends that Ghana through its bilateral engagements, secure certain economic benefits for diasporians as part of giving back policies. A comprehensive study in 2005 found that a full quarter of international migrants enjoys no legal access whatsoever to social security benefits (Holzmann et al. 2005). She therefore suggests that social security and pension benefits be made portable so that migrants who are not able to complete the full working terms for these benefits in the host countries, may still get access to a form of benefits from the social security funds they have contributed to, when they return to Ghana.

In terms of creating a conducive environment for investing in Ghana, Ghana's Ministry of Finance has disclosed at a press briefing this year that it has created an investment account called the 'Africa Sankofa Account' or Diaspora Savings and Investment Account for Africans in the diaspora. It is aimed at helping drive investment into the country from the Diaspora. The interest accruing banking product is targeted at Africans living abroad, who desire to invest in the Ghanaian

economy. Is there a similar account for Ghanaians Living Abroad? Will this initiative be sustainable?

3.7 Conclusion

It is very evident that, under the fourth republic, every government did put in effort to enhance diaspora engagement. However, the number of programmes implemented varied for each government. It is also clear that the cultural engagement programmes initiated by governments were not necessarily changed, rather, slightly modified by a change of name or new of activities included, but generally they had the same purpose. Again the PANAFEST, Emancipation day celebrations and Homecoming started by previous governments were not neglected per se; rather their organization did not show consistency. Furthermore, the political and programmes were also maintained with the main challenges bothering on their implementation. The economic programmes should however be strengthened in order to reap more gains for Ghana. It is also evident that a comprehensive engagement policy is essential to properly coordinate all of these programmes and should therefore be launched soon. Ultimately, like Nilsson (2011) rightly puts it, ties between diasporas and their homelands and in this case Ghana, can be broad and multi-faceted and should therefore not be reduced to a business-transaction.

REFERENCES

1. Agunias, Dovelyn Rannveig, & Kathleen Newland. "Developing a road map for engaging diasporas in development: A handbook for policymakers and practitioners in home and host countries". Geneva: International Organization for Migration, (2012).
2. Ankomah, Paul et al. "A Creative Approach to Development: The Case for Active Engagement of African Diaspora in Ghana," *Journal of Black Studies*, (2012) Vol.43(4) pp.385–404.
3. Awumbila Mariama & Teye Joseph Kofi, "Diaspora and Migration Policy and Institutional Frameworks Ghana Country Report: INTERACT Researching Third Country Nationals' Integration as a Three-way Process - Immigrants, Countries of Emigration and Countries of Immigration as Actors of Integration", (2014).
4. Awumbila, M., & Teye, J., Diaspora and Migration Policy and Institutional Frameworks: Ghana Country Report. Centre for Migration Studies. University of Ghana. 2009.
5. Coffie, Amanda. National Diaspora Engagement Policy. Policy Brief.(2017) LECIAD. ISSN: 2458-7303.
6. Gamlen, Alan. "The emigration state and the modern geopolitical imagination." *Political Geography* 27.8 (2008).
7. Khakhlyar Nandita, "Role and Contribution of Ghanaian Diasporas in the Development of Ghana", *International Journal of Advanced Research (IJAR)*, ISSN NO/2320-5407, (2016).
8. Mangala Jack, "Engaging Diasporas in Development: Contours and Outcomes of International Policymaking", *Africa and its Global Diaspora, African Histories and Modernities*. Palgrave Macmillan (2017).

