**Migration and Development: Ghanaian Hometown Associations (HTAs) as Drivers of Welfare Development Back Home**

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## Abstract

Migration, especially from the Global South to the Global North, has in recent times encountered mixed reactions. This has in part influenced both international and national migration policies and regimes. These mixed reactions have intensified the debate concerning the migration and development nexus conundrum. However, past migration and development literature though not limited in focus, largely analyses the impact of migration on the macro, meso and micro levels of sending countries using concepts other than socio-psychological concepts. It is in light of this that this thesis seeks to contribute to knowledge of the impact of migration on the meso, or communal level, from seldom used socio-psychological concepts. The thesis investigates this impact through case studies on Ghanaian HTAs in the UK and their transnational activities oriented on developing welfare and wellbeing at the meso level 'back home'.


The thesis focuses on four Ghanaian Hometown Associations (HTAs) and explores their welfare engagements in their own communities and other parts of Ghana. It does this through an extended analysis of family/household livelihood perspectives and through the lens of three socio- psychological theories: communal and exchange theory; individual and group self-centeredness concept; and role-set theory, seldom employed in migration studies. The thesis adopts a qualitative research method by conducting multi-sited fieldwork in the UK and Ghana. In doing so, it follows the works and activities of these associations between the UK and Ghana. Findings from the data collected through interviews, observation and secondary analysis of documentary sources, illuminate how Ghanaian HTAs positively impact meso level development back home. The findings also illuminate challenges and show that the

associations' motivations to undertake such activities are multifaceted. Key among these motivations are catering for the wellbeing of their left-behind families, the wellbeing of non-related families or the community and the wellbeing of the HTA members, especially when they visit or retire to live in Ghana. Furthermore, the findings indicate that Ghanaian HTAs' transnational roles, especially in their communities back home, are mandated as an implicitly expected duty entrenched in Ghanaian socio-economic norms, formed around obligation and values of personhood. Hence, communities and families back home expect Ghanaians abroad to remit financial resources and newly found social ideas when their socio-economic wellbeing in receiving countries is perceived to be successful and stable. Lastly, policymakers, the Ghanaian government, the Ghanaian HTA members and recipients of the projects are also of the view that the Ghanaians abroad are crucial welfare development partners, hence the need to find feasible ways to engage them through workable policies, programs and strategies.

**Keywords: Migration, Meso Level Development, Ghana, UK, Hometown Associations**

## Acknowledgements

*Dedicated to my Dad - Mr Frank Owusu (1932-2016)*

# Contents

## List of Tables

## List of Maps

## List of Documents

## List of Pictures

## List of Abbreviations

| | |
|---|---|
| **AFRC** | **Armed Forces Revolutionary Council** |
| **ASEAN** | **Association of Southeast Asian Nations** |
| **AU** | **African Union** |
| **BANDECA** | **Bali Nyong'a Development and Cultural Association** |
| **BCDA-UK** | **Bali Cultural and Development Association UK** |
| **BSA** | **British Sociological Association** |
| **CAS** | **Common Asylum System** |
| **CCP** | **Convention People's Party** |
| **CDF** | **Comprehensive Development Framework** |
| **CFO** | **Commission on Filipinos Overseas** |
| **CGAP** | **Consultative Group to Assist the Poor** |
| **DAB** | **Diaspora Affairs Bureau** |
| **DAO** | **Diaspora Affairs Office** |
| **DCE** | **District Chief Executive** |
| **DCI** | **Development Cooperation Instrument** |
| **DFID** | **Department for International Development** |
| **EC** | **European Commission** |
| **ECOWAS** | **Economic Community of West African States** |
| **ENP** | **European Neighbourhood Policy** |
| **EU** | **European Union** |
| **EUROMED** | **European Mediterranean Countries** |
| **FDI** | **Foreign Direct Investments** |
| **FEGHADE** | **Federation of Ghanaian Diaspora in Europe** |
| **GCIM** | **Global Commission on International Migration** |
| **GCM** | **Global Compact for Migration** |
| **GDP** | **Gross Domestic Product** |
| **GIFMIS** | **Ghana Integrated Financial Management Information System** |
| **GILAS** | **Gearing up Internet Literacy and Access for Students** |
| **GNA** | **Ghana News Agency** |
| **GRMD** | **Global Forum for Migration and Development** |
| **GRWG** | **Global Remittances Working Group** |

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|---|---|
| GSS | Ghana Statistical Services |
| GUB | Ghana Union Bradford |
| HND | Higher National Diploma |
| HSMP | Highly Skilled Migrant Program |
| HTA | Hometown Association |
| IDB | India Development Bonds |
| IdEA | International Diaspora Engagement Alliance |
| ILO | International Labour Organisation |
| IMD | Indian Millennium Development |
| IMF | International Monetary Fund |
| IO | International Organisation |
| IOM | International Organisation for Migration |
| JMDI-M4D | Joint Migration Development Initiative-Migration4Development |
| JVAP | Joint Valletta Action Plan |
| K4D | Knowledge for Development |
| KAM | Knowledge Assessment Methodology |
| KEI | Knowledge Enterprise Index |
| KNOMAD | Global Knowledge Partnership on Migration and Development |
| LAC | Latin American and Caribbean Countries |
| LINKAPIL | Link for Philippine Development Program |
| LSE | London School of Economics |
| MDC | Miraflores Development Community |
| MECA-UK | Manyu Elements Cultural Associations UK |
| MENA | Middle Eastern and North African |
| MOOP | Migrating out of Poverty |
| MSE | Micro and Small Enterprises |
| NCGU | National Council for Ghana Unions |
| NDC | National Democratic Congress |
| NELM | New Economics of Labour Migration |
| NGO | Non-Governmental Organisation |
| NPP | New Patriotic Party |
| NRGS | Non-Resident Ghanaians Secretariat |
| OAS | Organisation American States |
| ODA | Overseas Development Assistance |

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|---|---|
| **PANAFEST** | **Pan African Day Festival** |
| **PNDC** | **Provisional National Defence Council** |
| **PNO** | **Principal Nurse Officer** |
| **PRD** | **Partido Revolucionario Dominicano** |
| **PRGP** | **Poverty Reduction Growth Facility** |
| **PRSP** | **Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers** |
| **RIB** | **Resurgent India Bonds** |
| **ROPAA** | **Representation of People Amendment Act** |
| **RRR** | **Related Remaining Residents** |
| **SAP** | **Structural Adjustment Program** |
| **SDG** | **Sustainable Development Goals** |
| **SEDESOL** | **Mexican Ministry of Social Development** |
| **SIP** | **Skills and Innovation Policy** |
| **SME** | **Small and Medium Enterprises** |
| **SSA** | **Sub-Saharan Africa** |
| **TIE** | **The Indus Entrepreneurs** |
| **TNC** | **Transnational Corporations** |
| **TUC** | **Trade Unions Congress** |
| **UCL** | **University College London** |
| **UK** | **United Kingdom** |
| **UN** | **United Nations** |
| **UNGA** | **United Nations General Assembly** |
| **UNHCR** | **United Nations High Commission of Refugees** |
| **UN-HLDM** | **United Nations High-Level Dialogue on International Migration and Development** |
| **UNIDO** | **United Nations Industrial Development Organization** |
| **URR** | **Unrelated Remaining Residents** |
| **USA** | **United States of America** |
| **WHO** | **World Health Organisa** |

# Chapter 1 – Introduction

## 1.1 The Saliency of the Migration and Development Nexus

The two broad areas of study forming the focus of this thesis - migration and development - have been linked by scholars and policymakers to investigate the question of whether migration is positive for development. This research and policy agenda is widely referred to as the migration-development nexus. This thesis focuses on meso level welfare development within the policy agenda of the migration-development nexus and examines this nexus through the motivation, channels, strategies and role of the Hometown Associations (HTAs)[1] in engaging with their communities back home. Drawing on Leonardo and Lanzona (2015 p 21), I understand the meso level development as (communal/rural/hometown). Moreover, I see it as distinct from the macro and micro levels, which I refer to as national and household/family or individual, respectively. Also imperative in this thesis, is the definition of welfare development adopted from the 4th European Public Health Conference 2011 in Copenhagen: the betterment of 'basic human needs, such as having access to food, shelter, education, work and economic income' (Kamper-Jørgensen, 2011 p 1). Hence, welfare covers several dimensions including, most prominently, socio-economic needs.

In contemporary migration discourses, there are ever-growing sentiments about the need for policymakers to contain immigration to 'manageable' numbers, resulting in the creation of unattractive immigration policies in migration receiving countries,[2] which are mostly part of

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[1] I synonymise HTAs, with HTA members, Ghanaians abroad and Ghanaian diaspora in this study

[2] Henceforth referred to as receiving countries.

the Global North[3], to 'deter' would-be migrants, refugees and asylum seekers from the Global South countries (Gauci, Giuffré and Tsourdi, 2015)[4]. However, changes focused on restricting immigration coincided with an unquantifiable increase in the number of migrants from sub-Saharan Africa (Goldsmith, 2010) and the Middle East (Seeberg, 2013) wishing to enter receiving countries in Europe. Different motivations account for these increases, including political and economic instabilities in sending countries, education and family reunification (Sriskandarajah, 2002). The ordeal[5] that migrants, especially 'economic migrants', refugees and asylum seekers often undergo before reaching receiving countries, gives reason for researchers, policymakers and scholars to critically investigate the motivations behind such a journey. One of the ways to understand these motivations is to examine the transnational lives of migrants, not just in terms of the impact of migration in the macro and micro levels of sending countries, but also in the meso level. To do that, it is imperative that crucial areas where migration has impacted or continues to impact development are investigated to enhance awareness, contribute to knowledge, and influence policymaking in either or both sending and receiving countries.

## 1.2 The Motivation for this Study

My motivation for this study dates to my time in Sweden and Germany. During my master's education in Sweden, I investigated the economic integration of migrants in Sweden and their potential role in developing the economy of receiving countries. In the data collection of that work, I was intrigued to learn about the transnational activities of migrants in Sweden. After

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[3] Global North and Global South are economic terms which means developed/industrialised and developing/industrialising countries respectively.
[4] For example, Global North countries such as the UK, (Bolt, 2016), Australia (Henry, 2017) France and Belgium (Ducu, Nedelcu and Telegdi-Csetri, 2018) have created restrictive immigration, asylum and refugees policies.
[5] These include high financial investments, abuse, hazardous routes and exploitation (IOM, 2016b).

my master's education, I relocated to Germany and had the opportunity to work in an organisation that focused on assisting migrants to integrate in Germany. I speculate that being one of the few social workers in Germany with a Ghanaian origin led more Ghanaian migrants to solicit support from our organisation. My interactions with countless Ghanaian migrants who are in abundance in Hamburg, Germany, where I worked, also reflected similar transnational engagement narratives of the migrants in Sweden. It was there that I reflected on my master's thesis in Sweden and decided that if I had been able to undertake research on the role migrants play in contributing to the development of Global North countries such as Sweden, why not investigate developments in the opposite direction - the role migrants play in contributing to the development of Global South countries; with a case study on Ghana. This curiosity led me to undertake some form of literature review on research around migrants' engagement back home to situate areas in which research had been seldom undertaken. My findings from the literature review subsequently gave birth to my PhD topic and journey.

The literature I reviewed illuminated vital works that had been done by researchers to investigate migrant residing in the key Global North/receiving countries and their transnational engagements in key Global South/sending countries. However, the majority of these dominant and traditional migration studies chiefly focused on migrants' macro and micro engagements, the conceptual explanations motivating migrants to undertake such engagements and the roles global, regional and national policies play to foster these engagements and its development impact on key migrant sending countries. Seldom did these traditional migration studies capture contextual elements such as the socio-cultural and psychological features that motivate migrants to engage on the meso level and the several strategies adopted to bring their engagements in key sending countries to fruition.

The literature on macro and micro level engagement largely covered national economic development of key sending countries through monetary remittances (Gupta, Pattillo and Wagh, 2009; Ankomah *et al.*, 2012; Nsiah and Fayissa, 2013; Imai *et al.*, 2014; Doyle, 2015; The World Bank, 2018a; KNOMAD, 2019) and human capital development of migrants from the Global South (Kingma, 2001; Stark, 2004; Nunn, 2005; Saxenian, 2005; Stark and Dorn, 2013; Artuc *et al.*, 2015). Others focused on political developments (Guarnizo, Portes and Haller, 2003; Østergaard-nielsen, 2003; Krawatzek and Müller-funk, 2019; Schmidt, 2019) and on health and social development[6] (Bertoli and Marchetta, 2013; Kilkey and Merla, 2014) in migrant sending countries. Also, there has been focus on the role governments play and how they influence their diaspora and 'distant subjects' to participate in a set of prescribed national development agendas (Larner, 2007), which are aligned to Western development and postcolonial ideals (Boyle and Ho, 2017; Malone, 2020).

While these works play an integral part in the collection of scholarship that relates to the understanding of the migration and development nexus, gaps in our knowledge remain, particularly in relation to three main areas. Firstly, there is an absence of an adequate conceptual explanation that captures contextual migrant motivations such as socio-cultural and psychological features to engage on the communal/meso level in key sending countries such as Ghana. Secondly, there is limited literature covering meso level engagement strategies, such as between Ghana and the UK, which can inform and shape meso level policies in Ghana. Thirdly, literature concerning Ghanaian migrants[7] in the UK and their collective engagements

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[6] These include cultural, health, social care, education and ideas transfer in general.
[7] Interchangeably referred to as Ghanaian migrants or Ghanaians abroad in this thesis.

for the wellbeing of their respective hometowns and other towns back home were scantly discussed in migration and development literatures.

It is in light of the above, that this thesis seeks to shrink the gap by investigating the transnational activities of Ghanaian migrants in the UK and their potential developmental impact on Ghana. To achieve this task, this thesis set out to collect data through a case study of Ghanaian HTAs based in the UK a Global North/receiving country and their engagements on the meso level in Ghana a Global South/sending country[8]. The data were examined with an extended analysis of family/household livelihood perspectives, and other socio-psychological concepts that were scarcely used in migration studies, such as communal and exchange relationship theory, individual or group self-centeredness concept and role-set theory, to address the thesis' research questions (see section 1.3 below).

### 1.2.1 Why Ghanaian HTAs in the UK

Before the enlargement of the EU to include the countries of the Eastern bloc in the mid-2000s, Britain's highest waves of immigration were from its former colonies (Vertovec, 2007). One reason argued by historians is that majority of these immigrants were descendant from British settlers and colonial officials (Cheetham, 1972). Furthermore, the creation of the Commonwealth of Nations after decolonisation of the British empire in the 1960s kept that linkage between the UK and its former colonies, with the aim of harnessing recognition, education, governance, practices and policies in key areas (The Commonwealth, 2017). Such closeness and similarities in language and practices have always made the UK an attractive

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[8] In migration scholarship, the term sending countries usually refers to countries that experience high levels of emigration while receiving countries are those experiencing high levels of immigration.

developed country for would-be migrants from the Commonwealth (Dovlo, 2007; Awumbila *et al.*, 2008). In addition to that, the UK has always seen its former colonies as a source of labour dating back even before the infamous Windrush generation to include the transatlantic slave trade[9]. Thus Ghana[10], being one of its former colonies, has found its citizens immigrating temporarily and also permanently to the UK for over three decades now (Awumbila and Teye, 2014; Teye and Setrana, 2015).

These three decades of Ghanaian immigration to the UK have created a sizeable Ghanaian diaspora community which has regrouped into several diaspora associations or unions based on common interest, goals and sometimes ethnicity. The most popular among them are HTAs, which are composed of people originating from the same town, village or geographical area in Ghana (Lacroix and Vezzoli, 2010). Besides, there are other groups including Old School/University/University Hall of Residence Associations, Ethnic Associations, Regional Associations, Church Groups, Ghanaian Football Team Associations, Common Interest-Based Associations or Professional Associations and so forth[11]. The nature and composition of some of the members of these associations sometimes make them hard to reach, hence accurate data on the current number of these associations are unavailable. One estimate by Orozco and Rouse (2007) on Ghanaian HTAs approximated the number at 500 worldwide; another by Krause (2008) suggested London alone could have 200 HTAs.

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[9] Further works on Britain's slave past and payments made by the British government to slave owners can be found on the University College of London's website for the https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs//. Also, groups such as the Windrush attest to Britain's reliance former 23/08/20.

[10] In Chapter 5, I expatiate the various reasons why UK is still the preferred destination for Ghanaians.

[11] Such associations are widespread among other diaspora communities and not just Ghanaians.

The common goals and interests behind the formation of these groups are usually to support the welfare of group members and that of their communities, alma maters and professional associations back home. However, the underlying reason behind a Ghanaian engaging back home is much more complex than supporting the welfare of people back home. In their work, Wiredu and Gyekye (1992) posit that Ghanaian societies, just like most African societies or communities, resonate personhood and self-actualisation based, not only on individual achievements, but also the contribution of such achievement and wealth to the total welfare of ones' community of origin[12]. These resonations of personhood are entrenched in key proverbial sayings, norms and values of the Ghanaian society[13]. Hence Ghanaian societies such as HTAs, and individuals have over the years engaged their hometowns and other communities either collectively or individually with the same interest and common goals on development.

Furthermore, reasons for choosing Ghana as a case study for this thesis include intriguing elements of Ghanaian emigration trends to the UK and other parts of the world, and the significant increase in Ghanaian lone female migrants after 1992[14]. Other motivational factors include the salient transnational lives of the Ghanaian diaspora in terms of the phenomenal yearly increases of monetary remittances back home which has amounted to approximately 7.5 per cent of the country's GDP in 2018[15] and lastly, Ghana's stable and steady socio-economic development which has boosted Ghana to a middle-income status country[16].

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[12] In Chapter 5 (5.7), I discuss the importance of communality in the transnational life of Ghanaians and most Africans.

[13] These are not exclusive to Ghana. Other African countries share similar social features (Stewart, 2002).

[14] These are examined extensively in the whole of Chapter 4 (4.5).

[15] An increase from 1 million dollars in 1979 to 2.2 billion in 2018 (The World Bank, 2018a).

[16] www.worldbank.org/en/news/feature/2011/07/18/ghana-looks-to-retool-its-economy-as-it-reaches-middle-income-status 11/07/19.

My choice of the UK as a receiving country is primarily due to it being resident to the largest Ghanaian diaspora community in Europe[17] and the second largest in the world, its historical ties with Ghana and speculatively, one of the favourite destinations of most Ghanaian migrants[18]. Furthermore, there is less literature conducted on Ghana-UK migratory patterns and how the Ghanaian migrants in the UK drive welfare development back home, especially on the communal or the meso level.

In summary, my objective in this thesis is to contribute to: (1) Concepts that can contextually explain the socio-cultural and psychological motivations for migrants' meso level engagements in key countries of origin, such as Ghana. (2) Ghanaian transnational engagements strategies with the UK on the meso level that can help inform meso level policy formulation. (3) Academic literature on Ghana-UK transnational engagement on the meso level.

**1.3 Research Questions**

The main research question underpinning this thesis is whether Ghanaian HTAs are drivers of welfare development at the meso/community level back home. And if so, in what ways? To find answers to my main research question, the following sub-questions were investigated.

1. What are the motivations for Ghanaian HTAs to engage their communities back home?

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[17]https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/populationandmigration/internationalmigration/datasets/populationoftheunitedkingdombycountryofbirthandnationality accessed on 11/07/19.

[18] Although this notion was speculative before my research, majority of the Ghanaian participants in my research confirmed they preferred the UK to other Global North countries. Most of their reasons were linked to historical ties, social networks and similarities in human endeavours-education and language for example.

2. What strategies and channels do Ghanaian HTAs adopt and which entities or agencies, if any, do they partner in undertaking these engagements?

3. What are the perspectives and opinions of Ghanaian HTA members, end-users and recipients about the role of Ghanaian HTAs?

## 1.4 Structure and Outline

This work is organised into ten further chapters. Chapter 2 is themed A Review and primarily reviews traditional migration theories. The review is conducted in a chronological manner by examining the optimistic and pessimistic perspectives concerning the motivations for migration and development. It also reviews other less deterministic concepts such as postcolonialism and governmentality and how they explain key motivational drivers that factor in the migration and development nexus. The chapter helps to illuminate the gaps in these literatures in respect of the concepts explaining meso level engagement of migrants in sending countries. Chapter 3 is themed Migration for Development Policies and Practices. This chapter presents crucial and dominant international, regional, national and local migration and development policies and strategies that have been or are in the process of being adopted to foster positive migration and development agenda in sending and receiving countries. It also reviews examples of key diaspora activities and themes of engagement adopted by other countries that have large diaspora communities. Chapter 4 is themed Socio-Psychological Concepts. The chapter discusses social and psychological concepts drawn on to examine contextual motivations for meso level engagements and plays a crucial role in filling the gaps that traditional migration theories have created. Chapter 5 is themed Ghana - A Review. The chapter comprises historical and contemporary Ghanaian migration trends to Europe, but most importantly to the UK. It touches on routes and channels that the Ghanaian diaspora have used to migrate to the UK and

the Global North. It reviews the contextual meaning of Ghanaian values, norms, family and kinship within the ethnic lenses of Ghana and how these relate to the motivations of the transnational activities and lives of the Ghanaian migrants to engage back home. In addition, it reviews crucial national policies adopted by past and incumbent Ghanaian governments to engage the Ghanaian diaspora community. Chapter 6 is Methodology and Methods. The chapter covers the philosophical assumptions, research approach, methods used to collect data, the reflexivity of the researcher, ethical consideration and the process by which primary and secondary data were analysed for this thesis. Chapter 7 is themed Ghanaian HTAs in this Study. This is a short descriptive chapter which captures the background information and composition of the Ghanaian HTAs that are case studied in this thesis. The chapter describes the projects and initiatives undertaken or presently underway by each HTA. Chapter 8 is the first theme findings titled a Duty to Engage Back Home. This theme addresses research question one. Chapter 9 is the second theme findings titled Partners in Welfare Development. The theme addresses research question two and three. Chapter 10 is the Conclusion. It summarises the thesis and discusses the findings and contributions this work has made to academic knowledge and areas of future research.

# Chapter 2 - A Review

## 2.1 Introduction

As discussed in the introduction chapter, the question of how migration impacts development has been a subject of intense debate for decades, among scholars and policymakers alike. Two contrasting views are notable; the optimists, who believe migration contributes to development in sending countries, and the pessimists, who reject the optimists' view. The historical narrative of the two opposing views can, as De Haas (2012) argues, be compared to a pendulum, fluctuating backward and forward with one view taking centre stage just for a while. In addition to the above debates, other post structural concepts, which are less deterministic, have been used to help explain the migration and development nexus. The existence and use of these deterministic and less deterministic concepts to help explain migration and development, signpost the complexities and difficulties associated with the universal application of any single theory to explain the motivation for migrants to engage back home on all levels[19] of development. Intriguingly, none of these conceptual approaches have been able to persuasively help explain key contextual elements such as the socio-cultural and psychological features that motivate migrants to engage on the meso level of sending countries. To investigate the above, I will first review some of the salient optimists and pessimists, post structural concepts, and their critics in migration studies to reveal how they have not fully captured the aforementioned key contextual features motivating migrants' meso level engagements.

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[19] Macro, meso and micro.

Although these arguments and critical views about migration and development are not directly applied to my dataset Chapters 8 and 9, discussion of them is essential. This is because they continue to exert crucial historical and contemporary influence in shaping our understanding of migration and development scholarships. Hence, it is imperative that I discuss key elements of these concepts, schools of thought and their criticisms to help disentangle the complexities surrounding migrants' motivations to engage the macro, meso and micro levels in the migration and development nexus. To reiterate what I discussed in Chapter 1 (1.2), one of my objectives is to find adequate concepts that can contextually explain elements such as the key socio-cultural and psychological features that motivate migrants' (which in this case study are Ghanaian HTAs) to engage on the meso level of their home country.

Thus, I will divide this chapter into four main sections. The first three will discuss the key chronological development of different conceptual arguments underpinning the motivations for migration and development debates and refer to them as follows in this study - the historical era (1950s to 1960s), the mid-era (late 1960s to 1980s), and the new era (1980s onwards). The fourth will focus on key post structural conceptual arguments explaining other drivers motivating the migration and development nexus. Under each section, I will review key positions and viewpoints of concepts and conclude each section with a review of their critics. I will conclude the chapter with a summary of the concepts reviewed and how these have contributed to our understanding of migrants' motivational engagement on the macro and micro level and introduce the next chapter.

**2.2 Historical Era (1950s-1960s)**

Before the 1950s, debates on migration and development, such as Ravenstein's (1885, 1889) work, help us understand why migration took place, however, it was not until the 1950s that the debate on migration and development took shape (De Haas, 2012a). Hence my decision to start from the 1950s. Between the 1950s and 1960s, two dominant schools took centre stage, namely the neo-classical economic school, which was optimistic about migration and development, and the historical structuralist school, a group with pessimistic opinions on migration and development.

### 2.2.1 The Neoclassical Economic School

The migration and development elements of the neoclassical economist school has several perspectives. –Here I discuss macro and micro perspectives (Borjas, 1989, 1990), which relate to the conceptual review of this thesis. These perspectives were advanced during the urgent need for labourers in factories to rebuild Europe after the World War 2, to help explain the motivation for migration and its potential impact on development in sending countries (Papademetriou, 1985). These factories attracted internal labour migrants from subsistence based farming communities in search of work and personal economic development- a model referred to as the '*Harris-Todaro model*' (Harris and Todaro, 1970; Fischer and Straubhaar, 1996). The influx of labour migrants to these factory towns, according to the school, led to further industrialisation and urbanisation of these towns; a key stage in the economic development and modernisation process (Rostow, 1991; Ntini, 2016). Initially, the *'model'* was intended to explain only internal labour migration within states. Borjas (1989, 1990), however, extended the idea to a global labour platform with the potential of developing the macro or micro economies of sending countries or the human capital of labour migrants (Sjaastad, 1962).

# I. *Neoclassical Economic Theory: A Macro Development Perspective?*

The macro development perspective argues that labour migration is a consequence of geographical variances in capital, labour demand and supply. This is because the *differentials in labour* between *labour-surplus economies*, which predominately have low income characteristics, and *labour-scarce economies*, which predominantly have high income levels, cause labour migrants from the *labour-surplus economies* to migrate to *labour-scarce economies* (De Haas, 2010a). After a period, such labour movements bring significant changes to both labour sending economies and labour receiving economies. Chief among the changes is a reduction in labour scarcity among labour receiving economies and income increases among labour sending economies (Todaro, 1969; De Haas, 2008). In addition to labour movements, capital also moves from these originally high-income economies to originally low-income economies – a process which leads to economic equilibrium in both labour and income differentials in the two economies.[20]This subsequently creates no incentives (neither *higher income* nor *labour scarcity*) for further labour migration (Harris and Todaro, 1970; Todaro and Maruszko, 1987; De Haas, 2008).

Critics have postulated that historical evidence suggests that the macroeconomic development of countries that implemented mass labour recruitment and migration policies in the 1950s did not witness the anticipated macroeconomic development (Paine, 1974; Papademetriou, 1985; Martin, 1991; De Haas, 2008). Although the economic concept of factor prize equalisation may be plausible in economic theorisation models, its practical effect was very minimal (De Haas,

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[20] This economic model is also called the Factor Price Equalization or the Heckscher-Ohlin Samuelson Model.

2008). One reason for this failure is that the perspective was initially modelled to explain internal economies of countries and not international labour markets Borjas (1989, 1990). Hence, extending the perspective to the international level may have been bound to encounter contextual and structural differences in different economies and markets. Also, the factors at play nationally and globally may not necessarily be the same. These unexamined factors, such as the cost of travel and temporary unemployment at the receiving country, were not anticipated in the macro development perspective, also called *Hans-Todaro model* (Bauer and Zimmermann, 1998; De Haas, 2008 p5). Another critique was that macroeconomic development, especially of labour sending economies, was 'a-historical and Eurocentric', which did not take into account several considerations and factors, such as labour movement constraints pertaining to contemporary labour migration between the Global South and the Global North. Hence the failure for macroeconomic development perspective in realistic terms (Skeldon, 1997; De Haas, 2008).

## II. *Neoclassical Economic Perspective: A Micro Development Objective?*

The microeconomic development perspective was advanced in response to the failed macroeconomic development objective (Ekelund and Hébert, 2002). The argument of microeconomic development scholars was that migrants are rational individuals who will only migrate after a cost-benefit analysis has been calculated, and the difference in wages at the destination point is relatively higher than the origin (Todaro and Maruszko, 1987). According to them, cost benefit analysis includes the travel cost of migration, possibility of deportation and being an undocumented migrant (Todaro and Maruszko, 1987). Moreover, so long as the net capital returns associated with a migrant's movement is profitable, there is a higher possibility that the rational migrant will undertake the journey (Borjas, 1990; Massey *et al.*,

1993). The micro perspective was similarly applied to international labour migration due to income differences between Global North/high-income economies/receiving countries and Global South/low-income economies/sending countries on the international market. These income differences may incentivise migrants with individual/micro economic development prospects to migrate to high-income economies (Todaro, 1969; Harris and Todaro, 1970; Todaro and Maruszko, 1987; Borjas, 1989, 1990).

However, the question of whether the economic accomplishments of individual/micro migrants in high-income economies may have a spillover impact on the micro economic development of low-income economies in sending countries was debatable. This is because the perspective does not mention remittances or reverse in capital flow, giving grounds for critics such as Rivera-Batiz (1982) to argue that there is no basis in the perspective that the micro level (migrant families/households and non-migrant families/households) in sending countries will benefit (Djajić, 1986). It is thus possible that the micro development objective of the perspective was intended for individual migrants' economic development and not the family, household, nor the sending country. Yet, because the net income of international migrants increases from better pay rates, per the perspective, it can be argued that migrants can be economically better off when they secure better jobs (Hayes, 1991).

Another critique, put forward by Rivera-Batiz (1982), is that emigration of migrants rather lowers the consumption levels of the non-migrants and negatively affects their welfare development. Using Salter's (1959) small open market and Bhagwati and Brecher's (1980) technique, Rivera-Batiz (1982) explains that when the average amount of capital owned in the economy is removed due to emigration, it reduces the consumption possibilities of non-

migrants, especially when sending countries' economic aggregate capital-labour ratio differs from the amount taken out by the migrants (Djajić, 1986 p229-30). Furthermore, Easton (1981) argues that even the emigration of a fraction of a society causes harm to those left behind, due to income decline rather than income increase. In such a scenario, the economic development objective of the left behind as anticipated for by neoclassical microeconomic perspective is not established. The limitation of the microeconomic development perspective to capture left-behind household arguably leaves room for an assumption that microeconomic development might have been intended for migrants and not the household/families nor non-migrants back home (Rivera-Batiz, 1982).

### 2.2.2 The Historical Structural Schools

The limitations of the neoclassical economic development theories in justifying the motivations of how and why migration can positively affect development in sending countries, set the pathway for critically opposing views from migration pessimists to illuminate critical gaps of the former. The gaps argued by the pessimists included structural conditions that were characteristic of a perceived capitalist global economy and a Western-centric migration and development nexus (Castles and Wise, 2008; Wise and Covarrubias, 2009). Two key historical structural theories, dependency and world-systems were paramount.

### I.    *Dependency Theory*

The dependency school rejects the hypothesis of the neoclassical economic school on migration and development and argues that migration contributes to deepen the already degrading underdevelopment of sending countries (Frank, 1966; Baran, 1973). The theory was initially

advanced in Latin America to explain the negative effects of colonialism on former colonial states and the asymmetrical political and economic power relations that were created after decolonisation to the advantage of former colonial masters mainly in the Global North (Bath and James, 1976; Cardoso and Faletto, 1979; Gordon, 1982). Although the dependency school has not advanced a migration and development theory per se, they argue that migration is one of the negative end products of capitalist accumulation of wealth through unequal trade agreements between developed and developing countries (Massey *et al.*, 1998). The school's chief reason is that both political and economic power is not evenly distributed among nations and, more so, between developed and underdeveloped countries. Moreover, capitalist expansion and penetration to these already depleted, scarcely resourced, peasant-based economies of the Global South, further promotes and reinforces these inequalities to the benefit of capitalist-industrialised states in the Global North (De Haas, 2007).

According to the dependency school, the global system is made up of two sets of countries; dominant and dependent. The dominant countries are the high per capita industrialised countries, while the dependent countries are the low per capita developing countries (Sunkel, 1969; Dos Santos, 1971). The school postulates that historical economic, political and social structures created by capitalist regimes have positioned the development of dependent countries at the behest of and reliant on dominant countries (Seers, 1981; Gordon, 1982). According to them, the penetration of capitalist regimes in developing (peasants) markets has reinforced rigid inequalities in a global system where developing and underdeveloped countries are trapped in a geopolitical structure with no hope of economic development. Hence, the porous state in which developing countries find themselves, necessitates labour migration to the Global North, although detrimental to the social cohesion of these developing and peasant societies (Hayes, 1991). Moreover, labour migration to the Global North is damaging because

it uproots stable peasant populations and further causes underdevelopment when economically active persons depart their peasant and rural communities to the Global North in search for work (Massey *et al.*, 1993). The flight in search of work leaves no economically active persons in peasant societies or sending countries to build their economies (Frank, 1969; Massey *et al.*, 1993).

## II.    *World Systems Theory- Migration, a Drain on Peripheral Economies*

World-systems theory also argues of a world created by political, social and economic structures that inhibit the development of some countries to the advantage of other countries. In simple terms, world systems theorists deduce that the international system is a capitalist one and composed of four sets of countries; *the capitalist core* countries, *the semi-peripheral* countries; *the peripheral* countries, and the *isolated or external* countries that are not yet included in the capitalist system (Wallerstein, 1974, 1980). Wallerstein and his compatriots argue that the higher the degree of dependency of a country on the capitalist core nations, the higher the flow of labour or migration to the core (De Haas, 2008). Hence the creation of an international capitalist economy and the categorisation of peripheral countries as such is to enforce a migration drain on sending countries and not a factor price equalisation economic model as contended by neoclassical economic theory - because 'labour follows where capital goes' (De Haas, 2007a p 15).

### 2.2.3 Summary of the Historical Era

In summary, several reasons have been highlighted to explain why the neo-classical economic perspective on migration and its motivation to develop sending countries has failed to convince

sceptics and analysts alike. In the macro perspective, it fails to account for the transnational activities and engagements of migrants, such as monetary and social remittances with their countries of origin. The extent to which the concept explains developmental capacity is therefore questionable (Castles, De Haas and M. J. Miller, 2014). In the micro perspective, there is an absence of explicit motivations for migrants to engage back home, which creates room for a critical explanation as to how development occurs in sending countries (De Haas, 2010b). Nevertheless, these theories played their part in setting up the founding pillars and corner stone for the advancement of further theoretical frameworks and concepts in the migration and development nexus.

In addition to the above, these optimist concepts have also been critiqued by historical structural schools. The critique against the neoclassical economic theory by the historical structuralists may be justifiable due to the empirical evidence of events in that era. One example is the historical evidence of the poor economic performance of the Mediterranean countries that participated in mass labour migration programs at that time (Papademetriou, 1985; Papademetriou and Martin, 1991). However, such pessimism may not be fully applicable in every aspect of the neoclassical economic school. One such area is the micro development of migrants where there is the possibilty of financial gain in terms of higher exchange rates of the core countries, as found among Turkish migrants in Germany (Martin, 1992).

Lastly, the critique of human agency, a key motivation being that a rational migrant does not freely migrate based on cost-benefit analysis but is forced to relocate due to capitalist penetration in peasant and developing countries, is debatable. Rational people tend to make informed decisions when the right information is available, especially through migration and

social networks, transnational relations and migrants' agency (De Haas, 2005; Lacroix, 2012; Erdal and Oeppen, 2013). The motivational decision for migrants to migrate, especially to the Global North, where there are higher wages and surplus jobs, cannot solely be due to capitalist penetration into peripheral economies. It can also be that, through informed decisions, migrants migrate to a targeted receiving country where their micro development can be actualised. However, the bias and ideologically centred opinions of the migration and development debate from the 1950s to the 1970s took a different turn after the oil crisis had subsided and national economies especially of the Global North started to pick up again. It was during this time that the '*developmentalist model'* took centre stage in the migration and development debate.

## 2.3 The Mid-Era (1960s-1980s)

In the mid-era – 1960s to 1980s, the migration and development debate comprised several concepts. However in this review, I will focus on two key schools; the developmentalist school and the cumulative causation school because they contribute a clearer picture of the motivations for migrants to engage back home although not all the schools opine that these engagement result in development in sending countries.

### 2.3.1 The Developmentalist Model

During the mid era, the developmentalist advanced a critical aspect of the debate concerning monetary remittances that the neoclassical economic schools failed to capture. They argued that neoclassical economic models, most especially the '*factor price equalisation hypothesis and cost-benefit analysis'*, lacked consideration of monetary remittances in their hypothesis of migrant engagement with their sending countries. Thus, leaving out the possibility for non-

migrants to be beneficiaries of the development process even if there was a motivational reason to engage sending countries. Besides, the neoclassical models meant that migrants were individual entities without social groups, such as families, that may motivate migrants to support them in their sending countries - an unrealistic presumption (De Haas, 2008). According to Djajić (1986), monetary remittances have a definite developmental impact on the Related Remaining Residents (RRR) in sending countries. Such impact has the potential of a spillover effect to positively benefit the broader economy of sending countries, including people within the Unrelated Remaining Residents (URR) in the sending country (Djajić, 1986, 2013). His model did not just introduce monetary remittances into the neo-classical models, but also the role of return migration to oppose historical structuralist models, such as Rivera-Batiz's model (1982), which found that emigration affects the welfare development of URRs. Djajić's (1986) point was that, even if migrants do not remit monies to the families back home, through the investments of their financial savings, activities of retired returning migrants and in-country consumption of visiting migrants, there is the potential spill over on URRs welfare development.

In the mid era, several countries with abundant surplus-labour, such as Turkey, encouraged and adopted policies that supported large-scale labour migration to developed countries, such as Germany. The assumption behind such policies was that emigration and its monetary remittance potential was a principal instrument that could promote national/macro-economic development in sending countries (Chandavarkar, 1980; MehrLander, 1980; Adler, 1981; Swamy, 1981; Penninx, 1982; Papademetriou, 1985). Other policymakers that were hopeful about the development potential of emigration also based their justification on the historical experience of the rural-urban migration within Europe and the nineteenth/twentieth-century emigration from Europe to the US, Canada and Australia, which witnessed the industrialization

and growth among Western countries (Massey *et al.*, 1993; Tzortzis, 2007). Also, such development potential and migrant investments was believed to ease fiscal and economic constraints of migrant families (a micro level impact) and improve income distribution and greater freedom from socio-economic constraints (Keely and Tran, 1989). The developmentalist school believed that 'large-scale emigration can contribute to the best of both worlds: rapid growth in the country of immigration and rapid growth in the country of origin' (Kindleberger, 1965 p 253). Also, returning labour migrants can represent an optimism for the industrial development of their sending countries by investing their accrued savings in their countries of origin (Beijer, 1970). The advent and inclusion of monetary remittances in the migration and development debate also invited modifications of other economic theories such as cumulative causation to counter the developmentalists' remittance argument.

### 2.3.2 Cumulative Causation Theory

The cumulative causation theory's position on migration and development is that migration is a '*flight from misery*' and does not contribute to the economic development of sending countries (De Haas, 2010a). Although a very economic-centric theory popular in the late 1950s, cumulative causation was adopted to critically explain the negative impact of migration on the development of sending countries in the mid-era, after the inception of the remittance variable to the debate (Potter *et al.*, 1999). The central thesis of the theory posits that, after substantial differential economic growth has occurred between two entities *(in this scenario, countries)*, the internal and external economies of scale will establish two unequal markets between periphery and core countries. This process creates a cycle of poverty among periphery countries ('*sending countries*') and a progressive development among the core countries ('*receiving countries*') (Myrdal, 1957). One of the unique positions of cumulative causation theorists is

their recognition for monetary remittances, although they argue that the differentials in economic growth between core and periphery countries cannot be reversed or equalised, irrespective the quantum of remittances invested in the economies of periphery countries. Furthermore, the cumulative causation school believes that monetary remittances are often not invested in areas that contribute to the economic development in sending countries (Binford, 2003). The theory further argues that part of this vicious cycle of poverty is a phenomenal increase in the out-migration of valuable skilled professionals, also called *Brain Drain,* and an increase in demand for agrarian products, to the developmental benefit of core countries (Baldwin, 1970; Bhagwati and Hamada, 1974).

The theory also posits that, in such a global capitalist system, where an established spatial, personal income and welfare inequalities exist, out-migration from periphery countries further creates a backwash effect, negatively affecting productivity and wealth of sending countries due to the lack of labour force (De Haas, 2010a). This deprivation of labour force within sending countries also increases the degree of dependence on receiving countries and creates a consumerist, unproductive and remittance-dependent attitude of non-migrants in sending countries (Almeida, 1973; Lipton, 1980; Lewis, 1986).

### 2.3.3 Summary of the Mid-Era

The argument advanced by the cumulative causative school lays a convincing debate. The lack of labour force in a country, especially when the most valuable skilled professionals out-migrate, may not augur well and could mean an economic catastrophe for sending countries. However, this is not always the case. Migration is a very complex social phenomenon with

people migrating under different motivation, such as 'economic, political, demographic, social, cultural, environmental, psychological and other factors'(Olejárová, 2007 p 9). Also, although economic migrants often migrate with the motivation to find better jobs, it is not only the valuable and skilled people that out-migrate. This is seen when other historical structuralist schools, such as segmented labour market theorists, suggest wealthy capitalist nations attract high skilled workers but also low skilled workers to work in the services, assembly line, garment manufacturing, catering and cleaning sectors (Piore, 1979).

It is also empirically established that when adroit and valuable persons out-migrate, sending countries benefit from brain circulation and brain gain such as the South Korean and Chinese migrants in the Silicon Valley (Saxenian, 2002, 2005; Lee Jeong and Saxenian, 2013). Other works by Levitt and Lamba-Nieves (2010, 2011) also found brain gain and brain circulation played a key part in the development of sending countries, hence coining the term *social remittances*. I will review social remittances in the latter part of this chapter.

In a nutshell, both schools in the mid-era seemed to have understood the motivation to migrate was an individual decision rather than the decision of several stakeholders such as households whose interest and investment hopes are that the migrant succeeds in the receiving country and engage back home. The motivation that sends migrants to receiving countries expects migrants to fulfil a task that transcends migrants' needs. This new evidence postulates a broader but complex unit of micro-development analysis discussed as part of my new era.

**2.4 The New Era (1980s onwards)**

During the mid to the late 1980s, the migration and development debate took a less ideological stance. The two opposing views, now referred to as the new optimist school and the new pessimist schools, began to assess the migration and development debate on a more evidence-based position, unlike their predecessors of the historical and mid-era. That notwithstanding, both schools continued to maintain their optimism and scepticism, respectively, about a global economic system characterised by migration for/against development from the Global South to the Global North. In the next sections, I review three key new optimist approaches - new economics of labour migration, transnationalism, and social remittances and critique them with key approaches postulated by the new pessimist such as 'Swings of a pendulum', 'Hidden Agendas', 'Buzz and Spin' and 'Geography Matters'.

**2.4.1 The New Optimists**

Unlike the historical and mid-era migration and development debates that focused on the individual as the unit of analysis, the new era, and especially the new optimists, approached the migration and development debate from a pluralist and a hybrid view. This view refined the explanation of migration and development by incorporating both the causes and consequences of migration and argued for both the pros and cons of labour migration (Taylor, 1999).

*I.    New Economics of Labour Migration (NELM)*

Frontrunners of NELM argue that the methodological process of previous literature on migration research lacked analytical rigour. Their reason was that previous literature emphasised deductive reasoning rather than empirical testing, which would have otherwise revealed the indirect and complex ways remittances influenced the economies and livelihoods of households in sending countries (Taylor *et al.*, 1996; Taylor, 1999). They argue that the migrant's household plays an integral role in the decision-making process before a migrant embarks on migration (Stark and Levhari, 1982). As the household is the unit of decision making, they can diversify resources, including labour, with the view of reducing income risks. Hence, migration in itself is a risk-sharing investment of the households in response to income fluctuations, with the hope that remittances may become income insurance for migrants' households in their country of origin should migration be successful (Stark and Levhari, 1982; Lucas and Stark, 1985; Stark, 1991; Taylor, 1999).

Scholars of NELM also argue that migration plays an essential role as a source of investment capital in the developing world, where scarce credit and non-established insurance market is predominant and even harder for non-elite groups to access (Stark and Levhari, 1982; Stark and Bloom, 1985). Hence, migration is a livelihood blueprint and a strategy for non-elite groups to also overcome market restrictions by investing in other productive areas for better returns (Stark, 1980; Stark and Levhari, 1982; Taylor and Wyatt, 1996). NELM scholars hold the view that the investment diversification potential of migration adds to the several strategies, including agricultural intensification and rural non-farming deeds, which secures and improves the economic condition of left-behind households (Scoones, 1998; Bebbington, 1999; Ellis, 2000). For NELMs, labour migration is not just a stereotypical 'flight from misery' or short-term survival or crises coping strategy (De Haas, 2008 p37), rather, it is a decision that is planned and purposefully undertaken to improve the wellbeing of households, enable

investments and minimize fluctuations in households revenue that are heavily conditioned on livelihood uncertainties, such as unemployment (McDowell and de Haan p18, 1997; Bebbington, 1999, p2027; De Haan *et al.*, 2000, p30). Also, remittances received from migrants can compensate for the weak credit and insurance markets that proliferate in sending countries (Agunias, 2006; Gamlen, 2014b).

### II.    *Transnationalism*

Another new optimist approach is transnationalism; an established concept in the migration and development nexus discourse (Patterson, 2006).   Transnationalism within migration discourse refers to:

> The increasing tendency among migrants to maintain ties with their country of origin- and thus to develop identities and social relations in multiple national contexts rather than being rooted in only one country at any given time (Bartram, Poros and Monforte, 2014 p 140).

Scholars of transnationalism argue that globalisation has fostered the possibility for migrants to connect and maintain ties across borders irrespective of the distance. These activities or engagements are conducted through networking and maintaining of ties and connections between migrants and their relatives in countries of origin thanks to improved technologies of the transport and communication industry, such as mobile telephones, satellites, televisions, and the internet (Castles, De Haas and M. J. Miller, 2014). According to transnationalists, migrants conduct persistent activities across national boundaries involving a consistent and

substantial investment of time and commitment (Portes, 1999). Several concurrent activities migrants undertake within and across national borders of receiving countries make them '*transmigrants*' or to have '*transnational identities*' and not be just migrants (Vertovec, 1999; Levitt and Glick Schiller, 2004). However it must be noted that not all migrants are transmigrants (Smith, 1998; Sorensen, 1998). According to transnationalists, transmigrants incorporate vital endeavours including social, political, economic, cultural and finance, which have over the years witnessed substantial development in sending countries (Levitt, 1996; Smith, 1997; Levitt and de la Dehesa, 2003). Transnationalist explain that transmigrants can also foster dual loyalties by travelling across borders to relate to persons, work and undertake businesses. In other words, the scope for which transmigrants can pursue transnational livelihood and interactions with left-behind families including money remittance, and other socio-cultural and political engagements, have improved to the benefit of sending countries (Guarnizo, Portes and Haller, 2003). Scholars of transnationalism have also stressed that, over the years, migrants have strengthened their ties with countries of origin, dispelling the pessimistic notion around the sustainability of remittances. Hence the need to conduct research on migrants, not just from their activities within the national boundaries of their receiving countries, but across borders as well.

Works by other scholars have also contributed to explaining the complex and multifaceted nature of defining transnationalism and how these 'affect power relations, cultural constructions, economic interactions, and more generally, social organization at the level of the locality' (Smith and Guarnizo, 1998 p6). Most importantly, recent transnational studies investigate how sending countries once regarded as peripheral countries are creating a new world order with the transnational subjects to promote development in the sending countries (Glick Schiller and Fouron, 1998). This calls into question where the human agency purported

by transnationalists lies. Rather, it shows the multifaceted and complex nature of transnationalism, which takes different forms of approaches, especially in the construction of transnational political organisation – from global governance collectivities such as the UN, World Bank, INGOs, national governments of both sending and receiving countries, and local level collectivities, such as local households, kin networks and local groups all contributing to development through a transnational social space (Smith, 1994).

### III. *Social Remittances*

The third approach argued by the pluralists is social remittances which are:

> Ideas, behaviours identities and social capital that flow from receiving to sending communities. They are the north to the south equivalent of the social and cultural resources that migrants bring with them which ease their transitions from immigrants to ethnics (Levitt, 1998 p 927).

In recent scholarships, social scientists have investigated the role of social remittances and have argued that they are the results of synonymous practices that take place in both sending and receiving countries; a piece that was crucially missing in the historical and mid-era literature. Levitt (1996) posits that social remittances have a significant positive impact on sending countries by way of the new ideas, skills and knowledge that returning or visiting migrants exchange and circulate among origin countries with the motive of development. Social remittances also have the potential to scale up and scale out when these new ideas, practices and knowledge are passed on from friends and families abroad to relatives, local, regional and

national level organisations in sending countries (Levitt and Lamba-Nieves, 2011). Typical embodiments of social remittances may include ideas of democratic voting and campaigning practices or even gender rights that have been remitted by migrants from receiving to sending countries (Levitt, 1996; DFID, 2007).

Carling and Erdal (2014) argue that migrant social remittances drive and impart development ideas and knowledge that have been tried and tested in the social, economic or political sectors in receiving countries. Besides, the brain gain and brain circulation component of social remittances have over the years discredited the brain drain idea of historical structuralists, overturning the pessimistic view of brain drain (Mayr and Peri, 2008; Lee and Kim, 2010). Social remittances have also challenged the Marxian position that migration is an exploitative phenomenon where only receiving countries benefit the services and expertise of migrants from sending countries. Rather, migrants and sending countries also gain by remitting social ideas and new ways of undertaking human endeavours to challenge old ways of doing things (Kotabe *et al.*, 2013).

Pluralists' works have also been challenged by new pessimists, with different but thought provoking views that impart a crucial and critical understanding for scholars and policy makers to enable them to rethink how migration and development is understood from diverse scholarship.

### 2.4.2 The New Pessimism

New pessimists have not welcomed the above arguments of the new optimists. The new optimism is nothing new regarding sending countries' development, but an ongoing cyclical debate and a deliberate attempt to use scholarly work to advance political and economic interest of neoliberal economic reforms. For new pessimists, the whole migration and development hype is centred around hyperbole and superstition and will subside once the craze is dispelled (Gamlen, 2014b p586). The new pessimist categorise their argument under four main themes namely*; 'Swings of a pendulum', 'Hidden Agendas', 'Buzz and Spin'* and *'Geography Matters'* (Spaan, Van Naerssen and Hillmann, 2005; De Haas, 2012b; Gamlen, 2014b)*.

### I.    *Swings of Pendulum*

According to the new pessimist, *swings of a pendulum* had three phases after World War 2. The first phase was the '*balanced growth approach*', which adhered to neo-liberal economic ideas, such as factor price equalization and cost-benefit analysis. (Kindleberger, 1965; Griffin, 1976; Spaan, Van Naerssen and Hillmann, 2005; Gamlen, 2014b). The second phase of the debate was the pessimistic '*asymmetrical growth approach*', where monetary remittances could not compensate for the unbalanced distribution of benefits and resources between sending and receiving countries as postulated by the tenets of the developmentalist model. (Bhagwati and Hamada, 1974; Abadan-Unat, 1975; Papademetriou and Martin, 1991; Spaan, Van Naerssen and Hillmann, 2005). The last phase is the era of the purported multiplier effect from monetary and social remittances on the economies and livelihood of sending countries (Binford, 2003; Dilip, 2003). Hence, the recursive nature of the migration and development nexus gives new pessimists less confidence in the level of optimism touted by pro migration for development scholars (Gamlen, 2014b). To new pessimists, this optimism has been hyped by pro migration optimists to a level that it seems 'unlikely the migration-development mantra

will be sustained at its present level in policy debates and research' (Faist, 2009 p 56). Other new pesimistic scholars have also wondered 'if the current preoccupation with international migration as a tool to promote development becomes a passing phase in the debate on development' (Skeldon, 2008 p 3). These statements have re-energised the new pessimists to challenge the new optimism concerning the migration and development agenda.

## II.     *Hidden Agendas*

Under *hidden agendas* two aspects are paramount. First the new pessimists school posits that there is a consistent neoliberal optimistic pattern that both old and new optimist schools have adhered to, with the hope to achieve a macro development agenda through the migration for development debate by painting the international migration phenomena in a glossy way (Gamlen, 2014b). Such a picture reveals a politically and economically driven neoliberalist agenda while the real issues of gloomy social obligations, emotional and economic costs that migrants undergo are not discussed (Hernandez and Coutin, 2006).  Besides, the constraints migrants encounter e.g. female migrants negotiating remittances with their families back home (Wong, 2006), the exploitation of migrants in the labour market and the inhumane sacrifices and harsh working conditions migrants endure just to send money back home, are all shrouded in secrecy (Datta *et al.*, 2007). Given the conditions and sacrifices that migrants bear, it is unethical and unjustifiable to even think of creating developmental policies on their hard-earned remittances (Datta, 2012). Hence the pro-remittance literature euphoria should not overlook such inappropriate global inequalities (Kunz, 2008; Ho, Boyle and Yeoh, 2015).

The second argument of the *hidden agendas* theme is the failed Washington Consensus,[21] which new pessimists believe has been replaced by remittances and brain gain. To new pessimists, countries that have no development programmes due to the legitimacy crises of the whole neoliberal globalisation project are now supposed to rely on handouts from their diaspora relatives and friends in lieu of the on and off donor aid (Castles and Wise, 2008). Besides, the failure of the Washington Consensus has ushered in the celebration of the migration led development approach as an attempt to advance 'neoliberalism on the human face' (Wise and Covarrubias, 2009 p 87).

### III.    *Buzz and Spin*

The third category centres on conspiracy theories also dubbed '*buzz and spin'*(Gamlen, 2014b p 591). The new pessimists believe contemporary debates have drifted away from the original debate built on neoliberal ideological concepts and philosophical frameworks grounded in empirical works. According to them, the current debate is drifting and gravitating towards a path dependent on inherited political policy regimes and regulatory practices within key local and national contexts (Brenner and Theodore, 2002). Others argue that recent migration for development is overwhelmingly optimistic, a 'delusional spin' of 'buzzwords' which aims to mediate the interest of political consensus. This is because the recent optimism has failed to recognize the complex issues around remittances and has rather obscured the realities of uneven economic growth, especially among remittance-receiving countries (Ellerman, 2003). This is done by repeatedly offering  platitudes of remittances as a universal recipe for development

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[21] The Washington Consensus was a list of policies accepted in Washington believed to work in Latin America in the later parts of 1989. Development was the main objective of the countries in question. It includes a number of capitalist views, supported by prominent economist and institutions such as the Bretton woods organisations and capitalist based Western economies (Pettinger, 2017).

and luring development practitioners into a trance-like 'euphoria', which is 'just a fad' and prompt the question what is not being said? (Kapur, 2004; Schiller, 2012 p 93; Vammen and Brønden, 2012 p 26). In sum, this buzz and spin further explains that the new optimists' theoretical basis is ungrounded and the recent global campaign about the transfomative capacity of migration, transnationalism, remittances and diaspora engagement are delusions, magic, superstitions and deceptive economic growth in sending countries (Kapur, 2004; Hansen, 2012).

### IV.    *Geography Matters*

The last category to be discussed is the contextuality or caveats needed for remittance to revive the economy, which Gamlen (2014b)  refers to as *Geography Matters*. It will be a grave error to assume that developmental outcomes of migration are not context-based, which new pessimists also acknoweldge (De Haas, 2012b). Both Carling (1996) and Hansen (2012) allude to the fact that migration for development policies do not take into consideration the differences in local empirical cases.  This is because empirical evidence shows that even the negatives and positives of emigration are relative, and broadly spread across migrants in sending and receiving countries. Hence the idea of *one rule fits all* must be revisited (Carling, 1996; Hansen, 2012).

### 2.4.3 Summary of the New Era

The above pluralist view is not always the reality. This is because migrants do generate remittances (monetary and social), but at times these gains come at the expense of structural constraints, financial investments risk during fatal migration journeys, exploitation, emotional

stress, loneliness, separation from families and many more negatives, which cannot be compensated for by any gains made in receiving countries. For example, the NELM's position of household diversifying investment to labour migration does not account for the irrecoverable physical contact time lost between an undocumented migrant mother and her left-behind child due to her undocumented status and inability to travel to see her left-behind child or reunite her left-behind child in the receiving country (Clemens, Özden and Rapoport, 2015; Cortes, 2015). Such examples reveal the horrors undocumented migrants have to bear whilst solving family/household economic investment back home.

Although social remittances and transnational activities may have positive impact on the development of sending countries through knowledge and ideas transfer from receiving countries, it is also important to note that not all social remittances, for instance, are received positively and lead to the development of sending countries. Some ideas and knowledge transfer, as well as Western ideas of social class brought by returning migrants, are received with a backlash and strong opposition and tensions, especially in areas such as the introduction of new behaviour and socio-cultural changes to the original socio-cultural ways of life among natives (Ghosh, 1992; Gunvor, 2007; Nguyen-Akbar, 2014). Furthermore, it will be wrong to assume that all migrants are transmigrants who socially remit or harbour the intentions of returning to sending countries. This calls into the question the conceptualisation of identity and how identities are created within transnational studies (Sorensen, 1998). There are quite a number of migrants uncategorized as transmigrants as well as others who have no intentions of return nor remitting to the left behind for several reasons, including failed return attempts after an unfruitful investment back home (Markowitz and Stefansson, 2004). There are also cases whereby returning female migrants who deny or contest old social structures, such as hierarchy and power relations within households back home, are met with strong established

partriarchal systems (Van Meeteren *et al.*, 2014). Such unaddressed limitations need addressing by the new optimist.

On the otherhand, the new pessimism critique on the new optimism is not much different from the previous critiques. One challenge posed by new pessimists to new optimists that I find unconvincing is the failure on the part of new pessimists to recognise that the fact that there are structural challenges within the migration trajectory of migrants does not absolutely erode the fact that migration for development has not been positive in some sending countries although their position on geography matters speak to the subject lightly. For example, in the area of transnational activities, monetary and social remittances, there have been considerable developmental impacts on sending countries. These are facts and cannot be dilusional or superstitious. Crucial empirical works from monetary remittances and their impact on the GDP of sending countries (Carling, 2014; KNOMAD, 2018), diaspora relations and their transfer of knowledge and resources to sending countries (Boyle and Kitchin, 2013; Ho, Boyle and Yeoh, 2015), and social remittances that are changing the socio-eco-politico field of sending countries (Mayr and Peri, 2008) cannot be ignored despite structural challenges that may persist.

In sum it is imperative to note that beside the above debates, other salient conceptual arguments, such as those of post structural schools, have also been used to help explain other motivations for migration and development across all the three eras dicussed above. Hence it is important to review some of these debates to help explain other key factors driving the migration and development nexus.

**2.5 Post Structural Conceptual Arguments**

Scholars have tried to explain key concepts of migration and development nexus from a nuanced position that is less deterministic and divergent from the optimist and pessimist arguments. Two of these, governmentality and postcolonialism, will be discussed below since they reveal crucial aspects that have not been captured by the above concepts.

**2.5.1 Foucault's Governmentality Concept**

Prominent scholars posit that migration and development are driven and explained by Foucault's governmentality concept (Malone, 2020). Per the concept, governments of sending countries attract migrants by setting out agendas which are based on neoliberal principles to protect the interests of migrants in their countries of origin, which includes migrant families and their communities (Larner, 2007; Kunz, 2012; Boyle and Ho, 2017). The fundamental factor that gives governments of sending countries the basis to set out such neoliberal agendas is believed to be globalisation. This has created and constituted migrants as external expatriate subjects with expertise knowledge that is readily available to fall onto as development actors (Larner, 2007; Ho, 2011). Other scholars also posit that the current neo-liberalisation of the distant governance approach used to attract migrants is rolled-out through other agents, including NGOs, International Organisations (IOs) and 'even private actors through self-governing, whereby subjects internalize certain norms and discipline themselves to comply with them'(Kunz, 2012 p 104)  Hence, the theory has been at the forefront of explaining that migrants are not of their freewill engaging sending countries, but are forced through soft power

in the era of a centralised global system to engage in developmental policies coined as diaspora engagement policies.

Regazzi (2014 p 75) explains this well when he categorises these diaspora polices into five clusters: namely the expatriate, the closed, the indifferent, the global-nation and the managed labor state, that sums up the diverse forms that governments have used to attract their diaspora into development partnerships. He concludes that governmentality has been the best explanatory theoretical framework for the understanding of the motive behind creation of diaspora policies and the motivation for migrants to engage in developing their home countries.

### 2.5.2 Postcolonial Theory

Postcolonial theory also argues that there is clear link between colonialism and migration patterns. This pattern has been in existence since colonisation and has intensified even in the postcolonial era (Mains *et al.*, 2013) This intensification is sometimes understood as 'colonization in reverse' where migrants of formers colonies are readily visible everywhere in countries of their former colonial masters (Bennett, 1966). Per the theory, former colonies and their former colonial masters continue to maintain constant closer and evolving linkage over time (Hall, 1996). Such histories help to understand why migration and mobility between certain countries are predictive, enhanced and spatial (Mcilwaine, 2008).

Boyle and Ho (2017)  have also tried to explain the agenda and purpose of Western governments of the Global North. These scholars are of the view that as the international political economy is in the post-Washington Consensus phase, several channels of

development have been strategised to reach out to developing countries (Larner, 2007). Per the concept of sovereign power and biopower, the West acts as a sovereign and reaches out to sending countries through diaspora-centred development programs to 'encourage sustainable development in countries in the Global South by building and fortifying institutional capacity, active citizens, market actors, self-reliant and resilient communities'(Boyle and Ho, 2017 p 579-0) that mirrors similar trends in the West. The success of such programs, also known as 'Western political and economic subjectivities', means that governments of the West are able to civilise, normalise and repair what the West perceive as failing institutions of the Global South in relation to Western standards (ibid p 580).

The intersection between postcolonialism and development can be seen with the works of Said (1978) who argues that development in former colonial master states are replicated in former colonial states through material links, identity, language and culture. Thus, the economic, political and cultural development patterns in these former colonies continue to be defined by their former masters due to the legacy of colonialism and the linkage they continue to have. However, these definitions are very Eurocentric and have also become the acceptable norm in the contemporary globalised world, led by the same former colonial powers (Said, 1978; Spivak, 1988; Sharp and Briggs, 2006). In addition to the above, the 'geographies of responsibilities' (Massey, 2004) and the moral and global responsibility exerted on richer nations, most of which are former colonial masters, to support distant places and people (Noxolo, Raghuram and Madge, 2012), may also draw into the pool of other development strategies used to support struggling sending countries. In practice, this could mean that migration and development strategies or even development partnership may be dictated, motivated, defined and even shaped by postcolonial ideologies (Noxolo, 2006). Thus, postcolonialism may help explain how the migration and development agenda adopted by the

West after the failed Washington consensus is a channel that Western powers are using to export their view of development. Such examples may include supporting poverty reduction strategies in former colonies through diaspora-led development initiatives in sending countries. Hence, and as Pender (2001) argues, development programs and policies that are driven by the World Bank in real terms have always been very Eurocentric and Western ownership based. In a nutshell, postcolonial theory refuses to accept that there is real agency of people and the determination of oneself to develop without the influence and responsibility of a postcolonial world (Noxolo, 2011).

### 2.5.3 Summary of the Post Structural Approach

It is rather clear from above that although these concepts have been less deterministic, they also use a post structural idea in their resolve to explain the motivations and drivers for the diaspora-led development initiatives to engage back home. The above concepts have been over reliant on and exaggerate governmentalities and postcolonial influence on development. Hence, they disregard the potency for diaspora or migrants' agency in development. Such potency can take the form of partnership (Brinkerhoff, 2002). Although there has been findings of unequal power in international development partnerships (Noxolo, 2006) and real power continues to rest in the same elites and experts that hegemonise development process (Mohan and Stokke, 2000), advocates of postcolonialism and governmentalities also reject the efficacy of partnership. They focus solely on the negative aspect of partnership without looking at the sustainability aspects of partnership (Crewe and Harrison, 1998). In addition, other salient arguments have also called into question diaspora ownership of development initiatives, since they rather succumb to the long arms of governments as distant subjects whose families are trapped in underdevelopment. Such situations means the diaspora may not have the option not

to participate in development initiatives and even when they participate they are short-lived and displaced by government officials (Malone and Durden, 2018). Hence, questions have been raised as to the basis for migrants' motivation to participate in such program when governments of sending countries try to engage them (Kunz, 2012).

Nevertheless, critics  argue that 'postcolonial studies does not tend to concern itself with whether the subaltern is eating' (Sylvester, 2010 p 703) and rather tries to singularise development patterns with colonial linkage. Critics postulate that with elapsing times, colonial backgrounds become remote and obscure, disentangling any post-colonial ideals previously held by former colonies (Ahmad, 1995). There have also been calls to clarify whose responsibility it is to develop countries; governments or their so called 'distant subjects'. Other empirical work suggests migrants or the diaspora are drawn into the idea as development partners by governments who eventually hand the developmental responsibility onto the migrants (Pellerin and Mullings, 2013; Espinosa, 2016). Critics also argue that there are enough grounds for rationality and evidence of grassroots and indigenous knowledge participatory initiatives with key stakeholders in development projects that have led to successful impact on the lives of recipients (Agrawal, 1995; Torres and Carte, 2014). Hence, rather than dissenting views, post structural theories and development theories should even out their differences and promote empirical and pragmatic ways to develop the developing world (Sylvester, 1999; Biccum, 2002; Sharp and Briggs, 2006).

**2.6 Conclusion**

This chapter has discussed key ideological debates that have underpinned the migration and development debate over half a century. Regarding the chronological debates and their critics, they attempt to justify their understanding of how migration for development is achieved or not. The historical era had optimistic concepts, such as the neoclassical economic theory, that posited that migrants migrate for macro or micro development and that through factor price equalisation and cost-benefit analysis development could be nurtured among sending countries. Historical structural pessimists regarded these models as economic dependence. In the mid-era, key parts of the optimist concept in the historical era were revised by the developmentalist school, taking into cognisance engagement activities, such as monetary remittances, that fostered micro development of migrants' social groups back home. However, pessimists adopted the cumulative causation school to contest these concepts because remittance could not compensate for the differential economic growth already established. Other pessimists in this era also regarded remittance as creating a consumerist culture. The new era introduced a new optimism from concepts such as the NELM, transnationalism and social remittances, which the new optimist argued had a potential multiplier effect on the development of macro and micro of sending countries. These have been contested by the new pessimist school as nothing new, but a repeat or recycling of old ideas and that the optimism surrounding the new migration for development can be likened to a revolving door with no ideological basis. Lastly, the chapter moved its focus from the optimist and pessimist schools to two key post structural concepts; governmentality and postcolonialism. Whereas governmentality purports that governments motivate and regulate their distant subjects such as the diaspora to take part in development strategies in the sending countries, postcolonialists view all forms of development as a post colonial agenda that is being managed, dictated and defined with an Eurocentric eye in a post colonial global world.

Having discussed these key concepts and critiques, it can be argued that they have had tremendous influences and contribution to the current migration for development discourse. Especially on the macro and micro level of migrant engagement. They have also played a role in the universal application of concepts explaining the drivers that motivate engagements towards national development agenda. However, these concepts are not able to explain other key contextual socio-cultural and psychological motivations that drive migrants to engage on the meso level in sending countries. Hence, a careful analysis of this chapter illuminates a significant gap summarized in Chapter 1 (1.2) – The absence of an adequate conceptual explanation that captures key contextual migrant motivations such as the socio-cultural and psychological features to engage on the communal/meso level in key sending countries such as Ghana. There is evidence that existing literature, such as the family/household livelihood perspective discussed in Chapter 2 (2.4.1(i)), contributes to explaining migrant motivations for supporting households and families back home, but this perspective still fall short of explaining the motivation for communal/meso engagements back home. Such a gap can be filled if a concept that considers contextuality and combines socio-psychological perspectives is adopted to help our understanding of how and why the migrants may wish to engage on the meso level. Such theories should normally take into cognisance the socio-cultural and socio-psychlogical understanding of the contextual worldview of migrants in question. In Chapter 4 (4.2), I seek to expand the family/household livelihood perspective to include communal level engagement and support, which are embedded in the social-cultural norms of sending countries such as Ghana; as an integral part of the drivers motivating HTAs to engage on the meso level. I also introduce four non migration-based socio-psychological concepts, namely communal and exhange relationship theories, individual and group self-centeredness concept and role-set theory. that have seldom been applied to migrant transnational engagement to explain other

motivations, channels, strategies and perspectives of migrant roles in meso level transnational engagements.

In sum, the concepts discussed in this chapter have influenced international, regional, national and local migration and development policies and have also pushed for the universal application of the macro/micro agenda of the global migration and development nexus. It is therefore imperative to discuss key international, regional, national and local migration and development polices and practices targeting, or already implemented in sending countries. Such an exercise will also help to illuminate any gaps in meso level developmental policies and practices in sending countries.

# Chapter 3 - Migration for Development Policies and Practices

## 3.1 Introduction

Given the conceptual discussions on migration and development in Chapter 2, it is understood that migration pessimists, optimists and less deterministic theorists, such as post colonialists and governmentalists, have keenly followed and contributed to the chronological changes in debates on migration for development. Hence, policymakers from different levels, namely; international, regional, national and local may have endeavoured to adapt different concepts to make migration work. This chapter discusses how policymakers have been largely influenced and motivated by migration and development discourses and concepts. Also, the chapter seeks to explore whether such migration and diaspora related policies, projects and initiatives confirm elements of these concepts and most importantly at what level – micro, meso or macro. As already explained and defined in Chapter 1 (1.2.1), there are two main avenues of migrant engagement back home; collective and individual engagement. These two primary engagement avenues are imperative channels for policy makers to make the best out of migration. Not implementing the right policy or practice can either harm or foster relations and engagements with their diaspora (Délano and Gamlen, 2014; Gamlen, 2014a; Gamlen, Cummings and Vaaler, 2017).

Having reviewed key traditional migration for development concepts over the years in Chapter 2, here I will draw on key contemporary global, regional, national and local migration-for-development policies and practices that are relevant to this thesis. As this thesis aims to contribute to meso level development literature as discussed in Chapter 1 (1.2), it is important

that contemporary policies on migration and development as well as the engagements of migrants in both receiving and sending countries are discussed. Through such discussions, the chapter illuminates the what, the where and the when of such policies and critically assesses them in light of the concepts discussed in Chapter 2. This will help to understand the motivations behind such migration-for-development programs and practices at either the macro, meso and micro levels. Hence, I will discuss key policies and programs purporting to focus on national development. These policies and programs will cover IOs such as the World Bank and the United Nations (UN), key bi-regional agreements between the European Union (EU) and the African Union (AU) as well as crucial national policies of dominant receiving countries such as the UK, which is part of my case study. I will also discuss other key policies, practices and programs understood to improve meso level development in sending countries such as Mexico, Philippines and the Cameroun that have diverse stakeholder sponsorship and reflect the complexities of strategies adopted by migrants to engage the meso level back home. Lastly, I will review other strategies and channels that are used by the migrants to engage their rural communities. I will conclude the chapter by identifying the gaps in global, regional and national policies and suggest how this work intends to contribute to the imperativeness of meso level policy and engagement in global, regional, and national circles.

## 3.2 The International Development through Migration-for-Development Policies

Over decades of taking either a neutral stance or pessimistic one, the international community of IOs started investigating the impact of migration from a positive-developmental viewpoint. This is because, historically, IOs primarily focused their attention on forced migration resulting from inter/intra-country wars, human-made and natural disasters (IOM, 2018). Hence international policies such as the *Refugee Convention* were enacted to cater for the settlement,

protection and sustenance of affected people (UNHCR, 2018b, 2018a). It was not until the 1980s that the IOs revised its focus on migration to also include economic, family, education and social issues due to the visibility of the above on the international level (IOM, 2018). This new area of focus led to the modification of international agencies such as the International Organisation for Migration (IOM), which transitioned from an operational logistics agency to a humanistic agency, to support the complexities and diversity of migration issues (IOM, 2018). After IOs revision in the early 1980s to include support for the diversity and complexities of migration cases, they continued to be neutral in their resolve to the migration and development debate. For example, it was not until the end of the 1980s and the early 2000s that the World Bank and the UN respectively entered the discussion. I will be discussing key program and polices that purport to support meso level development in sending countries but are macro oriented and may not directly impact meso level development. Two of the programs, the World Bank's Knowledge for Development (K4D), and the UN/EU's Joint Migration and Development Initiative Migration4Development Programs (JMDI-M4D), are discussed.

### 3.2.1 The World Bank's K4D program

The World Bank has undertaken several initiatives and programs to facilitate its migration for development agenda incluing the K4D program although their earlier position on migration for development was pessimitic. In the late 1980s, the World Bank took a very sceptical viewpoint about migration and development (Martin, 1992). During that time, high numbers of highly skilled professionals, including medical doctors, teachers and nurses migrated from sending countries to receiving countries. This was a time when the economies of sending countries needed them most to help build an already impoverished economy, already dealing with political instability and the failure of IMF/World Bank economic programs, such as Structural

Adjustment Programs (SAP), Poverty Reduction Growth Facility (PRGP) and Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSP) in sending countries (Adepoju, 2000; Dovlo, 2003, 2007; Castles, 2004; Mensah, Mackintosh and Henry, 2005b). As a neoliberal institution with a key agenda to advise its member states to pursue policies that will bring economic development, it was in the right place to assess the rate of out-migration and its knock-on effect on the economy of member states (Sattaur, 1989; The World Bank, 1989a). Hence, programs such as the highly skilled migration initiatives of advanced economies that precipitated outward migration from sending countries with the potential of jeopardising their economic growth had to be curtailed (The World Bank, 1989b). In the late 1990s and early 2000s the Bank's position started to change. A recognition for diasporic contribution to homeland development started to trickle in from research-based works leading the bank to include diaspora development initiatives in the Bank's ongoing projects (Kuznetsov, 2006). In addition to these research-based works, streams of collated figures of monetary remittances received in sending countries also gave the World Bank a reason to rethink of its pursuit against brain drain, and to realise the potential of monetary remittances on the macro and micro economic development of sending countries[22]. These potential developmental impacts proposed by early neoclassical/neoliberal schools discussed in Chapter 2 (2.3), such as the developmentalist model of remittance impact on social groups RRR and URR (Djajić, 1986), may have started to reflect practically. The influences are evident in the many publications of pro-migration and development programs and reports published by the World Bank from the mid-2000s such as the World Bank's Moving for Prosperity Report in 2018[23]. To date, the World Bank positions itself as one of the leading

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[22] According to World Bank statistics, monetary remittance for instance to migrant sending countries have tripled within a span of 20 years, more stable and has over taken Overseas Development Assistance from donor countries (KNOMAD, 2016).
[23] See the World Bank (2018b).

research hubs and sponsors of policies and initiatives that could bring a win-win for both sending and receiving countries.

One program that the World Bank has implemented is K4D - a part of the World Bank's Comprehensive Development Framework (CDF). It was introduced in 1998 to address the 'unequal distribution in know-how (knowledge gaps) across and within countries and the difficulties posed by having incomplete knowledge of attributes' (The World Bank, 1998). One of the core sub programs of the K4D is the Knowledge Assessment Methodology (KAM), which has several components, including Knowledge Economy Index (KEI), assessing the preparedness of a country to produce and compete in knowledge enterprise relevant to their development[24]. To support countries with deficit in KEI a sub programme - Skills and Innovation Policy (SIP) was created to connect well performing institutions in sending countries with diaspora knowledge wealth and networks in the Global North. Under the SIP several strategies are adopted, one of which is the Diasporas of Highly Skilled and Migration Talent (Boyle and Ho, 2017). As part of the talent program, several indigenous capacities at the macro and grassroots level have been targeted in several countries including Chile, Mexico, El Salvador, South Africa, Armenia, India and so forth (Kuznetsov, 2013). One of such projects is the Global South Africa[25] which networks South Africans expats abroad and connects them with their homelands to support macro, meso and micro development initiatives spanning across different areas of specialization including health, media, telecommunication and business (The Global South Africa, 2010).

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[24] Further information can be found here http://data.worldbank.org/data-catalog/KEI 08/08/2020
[25] Further information on Global South Africa can be accessed https://globalsouthafricans.com/ 08/08/2020

### 3.2.2 The United Nation (UN) and European Union's (EU) JMDI-M4D Program

The UN and the EU have undertaken several joint projects of interest. However, this thesis will focus on the JMDI-M4D, since it's one of the projects that predominantly targets grassroots participations in sending countries. Historically, the UN has not been influenced by the migration and development debate from the 1950s to the 1990s in the way and manner the World Bank has. It was not until the new era, as defined in Chapter 2 (2.4), that the UN became involved in the debate. The first UN policy tied to migration and development was part of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) although this is not explicit. The SDG has 17 goals with a universal mandate to have all member states reach a level of development where they will be self-sustaining in providing the necessities of better livelihood and living conditions for their citizens by 2030. Besides SDGs, several resolutions including the formation of Global Forum for Migration and Development (GFMD) and the Global Compact for Migration have been successfully passed. The GFMD is a platform where several countries and non-governmental organisations voluntarily join hands and minds to mutually cooperate and enhance feasible migration and development outcomes (GFMD, 2017). Unlike the GFMD, the GCM's focuses 23 objectives which promotes safe, orderly and regular migration.

In the case of the EU, the effects of the Arab Spring and other civil unrests in the MENA countries precipitated the EU to start multiple partnerships between their regional blocs, transit and sending countries. Advocates for these partnerships refer to them as a collection of policies and partnerships leading towards *Triple Win Migration Partnerships and Policies* (Koenig, 2017). The creation of these policies replaced the previous EU migration policies that spanned over a decade, called the *EU's Win-Win External Migration Policy*. According to critics, the EU's Win-Win External Migration Policy did take into account the interests of the EU and

third country/regional blocs but not that of migrants. Hence, the creation of triple win policies was to improve the interest of inter-governmental/inter-regional relationships between the EU (win), third countries or regional bodies (win-win) and migrants/left-behind households[26] (win-win-win) (Piper, 2009; Koenig, 2017). Among the collection of the triple win policies are the *EU's Strategy with Africa-Dialogue with Regional Economic Communities in Africa* and the *Promotion of the migration and development agenda*. Both have an objective to bring the policies closer to key grassroots development initiatives such as the New Africa-Europe Alliance for Sustainable Investment in Jobs and a Trust Fund for the Sahel and Lake Chad region  (EEAS Press Team, 2018). Also the policies hope to contend with root causes of unwarranted migration and forced movement, promote lawful migration and mobility opportunities and allocate appropriate resources to grassroots that will need support in local developments (European Council, 2015).

Beside these individual policies and programs run by the UN and the EU, there are other programs, such as the JMDI-M4D program co run by the UN and EU. The program seeks to mobilise local and regional governments in both sending and receiving countries by creating a pool of small scale actors to foster and harness development through knowledge sharing in the areas such as social, economic, cultural and political capital (JMDI, 2016). The JMDI has a strong focus on the role migrants and small-scale actors play in migration for development and is funded from one of the five thematic programmes of the Development Cooperation Instrument (DCI): *"cooperation in the area of migration and asylum".* The 'JMDI recognises 'individual migrants and their associations, local authorities, civil society, NGOs, the private sector and the academic sector have become key actors in development cooperation. (JMDI,

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[26] The idea behind it is that although migrants and their household may not be on policy discussion tables, in principle, their interest was supposed to be on board.

2011). This has received support from the international community. The JMDI is a supporter of the bottom-up-approach in development and views development through the capacity building of people[27] as posited by works of Amartya Sen (Sen, 1999), and the human development approach (Nussbaum, 2011) as one of the most viable strategies. The program, which ran from 2007-2013 (phase 1) and 2012-2018 (phase 2) funded 51 projects in 16 countries with preference for projects that were implemented in areas experiencing high emigration rates, large immigrant populations or transitory migrant flows, and which address age and gender inequalities (Boyle and Ho, 2017). The phase 1 comprised building the social, financial, human, and cultural capital of migrants sending communities whereas Phase 2 sought to fund and continue a number of successful projects from the first phase. One of the projects was the Cape Verde multimedia centre, which was partnered by Associação Jovens Solidarios, Associazione di Promozione Sociale Lunaria, Associazione Donne Capoverdiane in Italia, Binario Etico in Italy. Through the use of recycled material and freeware software, the 2nd generation Cape Verdeans in Rome set up an ICT centre in Saõ Nicolau, a local island community in Cape Verde, for local youth. Through face to face meetings and quarterly study trips, the project enhanced the capacities transfer, exchange and collaboration between the youths concerned (JMDI, 2011)

### 3.2.3 The United Kingdom

In policy terms, the UK does not explicitly have any migration and development policy and does not universally align to the EU's, although in principle the UK adheres to the ideology (ECDPM and ICMPD, 2013a). About 20 years ago, the UK was not much enthused about the

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[27] In this case migrants and the left-behind

migration for development furore. The then-Secretary of State for International Development stated in a white paper that migration had its negatives and positives. Hence much importance should not be placed on it's negative or positive but instead on support developing countries to manage migration flows to their benefit by building on the skills of migrants already within the UK. This, according to the Secretary, promotes development in sending countries (Secretary of State for International Development 2013 p 175). Fast forward ten years, the Department for International Development (DFID) in the UK published several policy papers with the view of *Eliminating Poverty Worldwide* through migration (UKAID and DFID, 2009; Secretary of State for International Development, 2013). It was in line with this policy that projects such as '*Moving out of poverty- making migration better for the poor'* took off. The project focused on both internal and international migration for development in both sending and receiving countries (DFID, 2007). However, with the ascension of a new UK government in 2010, the policy focus changed, and a research consortium was tasked to rather investigate '*Migrating out of Poverty*' (MOOP) through an internal-south-south migration for development agenda. (van Hear, Bakewell and Long, 2012; Home Office/UK Border Agency, 2013; Research Programme Consortium, 2017). The UK government's efforts towards migration for development awaits the findings of the research consortium to better place their priorities.