9. Mwangi Makumi, “The African Union’s Diplomacy of the Diaspora: Context, challenges and prospects” *African Journal on Conflict Resolution*, (2012) Vol. 12(2).
10. Nilsson, Klas “The Ties that Bind: A Study of Diaspora Engagement Policies in Ghana” Faculty of Social Sciences Department of Political Science, Lund University, (2011).
11. Vezzoli Simona, Lacroix Thomas, “Building bonds for migration and development: Diaspora engagement policies of Ghana, India and Serbia,” [Research Report] International Migration Institute, Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit (GTZ). (2010).
12. Right of Abode, <https://acheampongassociates.com/right-of-abode-in-ghana/> {Accessed on 02/10/2020}.
13. <https://www.adomonline.com/diaspora-association-in-sweden-denmark-donate-to-covid-19-fund/>{Accessed on 02/10/2020}.
14. <https://www.graphic.com.gh/news/general-news/year-of-return-generates-1-9-billion.html> {28/10/2020}.
15. UG-Diaspora Linkage Programme www.ug.edu.gh. {Accessed on 02/10/2020}.
16. <https://www.graphic.com.gh/news/politics/general-election-ec-can-t-implement-ropaa-in-2020>.{accessed on 02/10/2020}.
17. <https://www.gipcghana.com/press-and-media/news-headlines/746-beyond-the-return-ghana-creates-investment-account-sankofa-account-for-diaspora.html>
18. [ghana-creates-investment-account-sankofa-account-for-diaspora.html](https://www.gipcghana.com/press-and-media/news-headlines/746-beyond-the-return-ghana-creates-investment-account-sankofa-account-for-diaspora.html) {accessed 20/10/2020}.
19. <https://www.boakyeb.com/allposts/2020/9/9/ghana-unveils-7-pillars-for-beyond-the-return-here-is-what-it-means-for-the-diaspora> {accessed on 20/10/2020}

CHAPTER FOUR

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

4.0 Introduction.

This chapter summarises the findings of the study and makes recommendations on how Ghana can reap more benefits in its quest to engage its diaspora for homeland development. This study sought to examine the role of the Ghanaian diaspora to the development of Ghana and how the various governments under the Fourth Republic have tried to tap into this developmental potential. It examines in particular state led diaspora Engagement programmes that have been implemented under the Fourth Republic by exploring the successes and challenges that have been associated with their implementation.

4.1 Summary of Findings

The potential of the African diaspora to the development of the continent is increasingly gaining popularity in the discourses on International Migration, diaspora formation and Diaspora Engagement. The main objective of the study was set within a broad literature encompassing the conception of the Ghanaian diaspora and the policy programmes or projects that have been implemented to engage the diaspora under the Fourth Republic. Closely observed under the umbrella of Diaspora Engagement policies, contemporary International Migration and Diaspora has shifted from being observed as a brain drain to a brain gain for the states of Africa due to the immense socio economic benefits the continent reaps from its Diaspora. As a result this study

sought to discover the developmental potential of the Ghanaian diaspora to the state of Ghana by exploring the programmes that successive governments under the Fourth Republic, have put in place to harness the diaspora for national development.

The study revealed that although international migration existed for most African states, migration was largely intra African. However the exodus of International Migration outside the continent has been largely propelled by economic factors. Due to economic hardships that hit the Ghanaian economy between the 1970's and 1980's, Ghana which hitherto was a haven for African migrants was losing its prominence in this area and as a result, more Ghanaians began seriously considering international Migration outside Africa.

In line with the research objectives,

The study revealed that the various forms Ghana's diaspora engagement has taken under the Fourth Republic can be classified into 3 main categories. The cultural/social engagement, the Political engagement and the Economic engagement with most of the programmes found within the first category. The study also found that every successive government took particular interest in diaspora engagement but approached it differently. The study found that most of the programmes were not long term not because successive governments failed to continue them; rather these were not designed to be long term. For instance the Joseph Project which was started in 2017 was not organized in the subsequent years. It was a one-time celebration just like the Year of Return Programme which was celebrated in 2019. The reason could be that these milestone celebrations were initiated as commemoration events of the historic slave trade. It is interesting to note that the programmes under were either slightly modified with a change of name and an upgrade of the content, or a totally new project was put in place to carry out the same function as the previous.

The study found that both of them carried the same function and involved similar set of activities as part of the celebrations. Again, some of the strategies that have been implemented were long term with successive governments continuing them. The ROPAA and Dual Citizenship Acts for instance were maintained probably because they are legally binding, but generally the cultural programmes were not organized consistently. It was also revealed that most of the economic benefits of Ghana's engagement were either tied to other events the cultural and touristic ones not. Thus a proper map out of specific economic engagements was not done. It is therefore makes it difficult to classify these programmes as long term.

Again, extending rights to the diaspora as part of Gamlen's framework for drafting engagement policies emphasizes the need for home states to give back to the diaspora by extending certain rights to them. Some political rights had been extended to the Ghanaian diaspora including the Citizenship and Right of Abode and the voting rights. However the implementation of voting rights, have delayed due to Ghana's Electoral Commission's inability to implement the Representation of People's Amendment Act (ROPAA) .The study also found that a Homeland Return Act was being put in place as part of moves to extend some more rights to both the African Diaspora and the contemporary Ghanaian diaspora.

The study also revealed that, under the Mahama led administration however, the government took a giant step towards drafting a National Diaspora Engagement Policy by commissioning the Centre for Migration Studies and other stakeholders to make consultation and put together a comprehensive policy that will serve as a guide for future diaspora engagement. The said policy guide is pending approval from Cabinet.

There is also a challenge of difficulty in getting database on the Ghanaian diaspora. The director of Diaspora Bureau confirmed that getting database to ascertain the number of Ghanaian diasporians has proven a little bit challenging. Some people do not register with the embassies either due to illegal migrant status or. There are lot more Ghanaians who have also not joined any diaspora associations.

The study also found that apart from AU diasporic clause is Article 3 of the Amendment of the Constitutive Act which states that, the AU invites and encourages the full participation of the African Diaspora on its continent; the African Union has taken initiatives aimed at promoting diaspora engagement among its member countries. These are outlined below;

In September 2008, the African Union Commission launched the Africa Diaspora Health Initiative to provide a platform by which health experts for the African diaspora can transfer information, skills, and expertise to their counterparts in Africa.

The African Union Commission also created the Citizens and Diaspora Organisations Directorate (CIDO) to deal with overarching issues in the relationship between overseas diasporas and homeland governments. In fact, CIDO has developed a comprehensive policy guide that provides certain guidelines for member states on how to reap the most from their diaspora engagement.

4.2 Conclusions

An assessment of the engagement programmes under the Fourth Republic revealed that the absence of an engagement policy posed a great challenge towards building a sustained and more systematic approach to diaspora engagement. However the fact still remains that depending on their level of interest, successive governments initiate programmes that they believe will promote the participation of the Diaspora in Ghana's development. Thus engagement has firmly established in the previous chapters, have been carried out in an ad hoc manner.

Furthermore, most of the engagement programmes thus far implemented under the fourth Republic has taken the form of cultural engagements with tourism as a main focus. However the organization of these have not been done consistently. Economic engagement programmes have not been fully explored. Political engagements have been long term engagements that have been followed by all governments. In a nut shell, some engagements were long term others were not.

It is also very evident that Ghana has not been able to fully grant certain political rights to diasporians to actively partake in political decisions. These are revealed in the limitations of the Dual Citizenship Act and the EC's delay in implementing the Representation of the People's Amendment Act. However, there is room for more opportunities to extend rights and other social protection mechanisms like portable social security and the Homeland Act.

It is also worth noting that the AU is no way competing with its member states for the attention of the diaspora to develop Africa. Rather, its primary reason for engaging the diaspora is to give them an African identity and create room for them to participate in the affairs of the continent. In relation to their specific role in engaging the diaspora, it was discovered that by its numerous diaspora

initiatives, it seeks to facilitate engagement for member countries to fully harness their diaspora for the development of their respective countries.

4.3 Recommendations

Based on the study, the researcher recommends as follows:

- The National Diaspora Policy framework should be duly launched to allow for a well-coordinated diaspora engagement to be rolled out by successive governments replacing ad hoc strategies.
- Future engagement strategies should consider the differences in interests and priority arrears of the historic or African diaspora and the contemporary Ghanaian diaspora so that programmes are tailored to satisfy both. This could be achieved by strengthening contacts with Diaspora Associations. Associations should also have branches formed in the homeland country so it is easier to integrate Ghanaians living abroad into them even after repatriating home.
- The Electoral Commission (EC) of Ghana should make every effort to implement the ROPAA before the next general elections in order to allow for diasporians to fully exercise their voting rights in Ghana.
- The Ghanaian missions abroad must design strategies to improve data collation on the various Ghanaian diasporas all over the world.
- The private sector can begin to take more interest in diaspora engagement and partner effectively with the state institutions to build a strong network for diaspora engagement.