Although the UK government does not have a policy on migration for development per se, there are several institutional supports from key UK governmental agencies such as the DFID, Foreign Affairs Home Office, and the Ministry of Justice. These institutions contribute towards migration for development (ECDPM and ICMPD, 2013b, 2013a; Home Office/UK Border Agency, 2013; Secretary of State for International Development, 2013). There is also policy support for both the EU's external migration policy and the UNHLD, which the Home Office

and the Foreign and Commonwealth Office respectively gives advisory contributions (ECDPM and ICMPD, 2013b).

In other areas, the UK has been very proactive in the operationalisation of migration and development. One of such is the Global Remittances Working Group (GRWG), an Inter-Agency Remittances Task Force which plays a vital role in supporting Consultative Group to Assist the Poor (CGAP). The UK holds the co-chair position in the Group. Through this role, the UK is contributing to building a technological programme from several types of research to analyse the possibility of branchless banking processes for migrants to remit money across countries (ECDPM and ICMPD, 2013b). The UK has also adopted an ethical code of practice for the international recruitment of healthcare workers in 2001 and revised it in 2004. This code was to reduce brain drain (Department of Health, 2004). It also forms part of the directive from the World Health Organisation (WHO) to stop international recruitment of healthcare workers from developing countries that are already encountering acute shortages of health care workers (WHO, 2010). Also, the UK funds several research programs, including the project '*Development Research Centre on Migration, Globalisation and Poverty'* a research that investigates poor migration policies among sending countries (ECDPM and ICMPD, 2013b). Through the funding from the UK, capacity building workshops and evidence-based research projects such as MOOP use common platforms to dialogue and discuss poverty and migration within regional and inter-continental areas (ECDPM and ICMPD, 2013b).

These programs have been used as case studies in scholarships to discuss some of the West's motivation and influence in developing Global South countries (Boyle and Ho, 2017). The IdEA and JMDI-M4D were both traditionally set up to focus on diaspora development in the

Global South. However, unlike the IdEA, which focuses on bonding US ideological development strategies between sending countries and their diaspora (GDIT, 2016), these three funded programs have multifaceted levels of impact, including macro, meso and even micro levels of development in sending countries, since they use diverse channels already set up within diaspora and migrant groups to reach different levels of sending countries. For instance, whilst IdEA, in addition to other areas of support, also funds community level projects in health and education it also supports micro areas, such as entrepreneurial development citizens of sending countries, with the aim of increasing the middle class worldwide (U.S. State Department, 2010, 2015).


### 3.2.4 Summary

The above discussed programs that fund and promote diaspora/migrants led initiatives in sending countries purport to bring development on different levels and, of more importance to this study, the meso level. However, such programs have been labelled by post-colonialist and advocates of sovereign and biopower as replicating Western ideas of development and shaping development to meet economic demands of Western nations and indirectly creating Western sovereignty in sending countries in a post-Washington consensus era (Boyle and Ho, 2017; Malone, 2020). Such critical positions limit the arguments of neo-classical and pluralists view on migrants' agency, be it planned household investment returns or individual migrants bringing development back home on their own accord. Hence, the ownership of projects and such initiatives is called into question regarding who actually drives and funds diaspora and migrant development projects in sending countries (Malone and Durden, 2018). Is it the West (former colonial powers), governments in sending countries or migrants without any influence and interference? Other scholarships have been less judgemental and have advocated that the

programs and projects undertaken by the diaspora are forming strong partnerships with governments of the Global South, due to neo-patrimonialism in parts of the world such as Africa (Davies, 2010). Other scholars have advocated that the merging of postcolonial and development studies could enable real poverty in developing countries to be tackled and reduced, if not eradicated, rather than looking at whose entitlement or ulterior motives it is behind diaspora engagement in development (Rajan, 1997; Sylvester, 1999; Tiwari, 2007).

As the '*defacto*' mother organisation of most IOs, regional blocs and countries, the UN expects other IOs and member states to follow suit with policies that can harness development through migration. For example, the International Labour Organisation (ILO), the International Monetary Fund (IMF), IOM and UNHCR have all been working within their unique and respective policies to foster migration and development in diverse programs and initiatives (Gamlen, 2010). However, a number of them such as the World Bank and IMF may be biased towards their neoliberal and capitalist fundamental political and economic ideology of understanding migration for development (Pender, 2001) Beside the ideological wars, other critics are rather concerned the lack of a unified single migration and development policy for all IOs breeds little success. According to Betts (2011 p 2), the 'complex and fragmented tapestry of overlapping, parallel and nested institutions', or as Gamlen (2011 p 266) rephrases it the 'multi-layered patchwork of institutions and practices below, above, and across the nation-state level', will yield not many positive results. Others scholars, such as Cohen (2009), recommend the creation of a World Migration Organisation, or at least the political will to create one, because many nation-states reject the IOM due its historical links with the Soviet Union.

However, these critical views may only be valid before 2016. This is because the recent events of the political declaration of GCM create a platform for some answers to resolving the past difficulties and differences that the '*multi-layered patchwork*' of IOs encountered. That is not to say that, with the ground-breaking political declaration of GCM, challenges have been levelled. There is stark reluctance from a number of UN member states to sign up to the GCM because international-level agreements operate with 'soft power' only, and nation-states are not compelled to sign up. Besides, GFMD and IOM are the few IOs with a sole policy focus on migration for development to dictate and determine migration policies. Such a move is regarded as interference in the national sovereignty of member states (Gamlen, 2010). Also, most states enact immigration policies towards vital national interest.  A typical example is the case of the UK. The changes in policy interest from the Blair government to the Cameron government is a typical case of how ideological positions play important roles in policy making. According to neoliberalists, it was these same reasons that convinced Kofi Annan, the then UN Secretary of State, to create the GCIM platform for discussions and deliberations, to even out differences and reservations around migration and development (Jenny, 2008). Hence, powerful international actors are agreeing to cooperate even when there are stark differences in policy priorities and an apparent absence of a single and coherent multilateral framework (Gamlen, 2014b).The inclusion of the UN in the migration for development agenda and its subsequent creation of a single political declaration for members states to support the GCM's '*safe, orderly and regular migration*' is a move in the right direction due to the 'neutrality' of the UN - at least in theory. It also shows the commitment of the UN to pursue an objective and neutral migration for development agenda with the collaboration of member state governments, and taking on board reservations, suggestions and contributions to continue further deliberations, changes and amendments to the GCM. As the UN is expected to seek and take an objective and unbiased position on development issues, it will be of global benefit if it leads

the pursuance of the migration and development agenda and presents neutral platforms for continuous dialogue among opposing views and scholarships alike.

It can be said that there is considerable work in progress within migration and development policies among regional and sub-regional bodies. However, the rise of populism, and the blame game that migrants are the reason for austerity measures in receiving countries, leaves room for further discussion on how these managed migration programs and policies will yield any positive impact (Erlanger, 2015; Anon, 2017). The above issue is not just with receiving countries, but also, a number of sending countries prefer to keep their crème de la crème to help build their economy, due to pessimism of brain drain, especially among the tiny countries in the Caribbean and Oceania such as Guyana and Fiji (Auriol and Sexton, 2002; Commander, Kangasniemi and Winters, 2004). For example, Guyana, a small country, has witnessed 70% of its highly educated populace migrate to the USA, a significant setback for their economy (Carrington and Detragiache, 1999). Every country wants the best out of migration. Hence the Global North may wish for the best brains from other countries to grace their shores and not just economic migrants with low or no human capital skills. Thus, mutually beneficial bilateral and multilateral agreements should continue to evolve taking into consideration all these structural challenges.

## 3.3 Meso Level Developmental Practices and Policies

A number of countries that are members of IOs, regional and sub-regional blocs also sit on committees and forums to discuss migration and development policies, agreements and dialogues on a multilateral level. In most of these multilateral agreements, it is incumbent on such member states to tailor their strategies toward any ratified multilateral agreement,

although not all member countries follow it due to the soft power of international agreements. It is in line with this that many countries, both sending and receiving, have taken some steps, although reluctant, to up their commitment to the migration and development agenda of the IOs and regional blocs. Besides, the turnout of events in terms of the monetary remmittance furore in the 2000s led governments to quickly jump on board the migration and development 'bandwagon' with the anticipation of reaping the developmental benefits of migration (Gamlen, 2010 p 231-2). I will review key migration for development policies of some dominant receiving and sending countries such as the US, Mexico and the Philippines and the Cameroun that impact meso level development in sending countries and critically discuss their motivations to engage in the migration for development practices.

As the optimist schools will argue that the above discussed programs and initiatives are solely for development purposes with no ulterior motives attached, other scholarships discussed in Chapter 2, such as the post colonialism (2.5.2) and Foucauldian governmentality (2.5.1), are not in agreement with such a position. For example, the post colonialist argues that these engagements are to replace the failed Washington consensus agenda in the Global South. Unlike the above sectional discussions, which purported to target international, regional and national and grass roots in harnessing diaspora development initiatives, this sections seeks to review initiatives and policies that are understood to be solely meso level focused and emanating from grass root ideas with the support of stakeholders, such as international development partners, regional governments, national government and Hometown Associations.

**3.3.1 Transnational Engagement in the Eyes of Governmentality**

*Mexico's '3x1 Program.'*

The Latin American and Caribbean Countries (LAC) and the Organisation of American States (OAS) have worked together to find ways in which migration policies could be used to enhance development in their region. As migration continues to be an important issue on the table for LAC and OAS, the Department of Social Development and Employment (DSDE) has been charged with the responsibility to coordinate and collaborate with LAC countries on migration and development programs. Also, the DSDE is required to report migration movements from the continent and their impact on the development of LAC member states[28]. Before the OAS's regional dialogue and collaboration of migration and development data, LAC's dominant sending countries, such as Mexico, had already taken steps to find active channels to foster migration and development into the municipalities and federal states. One such channel was the creation of the 3x1 program policy.

The 3x1 program, in simple terms, is the matching of every peso remitted by migrant associations towards development with a peso each from the federal, state and municipal governments (Arona and Gallegos, 2011; SEDISOL, 2011). So far, the 3x1 program has been a popular collective remittances policy in migration and development studies and one of the key strategies that have encouraged collective financial remittances to Mexico from other receiving countries (Maimbo and Ratha, 2005; Zamora, 2005; Aparicio and Meseguer, 2012; Délano, 2014). The initiative was pioneered in 1986 between HTAs in the USA with the state of Zacatecas in Mexico and by the 1990s, other states including Jalisco, Durango, Guerrero, and Guanajuato had joined (Iskander, 2010). In 2002, the then president of Mexico, Vicente Fox, who was also a former governor of Guanajuato, implemented the state level of the

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[28] The most recent was published seven years ago (OAS, 2011)

program and in his second year in office, extended it to the federal level. As it is known today, the Mexico 3x1, is administered by (SEDESOL), the Mexican Ministry of Social Development (Duquette-Rury, 2014). The initiative, which started with barely 20 HTAs in 8 US states, accomplished 247 projects in various communities. This number increased to 1000 HTAs in 40 US states, with 14636 completed projects by 2010 (Arona and Gallegos, 2011). The core projects, which include social infrastructure in high migration and poor Mexican communities, have witnessed a rise in the budgetary contribution from $424 million in 2002 to $1.7billion in 2008; a whopping 300% increase (Duquette-Rury, 2014).

### *The Philippines's Adopt a School Act 1998 and the GILAS Program*

Beside LAC, other regional blocs with predominant sending countries have also taken considerable steps in creating policies to attract migrants contribution towards economic growth (IOM, 2003). One example is the agreement of ASEAN countries, called the *Colombo Process*, a Regional Consultative Process that manages overseas employment and contractual labour for Asian countries (The Colombo Process Secretariat, 2003, 2004). There is also the Thematic Area Working Group on Remittances, the technical wing of the Colombo Process that feeds the ministerial conference with data on the inflow of financial remittances to member states with the aim of helping the Colombo Process meet their primary objective of *a safe, regular and managed migration: a win-win for all* (TWAG, 2018).

As one of the most populous migrant groups worldwide (McKenzie, Theoharides and Yang, 2014), Filipinos number over 10.2 million in the diaspora[29]. That is over 10% of the country's

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[29] For this and further statistics see http://cfo.gov.ph/statistics-2/ 01/11/2019

population. As a member of the Colombo Process, the Philippines have a well-structured government overseas institution called the Philippine Overseas Employment Administration and Commission on Filipinos Overseas (CFO) that manages labour exports and also maintains links with their diaspora communities (Castles, De Haas and Mark J Miller, 2014). In 1998, the Philippine government passed the 'Adopt a School Act 1998', which established the legal framework for the Adopt a School program to take effect. The idea was to 'provide quality and relevant education to Filipino youth and to encourage private initiative support in public education' (Chan Robels Virtual Law Library, 1998). The chief sponsoring targets were Filipinos overseas who were already into diverse social development programs. This Act has also drawn several Filipino associations to join the *Gearing up Internet Literacy and Access for Students* (GILAS), another educational infrastructural program which has seen to the establishment of computer labs in all the 5,789 public high schools in Filipino communities (Garchitorena, 2007). The Act has also attracted a lot of migrant associations' interest since it gives 150% tax incentive to overseas migrant associations willing to adopt and run public schools in various communities. So far over 5000 schools are being propped up, with financial investments by Philippine migrant associations, to the standards of schools in the developed countries (Garchitorena, 2007).

Mexico's 3x1 and the Philippines Adopt a School program are examples of programs that are run between migrants and their home governments. The key interest in these programs are the politics, the motives and the economics around such projects that are supposed to target meso level development with the view of bringing the meso to par or uniform development of the nation. Although these programs have been successful (Iskander, 2010; McKenzie and Yang, 2015), evidence from other works have also addressed a lack of migrant agency and national governments marginalising migrants in their resolve to bring development to their communities

(Malone and Durden, 2018). This calls into question the position of post-colonialists who claim Western governments influence migrant and diaspora transnational programs to control and shape development in sending countries in the post-Washington consensus world (Pellerin and Mullings, 2013). Although these programs, that have been purported to be successful, have led to replication in other countries not every community has witnessed such success. For instance, the 3x1 program did not experience that growth as anticipated in the Yucatan region due to mutation of the model and corruption practices (Malone and Durden, 2018).

Such findings shows that influence and motive when the concept of governmentality (Barry, Osborne and Rose, 1993; Dean, 1999; Larner and Walters, 2004) is applied to such programs, where especially sending governments are globalising their effort to reach out to distant subject and objects, such as their diaspora and migrant groups to pursue their development programs, which may seem to be migrant/diaspora led (Larner, 2007). In Portes, Escobar and Radford's (2007) work, they confirmed the strong state and federal governments' presence in these programs and how they played a vital role in shaping the kind of developments that take place on the State and municipal level.

### 3.3.2 Transnational (dis) Connections

Whereas the above have been strongly posited as either a post-colonial structure of engagement or Foucauldian governmentality, other works have articulated that several meso level engagements have been undertaken from a different perspective. Such perspectives inculcate a multi-stakeholder approach from a local-level human agency and a direct critique of post-colonialism, governmentality and transnationalism as a whole. The idea and potency of

transnational engagement and a global civil society pushing developments in sending countries have been ridiculed as 'Global (dis) connections' (Mercer, Page and Evans, 2009) where transnationalism has been very poor in supporting welfare development, especially on the meso level. Two crucial projects in countries such as the Cameroun are discussed below.

### *The Bali Water- by- Gravity Project and the Manyu Health and Social Projects in Cameroun*

In the Cameroun, two towns, Bali and Manyu, have two domestic or local HTAs. Bali Nyong'a Development and Cultural Association (BANDECA) and Manyu Elements Cultural Associations (MECA), respectively, have been leading meso level development in their communities with minimal help from their international sister companies - Bali Cultural and Development Association UK (BCDA-UK) and the Manyu Elements Cultural Associations UK (MECA-UK). Domestic HTAs in the Cameroun have been engaged with several welfare development projects, including social services such as education and burial services, in their home communities and surrounding towns for over 50 years (Page, 2007). Members of these associations are considered as part of the elites in these societies (Nkwi, 1997; Nyamnjoh and Rowlands, 1998). Two such projects, the *Bali water- by- gravity project* and the *Manyu Health and Social Projects*, were minimally funded by BCDA-UK and MECA-UK respectively.  The *Bali water- by- gravity project* was led by BANDECA, including stakeholders such as the Ministry of Mines, Water and Power and the Bali Rural Council. A total of 103.15 million CFA francs[30] was generated to complete the projects, with majority of the funds generated locally (Mercer, Page and Evans, 2008). The *Manyu Health projects* was coordinated by MECA, the local development association in Manyu, with minimal support from their sister organisation,

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[30] Approx. 140000 GBP

MECA-UK including the provision of E-Meditech, telemedicine, incubator, hospital beds, X-Ray machines, medicines and rehabilitation and equipping several hospitals. In addition to that, several nursery, primary and secondary schools have been refurbished, or built to meet the demand of Manyu and its neighbouring towns and villages (Mercer, Page and Evans, 2008).

In these Cameroonian projects, transnational engagement, or the role of a global civil society, be it influence from post-colonial structures, the neo-classical capitalist agenda or the pluralist position, failed to rise to the occasion. Complaints from Cameroonian domestic HTAs showcased how the sister HTAs in the diaspora were unwilling and sceptical of investing their finances and at times sent just a fraction of funds or materials to support the projects (Mercer, Page and Evans, 2008). According to Nyamnjoh (2005), Cameroonians originating from Bamenda town, but living in Whiteman country (the West), have not been forth coming with financing developmental investments and only do so when earning prestige, power and recognition is at stake. A similar scenario was found in Bali and Manyu (Mercer, Page and Evans, 2009). However, the cases of Bali and Manyu are not isolated. Similar projects undertaken in other parts of Africa, such as Tanzania, have been led by domestic HTAs in providing meso level developmental projects, such as educational infrastructure in Rungwe and Newala with no diaspora HTA support (Mercer, Page and Evans, 2008, 2009).

The above throws some light on the understanding of development works regarded as development from below (Portes, 1998; Smith and Guarnizo, 1998b; Mohan and Zack-Williams, 2002). As Mercer, Page and Evans (2009) posit, multiple spatial imageries merit attention to understand the complexities of migrant engagement with sending countries that are not necessarily international/diaspora led. Hence, such evidences decentre the notion of the Wests' influence and management of diaspora and migrant engagement in ending countries.

Other studies have also been very reluctant to use developmental works that were undertaken without the diaspora or migrants to confirm that locals have sometimes undertaken partnership and participatory projects either outside their will or forced to take part since such project are being done for their benefits. Hence transnational (dis) connections among others maybe a silent protest of the tyranny of participation that usually comes with transnational engagements (Mohan and Stokke, 2000; Cooke and Kothari, 2001; Mohan and Hickey, 2004; Hickey, 2011). Besides, works by Beauchemin and Schoumaker, (2009) in Burkina Faso also found that local or domestic HTAs tend to have stronger links with both sending country government and the rural people and also tend to have greater developmental success than their international counterpart.

### 3.3.3 Other Meso Level Engagements Strategies/Channels

Diaspora and migrant engagements initiatives can take different forms of approach, strategies and channels. It can be a form of a decentralized bottom-up approach whereby the diaspora reach out to their home country through diverse entry points, such as grass-root trans-local support of activities to foster socio-economic and political development (Boyle and Kitchin, 2013). It can also take the form of a centralised top-down approach whereby government agencies and foreign affairs units run programs and projects and invite the diaspora to invest in these projects back home in a form of Foreign Direct Investments (FDI) (Boyle and Kitchin, 2013). The third approach is the emigration state, where governments of sending countries reach out to their diaspora communities by enacting policies and programs to attract the diaspora in joining hands as partners in development back home (Gamlen, 2011). The diaspora, diaspora associations and governments of sending countries in the past have used these three approaches to undertake developmental initiatives through strategic channels, namely diaspora

advocacy and diplomacy, diaspora philanthropy, diaspora corps, diaspora knowledge networks, diaspora capital markets, diaspora monetary remittances, diaspora tourism, diaspora direct investment and return migration (Boyle and Kitchin, 2013) Three strategies that directly impact meso level developments in sending countries, diaspora philanthropy, diaspora advocacy and diplomacy and diaspora tourism, are discussed further.

### *Diaspora Philanthropy*

There are a number of philanthropic and goodwill engagements that the diaspora pursues in their countries of origin. Most of these projects are channelled through charities and religious organisations. There are also donations from diaspora communities to fund projects that are run by non-governmental organisations in sending countries. These donations are sometimes misconstrued to be financial remittances, but even though they are, the target is not households or individuals, but charity and religious organisations. In the Philippines for instance, a program called LINKAPIL (Link for Philippine Development Program), under the auspices of the Commission on Filipinos Overseas (CFO), oversee donations from the Filipino diaspora to NGOs and charity organisations back home (Licuanan, Omar Mahmoud and Steinmayr, 2015).

Similarly, most Burkinabe HTAs donate to philanthropic institutions back home. The HTAs are mostly based in Ivory Coast and Senegal and a handful in France. In addition, two main cities within Burkina Faso, Ouagadougou and Bobo-Dioulasso, have boasted of several domestic HTAs that have undertaken several philanthropic activities in their rural areas of origin (Beauchemin and Schoumaker, 2005, 2009). These associations, often referred to as migrant associations, have existed since French colonial times in cities and big towns in Burkina Faso (Skinner, 1974) . In Beauchemin and Schoumaker's (2009) quantitative study,

they found that between 1970 and 2000 the level of development among rural communities that had HTAs had considerably improved compared to those without or with less HTAs. Areas that were developed included clean drinking water, electrification, primary educational infrastructures, health centres and road infrastructures. These local developments by HTAs in Africa, have been seen as a way out for rural dwellers left out of the development pool by successive African governments (Honey, 1998).

### *Diaspora Advocacy and Diplomacy*

Diaspora communities also engage in the promotion of democratic governance practices in their countries of origin by way of sharing knowledge through capacity building programs, seminars and conferences targeted at political parties, social movements, pressure groups, civil societies and sometimes the public service (Østergaard-nielsen, 2003). One classic example is the initiative by Miraflores Development Community (MDC), an HTA formed by people originating from the town called Miraflores in the Dominican Republic, but living in Boston, MA. MDC engages in developing Miraflores and its surrounding villages and communities. Through these engagements, they changed undemocratic organisational practices of political parties within the locality to similar democratic methods to Boston. According to the president of Partido Revolucionario Dominicano (PRD), a political party in the Dominican Republic, campaigning has become more transparent and professional than it used to be in the past (Levitt, 1998).

Another interesting case under diaspora advocacy and diplomacy is the Cuban case. After trade and aid from the Soviet Union to Cuba ended and the world economy started moulding into a capitalist-based economy, Cuba had few options, such as their diaspora and tourism, to depend

on for hard currency to finance imports and investments (Eckstein, 2009). Cuba's reliance on financial remittances as hard currency did not only help individuals or household economies but also, the indirect spillover effect on political and social changes in the country. Eckstein (2009 p 1048) found 'the Castro-led government… exploit the generosity of the Cuban diaspora increasingly, at remittance recipients' expense, but also…. faced with unintended and undesired social, cultural, political and even economic consequences'. The whole idea of allowing remittance into a communist based economy was a suicidal act in terms of political ideology. This is because it denounces the very idea of equal access to a better life, which is usually controlled by the state. When financial remittances are allowed into a country, people with families abroad may benefit most, hence creating unequal capital. This meant, in the long term, there would be a political and ideological change since communism was no longer able to maintain its basic equality ideology.  Capitalism is gradually creeping into Cuban politics and economy; and with key trade embargoes lifted by the then Obama government, drastic changes from communism to capitalism will be inevitable (Kennedy, 2015).


Turning to sub-Saharan Africa (SSA), similar changes in political environments from undemocratic governments to democratic ones continue to take place. The continent witnessed a wave of transition from dictatorial military regimes to multi-party democracy in the late nineties (Haynes, 1993). Although it is well documented that the wave of these transitions was primarily due to pressure and influence from Western governments and international organisations, substantial weight and control were also exerted from the African diaspora in West who were back then political dissidents and asylum seekers from these dictatorial regimes (Akyeampong, 2000).

*Diaspora Tourism*

Heritage tourism, medical tourism and education tourism, to mention a few, are some of the programs the diaspora uses to visits their countries of origin. These trips boost and provide revenue for the local and national tourism industry and as well as providing hard foreign currency in the sending countries. Diaspora tourism in developing and emerging markets differs from country to country even though the majority of diaspora tourism falls under heritage tourism. Diaspora tourism is one of the oldest programs that bring foreign exchange into sending countries. For North African countries like Egypt, tourism is more focused on civilisation monuments while tourism in most of West Africa and Southern Africa focuses on the Transatlantic Slave Trade and Wildlife/ Eco-Tourism respectively. Other sending countries in Asia draw tourism to its Eastern religion and culture (Richter and Richter, 1985; Matthews, 1990). Among the heritage tourism mentioned above, West Africa records the highest diaspora tourist participants due to the yearning by African American and African Caribbean diaspora in the Americas to trace their ancestral roots. According to research by Bruner (1996 p 291), funds from diaspora tourism in Ghana, for instance, motivated a lot of local people to tap into this industry especially in the towns and villages where these heritage sites are located. This opens up economic avenues for Ghanaians as a route to economic development. Young people set up tourist guide businesses, and arts and craft businesses. Others convert their homes into hostels and motels. Diaspora tourism in Ghana has opened up opportunity for Ghanaians to tap into a flourishing business that may never end so long as African Americans and African-Caribbeans continue to procreate.

### 3.3.4 Summary

Beside diaspora tourism, which may have a different conceptual explanation of migration and development, the studies undertaken in the Philippines and Burkina Faso could be understood to have the theoretical leanings of NELM. Beauchemin and Schoumaker (2009) argue that diaspora engagement in rural Burkina Faso confirms aspects of the NELM's understanding of motivations to engage back home. They posit that 'migration is not simply the result of individual decisions aimed at maximizing personal benefits, but is much more the result of collective decisions aimed at overcoming market failures that threaten the material wellbeing of origin communities' (Beauchemin and Schoumaker, 2009 p 1899). This throws some light on the possibility for the extension of NELMs to include community.

However critics are also of the view that, migrants associations and their leaders practice clientelism in Francophone African countries, such as Burkina Faso, which impedes the progress and effectiveness of such projects on rural developments (Diawara, 1996; Mande, 1996). Critics have also lamented how sending countries also fall short of several negligences in institutional framework and robustness to support their diaspora, even when their diaspora are willing to remit their support. Issues, such as corruption, nepotism and unnecessary bureaucracy among others, are used to frustrate diaspora when they try to engage back home (Carling, 2008). Other constraints, including high taxes, for instance in the Philippines popularly called *State Exactions*, a double taxation on philanthropic donations and materials earmarked for philanthropic projects, pile a heap of constraints and unwillingness for migrants to join the migration and development agenda (Rodriguez, 2002). Such actions have also led migrant associations to have issues of trust with stakeholders in many sending countries (Blion and Bredeloup, 1997; Kandilige, 2017).

**3.4 Conclusion**

In sum, this chapter reviewed key migration and development policies and practices of IOs, regional blocs, national governments and HTAs. The dynamism of some of these policies can be said to be tailored to the ideologies of migration and development concepts reviewed in Chapter 2. The policies reviewed also illuminate the level of commitment that IOs, regional, national governments and HTAs have invested in migration and development especially in recent years. This also confirms the changing discourses and complexities of migration and development and their purported conceptual motivations of such policies and practices. These have subsequently led the international community and majority of the member states of IOs and regional blocs to incorporate aspects, if not all, of these policies. However, more needs to be done if policy makers want to make the best out of migration.

One way is the inclusion of global policy that targets the contributions made by the diaspora towards meso level development of their country of origin. Per the discussed sections in this chapter, beside the landmark EU's triple win policy, which was a recent revision, most regional and global policies have not been very clear on their policy, especially in terms of the inclusion of the meso. Such global, regional and national policies target the macro with the view of having a spill-over effect on the meso and micro of sending countries. Although national governments including Mexico, and the Philippines have made efforts to direct specific programs to the meso by creating policies to embrace diaspora engagement, these are little noticed on the global stage. Hence meso level development through diaspora engagement needs to equally have the level of attention and importance given to macro and micro on the global stage. This is because the motivations to migrate and engage may exceed the confines of the

conceptual discussions reviewed in Chapter 2. Hence, these motivations to engage on the meso level back home need to be investigated to give clearer and better understanding of the importance and the need for meso level engagement policies. This requires further research to give empirical basis to push international, regional and national policy in that direction, as past literatures have seldom done. Hence, just as the EU have invoked its three-pronged win policy, which include migrant household/community as equally part of the development levels, so must further empirical work be undertaken to illuminate the motivations for meso level development through diaspora engagement.

It is against this backdrop that this thesis, as already iterated in Chapter 1 (2), seeks to shed light on the role of socio-psychological theories to help explain the crucial motivational factors that obligate Ghanaian migrants to engage on the meso level. In the next chapter, I discuss these socio-psychological theories as an analytical toolkit that will be used to help explain my study.

# Chapter 4 – Socio-Psychological Concepts

## 4.1 Introduction

As discussed in the introduction sections (1.2) migration and development works have seldom addressed three issues. The first is the discussion of an adequate conceptual explanation that captures contextual migrant motivations, such as socio-cultural and psychological features, to engage on the communal/meso level in key sending countries like Ghana. The second is that there is limited literature covering meso level engagement strategies, such as between Ghana and the UK, which can inform and shape meso level policies in Ghana. The third is that literature concerning Ghanaian migrants in the UK and their collective engagements for the wellbeing of their respective hometowns and other towns back home were barely discussed in migration and development literatures.

Although socio-psychological concepts have been used to explain migration and development studies, a good number of them focused on areas including the identity experiences of migrants in receiving countries in modern times (Agnew, 2005; Bhatia and Ram, 2009; Binks and Ferguson, 2014; Parladir and Ozkan, 2014; Story and Walker, 2016). Others focused on belonging, the socio-psychological effect of discrimination on migrants, intergroup and inter-cultural dynamics that push migrants to cling and clinch to each other for support in receiving countries (Lotfalian, 1996; Lee *et al.*, 2007; Hunt *et al.*, 2009).

Hence, this chapter seeks to address the first gap by introducing seldom used socio-psychological concepts that can help explain contextual migrant motivations such as socio-cultural and psychological features to undertake meso level engagements. The chapter also hopes to contribute to the migration and development nexus by discussing the nuances motivating migrants' engagement back home using socio-psychological concepts. I also discuss key critiques and limitations of these socio-psychological concepts and argue that their adoption is adequately suited as an analytical toolkit for my study. In addition, these concepts will help address key conceptual pieces of the sub questions of this study: (1) - the motivations behind Ghanaian HTA to engage on the meso level, (2) - the channels and strategies they adopt to undertake such engagement (3) - the perceptions of their role in Ghana.

Regarding the introduction of an adequate conceptual framework, my literature review of Chapter 2 showed that conceptual explanations for migrants' motivations to engage back home has been dominated by economic and geographical disciplines as well as structural and post structural concepts. Although these concepts play key role in explaining aspects of migrant's motivations to engage back home, they fail to capture key socio-cultural and psychological aspects that motivate migrants to engage on the meso level back home as evidenced in Chapter 2. Prominent among the economic theories discussed include neoclassical theories (Sjaastad, 1962; Harris and Todaro, 1970; Borjas, 1989), developmentalist model (Djajić, 1986), the pluralist approach (Stark and Bloom, 1985; Levitt, 1998; Smith and Guarnizo, 1998b) world systems theory (Wallerstein, 1974, 1980), dependency theory (Frank, 1966, 1969) cumulative causation theory (Myrdal, 1957), governmentality (Larner, 2007), postcolonialism (Said, 1978), as well as other traditional migration theories not discussed in this thesis, such as the push and pull models of migration (Ravenstein, 1885, 1889; Lee, 1966). As these dominant concepts fall short of explaining the critical gaps addressed earlier, it will be prudent if the

interdisciplinarity in migration studies is further extended to include other socio-psychological disciplines discussed in the sections 4.3, 4.4 and 4.5. Such a process will encourage migration and development scholars to weave through and borrow concepts from other social science disciplines to address crucial gaps in migration and development.

Beside my call for continuous and further extension in interdisciplinarity to help explain contextual meso level engagement, similar calls have been made by established migration scholars. De Haas (2014 p15), for example, argues that for us to better understand the complexities of migration studies, interdisciplinarity needs to be adopted and that 'real interdisciplinarity can only be achieved if social scientists make an active effort to see the world through the eyes of other disciplines'. Also, other disciplines have advocated for a multidisciplinary approach in areas such as international development (Hammett and Grugel, 2016), where migrants' transnational activities are regarded as a key part of international development (Skeldon, 2008; Vargas-Silva, 2011).

In this spirit of pursuing interdisciplinarity to help explain migrants' motivation towards meso level transnational engagements, I will draw on three groups of conceptual frameworks. In the first group of concepts, I seek to extend and also apply key migration perspectives, such as family/household livelihood perspective, to address motivations for HTAs to engage or develop the communal or meso level. In order to make the family/household livelihood perspective relevant to the communal level engagements, I will also consider a second group, which is a set of socio-psychological theories, such as communal relationship theory, exchange relationship theory and individual or group self-centeredness concept, to address the multifaceted nature of HTA motivational engagement on the meso level back home. This

aforementioned set of concepts are reviewed from sections 4.2 to 4.5 and will be applied to my dataset in the findings Chapter 8. The third group is the role-set theory. This sociological theory is adopted to specifically help explain the perspectives of HTA members and project recipients about migrants expected roles in their communities and the strategies HTAs adopt to fulfil such roles. The role-set theory will be applied in my dataset findings in Chapter 9.

The reason for selecting these socio-psychological and sociological theories is that they can implicitly and explicitly address HTA engagement from a purely human engagement framework, which is socially constructed to explain the motivations and perspectives underpinning people's pursuit to undertake communal good. As a socio-psychological perspective, these concepts are able to capture the socio-cultural and psychological nuances, dynamism and different narratives of migrants' actions and behaviour that traditional migration concepts, which were originally carved out of economics and geography disciplines, are not able to fully capture. A focus on such actions, activities and engagement back home, leaves me with few options other than borrowing such concepts as aforementioned to help explain the contextual meso level transnational activities and the motivations behind Ghanaian HTA's engagements.

In the area of meso level impact of migrant engagement, a concept can only make meaning when the motivations behind these meso level engagements are well understood. These motivations can be better explained by understanding migrants' worldview and why they engage on the meso. For example, in the case of Africa, West Africa, and for that matter Ghana, which is further discussed in Chapter 5 (5.7), their worldview of development is embedded in a communalistic understanding of development, whereby personhood and self-actualisation is

embedded in the general wellbeing of kinship, extended families and community as prescribed in their social-cultural norms (Wiredu and Gyekye, 1992; Wiredu, 2009; Yarrow, 2011; Kutsoati and Morck, 2012; Nave, 2015, 2016). It is in light of these socio-cultural norms that adopting socio-psychological theories can help explain the motivation for migrants to engage on the meso level.

## 4.2 Family/household Livelihood- An Extended Perspective

As discussed in Chapter 2 (2.4.1(i)), one of the well documented socio-economic lenses drawn on to explain migrants' motivation to engage on the micro level is the NELM. Within this concept rests the family livelihood perspective, advanced by the pluralist school (Stark and Bloom, 1985; De Haan, 2002; De Haas, 2012b). Family/household livelihood perspectives posit that the motivation for migrants' engagement back home is to support their left-behind household/family. This is because the decision to migrate does not solely depend on the individual alone. Rather, and in most cases, it is a household's decision for migrants to migrate (McDowell and De Haan, 1997; De Haan *et al.*, 2000; De Haan, 2002). Such decisions come about when families or households that are relatively deprived in income devise ways to find alternative solutions to their economically deprived situations (Stark and Bloom, 1985; De Haas, 2010a). In such instances, households or families spread economic risks by adopting migration as a strategy and as an alternative investment option. Such an economic and investment strategy is more likely when households and families are from non-elite groups and have limited pre-requisite to access capital from 'imperfect credit (capital) and risk (insurance) markets that prevail in most developing countries' (De Haas, 2007 p 51). Thus, migration becomes a source of income whereby migrants remit their acquired savings from receiving

countries to their households in sending countries, especially in times of economic uncertainties such as unemployment (Stark, 1980; Stark and Dorn, 2013).

### 4.2.1 Discussion

Scholars have critiqued the family/household livelihood perspective as a perspective based on assumption which hopes that households are rational groups holding on to an enduring optimisation plan (De Haas, 2014). Other critics have questioned the power relations, gender issues and unequal distribution of resources within the households as an area that needs to be further investigated if the household is used as the unit of analysis in family livelihood development (Folbre, 1986; Evans, 1991; Mcdowell and Haan, 1997; Beall and Kanji, 1999).

As this perspective is limited to household/family livelihood, I wish to refine and advance it to include the larger picture of communal livelihood when applying it to Ghana, and for that matter, many African countries. This is important due to the socio-cultural understanding of meso/communal level development embedded in the social systems of Ghana and many African countries. As migrants are expected to support their households due to the investments made in them by their households, it is imperative to know that lineage, kinship and family in Ghana are very important and embedded in their social systems (Nukunya, 2003; Nave, 2016). Moreover, family systems in this regard are extended and not necessarily nuclear in orientation and ideology (Oppong, 2001; Nukunya, 2003; Kandilige, 2012), although recent developments including migration, urbanisation and austerity have challenged the physical make-up of the extended family (Agyemang, Asamoah and Obodai, 2018). In addition to the above, the original composition of towns and villages in Ghana are understood to have been historically

resident to members of a shared lineage (Kludze, 1983), as discussed in Chapter 5 (5.7). For that reason migrants may have to support developments on the communal level to benefit their households/families, which are extended and intertwined or interrelated in the cluster of different households in the same community or hometown. Such developmental examples could be infrastructural developments, such as electrification projects, schools, clean water projects, building hospitals and so forth in the towns where migrants originate. Besides, such projects could also be either undertaken by individual migrants, or a collective group of migrants such as HTAs, since members originate from the same place and have extended families residing in these hometowns. Hence familial motivation may drive Ghanaians abroad to undertake projects that benefit their extended families, which per their social systems, spread across their hometown and perhaps neighbouring communities.

## 4.3 Communal and Exchange Relationship Theory

Communal and exchange relationship theories were first advanced in the works of Clark and Mills'(1979). The theories have been widely applied to socio-psychological actions of people and their society for some time now. I discuss the tenets of each theory in separate sections and discuss their criticisms and the reasons why they are drawn upon to analyse my dataset in the findings chapter 8.

### 4.3.1 Communal Relationship

The second theory adopted to help explain the motivations for meso level development will be communal relationship theory. It is one of the socio-psychological theories that help explain why people benefit from others (Clark and Mills, 1979; Clark, 1981; Mills and Clark, 1982).

In this theory, Clark and Mills (1979) posit that recipients (which in this case will be the left behind families of migrants, hometown and even at times non hometown members) who may benefit from the acts of people (in this case transnational activities of migrants) have no obligation to reciprocate due to the belief that:

Members of a communal relationship are concerned about the welfare of the other…. [hence members have] a positive attitude toward benefiting the other when a need for a benefit exist (Clark and Mills, 1979 p13).

This type of positive attitude, expressed by the members of the community of which the migrant or migrants are part, is continuously expressed through their migrants' transnational engagements as a sign of what Pruitt (1972) refers to as 'norm of mutual responsiveness'; a crucial aspect of the communal relationship theory. According to Mills and Clark (1982, 1988), these non-reciprocal acts normally take place between important relationships. However, the degree of help is determined in two ways. Firstly, in terms of the cost that one is prepared to incur on the beneficiary's needs without any expectation of reciprocal benefit from what has been incurred. Secondly, in terms of whose needs take precedence assuming needs of beneficiaries conflict but are equal (Clark and Mills, 1993). In their work, Clark and Mills (1979) found that the demands of biological relatives are the most important, followed by members of the same community, friends, amongst others. The weakest were strangers who had no ties or relationship with the benefactor. That said, in the scenarios whereby a person of a weak link or no relations receive a benefit with no expectance of reciprocity then the cost involved is usually negligible or at a low expense to the benefactor (Clark, Mills and Powell, 1986; Clark and Taraban, 1991; Clark and Mills, 1993; Clark, Dubash and Mills, 1998).

### 4.3.2 Exchange Relationship Theory

Exchange relationship theory also helps explain other reasons why people (in this case migrants or community members) may engage in welfare acts. Unlike communal relationships, exchange relationships posit that a benefactor such as community members, households and migrants would normally expect a comparable type of benefit or gift from the beneficiary, which could be community members, households or even migrants themselves. Hence, an act of reciprocity is by norm expected from the beneficiary in different forms or ways (Clark and Mills, 1979; Clark, 1984). The theory also holds that contributions or benefits from benefactor or beneficiary can also be an act of reciprocity to an act of giving that might have happened in the past (Clark and Mills, 1993). The theory further posits that giving does not create a specific debt or obligation but rather it is seen and understood by the parties that to reciprocate is a sign or a gesture of appreciation of moral value and essence (Batson, 1993; Clark and Mills, 1993).

### 4.3.3 Discussion

The position of communal and exchange relationship theories has also been challenged by scholars. One of its strong critics rejects the theory in its entirety as not being scientific enough. This is because, rather than using real life scenarios to develop their theories on casual and close relationships, these theories were developed with experimental laboratory manipulations between male and female undergraduate students (Batson, 1993). The second criticism is that communal and exchange relationship theories are both based on quid quo pro, meaning exchange relationship principles may persist in communal relationship principles (Burgess and Huston, 1979) since there is the possibility that a communal relationship in itself maybe an act

of reciprocity. Other critics such as Blau (1955) Walster, Berscheid and Walster (1973) and Altman and Taylor (1973) have iterated similar opinions, stating that exchange relationships maybe present in communal relationships but in subtle forms such as being happy to see the other's wellbeing or happiness (Batson, 1993). The third criticism is the unrealistic and over-altruistic position of communal relationship. For critics, there is always a motivation and a reason of gain even when people are altruistic (Burgess and Huston, 1979; Brown, 1986; Duck, 1988). However, other works, including Johnson and Grimm (2010) have found exchange and communal relationship to be separate and distinct concepts that help explain reasons and the motivations why people benefit from people or support people. Their findings corroborate Clark and Mills' (1979) original work and add extra layers of explanation, such as acts or donations undertaken by benefactors that are also a mix of intrinsic, extrinsic and social motivations, which appear to be separate in both communal and exchange relationship theories (Johnson and Grimm, 2010).

Examining these concepts with Ghanaian HTAs' transnational activities on the meso level in Chapter 8, I will incorporate the norms of family, kinship, common lineage and also the need to sometimes support people of other towns in Ghana which are discussed in Chapter 5 (5.7). These social norms play a crucial role behind the reason why communal and exchange relationship theories help explain the motivation for the Ghanaian migrant to engage on the meso/communal level. Two of such are relevant here. First, the historical common lineage that towns have had in the past means that people originating from the same town  or neighbouring towns believe that they have a common ancestor and hence a strong belief in communalism or communalistic tendencies (Yarrow, 2011; Nave, 2015, 2016). The second is the Ghanaian societal worldview that personhood can only be actualised when the general good of the community of persons are in symmetry with one's development (Wiredu and Gyekye, 1992).

In other words, communal wellbeing is of equal importance to the wellbeing of the individual. Hence, Ghanaians wherever they are may view the wellbeing of the communities back home as equally important to their wellbeing. It very important to note that this point also applies to communities that are not necessarily the migrants' hometown but other communities in need of support in Ghana. Although urbanisation, migration and economic austerity, as discussed earlier, have played a significant role in eroding these norms, community members of good financial and economic capability such as the Ghanaian migrant may still undertake key communal development projects. Such a communalistic understanding of people with a common historical lineage and kinship is not just a practice that started today but has been passed down through generations (Wiredu and Gyekye, 1992; Wiredu, 2009).

Besides, the members of the community may also expect such meso level development from their citizens abroad. Such acts fulfil both communal and exchange relationship. In terms of communal relationship, it suffices because the members of the community are part of the historical common lineage and kinship, hence they are by norm and custom members of an extended family network as discussed in section 4.2. However, in relation to exchange relationship, these acts of transnational engagement are also an expectation undertaken by the Ghanaian migrant for the good of the community and contributes to the self-actualisation of the Ghanaian migrant.

Apart from communal and exchange relationship theories, there are other salient interpretive perspectives that may help explain the motivation for Ghanaian migrants to engage on the meso level. Among them is individual/ group self-centeredness concept.

## 4.4. Individual or Group Self-Centeredness Concept

Self-centeredness is a socio-psychological theory used to explain the 'behaviour, motivation, cognition, emotions, and affections of people that allows the self to take the central precedence and gain over others' (Ricard and Dambrun, 2011 p140). According to the concept, self-centred people can act in a conspicuous way to achieve a gain, since they consider their condition to be of utmost importance than that of others. Hence, satisfying the self takes unquestionable priority over anything else. Similarly, group self-centeredness concept is defined within the same confines of individual self-centeredness concept, except that group self-centeredness extends the concept of self-centeredness to a group and explains its actions and differences within what the group regards as in-group versus out-group priorities. These priorities are invoked by the group to fulfil their interests without considering the importance of the people outside the group (Bizumic and Duckitt, 2007).

### 4.4.1 Discussion

Unlike pre 1990s socio-psychological concepts that focused on the negativity of human behaviour and actions as well as its effect on the other (Simonton and Baumeister, 2005), contemporary socio-psychological concepts such as individual and group self-centeredness promote the socio-psychological understanding of human behaviour. These contemporary concepts also discuss the positive effect on the wellbeing and happiness of the perpetrator and not the negative effect on the other (Seligman and Csikszentmihalyi, 2000; Csikszentmihalyi and Hunter, 2003; Ricard and Dambrun, 2011). Contemporary individual and group self-centeredness theorists for example, adopt a position with emphasis on the promotion of one's own welfare and contentment as the reason for one's own actions (Seligman and Csikszentmihalyi, 2000; Csikszentmihalyi and Hunter, 2003). Other scholars such as Tien

(2012) have also used the self-centeredness approach to explain actions pertaining to self-interest, but from a perceived cultural context and not as holistic in approach as individual and group self-centeredness concept does. One advantage of using the individual and group self-centeredness concept is that it draws on the applicability to other cultural contexts. As (Ricard and Dambrun (2011 p 138) for instance argue, the concept:

> Lies at the crossroad of different disciplines. It aims to integrate knowledge from Western psychology and philosophy (i.e., social and cognitive psychology, intercultural psychology, developmental psychology, philosophy of the mind), with insights derived from Eastern traditions.

Nevertheless, self-centeredness and its linguistic permutations have been heavily criticised by scholars for not going far enough with its positive posturing and meaning due to its evaluative and self-judgemental nature. Scholars have argued for further scientific explanation of inward looking actions that benefit oneself to be promoted in scholarships (Neff, 2003). Critics are of the view that concepts such as self-compassion are linguistically less evaluative and judgemental than individual and group self-centeredness. For instance, self-compassion concepts posit that the action of individuals:

> Involves being touched by and open to one's suffering, not avoiding or disconnecting from it, generating the desire to alleviate one's suffering and to heal oneself with kindness….. self compassion involves offering a non-judgmental understanding of one's pain, inadequacies and failures, so that one's experience is seen as part of the larger human experience (Neff, 2003 p 87).

Although critics find the individual and group centeredness concept judgemental and evaluative, it is set up on a broad and holistic base to capture and consider together the intercultural aspects of people's social psychology and other salient but different characteristics such as 'biased self-interest, egoism, ego- centrism, and egotism' (Ricard and Dambrun, 2011 p 140). Such a holistic broad approach helps to illuminate the meanings and motivations behind people's actions and also aids scholars to understand human actions from a contextual perspective.

In view of the above, it gives me the lens to enquire about the other intrinsic motivations behind the transnational activities of Ghanaians abroad on the meso level that may not be primarily linked to their socio-cultural norms, social system and worldview. Unlike family/household perspectives and communal and exchange relationship theories which will seek to analyse the meso level transnational engagements of the Ghanaians abroad with Ghanaian social norms, customs and traditions, the individual and group self-centeredness concept will focus its attention on the transnational activities of Ghanaians abroad from the implicit and explicit responses of respondents and observations. Hence, it seeks to be used as a lens to interpret my data, by revealing especially the implied and obvious aspects of the data relating to the understanding that motivate Ghanaians abroad to undertake activities on the meso/communal level.

## 4.5 Role-Set Theory

Role-set is a sociological theory that attempts to explain the roles and statuses comprising the primary building blocks of a social structure. The theory posits that in every social system,

'statuses' are designated positions aligned with roles. These 'roles' are a set of expectant responsibilities of a status occupant, which in this thesis are represented by Ghanaians abroad, the government and community leaders. The theory further argues that every *person* in every society inevitably holds various *statuses* associated with multiple *roles* (Merton, 1957; Merton, Reader and Kendall, 1957; Mead, 1967). According to Merton (1957 p113-17), the roles undertaken by status occupants are characterised in six tenets which I discuss below:

1. The tenet - *relative importance of various statuses* help explain that individuals have many statuses within a social structure. Among these statuses, some are regarded as of more relevance to others. For example, family and job responsibilities may be more important and central to status occupants than responsibilities in a leisure club. That said, the hierarchy of importance may not be universal but relative to the status occupant and that of the social structure in question (Barber, 1950).

2. The tenet- *differences of power of those in the role-set* argues that there is distribution of power and authority among the status occupants within a role-set. This distribution of power helps stabilise the role-set. By power, the concept means the capacity possessed by someone to impose his/her will on social activity. These powers are legitimised and accepted by the society that status occupants account to. The distribution and differences in power help curb any avenues that status occupants might monopolise over others in the role-set (Merton, 1957).

3. The tenet- *insulation of role-activities from observability by members of the role-set* helps explain the social mechanism within the role-set. The tenet posits that interactions between members of the role-set are not always fluid. This is because structures within the society sometimes insulate some of the activities of status-occupants from the knowledge of others in the role-set. For example, privileges to information and

confidentiality that certain status-occupants are privy to are not always shared (Merton, 1957, 1968).

4. In the tenet- *observability of conflicting demands by members of a role-set*, status occupants may at times encounter diverging, conflicting and even contradictory demands from members of the role-set. In such instances, status occupants cannot be accountable for such failures due to conflicting expectations from members of the role-set. Instead, role-set members resolve such conflicting demands among themselves (Merton, 1957).

5. *Mutual social support among status-occupants*: Although the insulation of activities by members and conflicting demands may be important tenets within the role-set, there is also constant support among status occupants. Being aware of potential problems, including coping with conflicting demands of the members, status occupants mutually provide support among themselves (Merton, 1957).

6. The Last tenet is *abridging the role-set.* There is always the possibility for status occupants to discontinue a role if coping with the demands by members of the role-set are incompatible. Discontinuation of such role is utilised under specialised conditions where status occupants have the option to perform other roles. It is important to know that the composition of the role-set is usually not a personal choice but a social setting in which status occupants are expected to perform their role. Thus, the social structure will remain and evolve to function even if status occupants discontinue their responsibilities or roles (Merton, 1957).

**4.5.1 Discussion**

Several sociological and psychological theories have been developed to critique role-set theory with the assumption that such theories can better explain roles in social structures. One of these is role theory (Goffman, 1961; Biddle, 1986). According role theorists, theorising roles should encompass several contributory derivatives and perspectives such as *functional role theory, symbolic interactionist role theory, structural role theory, organisational role theory and cognitive role theory* (Biddle, 1976, 1986). Hence, treating roles in society under one umbrella, as done by role-set for instance, is functionally cumbersome and unrealistic (Biddle, 1976, 1986). These deviations have tried to understand roles in society from different perspective rather than a set of tenets as done by role-set.

However, such criticisms have been described as reducing roles into a mere expression rather than a distinctive theoretical orientation (Biddle, 1986). Also, disagreements among role theorists continues to exist, especially in terms of terminology rather than substantive matters; whereas some of these scholars adopt roles as scripts for social behaviour (Zurcher, 1983), others, such as Burt (1976, 1982) and Winship and Mandel (1983), have respectively referred to roles as characteristic conduct and nominated social parts that are played. These have led to confusion, mal-integration and definition crises of role theory (Biddle, 1986). On the contrary, role-set theory takes a holistic approach to examine the functions and structural constraints that status occupants within a role-set encounter. Through its six characteristic tenets, it holistically incorporates but also critically explains and acknowledges conflicts and disagreements and how they are resolved by members of a role-set. Role-set also posits that roles are status-based. Meaning, roles are played by status-occupants within social structures, thus making role-set theory applicable to contextual situations irrespective of the society to which it is applied.

Role-set theory helps explain the several statuses held by status occupants in Ghanaian social structures, such as the government, traditional chiefs and project beneficairies and the Ghanaians abroad. As status occupants, the above entities are expected to undertake the roles that their respective societies requires of them. Although these roles are not obligatory, they are morally judged by other entities within the social structure as posited by role-set theory. To meet such moral expectations, status occupants such as Ghanaians abroad and other entities within the social structure will have to pursue their responsibilities. Like the family/household livelihood perspective and comunal and exchange relationship theories, role-set theory helps us to understand the reason behind the role of the Ghanaians abroad, which is normatively expressed in the social norms of Ghanaians as an expectant role. As status occupants in a society where the communalistic wellbeing of members are primed as important as one's development, much can be expected from them due to the understanding of self-actualisation in personhood and familial communalism (Wiredu and Gyekye, 1992; Yarrow, 2011; Nave, 2016). Hence, people of good economic standing are expected to assume a status occupancy where their wealth is expected to finance themselves and the total wellbeing of their communities irrespective of where one currently resides.

## 4.6 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the sociological and psychological theories which will be utilised to help analyse my data in Chapters 8 and 9. They were specifically adopted to firstly address the conceptual underpinnings of my case study, which investigates and contributes to explaining the motivations for Ghanaians abroad to engage on the meso/communal level. Hence, there was the need for the introduction of theories from non-traditional migration studies, namely communal and exchange relationship theory, individual and group self-

centeredness and role-set theory as well as an extended version of the family/household livelihood perspective (a migration studies theory) to include communal levelihood. These theories were needed as an analytical toolkit and a lens to help explain the contextual socio-cultural norms and socio-psychological elements that may underpin the motivations that drive Ghanaians abroad to undertake meso level engagements back home, which traditional migration theories discussed in Chapter 2 could not persuasively explain.

In the next chapter, I will be discussing key Ghanaian migration trends to the UK and other parts of the world, key socio-cultural understanding of Ghanaians social systems and how they inform Ghanaian transnationalism and the strategies adopted for such transnational engagements in Ghana.

# Chapter 5 – Ghana – A Review

## 5.1 Introduction

Having discussed conceptual and policy frameworks on migration and development in the previous chapters, this chapter discusses contextual literature on Ghanaian migration and its place within the migration-development nexus. I start with an overview of Ghanaian migration and then proceed with the significant causes of these migrations. I also discuss the salient transnational lives, strategies and policies adopted by Ghanaians abroad and the Ghanaian government, and discuss them with key socio-cultural norms, values and customs of their understanding of family, kinship and community wellbeing, and how these fall within the concept of obligation to engage back home. I further discuss the key gaps emerging from these literatures and the ways in which this research will seek to address them. I conclude the chapter with a summary of the main areas discussed and introduce the methodology chapter.

## 5.2 Brief Background of Ghana as a Country

Ghana is in the western part of Africa. It shares its South border with the Gulf of Guinea, the East border with Togo, its North border with Burkina Faso and its West border with Ivory Coast. According to the last census in 2010, Ghana's population was 24,658,823, but this was set to increase to 28,308,301 in 2016 as per the projections of the Ghana Statistical Services (GSS)[31]. Ghana's population comprises several ethnic groups; dominant among them is the *Akan* group, accounting for almost 50 per cent of the population with nine dialectal subethnic

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[31] http://www.statsghana.gov.gh/docfiles/2010phc/Projected%20population%20by%20sex%202010%20-%202016.pdf 20/11/2016.

groups[32]. The remaining groups are *the Mole Dagbani, the Ewes, the Ga-Adangbe, the Guans* and other small ethnic groups. Accra is the capital city of Ghana. Other major cities include Kumasi, Tamale and Sunyani. Ghana, formerly called Gold Coast under British colonial rule attained independence on the 6th of March 1957. The country was divided into ten administrative regions and is governed through a unitary system with a unicameral and a presidential system of government (Boafo-Arthur, 1999; Owusu, 2008). However, in the early part of 2019, subsequent to an affirmative referendum in 2018, the administrative regions was increased from 10 to 16 (Gyampo, 2018).

Politically, Ghana has undergone seven peaceful democratic elections since the 1992 referendum. This referendum paved the way for a four-year term for a multi-party presidential and parliamentary election (Abdulai and Crawford, 2010). Before this referendum, Ghana witnessed several military interferences in its political governance. The meddling of the military in politics, coupled with factors such as corruption, bad governance, unfair international trade agreements, bad fiscal and economic policies like the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP)[33], high indebtedness and export of low-priced and unprocessed raw commodities, led Ghana to experience several economic challenges in the latter parts of the 1990s (Busumtwi-Sam, 1998; Boafo-Arthur, 1999; Owusu, 2008). However, in 2004, the country witnessed promising macroeconomic growth and subsequently attained a middle-income status by the end of 2007[34]. Nonetheless, inequalities, poverty and a wide gap between the rich and poor persist (Cheru, 2012). After the global financial crises in 2007/2008, the

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[32] The Akan sub-ethnic group comprise of the Ashantis, Brongs, Akyems, Fantis, Akuapems, Akwamus, Kwahus, Denkyiras and Nzemas. The Ashanti have the highest population.
[33] This was one of the failed economic development prescriptions that was introduced by the IMF and the World Bank as conditionality for loans.
[34] http://www.worldbank.org/en/news/feature/2011/07/18/ghana-looks-to-retool-its-economy-as-it-reaches-middle-income-status 20/11/2016.

Ghanaian economy continued to grow at a rate of 8 per cent in 2009 (Ackah *et al.*, 2009). This growth was partly due to a mixture of events including increased diaspora monetary remittances and stable Overseas Development Assistance (ODA), which accounted for 20 per cent of Ghana's GDP, as well as minimal financial exposure to the global financial economy (Gockel, 2007).

## 5.3 Ghana and Migration

Historically, migration from, within and into Ghana has been a common practice. Koser (2003) found that Ghanaians constitute a sizeable diaspora population in the West in comparison to their African counterparts. Popular among Ghanaian migration destinations are the UK, USA, Canada, Germany, Italy and the Netherlands (Bump, 2006). In the last decade, new migration destinations have been sought after by Ghanaians, including the Middle East and China (Bakewell and Jónsson, 2011). Ghanaians have also been migrating to African countries such as Nigeria, Ivory Coast, Sierra Leone, Kenya, Botswana and South Africa (Anarfi *et al.*, 2003). According to Quartey (2009), Ghanaians abroad, excluding those without legalised status, are estimated to be between 1.5 to 3 million. This accounts for 7-13 per cent of Ghana's population. Several reasons have been considered for the motivation of Ghanaians to migrate to the West. Chief among them are better livelihoods, family, education and to seek asylum. These reasons are discussed in detail in Section 5.6, where I discuss Ghana-UK migration trends.

In as much as the emigration of Ghanaians is a common phenomenon, so is immigration into Ghana. Ghana has traditionally been a destination for citizens of many African descents, especially from neighbouring countries such as Ivory Coast, Togo, Burkina Faso, Nigeria and Liberia (Adepoju, 2008). Besides the sizeable population of African citizens living in Ghana,

there are also Indians and Lebanese - popularly referred to as 'Ghanaian Arabs'- having lived in Ghana since colonial times (Quartey, 2009; Ghana Statistical Service, 2013). Until recently there was a rapid inflow of Chinese migrants into Ghana. According to a report by the UK Guardian newspaper, about ten thousand Chinese migrants arrive in Ghana every year[35]. The causal factors for immigration to Ghana are mainly economic and asylum-seeking reasons. Ghana has hosted refugees from Ivory Coast, Liberia and Sierra Leone during civil wars and political instability in these countries (Akokpari 1998; 2000). In addition to immigration, there is also internal migration within Ghana. This is mainly characterised by rural-urban migration trends with few instances of urban-rural migration. Internal migrations in Ghana are primarily motivated by economic and social factors (Awumbila *et al.*, 2008).

## 5.4 Ghana-UK Migration Trends

Ghanaians have a long history travelling to the UK either for studies, work, family reunion or asylum-seeking purposes (Peil 1995 p 356). In the second half of the eighteenth century, the abolition of the Slave Trade and Britain being the only principal European trader on the coast of Ghana paved the way for the possibility of free[36] migration of Gold Coasters to the UK. In 1754, the first free Gold Coasters to travel to London were Philip Quarcoe, Thomas Cobbers and William Cudjoe. Through the support of Rev. Thomas Thompson of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, the three Gold Coasters travelled to London to undertake theological studies (Ofosu-Appiah, 1997; Beck, 2004). Thomas and William died in London,

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[35] Full story can be followed on https://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/jul/15/ghana-deports-chinese-goldminers accessed on 25/11/2016.
[36] I use the word 'free' to distinguish between the forced transatlantic slaves and any other subsequent migration that took place after the transatlantic slave trade.

and only Philip Quarcoe was able to complete his studies. He returned to the Gold Coast in 1765 as an ordained pastor and started a school (Ofosu-Appiah, 1997).

By the time Philip Quarcoe returned, would-be free Gold Coast travellers to Britain had temporally ceased due to Britain's involvement in local politics and internal rivalries between chiefdoms and kingdoms in the Gold Coast[37]. In 1884, under Governor Worsley Hill, who was the appointed administrator of the British trading post, a group of Fanti and coastal chiefs signed a bond for British military protection against the Ashanti rulers, then the hegemon in Ghana (Miller, Vandome and Mcbrewster, 2009). This bond subsequently led to further wars between the Ashanti and the British. In 1901, the Ashanti kingdom was annihilated and by 1902, the British had taken control over the Gold Coast and declared it as a colony, until its independence in 1957 (Adu-Boahen and Akyeampong, 2003).

From 1902 until 1957, which was termed the colonial era, many Gold Coasters resumed their travel to Britain; the majority of them went to study under missionary and colonial government scholarships (Jenkins, 1985; Akyeampong, 2000; Mawere and Mubaya, 2016). Famous among them were most Ghanaian former Presidents, Prime Ministers and leading politicians such as Dr Kwame Nkrumah, Dr Kofi Abrefa Busia, Edward Akuffo-Addo and Dr J.B Danquah (Akyeampong, 2000; Miller, Vandome and Mcbrewster, 2009). After independence, Ghana maintained English as the official language and adopted the British system of education, judiciary, and civil service administration, among others. It was thus necessary that Ghana

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[37] For instance, the presence of the British trading post on the coast of modern-day Ghana made some chiefdoms and kingdoms seek protection from the British against the Ashanti Kingdom whose king ruled Ghana and some parts of Ivory Coast and Togo. This resulted in several wars between the Ashantis and the British leading to bitter relations between the British as new comer and the Ashantis as hegemon of majority of present day Ghana (Adu-Boahen and Akyeampong, 2003).

maintained closer relations with Britain to share ideas on how the new country would be governed. It is for this reason and among others, that Ghanaians remain one of UK's largest and longest-standing African communities in the UK (Orozco and Rouse, 2007).

## 5.5 Skilled and Unskilled Migrants in the Context of Migration and Development

Ghanaian international migration similar to other migrants is a mixture of skilled and unskilled migrants. However, the motivation for Ghanaians to migrate can be understood through the transnational lives of the Ghanaian abroad, which is discussed in the next section. That said, it is important to understand how policy makers perceive migrants based on their skills and what attracts policy makers to welcome migrants. Policymakers, especially in a number of receiving countries, argue that the migration of unskilled workers should not be encouraged due to its low productivity turnover for their economies (Esipova *et al.*, 2015; Bobadilla, 2018). This assertion is however not always the case. This is because unskilled workers or people working in the unskilled sector contribute a great deal to the economies of both receiving and sending countries as well as develop their human capital over time. First, unskilled migrants usually fill jobs that locals are unwilling to do, but after a period of integration, they may upgrade their soft skills and language skills and may find skilled or better-paying jobs (Fihel and Kaczmarczyk, 2009). This boosts the economies of receiving countries through tax payments, consumption of commodities, and filling labour shortages (Vammen and Brønden, 2012). In addition, sending countries benefit through monetary, social remittances and investments (Levitt, 1998; Aggarwal, Demirgüç-Kunt and Pería, 2011; Doyle, 2015). Unskilled migrants also gain essential transferable skills, experiential knowledge and at times formal certification during their time in receiving countries, which may place them in better job positions on a career ladder than the first jobs they might have taken on arrival at receiving countries (Kilkey

and Merla, 2014). In addition to these human capital skills, unskilled migrants are economically better off with the savings of foreign hard currency, which gives them leverage to invest back home and inject hard foreign currency into the macro and micro economic development of sending countries (De Haas, 2010a).

It must also be noted that in as much as unskilled migrants may seem to be better off financially when they find jobs in the receiving countries, a substantial number may speculatively fall within the undocumented category of migrants, since most economic migrants that use unwarranted routes are often middle, low and unskilled migrant (Anderson, 2007; Hickey, 2015). This category restricts them from accessing mainstream healthcare, welfare and social security, including exploitation by traffickers and recruiters (Anderson, 2007). However, migrants in this category compensate any hardships they might have encountered before, during and after their migration journey with the low remuneration[38] they earn from exploitative employers in receiving countries (Bakewell, 2008). The same goes for exploited documented migrant workers. This is because the wage they earn from unexploited labour in sending countries is not comparable to the amount of money they make, even after being exploited (Hickey, 2015). In both categories there is also the hope that these hardships are temporary and will be emotionally compensated for once migrants regularise their permanent residency if such route is possible (Khoo, Hugo and McDonald, 2008; Ette, Heß and Sauer, 2015).

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[38] Although the remuneration earned maybe low and exploitative, migrants in such categories with low or no skill are content with the remuneration they receive when they compare it to the meagre amount similar jobs pay in the sending countries (Datta *et al.*, 2007).

Critics, especially from the structuralist schools discussed in Chapter 2 (2.4.2), cite the above inequalities, social constraints; structures and abuses migrants have to endure when using unwarranted routes and the hardships they face when they arrive in receiving countries. For these reasons' structuralists have continued to debate whether it is worthwhile for migrants, especially undocumented or low skilled migrants, to migrate at all. They have called for the ethical basis for the creation of developmental policy around remittances, in an era where remittances are generated through exploitative jobs, especially among low-paid jobs mainly done by migrants and worse of all the undocumented ones (Datta *et al.*, 2007; Datta, 2012). However, the motivation for migrants to undergo such ordeal can only be understood when researchers, policymakers and scholars critically investigate and understand the transnational lives of migrants within their context. Hence, there is the need to study the migration for development nexus from an interdisciplinary approach in a way that draws on other social science concepts to explain the complexities that motivate migrants, such as those from Ghana living in the UK, and their transnational engagements on the macro, meso and micro levels back home.

## 5.6 Causal Factors of Ghanaian Migration to the UK and the West

Ghanaian migration to the UK continued after independence, with migrants having different motivations to migrate to the UK. These motivations can be categorised under pre and post 1992 migration. The significance of 1992 in Ghana's migration history is that Ghana returned to democratic rule and has since been a democratic country.

### 5.6.1 Pre-1992 factors

After independence, Ghana's economic outlook was promising. However, due to the proliferation of undemocratic practices, human rights abuses and bad economic policies under the one-party state of the Convention People's Party (CPP) led by Dr Kwame Nkrumah, the promising outlook gradually faded (Chazan, 1989). The country's situation worsened from the late 1960s, when military interventions became rampant in the country's polity. In total, Ghana has had five different military regimes between 1960 and 1982, with the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC) taking power in 1979 and 1981 under a different name - the Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC).  There were only three constitutionally elected governments in that period (Crawford, 2004; Owusu, 2008). Scholarly works argue that several reasons accounted for the consistent interference of the Ghanaian military into governance, including cuts in military budget, adoption of unfavourable economic policies from the Bretton Woods institutions and economic hardships in the country (Libby, 1976; Jenkins and Kposowa, 1990, 1992; Owusu, 2008). These reasons also had a spill-over effect which led to out-migration of Ghanaians (Peil, 1995). Key among them were the three motivations discussed below.

### I.   *Migrating for Political Sanctuary and Asylum*

The longest lasting military regime in government, which doubles as the last, was the PNDC, under the chairmanship of Flt. Lt. Jerry John Rawlings. The regime was in power for almost eleven years, between 1981 and 1992 (Owusu, 1996, 2008). The actions of the PNDC have been attributed to an unprecedented out-migration of political refugees and asylum seekers from Ghana. This is because, during the PNDCs first time in power under the name AFRC in

1979, they conducted what they called the '*House Cleaning Exercise*[39]. Barely four months in power, the AFRC relinquished power to a democratically elected government, the People's National Party (PNP) with the hope that less corruption and economic growth would miraculously take off in just a few months under the new administration. As the much-awaited miraculous changes were not forthcoming, the same AFRC, group under a new name, PNDC, overthrew the PNP government and continued its unfinished house cleaning exercises (Hettne, 1980). Among its house cleaning atrocities were the extra-judicial killings of three former heads of states, five senior military personnel (Owusu, 1996), and the disappearance and subsequent death of three supreme court judges (National Reconciliation Commission, 2004; Quansah, 2013). Also, there was the persecution, ridiculing and arrests of professionals, religious leaders, university lecturers, lawyers, entrepreneurs, senior civil servants, army officers and ex-politicians that criticised the AFRC/PNDC regime (Chazan, 1989; Segal, 1993). These persecutions brought panic and fear, especially among Ghanaian professionals that dissented. Those who managed to escape emigrated to the UK and other Western democracies to seek asylum (Ibid). According to the UNHCR, between 1982 and 1991, Ghanaian citizens recorded one of the highest political asylum-seeking applications, totalling 97,536 (Bump, 2006), out of which the UK received 2400 in 1991[40]. Among the 2400 applicants, 99 per cent were rejected, since many economic migrants tried to use the political asylum route (West Africa 1994 p 1796 in Peil 1995 p 351).

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[39] The House Cleaning Exercise was a Probity and Accountability Directive to arrest anyone alleged to have misappropriated state funds. The alleged persons (mostly professional, ex-service men, judges, politicians, journalists and civil service workers) were tried by Military Tribunals and Interim Committees. Those found guilty were summarily executed by firing squad. During this time, the constitutional Judicial Arm of Government was abolished and replaced by these Military Tribunals and Interim Committees. Further reading can be found in Hettne (1980).

[40] Data for the total number received between 1982 and 1991 could not be found.

## II.    *Migrating for Better Livelihood*

Ghana's poor economic climate together with the intervention of the military regime, did not augur well for the country. Lack of experts to run the economy under military governments and the implementation of poor political and economic policies led the country's economy to deteriorate rapidly. These economic problems, including the 1983 drought and bushfires in the country, created economic refugees (Rado, 1986; Chazan, 1989; Segal, 1993; van Hear, 1998). Moreover, high unemployment rates due to the deteriorated economy resulted in over one million skilled Ghanaian workers, mainly teachers, engineers, and lecturers, emigrating to work in Nigeria's newly found oil wealth (van Hear, 1998). Others migrated to work in English speaking countries in the West (Rado, 1986). In one research by Emil Rado which was conducted on an eyewitness account and personal observation, the economy of Ghana of the 1960s was compared to that of 1980s. In his findings, Rado (1986 p 563) recollects:

> Looking at the Ghana of today from the viewpoint of 1960, I saw an economy and society in a state of near collapse…at a less visible but equally serious level, Ghana seemed to have lost between half and two-thirds of its experienced, top-level professional manpower. They have gone to the United Nations and its affiliates, to the oil-exporting countries of the Middle East and English-speaking countries everywhere...their exodus accelerating when, on gaining power, the present government compressed the wage and salary structure to a ratio of only 1: 8: 1 between top and bottom.

Although the majority of Ghana's economic migrants relocated to Nigeria and other African neighbouring countries, other researchers have argued that a significant number of them also

travelled to English speaking countries, including the UK, to work (Anarfi *et al.*, 2003; Awumbila *et al.*, 2008).


### III.    *Migrating for Education and Knowledge Advancement*

Ghanaian students continue to travel for further education in the UK, which is the most preferred by Ghanaian employers[41]. In the PNDC era, a significant number of Ghanaian students who had completed their training in the West, especially in the UK and USA, joined the catalogue of professionals who parted ways with Ghana due to the political and economic instability in the country (Anarfi *et al.*, 2003; Awumbila *et al.*, 2008). As job prospects and conditions of work in Ghana were unfavourable in the 1980s, including political instabilities, Ghanaian graduates and potential graduates found ways to legalise their stay in the West where they studied. Most of these graduates, who were doctors, lawyers and administrators, found better-paying jobs in North America and Europe (Peil, 1995). A hand full only returned to Ghana when they had political appointments or were called home for high-level appointments by the government, but were quickly disillusioned with Ghana's bureaucracy, undemocratic practices, and scarce institutional resources, and left once again (The West Africa 1994b p 721; Peil 1995).

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[41] Although this cannot be substantiated by any research; unofficial data shows that Ghanaian with a blend of undergraduate education in Ghana and postgraduate education in the West especially the UK and USA and other English-speaking western countries, get employed quicker than Ghanaians with both undergraduate and postgraduate in Ghana. Hence the reason for Ghanaian students' educational pursuits in the West.

**5.6.2 Post-1992 factors**

In 1992, the country returned to constitutional and democratic rule. This was possible because civil society institutions, religious organisations, trade union groups and political opponents, who had been undermined by military dictatorship, joined civic and public education for multiparty democracy when the opportunity for a referendum was opened for the electorate to choose between military dictatorship rule and multiparty democracy (Haynes, 1993).

Since the inauguration of the fourth republic in 1992, Ghana has been politically stable without any military intervention. In addition to the seven free and somewhat fair presidential and parliamentary elections, there have also been peaceful transfers of governance from one government to another government in 2000, 2008 and 2016. In 2012, there was also a peaceful transfer of power to the sitting vice president after the demise of the sitting president[42]. Having witnessed the possibility of mass emigration of Ghanaians to other African and Western countries in the pre-1992 era as well as the growing number of Ghanaians abroad, successive governments started to introduce key policies to attract Ghanaians abroad. These are discussed in section 5.7.3 and 5.7.4. The political stability in Ghana minimised the rate of political refugees from Ghana, although economic and other reasons for out-migration continued (Peil, 1995).

### I. *Migrating for Better Livelihood*

There was a persistent rise in skilled and unskilled economic migrants in the first half of the 1990s, although Ghana had returned to democratic rule in 1992. Like many developing

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[42] http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-18987589 28.11.2016.

countries, issues of rural underdevelopment and lack of government interest in prioritising development in rural areas has been a phenomenon over decades (Chandra, 1992; Palmer, 2007b; Dogra, 2012; du Plessis, 2014; Osei, 2017). Hence, many Ghanaian migrants, both skilled and unskilled, have left rural areas and even cities to go to the West to seek a better livelihood. The lack of necessities and amenities in Ghanaian rural areas has also precipitated the lack of interest for professionals to work in rural Ghana (Casely-Hayford, 2000; Hedges, 2002; Amalba *et al.*, 2018). This has also put rural dwellers in persistent socio-economic deprivation with less options than to out-migrate to cities in Ghana or the West. Among the transit towns used by rural-unskilled migrants in Ghana to the cities and the West is *Nkoranza* (Sward, 2016). It is also for this reason that the IOM had to set up a sub-national office in that town outside Accra and Tamale, which seats the country's head office and commercial capital of the northern regions respectively[43] to create awareness of the dangers of using unwarranted migration routes.

A national survey conducted to ascertain the reasons for the rise in emigration showed that out of the 2908 people interviewed, three-quarters related their relocation to work, and a third for better livelihood and working conditions in the West (Twum-Baah, 1994; Manuh, 2005). The majority of Ghanaian nurses relocating to the UK shared similar motivations (Dovlo, 2007**).** As Ghana's economic growth after the year 1992 started to stabilise, the effects of economic recovery programs, such as Structural Adjustment Programs imposed by the IMF on Ghana, increased the role of global and private capital with fewer state subsidies, state intervention and real income decline (Akokpari, 2000). These policies increased inequality, widened the gap between the rich and the poor and resulted in high unemployment rates due to retrenchment

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[43] https://rodakar.iom.int/country/ghana 01/08/ 2019.

programs in the public sector (Panford, 1997). For example, by the end of 1992, the Trade Unions Congress (TUC) estimated that 200,000 Ghanaian public sector workers had lost their jobs through retrenchment (Arthiabah, 1994; Panford, 1997; Boafo-Arthur, 1999). There were agitations especially by nurses and teachers and other civil servants against wage reductions, which the National Tripartite Committee[44] was not able to avert (Boafo-Arthur 1999). Hence, economic migration did not stop with the end of military regimes but evolved differently regarding the route and channels adopted by economic migrants. These channels were either regular or irregular routes[45]. The migrants who fell within the regular routes were two groups; one group comprised of those who emigrated through sanctioned skilled worker's programs, such as the UK's Highly Skilled Migrant Program (HSMP).[46] This category was mostly utilised by health professionals in Ghana, leading to the health sector in Ghana being severely hit by lack of nurses and doctors leaving for the UK in search of better jobs and better working conditions (Dovlo, 2007; Teye, Setrana and Acheampong, 2015). For instance, Ghanaian doctors relocating to the UK alone doubled from 143 in 1991 to 293 in 2004 (Mensah, Mackintosh and Henry, 2005a). Apart from the skilled worker's programs, there is also the unskilled or domestic worker's programs called *Kafala* that has been on the rise in recent years. These are legally mandated programs by governments of rich Middle-East countries to recruit domestic workers from developing countries, especially in Africa and Asia, to undertake domestic work similar to the au pair ideology (Awumbila *et al.*, 2008). However, many African governments, including Ghana, have had to abridge or even prohibit it due to the abuse of the rights of these domestic workers by their employers (BBC, 2018). The other group of regular migrants that have increased considerably over the years are Ghanaian students studying in the

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[44] This was a committee made of the government, trade unions representatives and employers to find amicable solutions to the economic situation in the country after the effects of SAP was hard hit by middle class workers.
[45] I would define regular migration as using the official routes to migrate to a country and irregular to mean unofficial routes including those who over-stay their visas or permit of stay.
[46] This HSMP has been replaced by a tier 2 system which is points based. Further information can be found at https://www.gov.uk/tier-2-general 10/07/19.

West. After graduation, these students secured better job opportunities in receiving countries and applied through various highly skilled foreign graduate retention programs, such as the popular UK's Tier 2 Visa program, to permanently reside there (Anarfi *et al.*, 2003; Orozco and Rouse, 2007; Efionayi and Piguet, 2014).

Among the migrants that utilise the irregular routes are also two groups; the first are those who use or used the trans-Saharan route, or the unpopular Mediterranean corridor, with the aim to reach mainland Europe or UK (Carling, 2007, 2016) and the second are people who overstayed or overstay their visas (Castles, De Haas and Mark J Miller, 2014). These two groups are difficult to quantify because, they are mostly out of reach but are still considered as part of the Ghanaians abroad.

## II.    *Migrating for Family Reunification and Culturally Mandated Roles*

Ghanaians have also relocated abroad for family reunification or chain migration (Owusu, 2003). Research by Twum-Baah (2005), on 2908 Ghanaian migrants, found that half of the participants left Ghana to join their family and friends that were legally resident in receiving countries. For instance, Ghanaians who initially emigrated to the UK as political refugees in the 1980s, as well as those who had migrated to the UK under a skilled workers' program and had received permanent residence status in the UK, took the opportunity of their residence to file for their families back home to join them (Bump, 2006). Aside from the UK, Ghanaians have migrated to other countries in the West. Germany, for instance, is believed to hold a substantial number of Ghanaians, the majority of whom joined their families (Nieswand, 2009). Similar is understood to be the case in Italy (Riccio, 2008), The Netherlands (Mazzucato, van den Boom and Nsowah-Nuamah, 2005), Canada (Owusu, 2000, 2003) and the USA (Bump,

2006). Although such motivations are common in migration studies, other objectives related to the motivations for Ghanaian chain migration are worth discussing. One of such is migrating based on culturally mandated roles. This is evident in the less homogenous migrations from Ghana to the West in the post 1992 era, which has witnessed an increase in female migrants to the West (Kingma, 2001; Dovlo, 2007; Sakyi, 2013). The explanation for the rise in female migrants has a cultural dimension that emanates from traditional Ghanaian customs, such as the Akan culture, which gives women 'economic autonomy' (Peil, 1995; Opoku-Agyemang, 1999; Nukunya, 2003; Mazzucato and Poeze, 2016). This economic autonomy/norm allows Akan women, for instance, to travel elsewhere in pursuit of income-generating activities to economically support their families back home (Adepoju, 2005). Mazzucato and Poeze (2016) posit that the Akan custom has a matrilineal system[47] whereby motherhood is valued from a woman's economic prowess to provide for the family. These family customs allow mothers to leave their wards in the care of extended kin and travel elsewhere in search of income-generating activities (Clark, 1999; Castles, De Haas and Mark J Miller, 2014). However, research by the Ghana Statistical Services (2013) found that such economic independence is no longer limited to Akan women, but women throughout Ghana. According to the same findings, Ghanaian societies now accept lone female parents and women requesting divorce. The same paper also found 37.2 per cent of women being breadwinners in households of married couples (male and female).