- Ghana should strengthen its bilateral relations with destination countries. This could be done through negotiating collaborative programmes with the governments that have a lot of its diasporians to allow for the extension of more rights.
- If Ghana really wants to reap from its diaspora, it should incorporate diaspora education and awareness creation for its citizens so that diasporians can feel more welcomed to return and contribute to the country.
- Attention should also be given to devising creative strategies for economic engagement and private partnership should be strengthened.
- Finally the study recommends that Ghana finds creative ways to engage the second and third generation Ghanaian diaspora.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

A. BOOKS

Bauböck Rainer & Faist Thomas, “Diaspora and Transnationalism: Concepts, Theories and Methods” (2010) IMISCOE Research, Amsterdam University Press.

Cohen, Robin. “Global Diasporas: An Introduction”. London: Routledge, 2008, pp.20-22.

Harris E. Joseph, “Global dimensions of the African Diaspora”, First edition. (1982).

Harris, Joseph. “Global Dimensions of the African Diaspora” Howard University Press, Washington, (1993).

Kapur Devesh &McHale John, “Economic Effects of Emigration on Sending Countries”, Oxford Handbook of the Politics of International Migration, (2012).

Khalid Koser, “New African Diasporas”, Routledge Publication, (2006).

Mangala Jack, “Engaging Diasporas in Development: Contours and Outcomes of International Policymaking”, Africa and its Global Diaspora, African Histories and Modernities. Palgrave Macmillan (2017).

Van Hear, Nicholas. New diasporas. London: Routledge, 2005.

Zezeza Tiyambe Paul, “Diapora Dialogues: Engagement between Africa and its diasporas, from the New African Diaporas”, Indiana University Press, (2009).

B. JOURNAL ARTICLES

Aderanti Adepoju, “Reflections on international migration and development in sub-Saharan Africa”, *African Population Studies*, (2011), Vol. 25.

Ahinful Gabriel et al. “Remittances from Abroad: The Ghanaian Household Perspective”, *International Journal of Business and Social Science* (2013). Vol.5 No. 1.

Akyeampong, Emmanuel, “Africans in the Diaspora: The Diaspora and Africa. *African Affairs*, Vol. 99, No. 395, Centenary Issue: A Hundred Years of Africa (2000), pp. 183-215.

Ankomah, Paul et al. A Creative Approach to Development: The Case for Active Engagement of African Diaspora in Ghana, *Journal of Black Studies*, (2012) Vol.43(4) pp.385–404

Arthur, John, “The African Diaspora in the United States and Europe: The Ghanaian Experience”, *Research in Migrations and Ethnic Relations Series*, (2008).

Bolaji Mohammed, “The African Union’s Call for Global Pan-Africanism and the Ghana-Diaspora Relations in the 21st Century” *Journal of Black Studies*, (2015,) Vol. 46(1), pp.62–101.

Brubaker, Rogers, “The “diaspora” diaspora’, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, (2005), vol. 28 pp. 1-19.

Carstens, S. A., 2003. “Constructing Transnational Identities? : Mass Media and the Malaysian Chinese Audience”, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 26 (2), pp.321-344.

Dufoix Stéphane, “From Nationals Abroad to ‘Diaspora’”: The Rise and Progress of Extra-Territorial and Over-State Nations, *Diaspora Studies*, (2011) Vol.4:1, pp.1-20.

Gamlén, Alan, "The emigration state and the modern geopolitical imagination.", *Political Geography* 27.8 (2008).

Kamei, Seraphina. "Diaspora as the ‘Sixth Region of Africa’: An Assessment of the African Union Initiative, 2002–2010." *Diaspora Studies* 4.1 (2011).

Khakhlyar Nandita, “Role and Contribution of Ghanaian Diasporas in the Development of Ghana”, *International Journal of Advanced Research (IJAR)*, ISSN NO/2320-5407, (2016).

Kivisto, Peter. "Theorizing transnational immigration: a critical review of current efforts." *Ethnic and racial studies* Vol.24.4 (2001): 549-577.

Mwagiru Makumi, “The African Union’s Diplomacy of the Diaspora: Context, challenges and prospects” *African Journal on Conflict Resolution*, (2012) Vol. 12(2).

Mohan Gilles, ‘Making Neoliberal States of Development: The Ghanaian Diaspora and the Politics of Homelands’, 2008, *Sage Journal* Vol. 26, issue: 3, page(s): 464-479.

Nagel Caroline, “Geopolitics by another name: Immigration and the politics of Assimilation” *Political Geography*, (2002), Vol.21, Issue 8.

Nieswand Boris, “Development and Diaspora: Ghana and its migrant”; *Sociologist* , 2009, Vol. 59, No. 1, Migration(s) and Development(s):Transformation of Paradigms, Organisations, and Gender Order (2009), pp. 17-31.

Nieswand Boris “Ghanaian Migrants in Germany and the Social Construction of Diaspora”, *African Diaspora 1* (2008) 28-52.

Palmer Colin, “The African Diaspora”, *The Black Scholar*, (2008) pp.30:3-4, 56-59.

Parnell-Berry Bel, “Who are the African Diaspora?” Paper presented at Afrikadag, Amsterdam (2012).

Peil Margaret, “Ghanaians Abroad”, *African Affairs* , 1995, Vol. 94, No. 376 pp. 345-367, Published by: Oxford University Press on behalf of The Royal African Society.

Portes, A., “Introduction: The Debates and Significance of Immigrant Transnationalism', Global Networks” *A Journal of Transnational Affairs*, (2001) 1(3), pp. 181-193.

Safran, William. “Diasporas in Modern Societies: Myths of Homeland and Return.” *Diaspora: A Journal of Transnational studies* (1991), vol.1, pp.83-99.

Schiller, Nina et al., "From immigrant to transmigrant: Theorizing transnational migration." *Anthropological quarterly* (1995), 48-63.

Vertovec Stephen , “Conceiving and Researching Transnationalism: *Ethnic and Racial Studies* (1999),Vol.22.2. pp.447-462.

Zezeza, Tiyambe Paul. “The Challenges of studying the African Diasporas”, *African Sociological Review/Revue Africaine de Sociologie*, (2008) vol. 12, pp.4-21.

Zezeza Tiyambe Paul, “African Diasporas: Toward a Global History”, *African Studies Review*, 2010, Vol. 53, No. 1 pp. 1-19, Cambridge University Press

C. DOCUMENT/REPORTS/PAPERS

Adjei Ebenezer, “Harnessing the Potential of the Ghanaian Diaspora: An analysis of Ghana’s engagement with its diaspora”, University of Ghana Dissertation, December (2018).

Agunias, Dovelyn Rannveig,& Kathleen Newland. “Developing a road map for engaging diasporas in development: A handbook for policymakers and practitioners in home and host countries”. Geneva: International Organization for Migration, (2012).

Anarfi et al., “Migration from and to Ghana: A background Paper”, Development Research Centre on Migration, Globalisation and Poverty, University of Sussex, (2003).

Awumbila Mariama & Teye Joseph Kofi, “Diaspora and Migration Policy and Institutional Frameworks Ghana Country Report”: INTERACT, Researching Third Country Nationals’ Integration as a Three-way Process - Immigrants, Countries of Emigration and Countries of Immigration as Actors of Integration, (2014).

Awumbila, M., & Teye, J., Diaspora and Migration Policy and Institutional Frameworks: Ghana Country Report. Centre for Migration Studies. University of Ghana. (2009).

Awumbila, Mariama et al. "Migration Country Paper: Ghana." Paper prepared as part of the African Perspectives on Human Mobility Programme: (2008.) Centre for Migration Studies, University of Ghana.

Coffie, Amanda, “National Diaspora Engagement Policy”. Policy Brief, LEJIAD, (2017) ISSN: 2458-7303.

Crush, Jonathan, "South Africa's Two Diasporas: Engagement and Disengagement" (rep., pp. 1-22). Waterloo, ON: Southern African Migration Programme. (SAMP) Migration Policy Brief No. 24. (2011).

Gamlén, Alan. "Diaspora engagement policies: What are they and what kinds of states use them?" (2006)

IOM Ghana Remittances Review Document, "Review of Financial Transfers and Remittance mechanisms in Ghana". A study under the ACP-EU Framework Developing Markets Associates (DMAG).(2018).