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[47] The traditional matrilineal inheritance system in Ghana wills all property and immediate household (including children and wife/husband, maids etc.) to the heir apparent who is always the eldest nephew of the deceased (male). This is also popularised as nephew inheritance in Ghana. It is also the responsibility of the deceased (male) before his demise to provide for the maintenance and welfare of the heir apparent, his children, wife and siblings if he is well to do. The deceased often regards the heir apparent as equally important as his children and wife (Opoku, 1982; Awusabo-Asare, 1990). It must be noted that should the deceased (male) die intestate then the traditional matrilineal inheritance system no longer applies, instead the estate of deceased is shared among the nuclear and extended families as per the PNDC Law 111(Government of Ghana, 1983; Ollennu and Woodman, 1985).

It is against this backdrop of the cultural changes and economic prowess of Ghanaian women that Ghanaian women are motivated to out-migrate when there are hardships in the economy of the household. Ghanaian women have been travelling pre-1992, especially in the late 1970s and 1980s, only to neighbouring West African countries, including Ivory Coast, Nigeria and Burkina Faso (Anarfi, 1989, 1990) and a few to Germany, France and the Netherlands (Mazzucato and Poeze, 2016). However, lack of jobs for undocumented migrants, or even the lack of skilled qualifications and high illiteracy levels that was common among women in Ghana at that time, meant Ghanaian women had no option than take up part-time prostitution jobs to support the low wages they received in their main menial jobs to make ends meet (Peil, 1995).

However, in the post-1992 era, there has been an increase in independent out-migration of skilled Ghanaian women to other major receiving countries (Adepoju 2004). This increase may be the effect of higher literacy rates among Ghanaian women from the education decentralisation policies mandated to district assemblies (Awumbila *et al.*, 2008). The majority of Ghanaian women that left for the UK were nurses and teachers (Dovlo, 2007). According to Mensah et al. (2005), 40 Ghanaian nurses registered in the UK in 1999 but this number increased to 1021 in 2004. As already discussed in Chapter 3 (3.2.3), the rate of exit of health workers from developing countries to the UK, for instance, became a worrying concern for sending countries and the World Health Organisation (WHO). Hence, a recruitment Code of practice was introduced by both the UK and WHO (Department of Health, 2004; WHO, 2010). These codes were to regulate the recruitment of health workers from developing countries where there is an acute shortage of health care workers. However, there is also an exception

whereby the UK, for instance, can recruit health workers from sending countries with a shortage of healthcare workers under exclusive bilateral agreements, such as temporary recruitment (Awumbila *et al.*, 2008). Currently, Ghana and the UK do not have any bilateral working program.

## 5.7 Transnational Obligations of Ghanaians Abroad

Recent literature has documented the importance of the transnational lives of migrants especially with the migration of Eastern European Union (EU) citizens into Western EU countries (Fihel and Kaczmarczyk, 2009; White *et al.*, 2018). Regarding the transnationalism of Ghanaians abroad, one crucial aspect is the concept of family, lineage and kinship, which is entrenched in their ethnic customs (Wiredu and Gyekye, 1992; Nave, 2015, 2016). These Ghanaian concepts of family may be well understood when the concept of obligation is applied to the practical transnational engagements of migrants which are situated within the family, lineage and kinship (Mohan, 2006).

### 5.7.1 The Concept of Obligation

The fundamental concept of obligation takes many forms but most common are moral, legal and social obligations (Himma, 2013, 2018) My interest in this study relates to the social and moral aspects of obligation. Although distinct, they are both normative in theory. Hence, normative terminologies such as right, ought and duty often appear in social and moral obligation rather than legal obligation, which requires legally binding and mandatory expectation (Raz, 1979). Social and moral elements of obligations are also found and used in cultural and societal spheres to organise actions and evaluate behaviours. Arguably, it means

social and moral obligations motivate behaviours and a non-fulfilment may constitute misconduct and permit personal or even family guilt (Brown, 1991; Kurthy, Lawford-Smith and Sousa, 2017).  However, works from Buckwalter and Turri (2015) have invalidated the notion that the consequences of wrongdoing and blame derived from social and moral obligations does not necessarily mean subjects must oblige if they cannot. Hence, moral guilt should not be borne by persons when all means have been exhausted. Although Buckwalter and Turri's view may hold in the theoretical sense, it may not gain universal acceptance and practicality, especially in societies where people are morally judged by others in everyday activities. For example, in cultures where there is the adherence to communal wellbeing, there is also the belief that when one has the capability, the means and the capacity to help others, doing the opposite  may normatively not warrant moral peace within persons and their family (Metz and Gaie, 2010). This view sits well within the principle - ought implies can (Streumer, 2003; Stern, 2004) because in many cultures, such as those in Cape Verde (Gowricharn, 2004; Carling, 2008), Southern Africa (Berghs, 2017), Nigeria (Nwosu, 2004) and Ghana (Attah, 2017), people are morally judged when they ought to undertake a responsibility. Such responsibilities are often expected roles situated within the cultural worldview and understanding within the community or family. Hence a non-performance renders such people ingrates for not playing their part. There are obvious exceptions and such exceptions are also understood within cultures that require social and moral obligations.

## 5.7.2 Ghanaian Transnationalism

Ghanaians like many other Africans, apply the normative idea of social and moral obligation within the socio-cultural norms, especially of the communal structure of familial practices (Wiredu and Gyekye, 1992) As already noted in Section 5.6.2(III), Ghana's ethnic groups and

sub-ethnic groups practise either a matrilineal or patrilineal inheritance system (Eliason *et al.*, 2018). All ethnic groups in Ghana refer to the family as an extended family. Hence the family incorporates members of a common lineage and ancestor, and in the past members of the shared lineage lived in the same or neighbouring village or town (Kludze, 1983; Kutsoati and Morck, 2012; Nave, 2015, 2016). However, with urbanisation, education, economic and migration activities, this bond has been affected (Ghana Statistical Service, 2013; Kpoor, 2015; Agyemang, Asamoah and Obodai, 2018). It is for this reason that Ghanaians everywhere, even when in a foreign land, refer to another person that originates from the same village or town as a family member (Appiah, 2001; Nave, 2015, 2016). This cultural and historical understanding of the common lineage gives reasons for many Ghanaians to treat their hometown and its members with support and respect. These understandings resonate in several Ghanaian proverbs, e.g. '*Obi mfa ne nsa benkum nkyere n'akuraase kwan'.* This literally means *'Someone does not use his/her left hand to show the way to his/her village '*[48] (Appiah, Appiah and Agyeman-Duah, 2007 p33)*.* The extensive picture of treating your community with respect and as a family is due to the historical lineage and kinships that bonded communities together. The same underlying reason led to the creation of communal economic practice among Ghanaian ethnic groups. For instance, the Akan ethnic group refer to this corporate practice as 'the *Ndoboa System*'[49] (Boakye, 2012), the Ewes call it *fidodo*, the Gas call it *Yeli k3 buam*, the Dagombas also call it *Kpariba*, to mention a few. Besides, there are also proverbs in Akan

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[48] In all Ghanaian societies, it is rude and unlucky to point with your left hand, hence showing the way to your home village with your left-hand means you are belittling your village. Instead, you must treat your village with respect.

[49] It is mainly a communal practice that is traditionally done to develop communities, through activities including trade, agricultural, social and cultural activities. It is normally a practice in which members of a community contribute to community development by helping a member's specific development project, on the assumption that the help will be returned when called for. This assistance goes around until every participating member has benefitted from the pool of communal assistance. The principle underlying this practice is self-help through empowerment by the community (Boakye 2012 p 23). Although this system has undergone modifications due to urbanization, migrations and the spread of western values prioritising ones' nuclear family over the extended family and the community, this traditional communal practice is still practised especially in the rural areas with some modifications.

that give in-depth meaning to communal development and wellbeing such as - '*ade pa na ye di ba fie'* (Appiah, Appiah and Agyeman-Duah, 2007 p27). This means every good thing should be brought home. The practical meaning of this proverb is that the community measures the respect or personhood of members of the community based on their contribution to the development of their extended family and community. The encouragement of such communal acts neccesitated the creation of a particular position among the Ghanaian ethnic groups, called '*Nkosuohene/Nkosuohemaa'*, in Twi, meaning chief/king/queen of community progress or development, which is bestowed upon selfless people who contribute to the development of their community rather than just development of themselves (Bob-Milliar, 2009; Kleist, 2011; Hadi and Bolaji, 2015).

These Ghanaian social values, systems and practices[50] entrenched within the social and moral obligation of communalism and communitarianism emphasises individual responsibility for the welfare development of their family, community and even to a more considerable extent, the country (Wiredu and Gyekye, 1992; Yarrow, 2011), explains the motivation behind the transnational lives of Ghanaians abroad. In Wiredu and Gyekye's (1992; 2009) work, they reveal the interconnectedness of the African as a person and the community they originate from. In other research by Agulana (2010 p 282), he writes that 'among Africans, however, it is generally held that it is in the community of other human beings that the life of the individual can have meaning or significance'. This virtue that Africans, in this case Ghanaians wherever they are regard their transnational obligations back home as paramount (Mohan, 2006). However, these obligations have seldom been investigated to understand the motivation for Ghanaians abroad to engage back home to develop the communal level/meso level. As

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[50] Namely; ndoboa system, the extended family system and lineage, the traditional inheritance system based on one's ethnicity, and the idea behind nkosuohene.

Ghanaians are somehow aware of this communal virtue, leaders who want to engage the Ghanaian abroad have capitalised on this communal virtue and explored it as a base to justify why Ghanaians abroad must not disengage back home. In his statement to the Ghanaian abroad in Berlin, 2002, the then President, J.A. Kufuor iterated:

> What I intend to do tonight is not so much to give a speech to you, but I rather want to interact and discuss with you (. . .) what we can do for the benefit of our country Ghana [cheerful applause of the audience]. (. . .) I will say a few words (. . .) about what my government is trying to do in Ghana and how Ghana looks to you as sons and daughters of Ghana to perform and to support the country' (Nieswand, 2002 p18).

These communal virtues have played an integral role in motivating Ghanaians abroad to engage back home in their capacity as individuals or as collective groups, such as HTAs. As explained in Chapter 3 (3.3.3), Boyle and Kitchin (2013) discussed key channels that migrants worldwide utilise to engage back home. I adopt a similar framework and contextualize it within Ghanaian engagement back home under 2 main avenues – individual and collective engagements.

### 5.7.3 Individual Engagements Back home

Ghanaians abroad, in their capacity as individuals, employ key strategies and channels, but under different contextual motivational factors to engage back home. I categorise these strategies into social, economic and political channels.

## 1. Social Engagements

### i. *Family Welfare and Wellbeing*

Like other diaspora communities, Ghanaians abroad have been actively engaging with their families back home. As already stated in the preceding section, Ghanaian customs, kinship, and lineage are embedded in the motivations that foster them to look back home and develop it. Also, Ghanaian leaders have tried to play the kinship and lineage card to remind them of their roots. Engaging back home even extends to the inheritance systems for both patrilineal and matrilineal types in Ghana. For instance, the Akan group's matrilineal practices in which womanhood has economic connotations in terms of taking care of the family and if required, to travel in search of economic activities that will benefit the family. Both Clark (1999) and Wong (2006) confirmed in the works that Ghanaian women at times travel to the developed world to work, while their children stay back home in Ghana with their extended family kin, as restrictive migration laws and poor conditions of reception of these receiving countries would not allow them to take their families. When they reach their destination, they find means to fund the welfare and wellbeing of the families left behind. According to Mazzucato and Poeze's (2016) work, Ghanaian mothers in the Netherlands, for instance, continue to fund their children's education back home and financially support them until the children finally join them in the Netherlands. Those with legalised residence regularly visit their children and loved ones in Ghana, while those without the legal residence have to wait until their legal residence is approved before they can return to Ghana and visit their children and loved ones (Manuh, 2005). In all these, the family wellbeing is the central reason. In the UK for instance, Ghanaians that were interviewed by Mohan (2006) in Milton Keynes, confirmed that their principal obligation was to support their extended families back home and to construct a decent house for the family and themselves when they return to Ghana.

### ii.    *Return Migration and the Social Remittance Potential*

A famous proverb in Ghana published by Mohan (2006 p 868) on the transnational lives of Ghanaian reads '*'whenever the trap is loosened it will go back'*. The implication is that migrants, whether within Ghana or abroad when they have the opportunity and means, will eventually return home, even if it is their funeral. Such proverbs are common in everyday Ghanaian parlance to explain transnational obligations of Ghanaians who are outside their hometown. Historical evidence of the first Ghanaian returnee (Philip Quarcoe) was dated in 1765 when he returned to start a school in Ghana (Ofosu-Appiah, 1997). After Philip Quarcoe, several Ghanaians in the then Gold Coast followed suit. Chief among them were previous Ghanaian presidents and prime ministers who played crucial roles through transnational activities to liberate Ghana from colonial rule (Arhin, 1993). Such returnee activities could be understood in contemporary transnational studies as political or social remittances (Levitt, 1996; Krawatzek and Müller-funk, 2019; Schmidt, 2019) and have been very common in Ghanaian and African engagements (Ammassari and Wiley, 2004).

In recent times, Ghanaian governments and other African leaders have called upon the African diaspora to do more towards the development of the African continent (Hadi and Bolaji, 2015). In Ghana, through the organisation of periodic homecoming summits[51], Ghanaian governments have showcased an open-arms approach for its diaspora. The government under President Rawlings and later under President Kufuor toured the UK, mainland Europe, USA, and Canada to announce new policies that have been enacted to liberalise investment opportunities and

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[51] These programs are mostly targeted for Ghanaians who migrated out of Ghana after independence and their descendants.

business start-ups for the Ghanaian abroad. President Kufuor for instance referred to it as 'the Golden Age of Doing Business Policy' (Awumbila *et al.*, 2008; Nieswand, 2009). Successive Ghanaian government campaigns for Ghanaian abroad to return and invest in Ghana have had positive effects on the economy (Kandilige, 2017). In 2018, the sitting president; Nana Akuffo Addo launched an initiative called the '*the year of return*'[52], encouraging both African American and Ghanaians abroad to return home and help harness its development. The maiden event took place in December 2019[53] with almost a million-people visiting the country[54]. In addition, in his meeting with his French counterpart President Emmanuel Macron and about 400 African/Ghanaian abroad, Nana Akuffo Addo remarked on the developmental achievement the Chinese abroad have made in China and encouraged the Ghanaians to emulate same.[55] The calls of former leaders never were ignored. One of the world's most excellent economists[56] of Ghanaian origin, Ken Ofori-Atta, returned to Ghana and established a brokerage, which he used as a platform for listing stocks of businesses on the Ghana Stock Exchange; the first of its kind under private ownership (Ankomah *et al.*, 2012). He currently holds the finance minister position in Ghana. Other returnees, such as Microsoft windows engineer Patrick Awuah[57] and Hermann Chinery-Hesse, a software developer, [58] among others,

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[52] https://www.un.org/africarenewal/magazine/december-2018-march-2019/2019-year-return-african-diaspora 22/08/19

[53] https://www.yearofreturn.com/ 18/01/2020.

[54] https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-51191409 31/01/2020

[55] https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2019/07/ghana-president-africa-europe-relationship-change-190711194253643.html 22/08/2019.

[56] Ken Ofori-Atta returned to Ghana to establish Databank Group http://databankgroup.com/ in the 90s which was the first of its kind in Ghana. He is an astute economist with rich experience as put by Bloomberg http://www.bloomberg.com/research/stocks/private/person.asp?personId=30119399&privcapId=13461767 03/12/2016.

[57] Patrick Awuah was a Microsoft Windows Engineer who returned to Ghana from the USA to establish one of the finest private universities in Ghana called the Ashesi University http://www.ashesi.edu.gh/ Accessed 16/09/2016. He persuades his former work colleagues and university professors to visit Ghana and take up short lecturing contracts during their annual leave.

[58] Hermann is a software developer who was born in Ireland, studied in the USA and worked in Britain. He returned to Ghana and established Soft Tribe http://softtribe.com/ biggest software developing company in Ghana. More information about the Guardian's interview can be found here: https://www.theguardian.com/technology/2012/aug/26/new-africa-ghana-software-chinery-hesse 03/12/2016.

have left an indelible print of social remittances from Ghanaian diaspora returnees (Ankomah *et al.*, 2012).

Ghanaian returnees are also very common among the traditional ruling families. In Ghana, every town and village have a chief or king and a queen who traditionally rules alongside government appointees in the polity. There have been several instances where Ghanaians have had to return from abroad, especially from the West to take up the role of chiefs, kings and queens. Most children, nephews and nieces of traditional rulers in Ghana travel to the West to further their education (Jenkins, 1985; Akyeampong, 2000), and most do not return after their training. On the death of the chief, king or queen, if they are the next in line to inherit the throne, they return to succeed the deceased ruler. Research by Kleist (2011) found that the majority of the recently installed Ghanaian traditional rulers have been returnees from abroad upon the demise of the king, chief or queen. One can deduce the quantum of social remittances these newly installed rulers can remit to the development and wellbeing of their villages, towns and communities where they rule.

### iii.    *Heritage Tourism*

The invitation of the diaspora has traditionally not been targeted towards Ghanaians abroad alone but African American and Caribbean as well. These targets are also heterogeneous in nature. Beside the African American and Caribbean group, there are also multiple generations of the diaspora who engage in heritage tourism in diverse levels of in Ghana. Michelle Obama, for instance, was known to be from the 5$^{th}$ generation of her family line to engage in heritage tourism in Ghana (Reed, 2015). Hence, heritage tourism in Ghana continue to be patronised by heterogeneous groups of African American and Caribbean descent, especially through

programs such as Emancipation Day festivals, Pan African Day Festival (PANAFEST) and the Year of Return,[59] since these groups regard Ghana as their ancestral home (E. M. Bruner, 1996; Bob-Milliar, 2009). Historical artefacts, including documentary evidence, have pointed to Ghana as having the highest number of slave posts and ports during the transatlantic slave trade. The country alone accounts for over 500 slave forts and castles that were once fortified and protected by European powers in the middle ages (Abaka, 2012; Adu-ampong, 2017). In addition to these emancipation programs, people of African American and Caribbean descent have also permanently relocated to live in Ghana, or actively pursued philanthropic activities in Ghana (Taylor, 2019). For instance, Rita Marley, the widow of Bob Marley, permanently relocated to Ghana and established a school, which she runs (Gyan-Apenteng, 2008). Similarly, Dr Iris Barnister, an African American Reverend Minister based in the USA, heeded the calls of the Ghanaian government and invested $150,000 into Ghana's education (Ankomah *et al.*, 2012). In 2002, the country passed the right of abode and the Dual Citizenship Act to allow all descendants of enslaved Africans permanent residency and citizenship in Ghana, should they require it. This was also followed in 2007 with the launching of the 'Joseph Project' to encourage people of African ancestry to return and invest in Ghana[60]. In the first half of 2019, Nana Akuffo Addo visited the Caribbean to reiterate Ghana's willingness and open arms for their return.[61]

### iv.    *Health Sector Development*

Although Ghana is known to be one of the countries in the commonwealth that export health workers, especially to the UK, not much is written on the roles, impact and social remittances

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[59] Emancipation Day and PANAFEST is mostly organised for the African American and Caribbean diaspora to come back to their roots and have first-hand experience of where their ancestors lived.
[60] https://thisisafrica.me/politics-and-society/ghanas-akufo-addo-2019-return/ 22/08/19.
[61] https://www.bbc.com/pidgin/tori-48660262 22/08/19.

these medical and health workers have contributed to the improvement of the health sector in Ghana. There are just a few known works, such as Asampong *et al.* (2013). Ghanaian health workers return home to undertake health projects primarily on a voluntary basis, while a number also return with the view of imparting the knowledge gained to young and newly qualified health professionals (Asampong *et al.*, 2013). Others do return to work in Ghana when they retire or after they have accrued enough capital to set up medical centres. One famous Ghanaian cardiologist, Prof Dr Kwabena Frimpong-Boateng, who was based in Germany, returned to Ghana to help revive the cardiology centre in Ghana by establishing the only Cardiothoracic Centre in the country (Frimpong-Boateng, 2000). He is currently the Minister of Environment, Science, Technology and Innovation.

## 2. Economic Engagements

### i. *Monetary Remittances*

Like other diasporas, such as the Filipinos, Indians and the Mexicans, Ghanaians abroad have been remitting billions of United States dollars back home (M. Awumbila and Teye, 2014). According to the World Bank, remittances sent to Ghana have steadily increased over the years, from 5.2 per cent of Ghana's GDP in 2014 to 7.3 per cent in 2018[62]. At the macroeconomic level, remittances to Ghana are projected to be more than the ODAs to Ghana (Quartey, 2006; Awumbila *et al.*, 2008; Teye *et al.*, 2018). By 2001, the Bank of Ghana established that remittances had moved to become the fourth highest foreign exchange earner in Ghana after Cocoa, Gold and Tourism (Anarfi *et al.*, 2003). It is important to also note that remittances sent through friends visiting Ghana to families, as well as the sums of monies that the Ghanaians abroad bring with them during short-term visits to Ghana, are not part of the World Bank and

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[62] https://www.knomad.org/sites/default/files/2019-04/Remittance%20Inflows%20Apr%202019.xlsx  22/08/19.

the Bank of Ghana's findings. These unregulated channels of financial remittances and use of hard foreign currency in Ghana are believed to add up to three times the official amount estimated by the Bank of Ghana, bringing Ghana to par with Mexico and the Philippines in terms of countries with the highest remittance rates (Mazzucato, van den Boom and Nsowah-Nuamah, 2008).

### ii.    *Investment Ventures*

Ghanaians abroad have also shown a high level of interest when discussions and possibilities of investments back home are raised. According to Bump (2006), Ghanaians abroad and their wealth sent back home have been highlighted as a catalyst for small business development in Ghana. As opportunities for investment back home are available for innovative minds and people with capital, Ghanaians abroad have not neglected access to these investment opportunities. The government, on the other hand, has been willing to tap into the resources and knowledge that Ghanaian abroad have acquired. To accomplish this, the government set up a separate department under the country's investment promotion agency responsible for diaspora investment activities and promotion. The same department also acts as a point of reference for expatriates abroad (Ankomah *et al.*, 2012).

In 2006, the government, through investor brokers such as Africa Recruit (which specialises in diaspora developments in Africa) and IntEnt (a Dutch non-profit business incubator), successfully facilitated and brokered 54 Ghanaian investors and entrepreneurs abroad who have now invested in Ghana (Riddle, Brinkerhoff and Nielsen, 2008). Ghanaians abroad have also invested in the real estate industry in Ghana, accounting for 75 to 85 per cent of the country's new stock of housing (Grey, 2011). The Ghanaian government has also created a special yearly

award within the Ghana Club 100 ceremony[63] for newly registered diaspora organisations in Ghana (Riddle, Brinkerhoff and Nielsen, 2008). These actions are to motivate, attract and raise awareness among Ghanaians abroad of the government's appreciation for their investments in the Ghanaian economy and to encourage other potential investors and entrepreneurs to invest in Ghana. Nonetheless, it should be noted that Ghanaians abroad have always had, and continue to have, misgivings about entrepreneurial investment back home due to the mistrust they have with care takers of these investments. This has demotivated a section of the Ghanaians abroad to invest in Ghana due to trust issues and bad experiences (Kandilige, 2017)

## 3. Political Engagements

### i. *Advocacy and Diplomacy*

Studies on the linkages between diasporic politics and state have been well documented in the area of homeland political reconstruction (Østergaard-nielsen, 2003; Mohan, 2006, 2008). Historically, Ghanaians with both local and foreign education and work experience have steered Ghana's political developments. For instance, the first Ghanaian president[64] was studying in London and also engaging with advocacy groups to secure the independence of African colonies from European powers, when he responded to calls by his fellow independence agitators in the then Gold Coast to join the struggle for Ghana's independence (Arhin, 1993). After independence, until the 1980s, Ghanaians abroad were almost non-existent, simply because the only Ghanaians that travelled outside did so for education and most returned to Ghana after their training. From the 1980s to the early 1990s, the engagements

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[63] This is an awards ceremony that traditionally awards top performing Ghanaian private companies.
[64] Dr Nkrumah had undertaken his bachelor's degree in Economics and Sociology from University of Lincoln. He then took another bachelor's degree in Theology and a master's degree in Education at the University of Pennsylvania. He started his PhD education at the LSE but transferred to the UCL. He stopped his PhD education to honour an invitation by his colleagues to assist in the struggle for Ghana's Independence ( (Arhin, 1993).

of Ghanaians abroad especially in political advocacy and diplomacy intensified. This was due to the high number of political refugees under the AFRC and PNDC military rule who had secured asylum status in the West and most especially the UK. The PNDCs killing of the supreme court judges in the 1980s (Quansah, 2013) and its political witch hunt justified the campaigns of Ghana's political dissidents who had grown in numbers to form Ghanaian diaspora communities. For instance, Ghanaians in London in the first half of the 1980s came together to form diaspora pressure groups, such as the Ghana Welfare Association to lobby foreign governments, primarily in the West, as well as international organisations, to strain relations with the PNDC military government until it returned the country to democratic rule (Mohan, 2006).

After the country had returned to democratic rule, Ghanaians abroad were still distrustful of the government since it was the same faces but in civilian clothes (Nieswand, 2009). For the new civilian government to win the trust of Ghanaians abroad, the government, through its public policy initiatives, first acknowledged the wealth and knowledge of Ghanaians abroad and appealed to them in 1994 to return to Ghana without fear of witch hunt (Anarfi *et al.*, 2003). In 2000 the main opposition party, the New Patriotic Party (NPP) led by J.A. Kufuor won power through elections. In its second year in office, the government embarked on the mission to include Ghanaian abroad in political decision making and development. In addition to the passage of the Ghana Dual Citizenship Regulation Act[65] discussed above, it created a new Ministry for Tourism and Diaspora Relations in 2004. The government also set up the Non-Resident Ghanaians Secretariat (NRGS) in 2003 and passed the Representation of People Amendment Act (ROPAA) in parliament. This is to permit Ghanaians abroad to vote in

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[65] This Act gave Ghanaians the right to hold another nationality in addition their Ghanaian citizenship and take up political and civil service positions in Ghana.

presidential elections, after several grievances were made about their inability to vote in elections back home (Awumbila *et al.*, 2008; M. Awumbila and Teye, 2014; Setrana and Kyei, 2015). The government also urged Ghanaian embassies and consulates to get involved with diaspora activities and appeal to Ghanaians abroad to get involved in Ghana's political development (Nieswand, 2008).

In 2016, the much-anticipated national migration policy was also enacted (Government of Ghana, 2016). The policy document dedicated a whole chapter for matters concerning *Diaspora, Dual Citizenship and Transnationalism*, a sign of a government's will to engage its diaspora. According to IOM:

> This policy pact comprehensively addresses key migration issues in Ghana including irregular migration, human trafficking, migrant smuggling, labour migration, brain drain and gain, diaspora engagement, dual citizenship, remittances, return, readmission, and reintegration of Ghanaian migrants, border management, and refugee issues. It also covers the important linkages between migration and climate change, health, trade, tourism, education and gender, which is the only comprehensive policy that has a section dedicated to diaspora engagement (IOM, 2016a).

The Diaspora, Dual Citizenship and Transnationalism chapter covers three principal subjects, namely *remittance and development*, *diaspora resources and development*, and *dual citizenship and transnationalism*. These three critical areas are supposed to facilitate a positive impact on the macro and micro development through diaspora engagement in monetary remittances and investments. However, there are no mention of meso level engagements or

developments. Although this policy document was passed in 2016 under the erstwhile President Mahama administration, not much has changed apart from the opening of a parallel diaspora office called the Diaspora Affairs Office (DAO) at the presidency to support the Diaspora Affairs Bureau (DAB), which was mandated under the National Migration Policy.

### 5.7.4 Collective Engagement Back Home

Collective engagement targeting hometowns are largely undertaken by Ghanaians abroad through their HTAs. As already discussed in Chapter, 1 (1.2.1) Ghanaian HTAs are composed of groups of people originating from the same town or geographical area in Ghana (Lacroix and Vezzoli, 2010). Other Ghanaian diaspora associations not considered as HTAs, but undertake collective engagements back home, although not necessarily in hometowns, are old-school associations, professional associations (Krause, 2008), common religious background associations (Awumbila *et al.*, 2008), and Ghana unions, comprised of Ghanaians living in a defined area in receiving countries (Mohan, 2006). Membership of Ghanaian HTAs usually number between 20 to 200 registered members (Mazzucato and Kabki, 2009).

Ghanaian HTAs have been active with welfare and developmental projects primarily in the rural areas, with an emphasis on their hometowns. Although communal welfare development in their hometowns are typically the responsibility of Ghanaian governments, the level of corruption and misappropriation of funds allocated for rural development are not able to accomplish such developments[66]. These actions leave rural areas in an impoverished state

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[66]Due to the lack of accountability, government officials and politicians easily mismanage funds for developmental projects in the rural areas. The rural people who are mostly naïve about their civic duty to hold politicians and government officials accountable for corruption and misappropriation of funds, take no action. These *non-actions* have contributed immensely to under-development and abject poverty in the rural areas.

lacking basic human necessities, high unemployment, low educational enrolment, high illiteracy rate and so forth, thus making rural dwellers poorer (Chambers, 1983; Boto *et al.*, 2011; Osei, 2017). Moreover, avenues for human capital development, such as access to primary and secondary education, only became free in 2004, and 2017 respectively (Rolleston, 2011; Mohammed Gunu, 2018). Although primary and secondary education are free, facilities, infrastructure and even resources such as teachers, books, computers and teaching materials are overwhelmingly lacking in the rural areas. For instance, teachers that are posted to work in rural areas do not accept posting to these areas due to the impoverished state of facilities, lack of amenities, infrastructure and resources (Hedges, 2002). Teachers are not the only people in this category, doctors and nurses are also another significant group refusing to work in rural areas for similar reasons (Amalba *et al.*, 2018).

These aforementioned social and resource constraints exacerbate the level of poverty, especially for the poor who are mostly resident in the rural areas. The levels of underdevelopment have led HTAs to actually front and undertake key accomplishments of rural development projects, not only due to the capriciousness of Ghanaian governments, but also as a fulfilment of their social norms embedded within their understanding of communalism and obligation in kinship, lineage and personhood, as discussed in the previous sections. Nieswand's (2009 p 25) work for instance, found the rate of Ghanaian HTA engagement was higher in some receiving countries than others. He found that 46 per cent of Ghanaian HTAs associations actively engaged in rural development in Ghana were based in North America (USA, Canada) and 50 percent in Western Europe – which breaks down into Great Britain (18 per cent), Germany (12 per cent), Italy (8 per cent) and the Netherlands (6 per cent). Key among these rural developments are discussed next.

1. **Socio-economic Engagements**

i. *Philanthropy*

Most diaspora philanthropic activities, such as donations, projects and initiatives are announced in the news and print media[67] (Nieswand, 2009). Such acknowledgments illuminate the active nature of Ghanaian HTAs and their socio-economic developmental commitments back home. The shift towards wellbeing and welfare of Ghanaians back home can be traced to a rapid decline in political advocacy engagements. This is partly due to democratic governance, which gave no incentives for collective political advocacy but rather a rise in socio-economic developmental commitments. For instance, the Ghana Welfare Association in the UK, which was initially formed as a pressure group to campaign against undemocratic rule in Ghana has since diverted its resources to the socio-economic welfare and wellbeing of Ghanaians in the UK and Ghana (Mohan, 2006).

Ghanaian HTAs also continue to fund projects such as building schools, churches, infrastructure development, hospitals, and electrification projects, books for library, sports, support orphanages, and victims of catastrophes. The funding of such projects is skewed towards the towns and villages known to have a significant number of citizens abroad. For example, Nieswand's (2009) research on 40 Ghanaian HTA-funded projects reflected higher percentages of funding activity in villages and towns where a high rate of Ghanaians abroad originate. In the Ashanti[68] and Brong Ahafo[69] regions, which hold the majority of citizens living

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[67] See example http://www.modernghana.com/news/9832 9/1/apam-citizens-in-uk-donate-medical-supplies.html
[68] This is because majority of the Ghanaian abroad originate or have parents originating from this region.
[69] This region is known for its irregular emigration through the trans-Saharan route. Due to this, the EU and IOM have instituted programmes to educate people in the region of the dangers of using irregular route at Nkoranza as noted subsection 4.5.2(i). For more information, see http://www.iom.int/news/migration-information-centre-opens-ghanas-brong-ahafo-region 07/12/2016.

abroad, a share of 63.5 per cent of the projects surveyed was found to have been undertaken in those regions. The remaining were 11.5 per cent for Eastern Region, 9.6 per cent for Central Region, 5.8 per cent for the three Northern regions[70] put together, 3.8 per cent for Western Region and 1.9 per cent for Volta Region (Ibid p 25). In another research project conducted by Mazzucato and Kabki (2009), which comprised five towns[71], they also found that Ghanaian HTA funded projects were not devoid of micro-politics between HTAs and rural leaders. In addition, the trust level between the Ghanaians abroad and the local leaders was always contested.

### ii. Investment in Economic Ventures

Economically, Ghanaian diaspora associations have collectively invested in Agriculture and farms in Ghana with a focus on empowering women. One of these is in the Netherlands. Registered as the Sankofa Association, the association mobilised foreign capital from Ghanaian emigrants to set up the Sankofa Family Poultry Project, which has helped Ghanaian women to undertake poultry farming (Orozco and Rouse, 2007; Ankomah *et al.*, 2012). Another Ghanaian association called Sikaman facilitated a barter trade agreement between SOCAR a second-hand car company in the Netherlands to export cars to Ghana in exchange for pineapples, which has been well appreciated by local Ghanaian local farmers who earlier found it difficult to compete with larger and established multi-national fruit exporting companies (Ankomah *et al.*, 2012).

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[70] These regions are no longer in existence but used to be Northern Region, Upper East Region and Upper West Region. They are also known to be the poorest regions in Ghana.

[71] These towns included Asiwa, Offinso, Mampong, Brodekwano and Kumawu.

**5.8 Conclusion**

In sum, Ghanaians abroad and their transnational lives back home are an intriguing topic for discussion. One of the many significant aspects that makes Ghana an interesting case study is the holistic and inclusive approach in welcoming Ghanaians abroad, but also the African American and Caribbean diaspora community. Due to the historical role Ghana played in the Transatlantic Slave Trade, its tourism sector has endeavoured to maintain historical monuments that were used during the slave trade era to attract heritage tourist and would-be investors in the tourism sector. This places Ghana in an advantageous position to tap a wealth of ideas, investment prospects, social and financial remittances from the two distinct diaspora.

This chapter has also discussed the active participation of Ghanaians abroad in the country's development agenda. The chapter shows little, if any, economic engagement of Ghanaians abroad from the 1970s to the late 1980s, largely due to the undemocratic rule and unstable political governance in Ghana. Hence, most diasporic engagements in that era were either to help political dissidents emigrate or agitate for rule of law. The era between the mid-1980s and the mid-1990s was also the time of the unpopular brain drain because of economic mismanagement policies, bushfires, famine, and austerity programs enforced by the Bretton Woods institutions on the already crippling economies of the developing world, including Ghana. In the 2000s, there was an upsurge in economic engagements from Ghanaians abroad and reports of its effects on the macro and micro level were encouraging. For instance, looking at the World Bank's annual financial remittances to Ghana from 1979, it started with just $1000. In the mid-2000s, it reached slightly over a million USD, and in 2018, it has appreciated to over $3.8 billion. Other significant aspects of this chapter illuminated the trends of Ghanaian emigration to the West and recently to the East. Males leaving their families behind, especially

between the late 1970s and the late 1980s, were the main migrants. However, from the late 1990s, this trend witnessed an increase in lone females. Thus, the high number of nurses that emigrated to the UK under the HSMP program, Ghanaian female students who embark on further education in the West and Ghanaian women who travelled to Ivory Coast to trade all attest to some sort of 'economic freedom' enjoyed by females within the Ghanaian social structure.

However, a careful analysis of this chapter also illuminates two significant gaps already discussed in the motivation section in Chapter 1 (1.2). The first is a paucity in meso level engagement strategies, such as between Ghana and the UK, which can inform and shape meso level policies in Ghana. This is because past and contemporary migration and development policies discussed in Chapter 3 have largely focused on the micro and macro developments of national and regional levels. The few that have focused on meso level developments within sending countries have either been framed under ideological positions, postcolonial motives, politicised by governments or faced structural challenges such as mistrust between the migrants and the locals back home. These influences have led sending countries such as Ghana to enact policies mainly oriented to micro and macro levels of transnational engagements. Although these macro and micro engagement policies and strategies are important and may contribute to the growth of sending countries, it is equally imperative that the meso level is equally treated with importance. In Ghana for instance, the passing of the national migration policy in 2016 shows a considerable gap in meso level engagement policy and no evidence of the government to engage Ghanaians abroad on meso level developmental projects. The creation of such an engagement policy can be the bedrock on how the Ghanaian government intends to relate and transact transnational engagements with Ghanaians abroad towards Ghana's meso level development. As this thesis intends to investigate Ghanaian HTAs as *drivers of welfare*

*development on the communal/meso level back home*, by examining HTAs motivations, channels/strategies of engagement and their roles in these communities, findings from this thesis will contribute to the meso level strategies and channels of engagement that can facilitate meso level engagement policy.


The second crucial area is the scarcity of literature on Ghanaian diaspora in the UK and their collective engagements for the collective wellbeing of their hometowns and other communities. In this chapter, the pieces of evidence discussed have shown considerable contextual comprehensive research undertaken by scholars on Ghanaians diaspora in mainland Europe, including the Netherlands and Germany, while there is scant literature on the transnational and development activities of Ghanaians in the UK, home to the largest Ghanaian diaspora in Europe.. Thus, research on migration and development with a case study on the Ghanaian HTAs in the UK and their engagement in their hometowns is worthwhile a topic that will contribute to the literature in this contextual area of intellectual discourse.

# Chapter 6 - Methodology and Methods

## 6.1 Research Philosophy

As this thesis entails a scientific understanding of migration and development as the area of discussion, this section seeks to discuss the philosophical stance that underpins the research methods and procedures that are a adopted to undertake the aforementioned area of study.

### 6.1.1 Epistemological Consideration

In this research, my epistemological stance is based on an interpretivist philosophical assumption. Interpretivism argues that knowledge in the social world consists of the meanings and understandings people give to their surroundings. Hence knowledge is not independent or external of people's interpretations (May, 2001). Unlike positivists[72], interpretivists assert that social reality is explained through human actions and behaviour, which is manifested in the interpretations of humans themselves. Giddens (1997) also supports this point. He posits that:

> Unlike objects in nature, humans are self-aware beings who confer sense and purposes on what they do. We can't even describe social life accurately unless we first grasp the concepts that people apply in the behaviour (p12-13)

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[72] Positivists advocate that to study social phenomena one should adopt the same processes that are used in studying natural sciences (May, 2001). Hence, social scientists such as Durkheim (1964: xiv) argue that, social scientist must conduct social research in 'the same state of mind as the physicist, chemist or physiologist when he/(she) probes into a still unexplored region of scientific domain'.

As humans have free-will, they can modify or change at will during research and cannot be controlled, as done in the lab by natural scientists (May, 2001). This free-will concept according to interpretivism refutes the laws and principles associated with causal explanation popularly referred to as the *principle of cause and effect*, often used by positivists to explain social reality. In furtherance to the concept of free-will, interpretivism also accepts social reality from an 'interpretive understanding of social action rather than to external forces that have no meaning for those involved in that social action' (Bryman 2016 p26).

The foundational principles of interpretivism rest on the ideological term *'verstehen'*[73] which was expounded in Weber's (1947) publication in defence of sociology as being a science on its own. The concept of 'verstehen' argues that, for one to interpret people's actions and behaviour, one needs to understand that action from the actor's points of view and not necessarily from the researcher's viewpoint. Hence an actor's understanding and meanings of social reality are a crucial part of research when studying scientific issues of social reality.

**6.1.2 Ontological Position**

Constructionism or constructivism is my ontological position in this thesis. Constructionism challenges the ontological position of objectivism which posits that social reality is pre-given and confronts humans as external realities (Peters *et al.*, 2013; Bryman, 2016). As my thesis focuses on explaining social reality through people's influential role as social actors, I adopted

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[73] Verstehen is a German word meaning understanding. Since Max Weber was himself a German, some of his theoretical explanation of social order and reality were in his native language.

social constructionism a branch of mainstream constructionism to justify the ontological understanding and basis of my research. Social constructionism is defined as:

> A broad movement within social science which asserts that understanding can only be achieved as a result of careful analysis of the cultural and historical contexts of social life (Shek & Lit 2007 p 362). It also emphasises that social reality is a continuum, constantly being socially constructed and not static (ibid).