United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (World Migration Report ,2018),

Nilsson, Klas "The Ties that Bind: A Study of Diaspora Engagement Policies in Ghana" Faculty of Social Sciences Department of Political Science, Lund University, (2011).

Plaza Sonia & Ratha Dilip, "Diaspora for Development in Africa", the World Bank, (2011).

Quartey, Peter. Migration in Ghana: a country profile 2009. International Organization for Migration, (2009).

Spaan Ernst and Van Moppes David, "African Exodus? Trends and Patterns of International Migration in SubSaharan Africa", Research Group, Migration and Development, Working papers Migration and Development series Report No. 4.(2006)

Schiller, Nina et al. "Towards a definition of transnationalism." *Annals of the New York academy of sciences* ,645.1(1992).

Vezzoli Simona, Lacroix Thomas, “Building bonds for migration and development: Diaspora engagement policies of Ghana, India and Serbia,” [Research Report] International Migration Institute, Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit (GTZ). (2010).

D. INTERNET RESOURCES

Africanews.com Africa's diaspora remittances rise to \$35.2 billion in 2015 - World Bank.

<http://www.africanews.com/2016/04/20/africa-s-diaspora-remittances-rise-to-352-bn-in-2015-world-bank/> { Accessed on 14/03/2020 }

<https://visitghana.com/beyond-the-return/#1590127441713-bede39fc-ba31> –{accessed on 8/08/2020.}

<http://www.ghanaiandiaspora.com> {accessed on 18/08, 2020}.

<https://elam.hypotheses.org/2419> {accessed on 18/08/2020}.

https://www.un.org/en/development/desa/population/migration/publications/wallchart/docs/MigrationStock2019_Wallchart.pdf {accessed on 8/07/2020}.

https://www.un.org/en/development/desa/population/migration/publications/migrationreport/docs/InternationalMigration2019_Report.pdf {accessed on 8/07/2020}.

<https://qz.com/africa/1757853/ghana-gives-citizenship-to-100-african-americans-year-of-return> {18/08/2020}.

https://publications.iom.int/system/files/pdf/wmr_2020.pdf . World Migration Report, 2020.

<https://diasporaaffairs.gov.gh/who-we-are/> {accessed on 15/08/2020}.

Right of Abode, <https://acheampongassociates.com/right-of-abode-in-ghana/> {Accessed on 02/10/2020}.

<https://www.adomonline.com/diaspora-association-in-sweden-denmark-donate-to-covid-19-fund/>{Accessed on 02/10/2020}.

<https://www.graphic.com.gh/news/general-news/year-of-return-generates-1-9-billion.html>
{28/10/2020}.

UG-Diaspora Linkage Programme www.ug.edu.gh. {Accessed on 02/10/2020}.

<https://www.graphic.com.gh/news/politics/general-election-ec-can-t-implement-ropaa-in-2020>. {accessed on 02/10/2020}

<https://www.gipcghana.com/press-and-media/news-headlines/746-beyond-the-return-ghana-creates-investment-account-sankofa-account-for-diaspora.html> {accessed 20/10/2020}.

<https://www.boakyeb.com/allposts/2020/9/9/ghana-unveils-7-pillars-for-beyond-the-return-here-is-what-it-means-for-the-diaspora> {accessed on 20/10/2020}.

E. INTERVIEWS

Interview with Dr. Delali Badasu, Former Director and Lecturer at the Centre for Migration Studies, University of Ghana, Legon.

Interview with Mr. Ernest Amporful, Director of Diaspora Affairs Bureau, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration.

Interview with Miss Annabelle Mckenzie, Manager, Year of Return Secretariat.

Interview with Mr. Ben Anane Nsiah, Planning Cordinator, Ghana Tourism Authority.

Interview with Jake Obeng Bediako, Youth Ambassador , Diaspora Affairs, Office of the President.

APPENDICES

SEMI STRUCTURED -INTERVIEW GUIDE

TOPIC: AN ASSESSMENT OF GHANA'S ENGAGEMENT WITH ITS DIASPORA UNDER THE FOURTH REPUBLIC.