In social constructionism, two critical aspects of knowledge are upheld; idealism and subjectivism. Idealists and subjectivists both hold the view that methods used to study inanimate unconscious objects in the natural sciences, cannot be applied to the study of social reality (May, 2001). This is because social phenomena and their meanings are not only dependent on social actors but also consist of subjective human ideas that shape social phenomena which in itself, is also not predictable (Johnson, Dandeker and Ashworth, 1990).

In sum, epistemological and ontological assumptions explain the basis of scientific research and knowledge. These assumptions justify a researcher's motivation for the aims and questions of research, the research approach, and the methods for collecting and analysing data. As my research is focused on examining the impact of migration on development, I am of the view that the social phenomenon of migration and development are not pre-given but rather the interpretations, constructions and meanings of migrants and the people back home who are both participants in my study. In this regard, I am fully convinced that interpretivism, constructionism and its sub-branches such as social constructionism, idealism and subjectivism

are the nearest possible epistemological and ontological assumptions and foundations upon which this thesis rests.

## 6.2 Research Approach

My research adopted a deductive approach in relation to theory. A deductive approach as per Bryman (2016 p 299) is simply the 'testing of theories'. Bryman further posits that it is often the case that qualitative researchers emphasise the preference for generating theories from data popularly referred to as Grounded Theory. However, in recent years scholars such as Silverman (2014) have advocated the possibility for qualitative research to also test theories and not only generate theories because qualitative research has always somehow entailed the testing of concepts during the research process (Ibid).

I adopted a deductive approach because, I am of the view that the theoretical basis for explaining migrant transnational engagement to undertake welfare development holds but needs to be empirically established. Empirically establishing this theoretical view can only be done by further scientific research that sheds light on the said social phenomenon. So, I tested the primary data collected in the field on concepts and perspectives discussed in Chapter 4. These are an extended family/household livelihood perspective, communal and exchange relationship theories, individual/group self-centeredness concepts, and role-set theory that have seldom been used by previous migration and development works for its validity in migrants' transnational engagement on communal/meso welfare development.

## 6.3 Research Questions and Aims

The current debate on the migration and development nexus emphasises a positive impact of migration on development  (Castles & Wise 2008), but my research seeks to empirically establish if and how the Ghanaian HTAs are drivers of welfare development back home. My motivation for undertaking this thesis has been discussed in Chapter 1 (1.2.1). Moreover, other crucial aspects discussed in the whole of Chapter 5 (5.6-5.7), add to the intriguing aspects of Ghanaian migrants' transnational lives. Like most African groups, Ghanaian societies or communities resonate personhood not based on only individual achievements but also the contribution of such achievement and wealth to the total welfare of the community origin. In Chapter 5(5.7) to be specific, I discussed the importance of communalism and communitarianism as social and moral obligations in the transnational life of Ghanaians and most Africans. These communal social norms of Ghanaians as already discussed, are entrenched in key proverbial sayings, norms and values of the Ghanaian society which are not intrinsically different from that of most African societies, but contextually unique. There is the need to investigate Ghanaians abroad and their welfare development from the perspectives of these Ghanaian societies for a contextual understanding of how their transnational activities and communalism inter-relates, and how these activities go a long way to develop the meso level in Ghana. Hence, my main research question investigated is whether the Ghanaian HTAs are drivers of welfare development on the meso level back home, and if so, in what ways? For me to find answers to my main research question, the following sub-questions were investigated as well.

1. What are the motivations for Ghanaian HTAs to engage their communities back home?

2. What strategies and channels do Ghanaian HTAs adopt and which entities or agencies, if any, do they partner in undertaking these engagements?

3. What are the perspectives and opinions of Ghanaian HTA members, end-users and recipients about the role of Ghanaian HTAs?

## 6.4 Research Design

My research adopted transnational methodology as the methodological framework. Transnational methodology argues that the unit of analysis to study the behaviour and actions of migrants in transnational networks must be contextualised in a cross border study and not just the nation-state (Faist, 2000). This is because when researchers limit their unit of analysis to only the nation-state, the outcomes of such work can be methodologically nationalistic rather than transnational in perspective (Glick Schiller and Faist, 2012). For research on migration-related topics including migration and development, there is the need for research methods to include multi-sited fieldworks, meaning; following monetary transactions, people's activities, and ideas across national territorial borders (Marcus, 1995; Mazzucato, 2008b; Amelina, 2010).

Transnational methodological frameworks also advocate a self-reflexive approach by researchers during and after fieldwork. The self-reflexive approach helps in two main ways. First, it serves as a reality check for the neutrality of the researcher in producing scientific knowledge that includes invented narratives produced by the researched object, subjects or institutions (Geertz, 1973; Lyotard, 1984; Amelina and Faist, 2012 p 1716). Secondly, it enables the researcher to be aware of his or her limitations in research by way of de-ethnicisation and de-naturalisation (Fenton, 2004). That is, employing techniques to erode power hierarchies involving the researcher and the researched (Henry, 2003), where

positionality is a factor. In my work, transnational methodology also informed my choice of data collection methods which is explained in the following sub-section.

## 6.5 Methods of Data Collection

As already noted, my overarching philosophical assumption for this research is interpretivism and social constructivism with a transnational research design. Hence my methods for collecting data were methods which gave participants the free-will to express their subjective understanding and meanings attached to social reality and also an avenue to match-cases across borders. I employed three types of qualitative research methods: semi-structured interview, observation and documentary sources. This is because past works on transnational migration studies successfully adopted similar methods (Schweizer, 1997; Molina, Maya-Jariego and McCarty, 2014). All three methods were conducted on all my case studies and their matched cases. However, interviews inadvertently became my main and the most useful method of my data collection since observation and documentary sources did not turn out to retrieve substantial amount of information. Nonetheless, the few that were collected through observation and documentary sources contained crucial information. These are explained in detail in subsection 6.6.4 and 6.6.5.

In this thesis, it was important to employ a case study because a case study takes 'the particularity and complexity of a single case, coming to understand its activity within important circumstances' (Stake 1995 p xi). Employing a case study design also enables the researcher to look for particular details and not necessarily generalise from findings (Thomas, 2011). The case study also helped me understand the singleness or relativeness of my data, especially in my matched cases and assisted me in identifying unique aspects of migrant engagement

processes, complexities and dichotomies of each project. In a thesis such as mine, adopting qualitative research allows the researcher 'to be less authorial, authoritative and authoritarian' (Pile 1991 p 458). It also allows researchers to choose:

> Methodological and interpretative techniques that have been employed across a range of disciplines for many years, retaining diversity, variety and the meaning of research material (Philip 1998 p 266).

Qualitative research has been widely used in sociology, social sciences, and many humanitarian disciplines with successful outcomes due to its traditional inquiry of observing people in their natural setting, allowing people to freely express their subjective understanding of their locality (Kirk and Miller, 1986; Seale, 1999). The primary thrust and advantage of qualitative research is also the acceptance of the interpretation of action. This thrust helps expose rather than impose many truths and reflects the different understandings and experiences of diverse people in diverse places (Bryman *et al.*, 1988; Philip, 1998).

## 6.5.1 Demography and Socio-Economic Background of the Four Ghanaian HTAs

HTAs are typically associations formed based on people originating from one town (McNulty and Lawrence, 1996). However, in recent times and as per the opinion of a participant, economic and social activities have made these associations accept affiliate members from other neighbouring towns, people who have lived or schooled in these towns, and so forth. The demography of the Ghanaian HTAs that I case studied was quite heterogeneous within the HTAs but homogenous across the HTAs. The average age of the HTA members was around

50 years old. It will be difficult to quantify the percentage of Ghanaians that join HTAs but there was not a day that I found the youth joining their meeting. The members were predominantly 1st generation migrants with just a handful born or migrated to the UK when they were young. The associations were predominantly women with men holding most executive positions in the association. All the presidents and chairs were also men. Most of the meetings were done in the evenings in rented halls.  Their level of education was not discussed but interaction with a number of them reflected that average person within the groups may have secondary or post-secondary level education. The executives were mostly people of good socio-economic standing. Through discussions with the members I was informed that almost a quarter of them worked in white collar jobs such as lawyers, engineers, lecturers and office staff and rest in blue colour jobs. Detailed information on each HTA is further discussed in Chapter 7.

## 6.5.2 Recruitment Process

I adopted different sampling methods including convenience, purposive and snowball sampling to locate and expand my reach to research participants and did not take into consideration their demographic and socio-economic background as this was not the focus of my research questions and aims discussed in Section 6.3. According to Bailey (1992 p 30) sampling, 'is idiographic, focusing on the individual or case study to understand the full complexity of the individual's experience'. As explained in my positionality, section 6.6.4; I have family members here in the UK and know a number of Ghanaians who live in the UK. These social networks facilitated my access to two HTAs. After I had access to the two HTAs, these two HTAs snowballed me to other HTAs. This process was of benefit to me because it paved access to other HTAs that would have otherwise been difficult. Several HTAs were willing to

participate in my research, but I had to sample them to fit my research participant criteria, as explained in detail below.

**6.5.3 Sampling Criteria**

I sampled four main groups, A-D in respective categories, as described in Table 6.1 and further elaborated in the next paragraph. Since the work was multi-sited, there was also the consideration of selecting HTAs with projects in Ghana that were not geographically dispersed from the other projects. Also, due to the concentration of Ghanaians in some parts of the UK, sampling criteria led me to locations such as London where three out of my four HTAs were located. The fourth HTA was in Bradford which might not be considered as an HTA but played the role of an HTA by engaging in meso level activities, and so was included. There was also a fifth entity which is not an HTA. Rather he is a key informant, being the president of the umbrella organisation for all Ghanaian associations in the UK. He was met in Coventry. In Ghana, Bompata, Kibi/Kyebi, Gomoa Benso and Ashanti Mampong, were places where the matched-projects or programs of the HTAs were either undertaken or being undertaken. As required in transnational methodology, there is the need to match cases of studies during data collection for analysis and singleness of data (Mazzucato, 2007, 2008a). In this thesis, Group A categories were matched with Group C categories whereas Group B and D categories were unmatched cases but were stakeholders and key informants of Ghanaian migrant engagements processes. Further details are discussed next.

**Table 6.1 Sample of Research Participants in Groups and Respective Categories**

| Categories/ Subcategories | Type of Entity or Participants | Country Location | Data Collection Method | Number |
|---|---|---|---|---|

| GROUP A - 4 HTAs | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| A1 | HTA Executives | UK | Semi-Structured Interviews | 10 |
| A2 | HTA Meetings | UK | Observations | 2 meetings per HTA |
| A3 | HTA Documents | UK | Documentary Sources | unquantified |
| **GROUP B - HTA National Executives** | | | | |
| B1 | National Executives of Ghanaian Associations and Unions | UK | Semi-Structured Interviews | 1 |
| **GROUP C – HTA Projects Related** | | | | |
| C1 | End Users of HTA Projects | Ghana | Semi-Structured Interviews | 32 |
| C2 | HTA Projects | Ghana | Observations | 5 days per Project |
| C3 | HTA Project Documents | Ghana | Documentary Sources | unquantified |
| **GROUP D -Policy Makers** | | | | |
| D1 | Policy Makers | Ghana | Semi-Structured Interviews | 2 |
| D2 | Policy Documents | Ghana | Documentary Sources | unquantified |

GROUP A

Sampling was done by purposively selecting HTAs in the UK that had either undertaken or are undertaking a welfare project or program in Ghana. There were three sources of data within each HTA in Group A, namely HTA Executives (A1), HTA Meetings (A2) and HTA Documents (A3). In the A1 subcategory, HTAs were allowed to select any executive member to represent them. The A2 subcategory consisted of meetings that were conducted regularly by the HTAs. I chose to attend meetings at random, although I did inform the leadership of the respective HTA beforehand. A3 comprised of HTA documentations and any welfare projects or programs that had already been undertaken or were being undertaken.

GROUP B

Sampling was not much of an issue here simply because there was only one umbrella organisation to select in the UK. Hence this group had B1 as its only subcategory.

GROUP C

There were three sources of data within Group C that comprised of matched entities of Group A, namely; end-users, project caretakers in Ghana and key informants of HTA projects or programs (C1), the HTA project itself (C2) and finally documentary sources of these projects in Ghana (C3). C1 was selected through random purposive sampling to meet the criteria, such as having knowledge or experience about the project. There were also instances where participants snowballed me to others they knew had participated or knew about the project of study. C2 was selected based on projects or programs that had welfare motive and was fresh in the minds of end-users. In terms of C3, they consisted of documentary sources of these projects in Ghana.

GROUP D

The sampling of Group D was straightforward. I needed to get government institutions that had worked or continue to work with Ghanaian HTA based in the UK that were engaging or had engaged in Ghana. This formed category D1, whereas documents and policies formed D2.

**6.5.4 Interviews**

I also used a semi-structured interview as one of my methods for collecting data, as explained in Table 6.2 below. As argued by Holstein and Gubrium (2003 p 67), 'Interviewing provides a way of generating empirical data about the social world by asking people to talk about their lives'. As this work required people to talk about their lives, I chose interviews to enable me to retrieve the salient information needed to answer my research questions and also semi-structured type for interviewees to have the opportunity to elaborate their answers from their perspective and understanding with minimal imposition from me.

Secondly, since I planned to match cases, as done in most transnational methodology works including Mazzucato (2007, 2011) and Amelina ( 2010), it was pragmatic to use interviews as a strategy to collect such data. In addition, as the data-collection was multi-sited in design with all participants not converging at a single location, adopting semi-structured interviews was one of the effective options that gave participants the freedom to express their opinions which may or may not necessarily reflect the other matched participant's opinion.

I also chose a semi-structured interview because I presumed some of my participants might not be experts or lacked the experience of being interviewed. Truly and in the field, the semi-structured interview provided my interviewees with a better avenue to freely share and express their opinions, unlike a structured interview approach which guides the answers of interviewees. I formulated three sets of interview topic guides which took into cognisance all three research questions. The questionnaires were divided into three main sections: The background of the participant or association, the motivation for the projects, and the impact and perceptions of the HTA's roles. Please find appendix 1 for exhibits of the categories of questionnaires.

As seen in Table 6.2, subcategories A1, B1, C1, and D1 were all interviewed. Half of my UK interviews were conducted in the UK before my first field visit to Ghana. This was necessary for me to get an overview of the project and program sponsors before comparing it with the impact and perceptions of the end-users and stakeholders in Ghana. Out of the 45 interviews conducted, only 2 were not conducted in English but in Twi, a Ghanaian language which I am fluent in; both spoken and written. All my interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed. I needed to audio record all my interviews to have the information received from participants in its originality. These audio recordings also acted as a backup when issues of clarity arose, primarily at my analysis stages. Transcribing the audio recording was essential for the thematic analysis of my data, which required coded themes. My interviews took place in the UK cities of London, Bradford, and one in Coventry,[74] whereas in Ghana, the interviews took place in Accra, Bompata, Gomoa Benso, Kibi/Kyebi and Ashanti Mampong. Most interviews lasted an average of about 40 minutes with a few lasting over an hour long.

**Table 6.2: Types of Participants and the Number of Interviews Conducted**

| Subcategories | Type of Participant | Location of Interview | Number of Interviewees |
|---|---|---|---|
| A1 | Amanianpong Kuroye Kuo Executives | London, UK | 2 |
| | Bompata Citizens Association Executives | London, UK | 3 |
| | Kyebi Fekuo | London, UK | 3 |
| | Ghana Union Bradford | Bradford | 2 |
| B1 | National Council of Ghana Unions Executive | Coventry | 1 |
| | Amanianpong Kuroye Kuo Project End-Users | Ashanti Mampong, Ghana | 8 |

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[74] This was the preferable and convenient place of choice for one of the executives

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| C1 | Bompata Citizens Association Project End-Users | Bompata, Ghana | 11 |
| | Kyebi Fekuo Program Recipients | Kyebi, Ghana | 5 |
| | Ghana Union Bradford Project End-Users | Gomoa Benso, Ghana | 8 |
| D1 | Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration Executive | Accra, Ghana | 1 |
| | Executive of the Diaspora Unit at the Office of the President of Ghana | Accra, Ghana | 1 |
| Total | | | 45 |

## 6.5.5 Observation

I also undertook observation, although a substantial amount of information was not retrieved. This was due to the irrelevance of some discussions to my research at the HTA meetings, which coincided with days of my observation[75]. In Ghana, there were times that not many end-users or project caretakers were at the project site to enable me to observe how they interacted or used project facilities. For these reasons the use of photo elicitation became very handy during my interviews. In research, observation such as ethnography:

> Involves extensive fieldwork and may be pursued in a variety of social settings that allow for direct observations of the activities of the group being studied, communications and interactions with the people, and opportunities for informal and formal interviews (Moustakas 1994 p1).

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[75] This usually happened when at some meetings, deliberations on the welfare needs of HTA members in the UK were extensively debated leaving just few minutes to deliberate on the welfare of their families and hometowns back home in Ghana.

The only difference being, unlike ethnography, which is longitudinal and covers a long period of an observational study of participants, observation does the same but in a short period. There have also been several successful works, such as van Geel and Mazzucato (2017), on transnational migration studies where the primary data collection was done in Ghana and the Netherlands on the youth through multi-sited observation at meaningful locations including churches, barbershops, cultural event among others. So, adopting this method of data collection was very useful although the data collected was not as much as I anticipated, especially in the HTA meetings in the UK. My multi-sited observation was conducted between subcategories A2 and C2 (see Table 6.3) below for details.

**Table 6.3: Types of Participants and Observations Conducted**

| Categories | Type of Participant/Entity | Location of Observation | Number of Observations/days |
|---|---|---|---|
| A2 | Amanianpong Kuroye Kuo Meeting | London, UK | 2 Observation days /3 hours each |
| | Bompata Citizens Association Meeting | London, UK | 2 Observation days /3 hours each |
| | Kyebi Fekuo | London, UK | 2 Observation days /3 hours each |
| | Ghana Union Bradford Meeting | Bradford | 2 Observation days /3 hours each |
| C2 | Amanianpong Kuroye Kuo Project Site | Ashanti Mampong, Ghana | 5 Observation days/ 1 hour each |
| | Bompata Citizens Association Project Site | Bompata, Ghana | 5 Observation days/ 1 hour each |
| | Kyebi Fekuo Program | Kyebi, Ghana | 5 Observation days/ 1 hour each |
| | Ghana Union Bradford Project | Gomoa Benso, Ghana | 5 Observation days/ 1 hour each |

| Total | | | 28 Observation days/16 hours in total |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |

In the UK, I undertook observation in 2 meetings each, on the 4 HTAs studied. Each observation lasted around three hours. The first part of my observation in the UK was conducted before my Ghana field visit and the second was after my Ghana field visit. The reason for this was that the information collected needed to be compared with what I observed on the project site. During the first observation of the HTA meetings, I observed the settings of their meetings; the agendas discussed, roles played, the passion in participatory roles of executives and floor members and the number of people present at their meetings. I was given the floor to explain my research in detail and members of the association asked questions for clarifications. I also took any opportunity available to informally ask members questions. On my second observations, I was privy to pictures, videos and documents from the sites of the projects. This was helpful because I better understood the projects that were still in progress and the passion at which some of the members debated on monies spent. After returning from my first field visit to Ghana, members asked questions about what I saw in Ghana, requested current pictures to compare with what they had been told by HTA executives. They wanted to be convinced if indeed they were fulfilling the wishes of the people back home. At this juncture, my adoption of photo elicitation was very useful. The pictures and videos I took aided and elucidated my explanation of what was on the ground as well as asking HTA members key questions that needed clarification. That is why the importance of photo-elicitation in multi-sited field study is at times vital. This is because adopting such processes by basically inserting pictures during an interview, speech, or explanation of events can substantiate a phenomenon or evoke some information and clarify elements that words alone could not have otherwise done (Harper, 2002; Shaw, 2013).

Observation in Ghana was different from that of the UK. I tried to undertake most of my observation and photographs at the times and in the presence of some participants in Ghana except Kyebi, where the end-users were not present. Although, at times, not many people were there to be observed. I observed whether the end-users present were enthusiastic about using the facilities available to them and sometimes asked single questions such as 'are you happy about the project?' to hear their response and observe whether their body reaction matched. Such observations were often used. I remember at Bompata, I asked one labourer, 'are you glad that the long-awaited hospital is being built and no other person is constructing it but artisans from Bompata?' His reaction and answer were enough basis to get the picture of a disgruntled artisan, which is further explained, in Chapter 9 (9.5).

At both the UK and Ghana, I took field notes to support my observational notes. Most field notes were taken during activities that occurred away from the project grounds. For example, in Kyebi, a random member of the town told me that the school where the scholarship program was initiated was not in good shape, but it recently got renovated with several facilities because the current Ghanaian president originates from the town. Since he took office just last year, the school got a facelift. So, the real state of the school had been very poor, especially at the time when the scholarship program was running.

### 6.5.6 Documentary Sources

In addition to interviews and observation, I also collected documentary sources to substantiate the engagement of HTAs, including the activities I observed, and the interviews conducted.

Documentation received from HTAs concerning their projects, as well as the ones I collected from government offices, were not very encouraging. The few I had were of great value and importance, but more would have helped to purposively choose and pick from. In research, documentary sources 'are naturally occurring objects with concrete or semi-permanent existence which tell us indirectly about the social world of the people who created them' (Payne and Payne, 2004 in Mogalakwe, 2009 p 45). The documents collected included primary sources (PS) and secondary sources (SS) as indicated in Table 6.4. Most of the HTAs in the UK that were case studied had very little documentary evidence to back their projects. In Table 6.4, one can see that most documentary sources were collected in Ghana during my first and second trip. Some of the executives requested I give them copies of my documentary sources, especially photos collected from project sites to show the general membership the progress of the projects. That was not a problem since I had previously informed project caretakers that pictures that I took would be used in interviews and discussions with HTA executives and members. I also took a video recording of some of the projects. These documentary sources, especially photos, helped my presentation at HTA meetings and during interviews as well as what I witnessed at project sites. As photos are tools that 'bridge communication gap' (Collier and Collier, 1986 p 99), they were a great asset for my participants and myself.

**Table 6.4 Types of Documentary Sources**

| Subcategories | Type of Participant/Entity | Location of Participant/Entity | Type of Documentary Source |
|---|---|---|---|
| A3 | Amanianpong Kuroye Kuo | London, UK | The day's meeting Outline (SS), Photos (SS), Newspaper Publications (SS) |
| | Bompata Citizens Association | London, UK | Financial Transactions (SS), |

| | | | Association's Constitution (SS) |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Kyebi Fekuo | London, UK | The day's meeting Outline (SS) |
| | Ghana Union Bradford | Bradford | The day's meeting Outline (SS), Communication Letters (SS) |
| C3 | Amanianpong Kuroye Kuo Project | Ashanti Mampong, Ghana | Photos (PS, SS), Video of Project (PS) |
| | Bompata Citizens Association Project | Bompata, Ghana | Hospital Building Plan (SS), Photos (PS), Video of Project (PS) |
| | Kyebi Fekuo Program | Kyebi, Ghana | Photos (SS, PS), Document for Scholarship (SS), Newspaper publication (SS) |
| | Ghana Union Bradford Project | Gomoa Benso, Ghana | Business plan of Initiative (SS), Photos (PS) |
| D2 | Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration | Accra | Government Policy Document of Migration (SS), Diaspora Engagement Brochure (SS), The Ministry's Annual Schedule for Diaspora Engagement (SS) |
| | Diaspora Unit at the Office of the President of Ghana | Accra | None |

## 6.6 Ethics

Research in social science should be ethically sensitive to its participants, funders, institutions, audience and the researchers themselves and even more so when it has to do with humans as subjects of research (British Sociological Association, 2002; The Research Council UK, 2013).

Although there are debates for and against ethical considerations in social science research (Israel and Hay, 2006; Wiles, 2013), there is still a strong argument for ethical principles to be adhered to by social researchers (Boulton *et al.*, 2004). Ethics and research ethics are often interchangeably used in scholarships, but there is a clear distinction between them. Ethics is 'a branch of philosophy which addresses questions about morality' (Wiles 2013 p 4), however research ethics 'arise when we try to decide between one course of action and another, not in terms of expediency or efficiency, but by reference to standards of what is morally right or wrong' (Barnes 1979 p 4).

The British Sociological Association (BSA) has admonished that:

> Sociologists have a responsibility to ensure that the physical, social and psychological wellbeing of research participants is not adversely affected by their research. They should strive to protect the rights of those they study, their interests, sensitivities and privacy' (British Sociological Association 2002 p 2).

In addition to that, all institutions in the UK require strict ethical guidelines and rules about social research with humans as participants. My university, for instance, expects researchers to get ethical clearance before the commencement of fieldwork (The University of Sheffield, 2016). As a concerned social scientist, I approached the need for ethical practice in my research from the *principalist* and *non-consequentialist* schools of thought. These schools of thought stress that researchers should strive for what is morally right irrespective of the consequences, thus adhering to morality, non-maleficence, justice, beneficence and respect for people's autonomy as the central principle guiding their research (Beauchamp and Childress, 2001;

Widlok, 2004; Wiles, 2013). It is in this regard that the aims and objectives of my research, as well as my data collection methods, adopted three ethical principles namely, Informed Consent, the Promise of Anonymity and the Confidentiality of my participants.

## 6.6.1 Informed Consent

There was a crucial need to get the necessary informed consent from my participants. As defined by Wiles (2013  p 6, 14):

> Informed consent involves providing participants with clear information about what participating in a research project would involve and grant them the opportunity to decide whether or not to participate.

Besides, the informed consent should contain comprehensive and accurate information about what the research is to be used for, that is, if the study would be published, what kind of information would be published, its intended audience among others (Hammersley & Atkinson 1995 in Cloke et al. 2000 p 135). The need for informed consent from my participants was also important because my research required participants in the UK and Ghana to talk about sensitive and private issues, such as financial transactions across borders, social norms, customs, and family responsibilities across national boundaries.

To get informed consent from my interviewee participants, I requested both a signed consent form (see Appendix 2) and voice consent before I proceeded with my interviews. In regards to

my observation data collection, which was an overt observation, it is a well-known ethical issue that gaining informed consent from everyone is logistically difficult (Mason, 2014). However, Hammersley and Traianou (2012) argue that, due to the logistically burdensome and expensive nature of each consenting to a research, it is ethically right if informed consent is taken from gatekeepers or the leadership of the group. According to their work, leaders or gatekeepers are chosen by members of a group to make decisions on their behalf. Decisions such as who may have access to the group, determination of what is right for the group and so forth. Hence, it sufficed for me to conduct observations of HTA meetings after an official informed consent had been granted me by the leadership of the case studied HTAs. In addition to the informed consent from HTA leadership, I was introduced before the day of my first observation, and information about what my research would entail and what they should expect during my observation was shared. These two processes dismiss any speculation of abuse of research consent on members of the HTAs in question.

**6.6.2 The Promise of Anonymity**

As with informed consent, strict rules concerning anonymity are outlined in the BSA ethical guidelines. According to the guidelines:

> The anonymity and privacy of those who participate in the research process should be respected. Personal information concerning research participants should be kept anonymised. In some cases, it may be necessary to decide whether it is proper or appropriate to record certain kinds of sensitive information (British Sociological Association 2002 p 2).

My research collected data from matched cases in the UK and Ghana, where opinions of project caretakers and end-users were matched with HTA executives in the UK. Also, policymakers interviewed were at risk of being identified from the information they provided. So, I clearly stated on the consent forms and participant information sheet (see Appendix 3) the potential risks involved, especially for policymakers, and informed them that anonymity could not be guaranteed due to the position they occupied, which made them privy to certain information that could eventually be traced to them. So, I put the best interest of my participants first and allowed them to opt-out if they were not okay that their anonymity could not be assured. Out of the 45 interviewees conducted, only one requested to be anonymous, and that was granted.

### 6.6.3 Confidentiality

Confidentiality differs from anonymity and extends further by way of not disclosing both the identity and information of participants. It also means not deliberately or accidentally disclosing information during data collection (Wiles, 2013). In this work, an opt-out option was also given to participants that preferred confidentiality in the form of *'off the record'*[76]. They were also given the option to opt-out, since I could not guarantee a total confidentiality of any record of them participating in the research, such as not revealing signatures on informed consent documents, photographs or video recording. However, none of my participants invoked their right of confidentiality. I was also flexible and open to edit and delete parts of my data as per the request of my participants, if they requested it. Also, I informed them that should they change their mind later but before the submission of my thesis their earlier

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[76] Means anonymity or not disclosing the identity but the information.

agreement would be reversed. Nevertheless, none of my participants requested their information to be confidential nor their interviews to be anonymised, even with participants of matched cases.

## 6.6.4 Positionality, Limitations, Reflexivity and Field Work Experiences

My background and origin places me in an advantaged and a disadvantaged position. It at times places me as an insider and an outsider in this study. This however is a norm in social science research especially in migration related research areas (Ryan, 2015). Although this is a norm, there is the need for researchers with positionalities in migration studies to go beyond the ethnic lens (Glick Schiller and Çağlar, 2009; Nowicka and Cieslik, 2014). The advantages of positional background such as researchers' having the same ethnicity or nationality of participants, and therefore also regarded as 'insider' may help level barriers such as language or even in-country contextual knowledge (Mauthner and Doucet, 2003). However, positionalities can also be seen as a disadvantage to researchers, in which case researchers are rather seen as 'outsiders' when their background is linked to the opposing group of their participants, beliefs etc. These two positions raise ethical and scientific issues of biases in migration related research that researchers contend with in most migration related studies. Thus Ryan (2015) argues that researchers should always adopt multiple positionalities and fluidities to tackle such normalities when they find themselves in such quandaries.

Being a Ghanaian by birth, and having lived in Europe (Sweden, Germany and now the UK) for almost thirteen years, I am part of the Ghanaians in the UK. Also, having siblings and friends who have been resident in the UK for more than 20 years, I am well connected to

Ghanaian migrant networks and associations in the UK. As a PhD researcher, issues of socio-economic status, social class and power hierarchies were also positionalities that I brought into this research. As I planned to conduct this research, I was aware that some issues surrounding subjectivity of my methodology and the scientific level of my research might be raised. As researchers we embark on field work with a 'map of consciousness' which may include gender, class, sexuality and other identifiers (Haraway, 1991). These maps of consciousness may intrude on researchers' knowledge with the potential of making a researcher's knowledge partial (Mullings, 1999). The first limitation I anticipated was my Ghanaian background, which, although an advantage in undertaking this research, could have also resulted in biases such as subjectivity of my findings. However, adopting a number of strategies used in other migration related research, such as the comprehensive reflexive strategy to deal with salient epistemological and methodological issues surrounding identifiers that arises in migration studies has been successful (Kilkey *et al.*, 2013). In other works such as Ryan's (2015), she explains how she uses the feminist reflexive approach to deal with her encounters in the field being an Irish migrant living in the UK herself and researching Irish migrants living in the UK. In addition to issues of ethnicity, problems of power hierarchies can emerge between the researcher and the respondents. These hierarchies are often common when researchers are perceived by themselves or their respondents or both to hold higher social status or background such as a profession, social class, knowledge and so forth (Amelina and Faist, 2012). In such situations researchers adopted a self-reflexive and self-conscious posture (Radcliffe, 1994; Moss, 1995b, 1995a) or a denaturalising view (Borkert *et al.*, 2006; KOETTIG, 2009) to curb such positional influences in their project. Such strategies were also adopted in this study.

During my data collection in the UK, Ghanaians abroad often regarded me as one of them fighting for a similar cause, that is, migrating for development, and the need for recognition of their role. They were often very open and professional in relating and providing me with the best information at their disposal. There were clear signs of a researcher and the researched relation between us. However, what I noticed was that there was this continuous phrase of 'I hope you understand what I mean'. I understood this to be me understanding their struggle and knowing what they are going through since I am a Ghanaian migrant. Hence, seeing me as an 'insider' to understand their issue. This dilemma as discussed earlier is a common dilemma in migration studies (Chavez, 2008). I tried to distant myself by denaturalising the environment but in a professional manner, to be the 'other' by asking further probing question for them to substantiate their claim, as suggested by Hammersley and Atkinson (1983) to British ethnographers when the case of insiders are overtly displayed by research participants. However, playing the 'other' when people have opened up is not an essay task to achieve. Schwandt (1996) argues that during observation one cannot play the 'other' or an 'outsider' in postmodern observation as these are natural behavioural tendencies. At times, it was challenging, as I was probably seen by the participants as alienating myself from a group which has opened-up with detailed information for their cause. Mullings (1999) also argues that as researchers are always bound to encounter the insider – outsider dilemma due to our vested and motivational interest, they need to stay professional at all times and try to balance their swings between the insider – outsider role.

During my time in Ghana, I also knew that my positionality and being the researcher in this work would put me in an advantageous position over other researchers conducting similar research. I would say it did help, but not as I expected it to be. My positionality helped in knowing how and where to get the necessary assistance or information when unexpected issues

arose, such as contextual country knowledge, language fluency in local languages and the knowledge of traditional taboos, that a researcher without my positionality might encounter (Ryan, 2015). My impression was that my absence from Ghana would not have many negative implications for my research since I will be regarded as a Ghanaian anytime I return to Ghana, but I was wrong. I was often regarded as a foreigner, and they often called me '*burger*' which in Ghanaian parlance means; a Ghanaian who lives abroad. For most Ghanaians, burgers are defined as wealthy, have a different way of thinking, and should be given preferential treatment. These accolades are accepted by majority of Ghanaians living abroad (Nieswand, 2014). However, I tried to relate to them by sharing the very things they would do. For example, I was often at the food vendor where they bought fast foods and ate with them etc., but no matter what I did, I was regarded as the 'other' and not fully one of them. These acts and the way they perceived me at times, made me assume that they might not be very open with information, but again I was proved wrong. During interviews, participants expected me to know and understand their situation due to my Ghanaian background and experiences in Ghana. In terms of social class, as a researcher undertaking a PhD seems very elitist and high level of social class. This status made my access to corridors of power easier in the cities such as Accra. One gatekeeper at a government office told me if I were a bachelor's or master's student, I would not have been given that urgency and extra courtesy. Interacting with participants in the rural regions where projects were implemented was a similar story. They were very happy that I had selected their story to tell the world and were always warm towards me, although they still regarded me as a burger. Hence, being fluid and accepting multiple positionalities - insider and outsider as the environment dictated (Ryan, 2015) was a worthwhile strategy to enable me to retrieve the rich data needed from my primary sources.

In terms of gender, and as a male, one might think that I would encounter impediments when interviewing females, though that has for some time been a wrong perception in Ghana where some groups have conservative cultural and religious norms. In Ghana and among Ghanaian social systems, especially in the southern part of Ghana, where the majority of my research data were collected, there is a less macho culture. Women do have some form of freedom. Hence, being a male and interviewing a female participant was not a cultural taboo nor hierarchical relational issue. The most important aspect is that the interview takes place in an open space and the family is already informed. That was what the strategy I adopted throughout my interviews with women. There were other hierarchical and power related issues during my field work. According to Rose (1997), it is often the case that power relations play an integral part of our daily research and that may influence how knowledge is interpreted and presented by both researchers and participants. My access to interviewing end-users was good, but a few had conditionalities. One was to have the interview conducted in Twi, a Ghanaian language, although they could speak English. As argued by Smith (1996), language is a tool that influences power relations between the researcher and the participant. I believe that was a way to level the power landscape with the use of language but also using the local language helped with access and authority in contextual language knowledge use (Ryan, 2015). I took the time to explain in detail what informed consent means, especially to participants who may have had issues being interviewed in English. Interviewing the highly educated was a more equal footing, but one intriguing aspect was interviewing government officials. At times I was seen as one of the Ghanaians abroad (an insider), given my background and the topic I was researching. This necessitated the positioning of myself in a non-aligned way as discussed earlier and asking probing questions that were very objective and not implicating. I also kept distancing myself from HTAs in the UK to affirm that I was there for research as a sociologist.

I kept my neutral position, was self-reflexive and self-conscious (Radcliffe, 1994; Moss, 1995b, 1995a; Rose, 1997; Sidaway, 2000) most of the time.

## 6.7 Data Analysis

The data collected were subjected to thematic analysis. Thematic analysis, as explained by Braun and Clarke, entails:

> Identifying, analysing and reporting patterns (themes) within data. It minimally organises and describes your dataset in (rich) detail. However, frequently it goes further than this, and interprets various aspects of the research topic.' (Braun & Clarke 2006 p 79; Boyatzis 1998).

As per thematic analysis, transcript annotations are developed for preliminary observations purposes and not necessarily the overview of the data. This was very useful and provided an initial grasp of the raw data before the in-depth analysis of the data was conducted. The next step was identifying themes of the raw data. By identifying themes, I mean analysing into details, the data received and to sort out themes by making abstracts from statements of the raw data that have been transcribed from the audio recordings. The themes were in several forms, including text summaries, examples and references.

The themes in each segment of the data were numbered to help me refer to them during the development of a coding scheme. Coding schemes, which are developed on data received, are mainly to 'represent the identified themes and are applied or linked to raw data as summary

markers for later analysis' (Guest, MacQueen and Namey, 2011 p 10). The coding scheme included broad codes with several sub-codes. The developed codes were then used to apply to the whole data by way of selected margins of the transcripts that had been marked with themes. This safeguarded that the examination of transcripts did not just focus on the atypical excerpts of data, but rather the actual and complete analysis of the data. I also adopted the services of NVivo to organise my data.

## 6.8 Reliability and Validity

The success of using qualitative research methods in different disciplines have been well documented (Mason, 2014). Disciplines such as linguistics have used discourse analysis (Fairclough, 1992), educationalists have used phenomenography (Marton, 1986; Svensson, 1997), anthropologists are known for their affinity with ethnography (Atkinson *et al.*, 2001), and so forth. However, these few examples and a large number of disciplines out there employing qualitative research methods do not take for granted the stiff opposition and criticisms of the reliability and validity that qualitative research methods continue to encounter. One solution professed by positivists, who are known critics of qualitative research's reliability, is the adoption of natural science research methods. According to Kirk & Miller (1986), social science researchers that are inclined towards positivist ideology have tried to impose this positivist view[77] on social science disciplines.

However, I beg to differ, in that as much as objectivity and generalisation of research is an admirable goal, it cannot be the only measuring tool for analysing the validity and reliability

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[77] Positivists are of the view that for research to be reliable, it must use methods of research that its outcome are objective and generalizable. One known example are quantitative methods.

of knowledge, so long as a social reality is concerned. Knowledge under the umbrella of social reality must not necessarily be objective and generalisable to be considered as knowledge. In social reality, contextualisation, subjectivity and naturalness of findings are of equal importance to generalization and objectivity. In social reality, the principles of cause and effect cannot be fully applied due to the free will of humans (May, 2001). Humans cannot be predicted as expected by inanimate objects. In as much as the social world of humans are constructions and interpretations from human perspectives, so is the social world subjective and peculiar to the people in question. Therefore, peculiarity, subjectivity and contextuality of the social world should be regarded as valid and reliable knowledge, since it is the representation and interpretation of the people being studied.

It is for this reason that I argue that, as my research encompasses human institutions and the interpretations of the meaning of life, it will be contextual, not replicable, and not generalizable. Rather, my analysis of this work will be tailored towards an accurate representation of the interpretations and meanings of the actors involved in this research and how they create and understand their social reality.

# Chapter 7 – Ghanaian HTAs in this Study

## 7.1 Introduction

As discussed in the previous chapter, my thesis case study was on four Ghanaian HTAs: Amanianpong Kuroye Kuo, Bompata Citizens Association (BCA), Kyebi Fekuo, and Ghana Union Bradford (GUB) and their transnational activities, which were projects and initiatives in their hometowns and other rural areas in Ghana (see Map 7.1). I also had an in-depth discussion with a key informant who doubles up as the president of the National Council for Ghana Unions (NCGU), which is not an HTA but the umbrella organisation of all Ghanaian associations in the UK.

In the following sections, I briefly describe the historical background and composition of these five associations. I also discuss the projects and initiatives that these HTAs have undertaken or are currently undertaking. I supplement the discussion with vital pictures and documents collected during my fieldwork. The aims and objectives of these HTAs are also discussed in the respective conclusion sections of each association. However, the majority of the aims and objectives that border on transnational engagements are analysed in Chapter 8 and 9 as they form an integral part of the data analysis.