A SUMMARY OF THE RESEARCH

With an increasing interest in the discourse of the African Diaspora as a great potential contributor to Africa's development, it has become imperative for research to be conducted on the new methods and policies that African states have implemented to tap into this developmental potential. In view of the foregoing, I seek by way of this research, to explore the state led initiatives Ghana has taken to harness the potential of its diaspora under the Fourth Republic with the aim of exploring the successes and challenges that have been associated with their implementation. Absolute confidentiality is assured in conducting the interview.

Guide for Former Director Centre for Migration Studies UG.

The Centre for Migration Studies UG has been very instrumental in promoting Migration and Diaspora related issues in Ghana. In view of your leading role in drafting the National Diaspora Engagement Policy for harnessing the Ghanaian Diaspora, I would very much appreciate your input as a respondent to my research which falls in line with diaspora engagement. Thank you

Kindly find below a list of potential interview areas.

- .1. What is the importance of a National Diaspora Engagement Policy to successfully harnessing Ghana's diaspora?
2. Do you foresee an improvement in Ghana's Engagement with its diaspora once the Engagement Policy is completed and implemented?
3. Are we certain that Emigration Patterns are likely to change with increased attention being given to the diaspora?

Guide for Director of Diaspora Bureau, Ministry Of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration

As a prestigious office, in charge of Diaspora Affairs in Ghana's Foreign Ministry, I would very much appreciate your input as a respondent to my research which is in line with Ghana's Diaspora Engagement

Kindly find below a list of potential interview areas.

1. What is the number of state-led programmes aimed at harnessing the potential of the diaspora under the Fourth Republic?
2. What are the specific roles your office plays in implementing or coordinating these programmes?
3. How different are your roles from those of the Diaspora Affairs department in the Office of the President?
4. How do you measure the effectiveness of the policies so far implemented? What are the successes and challenges encountered in this area?
5. Has the AU diasporic clause impacted on Ghana's engagements with its diaspora in anyway?

Guide for Ghana Tourism Authority and Manager of the Year of Return Secretariat.

Kindly find below a list of potential interview areas.

1. What is the role of the Ghana Tourism Authority in coordinating Ghana's Engagement with its diaspora
2. Which institutions or agencies do you liaise with to perform your role of coordinating diaspora engagement?
3. What are some of the initiatives the Ghana Tourism Agency has taken as part of its diaspora Engagement strategy under the Fourth Republic?
4. What are the successes chalked and the challenges encountered in carrying out these diaspora engagement initiatives?

5. In what ways do the Homecoming celebrations differ from the Year of Return Programme?
6. What were the successes chalked under the Year of Return Programme?
7. What inspired the Beyond the Return Initiative and its 7 pillars which were unveiled in September this year?

Guide for Diaspora Affairs, Office of the President.

In view of your leading role in coordinating Ghana's relations with its diaspora, I would very much appreciate your input as a respondent to my research which is in line with Ghana's Diaspora engagement.

Kindly find below a list of potential interview areas.

1. What is your office's role in coordinating Ghana's engagement with its Diaspora affairs?
2. Which institutions do you liaise with to perform your role of coordinating diaspora engagement?
3. What are some of the projects you have implemented since the creation of the office in 2017?
4. Are these projects targeted at harnessing the potential of the Historical African Diaspora or the Ghanaian Diaspora?
5. What are the successes chalked and the challenges encountered in carrying out these diaspora engagement initiatives?
6. What are Ghana's target areas when it comes to engaging the diaspora? For instance, increasing remittance, investment in Ghanaian businesses or social or cultural
7. Is the non-existence of an Engagement Policy has an impact on our engagements in any way?
8. What is the Homeland Act? What is its relevance to Ghana's Engagement with its diaspora?

Guide for AU Representative/Official (Under Anonymity)

As the mother body of all African states, your desire to harness the potential of the African diaspora aligns with the focus of this research. Your input as a respondent therefore will be very much appreciated.

Kindly find below a list of potential interview areas.

1. What is the rationale behind naming the Diaspora the sixth region of Africa?
2. Does the body desire to harness the Historic or Contemporary Diaspora?
3. Do you think the AU's decision to harness the diaspora conflict with national diaspora policies of member states?
4. Has the organization outlined any policy (for instance, a Continental Policy guide) that serves to guide member states on how to improve their diaspora relations?