**Map 7.1. Location of Study Area Towns on the Regional Map of Ghana**
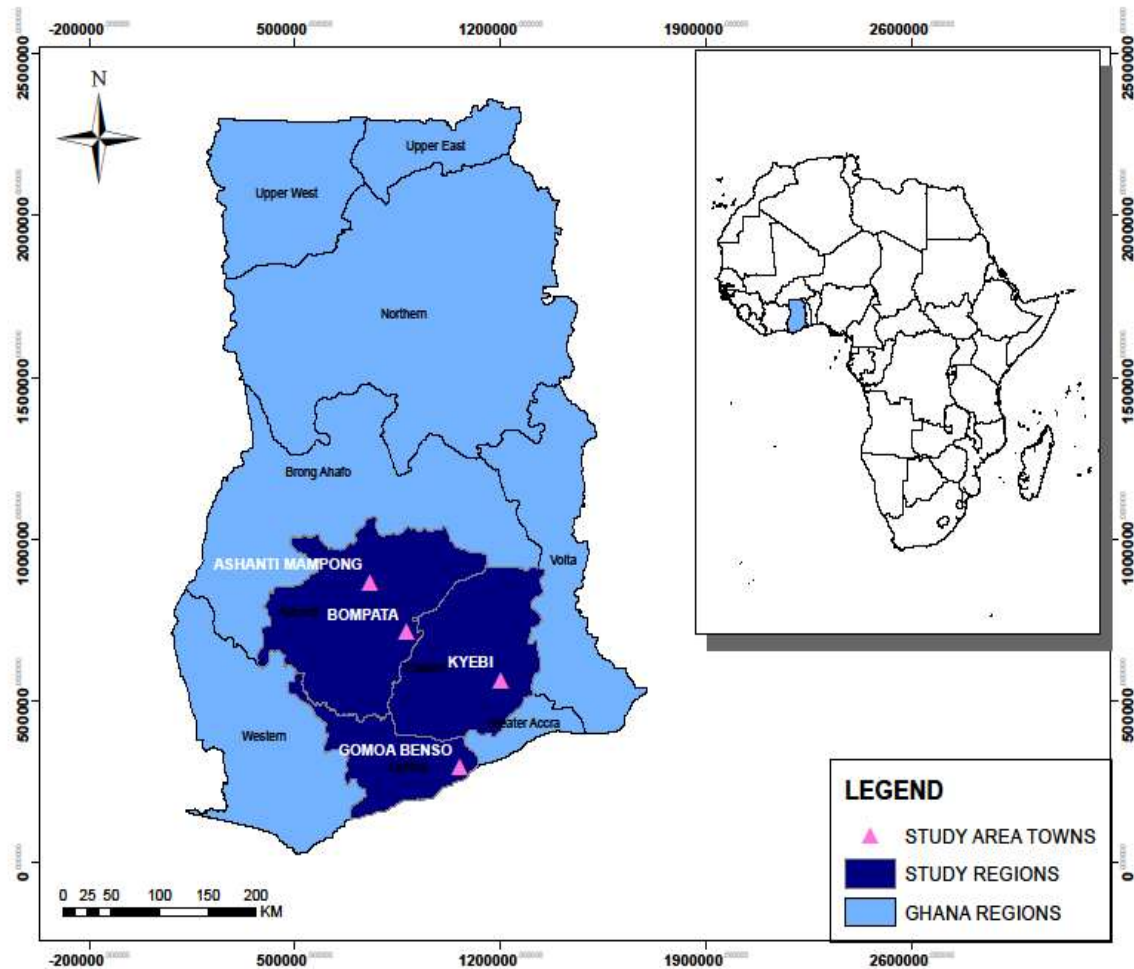


## 7.2 National Council of Ghana Unions (NCGU)

The NCGU is the officially recognised umbrella organisation for every Ghanaian association in the UK. The NCGU is headquartered in London. It was set up in 2015 to take over the activities of the Ghana Union in London which was seeking to be the umbrella organisation for all Ghanaian associations. According to the president of the NCGU, Ghana Union was not representative enough. For instance, the Ghana High Commission had to deal with individual Ghanaian associations across the country without any single channel to disseminate information to all Ghanaian associations in the UK. This precipitated the idea for the formation

of NCGU by the then Ghanaian High Commissioner to the UK, Professor Kwaku Danso-Boafo. He advised leaders of Ghana Union in London and other Ghanaian associations in the UK to come together and form a structured and organised national union that would provide a unified and amplified voice for the Ghanaian community in the UK. The offspring from that advice was the formation of NCGU in 2015. It was inaugurated in the same year by H.E Victor Smith, the newly appointed Ghana High Commissioner.  In addition to becoming the single channel to disseminate information to all Ghanaian associations in the UK, the NCGU also aims to liaise and act as an intermediary between all Ghanaian associations and statutory organisations in the UK. Today, the NCGU is working to bring all Ghanaian associations under its watch to better represent and advocate for their needs, aims and goals. Although this is a process that might take a while to accomplish, the NCGU has managed to restructure its organogram and organigram. It is currently affiliated to the Federation of Ghanaian Diaspora in Europe (FEGHADE), which has its headquarters in Brussels. The NCGU has so far made some efforts to bring all Ghanaian associations under its umbrella. Currently, it has managed to create a number of regional Ghanaian unions that are responsible for and oversee the day to day administration of Ghanaian associations in the localities within these regions.

In sum, the NCGU has decentralised its structures by connecting to Ghanaian associations on multi-layered levels. On the national level is the NCGU as the head organisation; on the sub-national level are the regional unions and on the local level are the city-based associations, ethnic based associations, HTAs, professional associations, old school associations and self-interest associations hailing from Ghana (see Table 7.1).

**Table 7.1 Types of Ghanaian Diaspora Associations and their Hierarchical Levels in the UK**

| Level | Hierarchy | Type of Association |
|---|---|---|
| National | Head Office | National Council of Ghana Unions |
| Sub-National | Regional Unions | Ghana Union London, Ghana Union Midlands, Merseyside Association of Ghana Union Liverpool, Greater Manchester Ghana Union, Association of Ghanaians in Yorkshire and Humberside. |
| Local | City Based Assoc., HTAs Ethnic Assoc., Professional Associations, Old Students Associations, Self-Interest Associations. | Ghana Union Bradford, Ghana Union Leeds, Ghana Union Luton, Coventry Association of Ghanaians, Association of Ghanaians in Milton Keynes, Ghanaian Union Birmingham, Ghana Union Wolverhampton, Ghana Union Northampton; Kyebi Fekuo, Bompata Citizens Association, Amanianpong Kuroye Kuo; Novinyo, Dogombas Association Sheffield, Susubiribi Group, Kwahuman Milton Keynes, Association of Ewes in Milton Keynes Ghana; Doctors Associations, Ghanaian Teachers Association, Cuba Trained Ghanaians, Ghana Nurses Association; Old Vandals Association, Old Achimotans Association; Onuadɔ Kuo, Ghana Society Luton, Unity Men's Club Coventry |

As the NCGU is relatively a new organisation, it has mandated itself to create regional unions that will be responsible for the local level associations. For instance, after the takeover of the

activities of Ghana Union in London, the Ghana Union in London is now a regional union responsible for Ghanaian associations in London and Greater London, and it is required to report to the NCGU periodically. That said, the NCGU has its challenges. According to the president of the NCGU, Dr Quaye Botchway, because the NCGU is a relatively new organisation, the majority of the associations, especially at the local level, do not recognise it as their official umbrella organisation. This has thrown a challenge to the NCGU to work and forge this new relationship and trust among the local level Ghanaian association and inform them about their greater vision and mission as agreed with the Ghana High Commission in the UK. I also confirmed this during my fieldwork at one observation in London. For example, most associations at the local level did not even know about the existence of NCGU. Also, a number of local level associations in London continue to regard the old Ghana Union in London as the official umbrella for all Ghanaians abroad. To make matters worse, these local level associations in London continue to use the Ghana Union in London's charity number for legal activities when required. This is because these HTAs are not registered as charities or foundation in the UK. In a nutshell, there is a lot of work to be done by the NCGU in the UK if it is to succeed in its mission and vision.

**7.3 Ghana Union Bradford (GUB)**



Emblem:

Motto: Harnessing Opportunity in Disadvantage

The GUB is a city-based association, and its membership is open to all Ghanaians living in Bradford and its neighbouring towns and villages. It was officially founded on the 4th of August 2010 in Bradford, but before this date, it was working as a makeshift association, until

processes were formalised for GUB's inauguration. GUB has roughly 150 registered members and is a registered charity organisation in the UK. On a normal meeting day between 30 and 40 people turn up with roughly equal numbers of women and men. The union meets the last Saturday of every quarter of the year. Due to the nature and structure of GUB as a city-based association, it cannot have another branch, and they do not have a youth branch either. Formally, GUB must report to the regional Ghanaian union – the Association of Ghanaians in Yorkshire and Humberside. GUB is one of the associations that played a vital role in the formation of NCGU; hence, they recognise the hierarchy and organigram of Ghanaian associations with NCGU as the administrative head.

As a city-based association comprising of any Ghanaian living within and around the Bradford locality, its members also have the right to be members of other Ghanaian ethnic, hometown, old schools and self-interest associations. GUB has been active in supporting several welfare projects in Ghana. Most of their support has been donations of second-hand materials and funding initiatives in the rural parts of Ghana that are agreed by the majority of the general members. It has been less active in undertaking bigger projects in terms of infrastructure or policy implementation. This is chiefly due to the challenges GUB encounters when deciding on the recipients of such projects, as well as financial constraints. The diverse ethnic background of its members makes it very difficult for a consensus to be agreed on which town or village in Ghana their project should be implemented. Furthermore, there is always the reluctance for members to fund projects that are not in their hometowns. Currently, the GUB is undertaking an incubator donation project to all government hospitals in rural Ghana, alongside the project I am case studying.

The project of my case study is a community-based initiative spearheaded by Gomoa Sports for Change foundation, formerly the Gomoa Soccer for Change, in the Gomoa Municipal Council in the central region of Ghana. The foundation has chalked up successes (see Pic 7.1) by participating in many social and community development events to engage the youth in Gomoa Benso township and its environs.

**Pic 7.1. Some Tournament Certificates for Gomoa Sports for Change**



The Gomoa area is inhabited by the Akan ethnic group, which speaks the Fante-Twi dialect. The project intends to empower the youth in Gomoa Benso and its neighbouring villages, namely, Akfroful, Aboaso and Akropong. As per the president of the foundation, the Department of Social Welfare in Ghana has confirmed that these four communities have the highest prevalence of teenage pregnancy and social vices in the central region of Ghana. Common among the social vices are petty robbery, internet fraud, high consumption of unhealthy substances and gang-related crimes among the youth. The foundation boasts of a soccer, volleyball and handball team for both boys and girls at different age levels- Under 11, Under 15 and Under 18 (see Pic 7.2 and 7.3).

**Pic 7.2 The Under 12, 15 and 17 boys Soccer Teams after Training**



According to Honourable Ernest Quarm, the president of the Gomoa Sports for Change Foundation, who doubles as the assemblyman of the area, he proactively reached out to GUB for support and sponsorship after scouting online for Ghanaian associations abroad that had objectives to empower the youth. The foundation is also planning to introduce other vocational training, such as soap making, textile dying, art and bead making to complement the sports activity.

**Pic 7.3 The U 17 Girls Handball Team after Training**



## 7.4 Kyebi Fekuo

Emblem 

Motto - Ɔdɔ: Obi Nka Obi[78]

Kyebi Fekuo was founded 35 years ago in London. Its original members comprised of only students from Kyebi and its environs, but over the years there was a surge in the number of non-students in London from Kyebi and its environs. This precipitated the association to widen its membership scope to include non-students originating from Kyebi and its environs in London. Kyebi is the traditional capital town of one of the famous Kings and Queens in Ghana, called the Okyehene and Okyehemaa, respectively. The Okyehene is the King of the Akyem Abuakwa Kingdom which covers a constellation of over 500 towns and villages. The Akyem Abuakwa people are part of the Akan ethnic group with an Akyem-Twi speaking dialect. Kyebi and its environs have since last year outgrown its population to become a municipality with

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[78] This is Akyem Twi language which literally means 'Love: Nobody will hurt Somebody'

Kyebi as the capital of the area called East Akim Municipal Council. Kyebi geographically lies in the Eastern Region of Ghana. Kyebi Fekuo is one of the many Akyem Abuakwa HTAs formed by Ghanaians living in the UK who originate from the Akyem Abuakwa traditional area. On special occasions, the Okyehene or the Okyehemaa is invited to London to meet all the Akyem Abuakwa HTAs to discuss their welfare and engagement back home. According to the president of the Kyebi Fekuo, such events happen at least once every five years in the UK.

The Kyebi Fekuo does not have strong linkages with other Kyebi associations in other countries nor other branches, such as youth branch. To be a member, one needs to originate from Kyebi or its surrounding towns and villages, including Pano, Akwadum, Asikam, Apapam, Asiakwa, Potroase, Adadientem, and Akooko, to mention a few. The association has 50 registered members but on a typical meeting day between 15 and 20 members turn up with women outnumbering men. The association meets every quarter of the year and on the third Sunday of the month in Stockwell, London. Like other associations, members pay monthly membership dues. The Kyebi Fekuo is not yet a registered charity organisation, but according to the executives, it is affiliated to the old Ghana Union in London and uses their charity number when needed for transactions. There is a plan to register the Kyebi Fekuo as a charity association. The Kyebi Fekou also allows affiliate membership. Affiliate members are usually Ghanaians who originate from towns other than Kyebi, but for some reason, wish to join and help pursue the agenda of the association.

According to the president, there are several affiliate members of the association. Even though these affiliate members financially contribute to the association, the hometowns of affiliate members cannot be part of the engagement agenda of the association. Kyebi Fekuo has

undertaken several projects in Kyebi including the formation of a vigilante group in the town to reduce the prevalence of armed robbery. The association has also built primary schools and now intends to build a community centre for the Kyebi township. In this thesis, I focused on the most recent project – a secondary school educational scholarship project, (see Doc 7.1) for the inhabitants of Kyebi and its neighbouring towns and villages. The scholarship funds applicants who wish to attend Abuakwa State College (Abusco) in Kyebi (see Pic 7.4). The school is regarded as the oldest and most prestigious secondary school in the Akyem Abuakwa area.

## Doc 7.1. Newspaper Publication of Scholarship Award

Mr Monney also described how government and the press had come a long way in refuting the allegations from the global market, but the focus must remain on eliminating the worst forms of child labour which are still existent within Ghana.

"The allegations lack the contextualization of the situation, conversations about slave like conditions in the Western world connotes that kind of activity in Ghana. Many of these people have never been to Africa so they don't even know the kind of farming situation that we have. If you look at Ghana some of the farming is in small family holdings of just a few acres so it would not be possible for children to be working in slave-like conditions", explained Frema Osei-Opare, Deputy Minister of Manpower, Youth and Employment to *The Statesman*.

The mobilisation partners were all in agreement with Mrs Osei-Opare and believed that certain experiences within the workplace were beneficial in the vocational sense for children of a certain age.

However, the Ghanaian constitution prohibits the involvement of children in exploitative labour. Such exploitative labour will deny the child of his education, health and social development. Figures released by the ILO state that over 126 million children worldwide are currently involved in the worst forms of child labour.

Kwame Mensah, spokesperson for the ILO, stated that his organisation will tackle child labour in a holistic manner,

of SOMOPAC was a long awaited event in Ghana and she hoped real change would be possible. The social partners and faith based organisations present included the Ghana Muslim Mission Women's Fellowship and the Federation of Muslim Councils in Ghana who were both in agreement that the days of selling children into labour for GH¢ 30 are long gone.

SOMOPAC begins its work with the launch of a website and an extensive training programme to advocate against child labour and to secure the safety of Ghana's future generation.

Salidu Iddisu Zakari (NDC, Walewale) appealed to government to subside the amount so that is paid could be affordable to all.

Reading the statement Haruna Iddrisu, indicated that hajj demonstrates absolute submission to almighty Allah and the solidarity of Moslem. Hajj is observed between the 8th and 12th day of Dhul-Hijah on the Islamic calendar.

He said the organisation of Hajj in Ghana, usually done by the National Hajj Board/Council has

Haruna Iddrisu, observed that the present National Hajj Council is not constituted representative enough. In that "Some Moslem groups such as Coalition of Moslem Organisations and FOMWAG, ASWAJ have publicly dissociated themselves from the interim Hajj Council". A very worrying development, he said.

He therefore recommended an efficient and affective organisation

obligation an such", The Council and pilgrims should therefore ensure that this important religious duty is not turn to a profit or business making activity".

Hajj is the largest annual pilgrimage in the world. It is the fifth Pillar of Islam. It is an obligation that must be carried out by able-bodied Moslems who can afford to do so at least once in their life time.

### Kyebi Fekuo London awards Scholarships to Abusco students

KYEBI Fekuo, London (UK), an association of Kyebi citizen's resident within the United Kingdom, has awarded scholarships to four final year students of Abuakwa State College, Kyebi, in the Eastern Region.

The award, the third in a series, brings to a total of 12, the number of students of the school who have been helped by the association to complete their Senior High School education.

Making the presentation during the 70th Anniversary celebration of the school at Kyebi, Ofosu Danso, a Patron of the association, advised the students to make good use of the opportunities they have been

offered by the government and their parents and study hard to achieve higher academic laurels.

He assured the school's authorities of the association's continuous support and congratulated them for maintaining a high level of discipline which had contributed to the improvement in the performance of the students in their final examinations.

The four students, who benefited from the scholarship awards are Asare Akuffo Benbella, Nana Osarfo Boadu, Godwin N Okunor and Christiana Gyabea.

The association also donated an amount of GH¢200 (¢2 million) towards the 70th anniversary celebration of the school.

Picture shows Mr. Ofosu Danso (4th left) and Nana Nyameadom Koranteng (3rd right) Patron and member, respectively, of Kyebi Fekuo, and the beneficiaries of the scholarship awards after the presentation ceremony. They are Godwin N. Okunor (extreme left), Miss Christiana Gyabea (3rd left), Asare Akuffo Benbella (4th right) and Nana Osarfo Boadu (2nd right) Also in the picture are Mr. Daniel Opoku Asiamah (2nd left) Senior Housemaster, Abuakwa State College, and Mr. E.Hayford Appeaning, Eastern Regional Director of Information Services Department (extreme right), Co-ordinators of the scholarship scheme.

The scholarship project was later scrapped due to the subsequent free secondary school education which the incumbent government implemented in 2017.

**Pic 7.4 Abusco (entrance) where Scholarship Recipients received Education**



## 7.5 Amanianpong Kuroye Kuo



Emblem

Motto: Eboɔ a Ehi Akuma[79]

According to the patron of the association, Mr Emmanual Oppong Adarkwah, it was formed 47 years ago in London. The association comprises of Ghanaians originating from Ashanti Mampong, and its surrounding towns and villages within the Mampong Municipal Area with Mampong as its capital. Ashanti Mampong geographically lies in the Ashanti region of Ghana. The chief of Ashanti Mampong holds a very prominent position within the Ashanti Kingdom, a traditional area ruled by the Ashantehene and Ashantehemaa from Kumasi. Kumasi is both the traditional and regional capital of the Ashanti Kingdom and Ashanti region respectively. Indigenes of Ashanti Mampong and its surrounding towns and villages are called Ashantis, an

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[79] This is an Ashanti Twi language which literally means 'a stone that wears off an axe'

integral part of the Akan ethnic group and speak Ashanti-Twi dialect. Some of the surrounding towns and villages of Ashanti Mampong are Nsuta, Bonkro, Abonkosu, Nintin, Mprim, Bosofour, Daaho, Kyirinfaso, Krobo, Agona, Gyamaase, Penteng, Nnwaaadan, Kofiase and Daaman, among others. The name Amanianpong was derived from the first traditional chief of Ashanti Mampong who is believed to have also been the first settler at Ashanti Mampong.

The association is not an officially registered charity association, but also uses the old Ghana Union London charity number when required. The Amanianpong Kuroye Kuo have their meetings on the last Saturday of every month in Hackney, London. The association has two other branches in the UK; the youth branch, which meets at different times in Hackney and the Milton Keynes branch, which meets in Milton Keynes. In Ireland, the Irish branch, which meets in Dublin, but is not very active, is also in close contact with the London branch. All three branches report to the main branch in London. The Milton Keynes branch and the main branch in London adopt the same meeting agenda and share the outcomes. On special occasions, such as Christmas or Easter, a party or end of year party is held, and all branches meet at its main Hackney centre to celebrate the work done in the year. The London main branch and the youth branch have approximately 70 and 20 members, respectively. The members that turn up on a typical meeting day in the London main branch often number between 30 and 40 with women outnumbering men. The association is also affiliated to other diaspora associations that originate from the same Amanianpong ancestry in most developed countries, such as the USA, Germany, Canada, the Netherlands, Italy, Finland and so forth. These affiliated Amanianpong associations meet together once every year, and the meetings are hosted on a rotational basis by each branch in different years.

The Amanianpong Kuroye Kuo has undertaken several projects in the past unlike its youth branch, which only undertakes donation projects (see Pic 7.5) and is conducted independently from the main branch and the Milton Keynes branch.

**Pic 7.5 Donation from the Youth Branch to the Mampong Babies Home (An Orphanage)**



The main branch and the Milton Keynes branch undertake their projects together. These projects have included road constructions, equipping the primary schools in the Mampong township with computers and other key health projects. For this thesis, I focused on their health project- the refurbishment of the antenatal ward at Ashanti Mampong General Hospital (see Pic 7.6).

**Pic 7.6 Pictures of the Refurbished Antenatal Ward**

Patients and staff currently use the antenatal ward. However, fragments of it is still under construction. Also, a plaque confirming the sponsors of the refurbished ward has been attached to the entrance of the ward (see Pic 7.7).

**Pic 7.7. Plaque Displaying the Funders of the Renovated Ward**



## 7.6 Bompata Citizens Association (BCA)

According to the Patron, the association was formed in August 1983 by one man who originated from Bompata with royal linkages to the chief of Bompata. His initial objective was to bring people originating from Bompata township who lived in the UK together. Bompata is a popular town in Ghana because of its historical links to some of the first educational establishments in the Ashanti Region of Ghana. People from this area are referred to as the Ashanti-Akyem people, who are also part of the Akan ethnic group and speak Ashanti-Akyem Twi dialect. They bear the two names Ashanti-Akyem because they are the only sub-ethnic group in Ghana that was formed out of the Ashanti and the Akyem sub-ethnic groups coming together.  The two sub-ethnic groups became one sub-ethnic group through inter-marriages.

Over the years, BCA has expanded to include other Asante-Akyem towns and villages neighbouring Bompata, such as Asankare, Domfe, Adomfe Krofa, Moasu, and Adansi, to mention a few. Out of the four HTA I case studied, the BCA has the highest number of affiliate members. This is because as earlier noted, the historical links the town has with education in Ghana means that several people were educated for instance at the Bompata Training College-the first in the Ashanti Region. For this reason, people who had their education in Bompata and currently live in the UK have fallen in love with the town. Per the opinion of the chairman of the association, such people have come forward to register as affiliate members. He said these affiliate members have played, and continue to play, contributory roles to the association's agenda. BCA also have members all across the UK who contribute financially to the BCA coffers but do not attend meeting frequently because they are geographically dispersed from London. BCA members meet in Elephant and Castle, London, the last Sunday of every month. They have about 70 registered members, but on a typical meeting day, between 15 and 20 people turn up with women outnumbering men. Internationally, they are affiliated and tightly knitted with the Ireland branch. which also falls under the leadership of the London executives. In addition to that, Bompata citizens in different developed countries frequently communicate to resolve common issues about Bompata township and its surrounding villages. The BCA is not a registered charity association, but they plan to register the association once all requirements have been met.

The BCA has undertaken several projects in their hometown including the electrification of the whole town, connecting and supplying clean drinkable water to the whole town (an idea they borrowed from Nevada, USA), and several educational projects, such as roofing and

refurbishing schools and donating resources, including books and computers to schools in the area. For this thesis, I am case studying the building of a General hospital (see Pic 7.8) for the people of Bompata and its environs. The project is ongoing.

**Pic 7.8 Signpost displaying the Site for the Project and the Sponsors.**



The speed at which the project is progressing is worth noting. I took Pic 7.9 in November 2017. When I revisited the site during my second Ghana visit in February 2018, to witness the progress of the project, there was considerable progress from the last (see Pic 7.10).

**Pic 7.9 Clearing of the Land for the Outpatients Department Structure**



Even amid financial constraints which were the usual case for all the HTAs one would wonder

if such progress is due to their motivation to get this job done?

**Pic 7.10 Progress Pic of the Outpatients Department**

**7.7 Conclusion**

Ghanaian HTAs are being formed every year in the UK and worldwide, especially in countries where their numbers abound (Kandilige, 2017). The whole idea about why they are becoming prevalent is that, as Ghanaians move to new destinations within the UK, they find it necessary to form a group for both their welfare and the people back home. According to the General Secretary of GUB, unlike the past where Ghanaians were concentrated in the big cities and metropolis in the UK, Ghanaians, like other migrant groups, are relocating to small towns and even villages in the UK and more so when they want to bring up children within a family. However, what about single Ghanaian migrants? Do they predominantly stay in the cities and metropolises? I am of the opinion these may be unsubstantiated assertion and anecdotal. In my field interview with him, he said he was recently invited by Ghanaians in High Wycombe to assist them form a Ghanaian association.

It is of much interest that in all the associations that were case studied, only one association had a youth branch. This raises questions about the sustainability of their vision and mission, which will be taken up in Chapter 10. There is also the issue of registration of these associations. Using the charity registration number of Ghana Union London is very difficult to understand when each association can register under the UK Charity Commission. I am of the view that if HTAs want to tap into funding resources and also establish their association to officially engage the government in Ghana as analysed in the next two chapters, they have to register under the UK charities commission.

The last intriguing aspect observed during my observation at HTA meetings and discussed above was the phenomena of women outnumbering of men in almost all the HTA meetings I

attended. Secondly, all the chairs and presidents were men. This has been the case for migration and engagement among migrants communities in developing countries that engage in the rural areas of sending countries (Mahler, 1996). However, as my research focus does not include gender analysis a further research in this area especially concerning Ghana will be beneficial to HTA and migration studies.

# Chapter 8 - A Duty to Engage Back Home

## 8.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the first of my finding themes- A Duty to Engage Back Home. The theme emerged from analysing primary and secondary data derived from the case study of the UK based Ghanaian HTAs introduced in Chapter 7. The theme also addresses the first research question of my study, which is: What are the motivations for Ghanaian HTAs to engage their communities back home? The theme comprises three subthemes: duty to family welfare and wellbeing, duty to develop community and human capital (an act of selflessness) and, lastly, duty to develop community and human capital (an act for gratification or self-interest).

During my fieldwork in the UK and Ghana, my participants were of the view that the majority of the Ghanaians abroad are economically better off than the majority of the people back home. This view, tied with key socio-cultural norms and values discussed in Chapter 5 (5.7), influences relatives and non-relatives back home to expect and depend on Ghanaians abroad to support the welfare of the left behind. Welfare in this thesis, as already noted in Chapter 1 (1.1), is understood as comprising a basic but decent socio-economic livelihood within households/communities (Kamper-Jørgensen, 2011). The majority of households and communal facilities in rural parts of Ghana lack the socio-economic resources necessary for sustaining primary livelihood. In addition to that, the lack of government support in the rural communities, as discussed in Chapter 5 (5.7.3), leaves the rural dwellers fewer options including depending on Ghanaians abroad to deliver the lacking socio-economic resources. In the following sections, I examine each subtheme by drawing on the key concepts and theories

discussed in Chapter 4 to help explain the underlining sociological narratives that motivate Ghanaians abroad who cluster into HTAs to collectively engage the communal/meso level in Ghana. I start with the subtheme duty to family welfare and wellbeing.

## 8.2 Duty to Family Welfare and Wellbeing

One theme to have emerged from my participants was the duty to cater for the welfare and wellbeing of their left-behind families. HTAs and recipients in Ghana were of the view that, although members of HTAs are individually responsible for their own family's welfare, any support on the communal level will also be to the benefit of their relatives in that community. As it will be confirmed in forthcoming key statements from participants, key welfare facilities such as hospitals, schools, community libraries and community parks, cannot be limited to HTA families or households back home. My participants were also of the view that providing better welfare facilities and resources on the communal level was also a cost-effective way of providing welfare for left behind families and the community, since the cost is shared among members of the HTA. To better understand this subtheme, I return to my extended version of family/household livelihood perspective, discussed in Chapter 4 (4.2), to help conceptualise HTAs' motivation for family and household support.

### 8.2.1 Family/household Livelihood Perspectives

One of the well documented socio-economic lenses drawn on to help explain migrants' motivation to engage the family/household is the family/household livelihood perspective, a pluralist perspective advanced by the new economics of the labour migration school (Stark and Bloom, 1985; De Haan, 2002; De Haas, 2012b). As discussed in Chapter 4 (4.2), it is not easy

to apply family/household livelihood perspectives to engagements that are collectively undertaken by a group, such as HTAs back home. This is because family/household livelihood perspectives explain that the motivations of migrant's engagement is to support their left behind-households. Besides, the migration decision is often a household's decision (McDowell and De Haan, 1997; De Haan *et al.*, 2000; De Haan, 2002). Such decisions are synonymous among non-elitist families or households with income deprivation, hence migration becomes an alternative investment and one of the few options available to spread economic risk (Stark and Bloom, 1985; De Haas, 2010a). This is also the case whereby the economies of developing countries are characterised by 'imperfect credit (capital) and risk (insurance) markets' (De Haas, 2007 p 51). This means people in the non elite groups find it difficult to access credit facilities, and migration becomes one of the few options to source revenue through monetary remittances from migrants to support households in times of economic difficulties (Stark, 1980; Stark and Dorn, 2013).

However, in my case study, I am analysing motivations for collective engagement of entities such as HTAs for the communal good and not directly for a particular family or household-need. For this reason, I apply my extended version of the family/household livelihood perspective to explain the subtheme, duty to family welfare and wellbeing. This extension highlights the need for communal/meso level livelihood development as means to improve the livelihood of family and household back home. This development also forms part of the common motivations for the migrants to engage back home, but in a collective process among Ghanaian HTA members that have similar interest. This is because, when examining the kind of collective engagement undertaken by Ghanaian HTA members, they indirectly support their families and households when such support is provided to the community as a whole. From the narratives of my participants, it is understood that the welfare of families and households back

home is of primary concern to most Ghanaian HTA members. Hence, likeminded migrants originating from the same geographical locations collectively understands and forge ways and means to tackle such common socio-economic problems that threaten communities where their left-behind families reside. One of my respondents narrated the multidimensional problems affecting their families back home. He stated that:

Over the years we felt that there [were] a lot of things going on in Ghana that we [HTA] could help either to change and some of the things that affected us indirectly though we were based here. [What was] happening [in] Ghana was that we had left our families in Ghana-[and] politics, economics and health was a major problem **(Patron Adarkwah, Amanianpong Kuroye Kuo, London)**

When asked why HTAs would engage on a communal level, the coordinator of Kyebi Fekuo projects also had similar opinion. He exclaimed that:

Some of them [Ghanaians abroad] have their parents and children here...……, so it benefits them **(Mr Appianing, of Kyebi).**

In Bompata town, another recipient reiterated similar reasons to support the basis for developing the community.

I think they [HTA members] are from the community before they left. So, upon reaching there, they realised that back home we don't have a hospital and I'm not going to live there [UK] all my life. Even if I will, definitely my mum is there. So, what if she gets sick and upon rushing her to the hospital, she [can] die on the road. So why don't we make sure we have a hospital [in Bompata] to cater for my mum and aunts and family back home? (**Ms Osei of Bompata)**

Revisiting the tenets of the family/household livelihood perspectives, it is of equal importance to stress the fact that although one of the primary aims of investment diversification through labour migration is an expectation of monetary and hard currency remittance to families back home, it may not be limited to that alone. Monetary returns can be diverted towards other initiatives that are collectively undertaken by HTAs. This is because HTA members are part of a wider community in their countries of origin as retorted by the participant above. Hence, their communal engagement benefits the livelihoods of their left-behind families and other non-related families in the communities. An examination of the below statement which was in connection to the Mampong antenatal ward project, throws light on the motivation for HTAs' communal engagement:

Having come together and obviously looking back home to see the needs of the people, when you form an association from a township, there are several needs back home and how do we address them? Wherever you are, you have a family back home. From all their demands and everything, it sort of gives us [HTA members] an indication as to what is required in their day to day needs. How do you address it? Once we form an association, then we are a great union and when my parents or family needs something

then obviously it can be expressed to the association. So that is why we sort of try to organise these voluntary activities and try to help those back home **(Mr Brenya-Secretary of Amanianpong Kuroye Kuo, London)**

To reinforce the above point, another recipient believed that provision of welfare on the communal level was also a cost-effective way to relieve the financial burdens placed on individual migrants from families back home. This is seen when the cost is shared among people originating from the same area, where the problem is pertinent to every family in that community. He explained:

> You see, the problem is that when you are out there [UK], a little mistake, your family will call you. Your Dad is sick; you have to send money! And when you are sending money, transportation will take part. When the person goes, and stay there [hospital], expenditure will be high. So, looking at the whole idea and the pressure on them and apart from that, our life is the most important thing. If you are there and you come down, and all your family members are dead, what will you achieve? So, looking at the whole situation, they [HTAs] realised that if they have a hospital here, at least you can just walk [in]. So, to them [HTAs], it will help them. It will save them **(Mr Ohemeng of Bompata)**

From the above responses, it is also worth reiterating my discussions in Chapter 5 (5.7). The definition of family in Ghana and most African cultural settings resonates with the extended family system and also illuminate the moral and social concept of obligation to support families back home as an ambition. Hence, it is understood that Ghanaians abroad expect that, with such

communal transnational engagements, their extended families[80] residing in those communities back home will also benefit. Besides, family/household livelihood perspective also posits that there is an engagement expectation from family/household members back home due to their investment in migrants' migration cost. All these concepts help explain why Ghanaians abroad carry these expectant obligations that are embedded in their cultural norms with them. For instance, the prevalence in lone female migrants during difficult economic hardships in Ghana has been explained as a culturally mandated duty and norm expected of Ghanaian women, especially in the rural areas to travel elsewhere in search of economic resources for the upkeep of their families back home (Clark, 1999; Mazzucato and Poeze, 2016). In addition to that, the practice of the matrilineal family systems among the Akan group, which accounts for almost 50 per cent of Ghana's population requires men for instance, to take care of their sister's children in addition to their wife and children for inheritance purposes (Awusabo-Asare, 1990; Eliason *et al.*, 2018). Such socio-cultural norms echo an extensive network of responsibilities to the family members within the family lineage scattered across an entire rural community and neighbouring villages due to the generations of common lineage (Kludze, 1983). This common lineage does not only apply to matrilineal inheritance family systems but also, rural communities that have patrilineal inheritance and kinship systems (Gokah, 2007). Hence, members of most rural communities are inter-related, which in part reinforces the motivation of Ghanaians abroad to engage on the communal level for the benefit of both immediate and extended families. This inter-relation has been extensively researched and argued in Wiredu and Gyekye's (1992) works.

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[80] In Ghana, most extended family members usually reside in the hometown and villages.

In other words, a family/household perspective from the Ghanaian context is extended beyond the family/household to include communal support when discussing the collective engagement of Ghanaian HTAs. There have also been key publications that have used gender inequality to critique the family/household perspective. In Wong (2006), Ghanaian women that were in Toronto, Canada experienced more pressure from families back home than their male counter parts. This shows the inequalities that permeate the families/household perspective that are often brushed aside when critical issues of engagement back home are discussed. In my study, such inequalities were not explicitly observed or discussed by my participants. Presumably this was because remittances are collective and persuasion from family members or communities are directed towards respective HTAs and not individual HTA members per se. That said, gender imbalance was rather observed in HTA leadership, with men holding most executive positions within HTAs.

It is important also to note that welfare engagements and projects back home may either be a request from an institution or a community member back home, or an initiative by a member of an HTA who might have visited back home and witnessed an inadequate or not fit for purpose facility. Through my obeservation of HTA meetings, I witnessed welfare engagements or projects was first introduced to the executive members of HTAs to deliberate, and if there was an urgent need the project was then included in the agenda of the general meeting for further deliberations. What I understood from these meetings and interviews was that most of these projects were issues directly affecting families members of Ghanaians abroad. In the case of Mampong and Bompata for instance, it was a member each of the respective HTAs that visited these towns and requested members to support the project collectively. One respondent recalled the situation in Bompata:

I have witnessed how nursing mothers come for weigh-in, and there are no chairs for them, and they will be sitting down on green grass whiles deadly snakes are roaming about freely. What I was not comfortable about was the needles for injecting the children; they did not even have the children's size. And they were using big size needles on the children. Oh my goodness you cannot watch it. And besides they use a tree to hang the weighing scale to weigh the children, and I was so sad. So, I said to them [HTA members] we need to do something to help Bompata (**Mr Oppong, Chairman for BCA, London**)

A member of the Amanianpong Kuroye Kuo who went on a holiday visit lamented what she saw to the association. The patron of the group narrated her account:

About seven years ago, a niece of mine went to Ghana. The mum was not well so she took her to the hospital. But due to the lack of beds, a woman was lying on a mat on the floor with a baby by the side of it.  She videoed it and brought it. So, she [niece] asked the mum what is wrong with the lady, and she [mum] said it's not the lady, but it is the child that is not well. So, here is a grown-up in a ward and a child in the same ward and the mother of the child had to sleep on the floor. It was then we took a decision that should not happen at least the child should be in the child ward. **(Patron Adarkwah, Amanianpong Kuroye Kuo, London)**

From such narratives, one can also infer that apart from sharing the financial burden of welfare projects in the hometowns of the HTA members, any communal welfare provisions, such as building a health centre/clinic or school or roads construction, is not actually restricted to individual families and households. Hence, for the left-behind families to benefit from such projects, it must be done for the collective benefit of the community. This was confimed above by an earlier respondent that irrespective of the amount of money a Ghanaian migrant send to their parents or relatives to access better healthcare, security, education, just to mention a few, it will not be enough. Hence, it will be prudent if these human necessities and facilities are available on the meso/communal-level to provide services for the communal wellbeing and better livelihood.

From such an expectant engagement it was imperative that I investigate whether HTA members were forced to take part in collective remittances towards the funding of projects back home. After observing a fundraising dinner organised by the Bompata Citizens Association (BCA) to raise money towards the Bompata hospital project, I realised contributions were not mandatory. However, yearly membership fees are mandatory, but not enforced. I also had the opportunity to ask the treasurer of BCA about what happens when fundraising dinners do not take place in any respective year. She responded that:

> Because we did not do our fundraising this year, there is no concrete evidence [financial resources] to show. So, we have levied ourselves 50 pounds each to pay towards the project. We should have had the fundraising to bring more money in but because we could not, we decided to levy ourselves 50 pounds each. This was an idea by the chairman which we all agreed. **(Mrs Stella Adarkwah, Treasurer of BCA, London)**

Although such initiatives come across very glossy and smooth, they are not without setbacks. In my second subtheme, duty to develop community and human capital: an act of selflessness, several of these challenges are further discussed. In addition, I will draw on the concept of communal relationships discussed in Chapter 4 (4.3) and examine it with data from my respondents, which also reflects the concept of obligation as part of the Ghanaian community development.

## 8.3 Duty to Develop the Community and Human Capital: An Act of Selflessness

As evidenced above, Ghanaians abroad have been active when it comes to community development. This is especially so when HTAs mandate it. As discussed in Chapter 7, the common background of HTA members creates fewer inflexibilities for them to agree on communal initiatives for their hometowns. Out of the four HTAs that I case studied, three were composed of members from the same hometown with one out of the two objectives primarily targeting community and human capital development in their respective hometowns. Per my participants, community development encompasses different areas of activity. It includes development of infrastructure, programs and initiatives on the community level. It also includes passing on new ideas[81] that are remitted along these initiatives to sustain such infrastructural developments. In terms of human capital development, it captures social and economic initiatives or programs, such as scholarships and career development skills that are initiated in rural communities. In addition to that, the concept of obligation as earlier discussed help

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[81] These new ideas also called social remittances are further discussed in Chapter 9 (9.4)

explain the social and moral obligation expected of Ghanaian HTA to engage their communities as a moral and ethical duty rather than a mandatory or legal duty.

To date, there has been limited research on the motivations of Ghanaian HTAs in the UK to engage on the meso level in Ghana, as discussed in the introduction section of Chapter 1 (1.2). Besides, concepts that have been primarily used to help explain motivations towards meso level engagement rarely used socio-psychological concepts to explain motivations for HTAs meso level engagements as reviewed in Chapter 3 (3.3). Besides, most of the migration and development literature also reviewed in Chapter 2, including the neoclassical schools, pluralist schools and post structural schools, were largely focused on motivations towards macro or micro level. Although these works have contributed important insights to migration and development scholarships, there still remain gaps in understanding the socio-psychological motivations for migrant engagements towards community and human capital development on the meso level. Hence, I adopt the two of the socio-psychological theories discussed in Chapter 4 (4.3-4.4) to discuss my remaining sub themes of this chapter. The first discussion will be communal and exchange relationship theory.

### 8.3.1 Communal Relationship Theory

To refresh our understanding of communal relationship theory, it explores the socio-psychological reasons why people benefit from others (Clark and Mills, 1979; Clark, 1981; Mills and Clark, 1982). The theory stresses the postive feeling one derives from the act of giving more than a reciprocal act from the receiver.  The theory postulates that:

Members of a communal relationship are concerned about the welfare of the other…

[hence members have a] positive attitude toward benefiting the other when a need for

a benefit exists (Clark and Mills, 1979 p13).

Per the theory, recipients also have no obligation to reciprocate due to the positive attitude expressed by the community members, which is understood as the *norm of mutual responsiveness* (Pruitt, 1972). However, these non-reciprocal acts are more often than not exercised between relationships that are based on two caveats (Mills and Clark, 1982, 1988). The first is the cost that a giver is prepared to incur on a beneficiary's needs without any expectation of benefiting from what has been incurred. The second is the importance of the beneficiaries; assuming the needs are equal, which beneficiary takes precedence (Clark and Mills, 1993). From the findings, biological relatives were found to be of utmost importance to benefactors, followed by members of the same community and then friends.  Strangers were of less importance to benefactors (Clark and Mills, 1979). Nonetheless, in situations whereby a person of less importance or no biological relation receives a benefit with no expectation of reciprocity, then, the cost incurred is usually not expensive to the giver (Clark, Mills and Powell, 1986; Clark and Taraban, 1991; Clark and Mills, 1993; Clark, Dubash and Mills, 1998).

The question that remains critical to migration scholars such as (Goldring, 1998) is why do some many migrants abroad spend so much time join HTAs and spend so much money in developing their communities back home? Are some migrants more transmigrant than others? Probably yes. And these may be the older generation who make up the average members of Ghanaian HTAs as discussed in Chapter 6 (6.5.1). From my interactions with the four Ghanaian

HTAs, it is understood that the older generations were the founders of most Ghanaian HTAs. These founders often grew up in an environment rich with Ghanaian proverbial saying. As explained in Chapter 5 (5.7), most African countries had a proliferation of proverbial sayings in the past and these are still common in the rural parts of Africa. These proverbial sayings instil belief in and support for one's community. This support for your community forms part of the self-actualisation of personhood in most African cultures, including Ghana (Wiredu and Gyekye, 1992; Wiredu, 2009). To reiterate examples of these proverbial sayings, discussed earlier in Chapter 4 (4.7), two of them are very popular. One, '*Obi mfa ne nsa benkum nkyere n'akuraase kwan'*, means *'someone does not use his/her left hand to show the way to his/her village'* (Appiah, Appiah and Agyeman-Duah, 2007 p 33). In all Ghanaian societies, it is rude and unlucky to point with your left hand, hence showing the way to your home village with your left-hand means you are belittling your village. Instead, you must treat your village with respect. Another interesting proverbial saying is '*ade pa na ye di ba fie'*(Appiah, Appiah and Agyeman-Duah, 2007 p 27). This means every good thing should be brought home, [82]which in this context is hometown or village. The proverb also means people should make an effort to bring good things to their place of origin. These proverbial sayings, together with *ndoboa, fidodo, kpariba* [83], feed into the worldview of the Ghanaian abroad prompting them to remember their communities of origin.

Although remembering to support one's community is not mandatory, it is morally obligatory and ethical. Drawing on the concept of obligation already discussed in Chapter 5 (5.7.1), it distinguishes between moral obligation, which one is ethically bounded by and legal obligation

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[82]Home can mean your country, community, village or even your household but regarding the context and the era in which most societies created proverbial sayings which was the preliterate era (Ong, 1982; Yankah, 1989) home will mean your village or hometown as there were smaller communities and villages.
[83] This has been reviewed in Chapter 5 (5.7) which literally means communal help.

which is mandatory (Himma, 2013, 2018). Hence, the moral obligation to engage their communities, also referred to as home (Manuh, 2003) in their proverbial sayings, may be implicitly implied even if not explicit. In my interview with the director for Diaspora Affairs Office, Mr Awuah-Ababio, who was himself living in the UK until his appointment in Ghana, shared an interesting narrative motivating Ghanaians abroad to develop their communities in Ghana:

The fact is let's begin with the most famous of the diaspora who ever was, Tetteh Quashie. When he went out there and he saw something that was good for his country he made sure that he could bring that thing back to Ghana, which is the cocoa, which is the main stay of the country. I think the more you travel the more you begin to realise that you need to provide some input for your own community to also make the necessary progress. That is perhaps what you have seen out there. So essentially that drive is there. Most people go out there they see some things, ideas, they meet friends, they get contacts, opportunities to capital and to advance themselves, and then they want to bring that experience back home, so it follows that most people will want to do that. You know we have all heard about the Ashesi University how the guy went about their working with Microsoft and met some colleagues whiles on the course and how he told them about his determination to come back home. Then he came back to assist and to establish himself. There are a lot of people out there like that. They don't always have to come back with somebody but they even among themselves like the associations are doing. They know themselves like people from Ashanti Mampong will say ok we know ourselves, we know we are here, and we know by God's blessings we are more endowed than people back home, so we can collectively help back home. So

that is what is motivating them. **(Mr Awuah-Ababio, Director for Diaspora Affairs Office)**

This sociological worldview of Ghanaians and those abroad helps to understand comments from the above respondent. Today, Mr Tetteh Quashie, who introduced Cocoa to Ghana from Fernando Po, and decided to cultivate them in his hometown, *Akropong Mampong*, has chalked fame in Ghana as the birthplace of Ghana's Cocoa; a cash crop which is still Ghana's highest foreign income earner. Hence the principle behind the Ghanaian proverbial saying 'every good thing should be brought home' may play a guiding role in why Ghanaians abroad engage in community development without expectations of reciprocity. As these towns are considered homes in the Ghanaian context, the need to help hometowns maybe considered as an implicit moral and ethical obligation. In my interviews, almost every participant used the word ***help*** as an unconditional reason for Ghanaian HTAs to develop their hometowns and other communities back home. One such statement was made by the chairperson of the BCA. He stated that '*All the projects that we are doing down there we are doing these things for the help and benefit of Bompata'* **(Mr Oppong, Chairman for BCA, London)**

Recipients of HTA projects reinforced statements made by HTA executives, such as that of BCA in London. One such recipient was Mr Kesse of Mampong, whom I interviewed concerning the antenatal ward project in Ashanti Mampong. He voiced his appreciation for these projects because he believed the Ghanaians abroad could have sent their monies directly to the benefit of their families back home, but instead, they sent it towards community development for the benefit of the community and its surrounding villages and towns. He stated:

The people back home, they should realise that after all, these people who went to Europe when they got money, they could have given it to just their families, but they didn't do that, they just want everybody to benefit out of it. They are struggling to help build this hospital so that we down here could also enjoy **(Mr Kesse of Ashanti Mampong)**

Others project recipients also opined that:

Fortunately for me, I happened to start my education from this school (midwifery school), so I know a lot about the maternity. Where we are sitting [this was in the Outpatients Department where my interview took place], all these blocks used to be wards full of patients and if you look at how the place look like now, the place has deteriorated. So those who know the place or even have their children here, when they come back and see how the place is gone bad and they can assist, they have the passion to assist. So, I think when they came around that they want to help, the hospital management team agreed to send them to the antenatal ward. That time the difference was so glaring, and the place was not nice and needed a facelift. **(Mrs Felicia Hannah Nyame – Head of Maternity Unit Ashanti Mampong General Hospital)**

Another respondent, who gave birth to all her three children at the Ashanti Mampong general hospital and used the antenatal ward was of the view that:

They [HTAs members] have good mind for their hometown, and we pray that the work they are doing there, God will protect them to continue doing these projects for us **(Mrs Stephanie Aduah of Mampong).**

The opinion leader in Bompata was of the same opinion. He affirmed that:

First, they [HTA] want to help their own people. That is; they want them to get access to the hospital if they are ill or sick. Second, they also think about the citizens in their own hometown and therefore they want to implement this project to help them to assist them. **(Mr Sakyi of Bompata)**

According to other respondents, the welfare support delivered by Ghanaian HTAs through their transnational engagement with their hometowns have other crucial by-products, which contribute immensely to communal development and impact the lives of the hometown residents in various ways. For instance, respondents believed that developing the community may reduce the outmigration of potential economic migrants from these communities. Besides, developing the infrastructure in the communities and providing welfare facilities provides jobs and economic livelihoods in the formal and informal sectors. Some HTA executives questioned why people would want to travel if these needs are supplied. One view expressed by an executive was:

If what you want is provided in your country, you would not travel outside. This country [UK] has been set up the same way we are talking about. Their people sacrificed a lot.

And their forefathers sacrificed as well **(Mr Brenya-Mensah Secretary, Amanianpong Kuroye Kuo, London)**

A similar idea was shared by the head of maternity unit at Ashanti Mampong general hospital that travelling will be curtailed once the basic needs of people back home are provided in Ashanti Mampong. She said:

I don't think it will be necessary. Maybe one will wish to travel for travelling sightseeing or experience but settling there; I will use myself. I don't see why I should migrate. I always tell them even if I got there [abroad] it should be on a visit and not settling there. Because I have colleagues that are working there but when they come down, we don't have any difference between us. If they are schooling, I am also schooling so what is the big deal. With the job maybe, the gadgets that they are using there that is a disadvantage to me but the little that we have to we are trying to use that to save our people. But if there is economic hardship and one cannot make ends meet, people go out there, work for few years, comes back and do something better. Because in Ghana if you don't have money even when you speak people will not hear you. But if we are able to set up our own communities, an Akan man will say fie ne fie (Home Sweet Home). So that we also sit in our own comfort zone and develop our place. No one will see police out there and because he has not got good papers [will] run. No, why should I run whilst I'm in Ghana. But because of economic hardship, unemployment situation. That is what is making people travel **(Mrs Felicia Hannah Nyame – Head of Maternity Unit Ashanti Mampong General Hospital)**

Beneficiaries of these welfare initiatives and projects also affirmed the impact of such by-products that come alongside development. Per beneficiaries, one of the key motivations for locals to out-migrate from these communities was the lack of jobs and economic activities. Hence, when access to jobs and an environment suitable for economic activities to thrive are available in these towns, why would they migrate in search for greener pastures? For example, on completion of the Bompata hospital by the BCA in the UK, one respondent in Bompata asserted that jobs will be created, and an environment viable for economic activities will thrive. He stated:

Like I said, the hospital is an essential element for [a community with a] major occupation as farming. So, [assume] someone went to the farm, and the person gets injured. The hospital is the best place which will prevent that person from dying. And apart from this health issue, it will create employment avenues for some people. Also, it is going to help the community develop faster than its [current] development rate. Now when we have the hospital, people will be coming into the community, we will be having doctors, nurses and other workers. Now, when these people come; they will be buying food from the farmers. So, it is going to bring income to the farmers and [the hospital will] also recruit workers from the community. If you talk about development, you have the basic needs [namely] access to education, health, information and production of goods and services. Now if you have all of these things, the number of people that will travel out of the community will be less than communities who don't have these facilities. So, if we are developed, migration will be reduced **(Mr Frimpong of Bompata)**

Mr Sakyi, a pensioner and an opinion leader of the same town, shared similar views. He also stated:

> Apart from people attending the hospital to be treated if they [community members] are ill, I think it will also give employment to the people in the area and its surroundings. It will also be one of the projects that will help improve the area in terms of infrastructural development. The people [Bompata residents] can cook food and sell there [at the hospital] to get money and do other activities. **(Mr Sakyi of Bompata)**

Another respondent in Ashanti Mampong had a similar assertion when she noted that:

> It [communal development] improves the economic situation of the country because when they [ HTAs] start the construction of the roads and other projects, the project employs people who will come and assist and give them work to do because we have a lot of unemployed youth in the town. And most of them are engaged in masonry and carpentry and the rest. So, when they [HTA] come back to develop the place, it will also enable the unemployed youth to get work in the town **(Mrs Amoah of Mampong)**

Other opinions, such as that of the caretaker of the hospital project at Bompata, addressed the high unemployment rate in Ghana and how it is replicated in most parts of the countryside. He also commented on the strain undocumented economic migrants put on the developed world and hoped that with such projects, jobs would be created for unemployed people and relieve the developed world of this burden. He opined that:

For instance, there are people here, who could have completed senior high [secondary school], but for one or two reasons they could not finish their senior education. Some have also completed HND [Higher National Diploma], university and they are in the house; no job. So, let us assume that because of that people travel for greener pastures [to the developed world or to urban areas where there are jobs]. Let us assume that there is a hospital and I finish university, and I am a cashier working there, nothing tells me that I should go to any place. Whereby you do not have food to eat, that is when you migrate to look for something. So, when there are a lot of companies and jobs are here, I think the whites [the developed world] will be free from our disturbances. One, two… then we are there disturbing them [the developed world], so they [the Ghanaian diaspora] should help, and it will reduce the economic migration **(Mr Ohemeng Caretaker of Bompata Hospital Project)**

In Ashanti Mampong, one of the beneficiaries also made a general statement, not directly linked to HTA rural development activities, but the idea of economic development and its effects on potential economic migrants from Ghana. She stated:

I believe that when there are jobs in this country, people will not want to travel outside. For instance, when you see what is happening in Libya [the killing of sub-Saharan foreign workers after the toppling of Colonel Gadhafi], when there are jobs, our young men will not travel to Libya to be killed. Sometimes when you watch some of the videos, and you see the way and manner, they treat some Ghanaians and other African country's citizens, it is very sad. I believe if we have good jobs and development in

220

Ghana our young men will not travel for economic reasons to meet their fate. **(Mrs Owusu of Ashanti Mampong)**

Such statements throw light on a strong basis for communal development and the reasons why HTAs may wish to develop the meso level. Also, the conceptual idea behind communal relationships such as acts that portray a 'positive attitude toward benefiting the other when a need for a benefit exists' (Clark and Mills, 1979 p 13) especially when benefactors are aware that in addition to direct impact of their infrastructural support there are other by-products that may potentially reduce economic migration from such communities. However, not all research findings agree with the view of the above respondents. De Haas (2014), is of the view that local development may rather increase the probability for people to migrate. In his findings, De Haas argues that local opportunities, economic growth and improvements in a person's living standard are variables that can induce migration. This is because economic developments give people the financial capability to pay for the expenses and cost to migrate. Other research, entailing 10 years of the poverty-inequality-migration nexus investigated by Mckenzie (2017), have also confimed that migration is often undertaken by the rich and not neccasrily the poor. As migration often entails several financial commitments including the cost of flights, hotels, the need for skilled and edcuated migrants, and money for consumption in destination countries before finding a job to economically stabilise, it is mostly undertaken by people with financial resources (Bertoli, Fernández-Huertas Moraga and Ortega, 2013).

In other interviews with recipients, I tried to confirm if HTAs were morally or mandatorily obligated to support the development of their hometowns. Their responses were more of moral or good deed rather than mandatory obligation. In Bompata, one resident expressed the notion

of the love HTAs have for their communities, putting communal interest at the heart of HTA engagement on the meso level. She said:

> I think the ideas that they are trying to bring about is that, they care about the community and that they [community] also deserve to have a hospital, like other communities. (**Ms Osei of Bompata**)

These moral obligations are shown by the extent to which HTAs may go to support other communities. According to one respondent, their HTA even support other HTAs to achieve their community development. He told me:

> Kwaku, talking about that we also will like you to note that it is not only this project that we are doing. We get invitations from other associations telling us what they are doing, and we contribute to help. So, we are also paying to other projects of other associations. (**Patron Adarkwah, Amanianpong Kuroye Kuo, London**)

Communal relationships theory postulates that, benefits that are expensive are normally given to people of importance, including family, friends and loved ones, due to the mutual responsiveness, compassion and humanitarianism of both parties (Pruitt, 1972). Such tenets of communal relationships are illuminated in several accounts expressed by respondents however two of them stand out. One relating to the Ashanti Mampong antenatal project, and the other to the Bompata hospital project. These two accounts are understood to portray a picture of

members of HTAs being moved by moral obligations such as compassion and humanitarianism to support their hometowns. The patron of Amanianpong Kuroye Kuo lamented that:

> We had people who went from here on holidays, and they came back with horrible stories. That is what prompted us to say that we got to do something about it. So, when we decided that we wanted to do something about the hospital, we said let us find out what is existing and what can be done. **(Patron Adarkwah, Amanianpong Kuroye Kuo)**

In Bompata, one of their HTA executives made a similar comment regarding what was said about Ashanti Mampong:

> I was so touched and moved when I went down there and saw some of my mates die just because of something very small that can be treated. A snake bite takes life very quickly meanwhile just anti-venom, maybe £1 can save a life. So, these are the challenges that I have looked and considered, and I said no we've got to do something for them that will help the town …….so long as we can get treatment for them, that is all we care for. **(Mr Oppong, Chairman of BCA, London)**

Beside community development projects, Ghanaian HTAs have also shown interest in developing the human capacity of the people in their communities. Respondents believed that one way of opening up prospective economic opportunities for Ghanaians back home is to make access to gaining skills and knowledge more accessible. Per respondents, financial

barriers have been one of the significant issues constraining families to enrol their wards in education or apprenticeship programs especially in the rural areas. During my interview with the president of the Kyebi Fekuo association in London, he claimed that:

> If you give someone education, you give the person knowledge that no one can take away from the person. Education is the key to a lot of opportunities; it's key to a lot of things in life. Give money to someone it can be spent on something silly something else…but if you support the person in terms of education, you empower the person, and that is something forever that the person can live on for the rest of his life. **(Mr Alex Owusu, President of Kyebi Fekuo, London)**

Besides the argument of individual development posited by HTA executives, they were also of the view that through knowledge acquisition and formal education, the general wellbeing of the community could also be realised when the youth are educated. The same executive further stated that:

> We know education is the gateway to development as our president have been saying; educate your youth, and they will intend to become better citizens. Not everybody necessarily, but if you educate them, they have the knowledge, and they will use that knowledge for development, that is why he has introduced free SHS[84]. So, we also found that education is the way forward. One American president has said that before;

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[84] At the time of their scholarship project, the was no free SHS (Senior High School) education in Ghana. Free SHS education was introduced in Ghana in October 2017.

that it is good to have an education. Infrastructure yes, the government takes care of that, but education opens the gateway to development for the youth. That is why we chose to help in the education of the needy it wasn't big, but they say every little help counts that's why we did that. **(Mr Kwabi, Treasurer of Kyebu Fekuo London)**

In as much as HTAs are of the view that, through formal education, the human capital skills of beneficiaries could be enhanced, the critical question that literature on the value of education discusses is how these human capital skills transform into development. Most especially when there is high unemployment, job insecurity and inadequate social security in Africa and even worse in rural parts of Africa (Allais, 2012). Is it brain waste, or will people migrate after gaining such skills and not finding jobs? Hence, development through skills acquisition, per critics, needs a more effective approach, such as taking into cognisance innovative and practical *pro-poor informal economy* framework (Palmer, 2007b). This makes a justifiable critique when HTAs seem to just support skills acquisition, but the sustainability of how the acquired skills will be put to practical and resourceful use are not explicitly part of their projects.

On the other hand, the Ghana Union Bradford's (GUB) project, which is also understood to be a human capital development initiative, opens up a slightly different version and understanding of transnational engagement, although motivations for such activities also confirm the concepts of communal relationship theory and moral obligations. This is because their project is ongoing in a different town that is not their hometown. As earlier evidenced, supporting projects in other communties is not new to HTAs but they are often done through support of other HTAs. However, the Sport for Change Initiative spearheaded by Gomoa Sport for Change Foundation is directly supported by Ghana Union Bradford (GUB). As explained in Chapter 7 (7.3), GUB

membership is based on Ghanaians living in the Bradford area; hence, members originate from different parts of Ghana. For this reason, GUB tends to focus on welfare projects in any part of Ghana that has been agreed to by most of its members. Issues and concerns about the hometown of members are usually not considered unless there is a genuine need and urgency. Hence, unlike the other HTAs that are keen to develop their hometowns, associations such as GUB are not keen on developing members' hometown. Such a position strongly reinforces and affirms the tenet of non-reciprocity in communal relationship theory since there is no direct form of benefit, as least on face value.

In one of their projects at Gomoa Benso, the chairman of the union explained why it was necessary to undertake skills development and scholarship projects rather than the usual infrastructure projects. He stated:

> Knowing very well our background where we come from, we know education is not free, and there are talented ones back home that cannot go to school because the parents cannot afford school fees, so the assembly member [Hon Quarm] identified that need in his constituency. Through his sports for change project, he brings them [children] together and through that he has been paying school fees for them, but he needs a helping hand to deliver that dream. That was what met with our objectives, and we said yes, we could help. If they cannot sponsor them to go to school as far as they can, and they have got a skill such as football skills, they can play football and become somebody useful in the community and the society as well. So that was what drove us to get involved in that project. Also getting involved in the football means they are out of the street, and they have something they can channel their energies into rather than

getting involved in other things that can lead them into criminal activities **(Mr Sateklah, Chairman of GUB)**

Mr Satekleh's statement explains the need for skills development, such as football, which is understood by respondents as a form of skills development that can take children off the streets in order not to end up in social vices. As earlier discussed, scholars have critically debated the issue of formal and informal youth skills development in Ghana. This is more important when jobs after vocational training or secondary education are not readily available, and parents do not have the means to set the children up even in the informal sector (Palmer, 2007b, 2007a). Also, skills development in the informal sector and private training centres, especially in developing countries, such as football training camps, has been ridiculed as having poor standards because of the basic quality of training in such centres. Such basic, inadequate skills provision has led to a lack of jobs and poor performance, even if jobs are found by graduates of those centres (Palmer, 2009; Peter-Cookey and Janyam, 2017). Although, in the case of the Gomoa Benso Sports for change project, their objective is not just skills development but to also take the youth off the streets and reduce social vices, the long term impact on the project beneficiaries seems to be cut short after they complete the initiative. Having said that, per the opinion of the Queen of the town who doubles as the patron of the foundation, their initiatives have led to low teenage pregnancy[85] and 'immoral activities' in the area, which in her opinion is a success. She noted that:

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[85] This is also confirmed from recent statistics on central region presented by the regional director of the Department of Gender https://www.businessghana.com/site/news/politics/191311/Teenage-pregnancy-on-decline-in-Central-Region 01/11.2019.

Yes, it [teenage pregnancy] is a very common issue here, but with the football and the other sports projects, it has really reduced totally. I even have six girls that I take care of who are part of the project. It is just recently that I received another girl from a neighbouring village in the Agona district that I plan to add to the project, and she has started primary school for now. **(Queen of Gomoa Benso and Patron of the Project)**

When asked about the impact on males in the project, she further explained that:

The guys [that] are chasing after the girls, they are committed to the project and do not have leisure time to engage in immoral activities. The men side is even looking far better than the girls. **(Queen of Gomoa Benso and Patron of the Project)**

Having seen the above programs, there is still room for improvement if the project is to have a long-term sustainable impact. As the president of the project iterated that they wish to expand the project in the future, I wanted to know if a sports career outside the country was one of the main objectives of those taking skills development in sports. He stated that:

It is not only travelling outside that will make someone a future. So, we were thinking about if probably we should get the means; that is financial assistance, we will bring in people that will teach them in certain skills that will even fetch them money when they are not playing like beads making, liquid soap making and other things. So, if in 3 or 4 years you are not able to play to the highest level and you decide not to play soccer

again, what are you going to do? So, if we are giving you some skills maybe how to do soap, I think in your spare time you will make the soap to sell so that you will get something. So, it's not a matter of taking them outside the country but, to help them develop. To get certain skills that will help them whenever they are no more playing football so that they can develop on their own to help them with certain things. **(Hon Quarm President of Gomoa Sports for Change)**

However, setting up a soap making or bead making enterprise requires at least a start-up capital. How do graduates of this initiative start up especially when developing countries like Ghana do not have established credit facilities for no elitist groups (Stark and Dorn, 2013)?

The case of the project in Gomoa Benso is a typical example of how a Ghanaian HTAs transact transnational activities without expectation of reciprocity, as postulated by communal relationship theory. It is understood as a mere act of compassion and humanism; a fundamental of moral obligation without any form or even channel for reciprocity or reversal benefit, when projects such as the sports for change program are undertaken in villages that have no links to members of the HTA funding it.

The findings in relation to the subtheme – duty to community and human capital development: an act of selflessness, portrays the Ghanaian HTAs' duty to community and human capital development as a compassionate and humanitarian act, which can be related to communal spirit or as Prutt (1972) calls it a *norm of mutual responsiveness*, as an integral part of communal relationship theory. Although the *norm of mutual responsiveness* may not reflect exactly in

other transnational engagements on the meso level, motivations such as uplifting community status and development, which is understood to be one of the motivations for Ghanaian HTAs to engage back home, were found in the motivations for migrant engagement to communities in Mexico (Jones, 1992; Durand, Parrado and Massey, 1996). When one takes the communal and human capital developmental projects undertaken by HTA members in the towns discussed, one can agree with Clark and Mills' (1979) findings that people can have positive attitudes towards helping the other even when a need for a reciprocal benefit does not exist. One can also say that these acts, especially in the hometowns of HTA members, may have been done due to the social values, relations, closeness and importance of the communal relations that exist between the HTA members and their community of origin. Hence their transnational activities also confirm their social bond with their communities back home, which is significant enough to merit a non-reciprocal act. However, the arguments posited by the critics of communal relationships theory postulates that there may be no such thing such as non-reciprocity (Altman and Taylor, 1973; Walster, Berscheid and Walster, 1973). This is because the socio-psychological good feeling that benefactors such as HTAs get when beneficiaries in HTAs' communities of origin benefit, is in itself is a form of reciprocity. In addition, the unrealistic emphasis that HTAs are undertaking projects without any direct or indirect reciprocity can also be very difficult for critical scholars to accept. Burgess and Huston (1979) for instance have been very critical about the position of communal relationship theory and how it explains doing good without an expectation of reciprocity. They further opine that a benefactor's action may in itself be an act of reciprocity for actions that have been done by beneficiaries in the past. Such a critical position may be well founded in certain cases of HTAs undertaking projects in their hometown of origin. However, how can that be applied in the case of the current project underway in Gomoa Benso, which is sponsored by the GUB, where respondents argue there is no past or present direct link or relations between the benefactors

and the beneficiaries? These empirical examples may add more weight to communal relationships theory due to the distance in social ties but a clear-cut progressive attitude toward helping the other when a basis for such help exists. In the next section, I discuss the third subtheme, which is in direct contrast to the *duty to communal and human capital development- an act a selflessness.*

## 8.4 Duty to Develop Community and Human Capital – An Act for Gratification or Self Interest

Although key statements from HTA executives and other recipients portray a duty to support community and human capital development without any expectation of reciprocity, that cannot be said for every beneficiary of HTA projects. Besides, analysing some of the key statements of HTA executives, they at times implicitly portray self-interest or even self-gratification as a motivation to engage. Other key statements also show interesting attitudes of prestige as a motivating factor for HTAs to engage back home. I examine such statements and motives below with two concepts: exchange relationships and individual or group self-centeredness, which has been previously discussed in Chapter 4 (4.3.2 and 4.3.3).

### 8.4.1 Exchange Relationship Theory

To reiterate the tenets of exchange relationship theory, they are in summary the direct opposite of communal relationships. In exchange relationships, the benefactor expects an equal or a comparable measure of benefit from the beneficiary due to the benefactor's benevolence. In simple terms, an act of reciprocity is expected (Clark and Mills, 1979; Clark, 1984). Such benevolence can also be a measure meted out to a benefactor as an act of reciprocation by a

beneficiary to a deed that was done by a benefactor in the past. (Clark and Mills, 1993). The crux of the theory rests on the idea that giving creates a specific debt or obligation on the recipient to return a gesture of appreciation (Batson, 1993; Clark and Mills, 1993). Hence, the onus of expectation rests on both the benefactor and the beneficiary.

Relating exchange relationship theory to the duty to develop community and human capital, I seek to imply that there is a perception that HTA transnational engagements towards community and human capital developments are also acts of reciprocity and gratuity. Key statements, phrases and quotes, especially from projects and program beneficiaries, implicitly confirm these perceptions, although respondents do not explicitly say it. For example, one respondents' comment below reveals a form of expectation or reciprocity of gratuity from Ghanaians abroad, when asked about why the Ghanaian HTAs engage back home:

I think anybody who is well-bred can initiate this sort of programme. I know some individuals across the country who do that. I know of many individuals for their hometowns … it comes to the mind of well-bred people to look back home and see what they can do to help. **(Mr Fosu of Kyebi)**

Another respondent at the Bompata hospital project retorted similar views but in a more explicit tone:

It is the priority for you as a citizen outside [Ghanaians abroad] to do something for your state. It is not to benefit the people of the state. You cannot stay outside forever

232

you will one day come home. Your people are around so you have to find better health care for them. **(Mr Osei of Bompata)**

Phrases such as *'expect'*, *'well-bred'* *'to do something for your state'* have a deeper meaning of an expectation to engage back home. This is because, in such statements, one can interpret that there is a moral obligation of expectation, although not mandatory, which is placed on Ghanaians abroad to continue engagements back home. Hence the motivation to develop communities for the benefit of the left behind can also put a requirement on the recipients in an obligatory debt of showing appreciation for future community and human capital development projects, to either commence or be funded in these towns and villages. In the concept of obligation discussed earlier, it is shown that benefactors at times feel a sense of moral guilt when they are not able to meet the social and moral obligations that are expected of them (Brown, 1991; Kurthy, Lawford-Smith and Sousa, 2017).

Besides the implicit and explicit expectation of communal engagement placed on the HTA by recipients back home, there is also the perception that such developmental commitment is to the indirect and direct benefit of the HTA members themselves and not just their relatives or community back home. This perception is clear in respondents' comments in the next subsection, which I examined using the individual or group self-centeredness concept.

### 8.4.2 Individual or Group Self-Centeredness Concept

In Chapter 4 (4.4), I discussed individual or group self-centeredness as one of the four concepts that was drawn from socio-psychological literature to help explain Ghanaian HTAs'

motivations to engage on the meso level. Since previous migration literature seldom explained such motivations from these socio-psychological concepts, drawing on the individual or group self-centeredness concept was essential to help understand salient engagements of Ghanaian HTAs on the meso level. This is because it is one of the concepts that holistically brings together self-psychological functioning indicators, such as biased self-interest and egotism (Ricard and Dambrun, 2011), to help explain the implicit, explicit and interpretive pieces of self-centeredness evidence that appear in key statements of HTA members and respondents to explain the motivation behind Ghanaian HTAs meso level engagements. To summarize the tenets of the concepts, self- centeredness is:

> The exaggerated importance given to the self…., the increased degree with which the individual considers that his condition is more important than that of others and this takes unquestionable priority (Ricard and Dambrun, 2011 p 140).

Another definition by Neff (2003 p 87) presents self-centeredness as the form of:

> Attending individual needs as a priority or self-compassion, which involves being touched by and open to one's suffering, not avoiding or disconnecting from it, generating the desire to alleviate one's suffering and to heal oneself with kindness.

A similar definition can be applied to groups or people of collective interest. However, in group self-centeredness, Bizumic and Duckitt (2007) emphasises the parrallel dichotomies of the in-group versus out-group interest. Thus the relevance and needs of the in-group is of paramount importance to the group with less or no consideration for out-group interest.

The transnational activities of Ghanaian HTAs back home are also understood as driven by self-interest in some cases. Such was the view of a substantial number of recipients. One father, whose son was a recipient of the Kyebi Fekuo scholarship scheme and originated from a neighbouring village of Kyebi, called Asikam, asserted that:

> In fact, we say something in Twi[86] that 'wonua wo ndwom to mu a, wo abo din ensisa da' if your brother sings in the choir, by doing so people will recognise you and your name.

He went further to say that when he was a little boy:

> They say; if you don't help your uncle, he will not help you. Those are the past. Now when you help, even if he is not in your family and you have enough to support the person, you (HTA) will benefit because it will benefit you (HTA) and it will benefit the family and the whole town. **(Mr Gyan of Asikam, a neighbouring village of Kyebi)**

The above statement has been generous by not only referring to the self-interest of HTAs as the only driving motivation, but adding family and the recipient towns as beneficiaries. Unlike the above statements, the statement below focuses on the beneficiaries of transnational activities as solely the Ghanaian HTA members. Hence, confirming self and group centeredness concepts as playing an explicit motivation driving community and human capital development back home. One reciepient from Gomoa Benso narrated that:

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[86] Twi is the largest spoken local language in Ghana and the respondents is quoting a proverbial saying.

The support that we get from the Ghanaians in Bradford, I think it is in the right direction because most of them started from Ghana and they know what is in Ghana. They know the hardship and all the problems that I am saying right now. They are already aware that those things [economic hardships] are existing in Ghana, and it is also one of their [HTA members] problems. Some of them [HTA members] have built houses [in Ghana] and armed robbers can come from this particular place [respondent is assuming that the economic hardship amongst the youth can cause the youth to join armed robbers in Gomoa Benso] and go to Kumasi [Kumasi is a city and approximately 400km from Gomoa Benso, but the respondent is assuming if a member of the HTA has built a house there, he or she is not immune from effects of social vices such as armed robbery] and rob. Who knows that it might be your house? So, if you are able to help that person to come out of that situation, it means that your house in Kumasi is safe. So, supporting us to champion this cause, I think it is in the right direction.

He further added:

One day they [HTA members] will come home….and we are here. You do not know what will happen in future. Maybe you come from Kumasi; you do know what will bring you to Gomoa Benso. If through our project, we manage to build a toilet or educate a child or give a scholarship to someone. One day you will meet that person, and he will be of much benefit to you. So, what goes around, will one day come back to you. **(Hon Buabeng of Oguaakrom)**

Besides the perspective of some beneficiaries, who see HTA engagements back home to be an indirect or direct benefit to HTA members themselves and not solely the community, key HTA executive responses implicitly confirmed motivations for communal development were for their self interest as well. However, convincingly HTAs executives argued that their engagements to their communities back home were solely an act of selflessness for their families and communal welfare, key aspects of their phrases and utterances revealed otherwise. Such motivations including self esteem, prestige and status were also found among Haitians, St Vincentians, Grenadians and Filipinos who lived in the US as a reaction to their experiences to social exclusion (Basch, Schiller and Blanc, 1994). One example of such implicit statements was in expectations of appreciations or gratification and gratuity from beneficiaries of Ghanaian HTA projects back home. During HTA meetings, where I conducted several observations, I noted key observations and evidential statements from HTA members confirming how these projects were an indirect benefit to HTA members and must be continued. For instance, in my first observation of the BCA's meeting, there was a pessimistic view among a section of members that believed they would not benefit from the Bompata hospital project before they die, hence why the bother to fund such projects. Surprisingly, during my second observation of their second meeting, that view had changed among same pessimistic group. One elderly man among that pessimistic group explained to everyone at the meeting that previously he was hesitant to contribute to the construction of the Bompata hospital. This was because he thought he would not live to benefit from it. However, after travelling to Bompata to witness how quickly the project was progressing, he was now willing to fully support and contribute to the hospital project because there was a high possibility of using the hospital facility when he visited Bompata. On hearing his mind change, other members of the pessimistic group withdrew their previous disagreement, as they were now convinced of directly benefiting from the hospital when they travel to Bompata for vacation.

In other observations of the BCA meetings, I observed several implicit and even at times explicit actions and utterances. There were times when discussions about voting for more money for the continuation of ongoing Bompata hospital project was fiercely debated. Some members, for instance in the BCA, complained about the unappreciative nature of the government, the chief of the town and even the community people since the inception of the project. Given that, they asked themselves, *why the bother to continue such a project*? It was seemingly apparent within the rank and file of HTAs' members that they were not very happy when their actions were not appreciated by the people back home, including the government, chiefs, community members and family members.

Another project undertaken by Amanianpong Kuroye Kuo in Ashanti Mampong, as will be discussed in the next chapter, was the second project that the government had declined to assist with implementing. The first was the construction of a paediatric ward, which was stopped halfway. To HTA members, such apathy from the government, the municipal authority and even management of the hospital, provoked several questions to members of the Amanianpong Kuroye Kuo as to whether it was worthwhile undertaking such a financial burden only to encounter further constraints and barriers from an unappreciative government and recipients. From such scenarios, one might not be wrong to perceive that the status and prestige and even power that HTA members expect to receive is what drives them to an extent and not solely altruism, as earlier opined by the same respondents. In one of my questions to the patron of BCA to ascertain their motivation to develop their rural communities, his response was:

> I will tell you this, as I said earlier on. We are not looking for fame, we are not looking for people to say Bompata Citizens Association's (BCA) people are good. No, that is

not what we are looking for. We are looking for the project to be finished, and if anyone, whether the government or a different group want to help us, all we [want] is for the project to be finished so that [people will say] the Ghanaians outside that have put the project there [Bompata]. **(Patron Adarkwah, Bompata Citizens Association)**

In the above statement, the last sentence could be justifying the motivation, although the beginning of the statement seemed to portray HTA members were not into fame making. In a separate interview with the same patron but on a different project, I asked the same question; whether self-gratification or prestige played a role in motivating them to engage back home. His response was very explicitly of gratification and fame making, which points to the relevance of the concepts of individual or group self-centeredness. He said:

I will not only accept the newspaper [publication]. I will also go to the radio station and make an announcement. I will pay out of my pocket. I would have insisted that a plaque is put on the wall saying that these people came to do this[87]. **(Patron Adarkwah, Amanianpong Kuroye Kuo**)

In interviews with other executives, I asked a similar question to ascertain if such perceptions were corroborated by other HTA executives. One such was with the secretary for the Amanianpong Kuroye Kuo, and his response was that:

We are a little association and we have made our presence felt so people in Ghana will have to look at it and say oh how did we sit down for people from abroad or if people use the hospitals, and they see the difference there, and they say oh how did they achieve

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[87] A plaque was in the end mounted on the entrance wall after the completion of the antenatal ward. See Pic 7.7

that and people will get to know that it was done by a small association of people from that area and they provided all these facilities. **(Mr Brenya, Secretary of Amanianpong Kuroye Kuo, London)**

Also, the viewpoint of the Secretary of Kyebi Fekuo in London was not different from executives of other HTAs. Her response was:

In a sense, if someone mentions this... [the Kyebi Fekuo Scholarship Initiative], I can say that I was part of the people who did that. That makes you a bit proud that I come from Kyebi and because I migrated to the UK, I joined Kyebi Fekuo, and we were able to help such and such people and we were able to do this, and that back home. **(Ms Appiah, Secretary of Kyebi Fekuo, London)**

In other interviews, HTA executives explicitly confirmed the benefits they would get from the projects they were undertaking. According to the treasurer of the BCA, for instance:

Even though I am here getting everything, you will never know when you will travel there. If I travel home and I get malaria, I could go in to have my blood pressure checked and they would know what to do to give me the first aid before I come here [UK]. **(Mrs Stella Adarkwah, Treasurer Bompata Citizens Association)**

This statement was shared by the executives of BCA, due to the unfortunate demise of the former chairman of the BCA, after a short illness during a visit to Bompata. Executives narrated the tragic incident and reflected on how beneficial the hospital would have been to the former

chairperson if there was an adequate health facility in Bompata such as the one being built. The lack of such facility required an emergency transfer to a hospital in another town, by which time, his health condition had deteriorated leading to his death.

The concepts of self-centeredness and exchange relationships are vital aspects of understanding self-interest, gratification and prestige as key additional motivations for Ghanaian HTAs' to develop communities back home. Although both concepts denote a negative and critical meaning in my analyses, they play a key role in terms of other motivations towards meso level transnational engagements in Ghana. Sociologists and psychologists have posited that, as humans, we tend to exhibit some form of self-centeredness, self-interest or a natural expectation of appreciation of what we do to encourage or motivate us to continue a good deed for ourselves or others (Miller, 1999). In support of this point, community development studies, for instance, posit that there are two primary ways of developing the community: '*development in the community'* and '*development of the community'* (Mtika and Kistler, 2017). In the *development of community,* there is always the need for people developing the community to have a feeling of self-worth to continue their efforts towards the development of the community (Mtika and Kistler, 2017 p 85). Hence self-centeredness, gratification expectations or expectation of reciprocal acts, may also motivate Ghanaian HTAs to continue community and human capital development. Such expectation of reciprocity through gratification, although not directly linked to what is found in this study, could be explained in the works of Kleist's (2011) and Bob-Milliar's (2009). They found that individual Ghanaians abroad who have played a significant role in the development of rural areas are often rewarded and crowned as chiefs and queens of developments and locally referred to as *nkosuohene/nkosuohemaa*. Hence one might conjecture that such expectations may have warranted or motivated Ghanaian HTAs to undertake development projects with the expectation of appreciation not as chiefs and queens

per se, but of equal prestige and status in these communities anytime they visit. As also highlighted earlier, migrants have been seen to undertake such community development projects in other countries, such as Mexico, to reaffirm their feelings and stake in community membership, which also bring self-esteem and prestige to them (Smith and Guarnizo, 1998b).

Two statement positions have been conceptually analysed in this section. First, I used exchange relationship concepts to examine Ghanaian HTAs' engagements back home as an act of reciprocity or to show appreciation and gratuity to communities. Secondly, I used individual or group self-centeredness concepts to explain HTA engagements back home as an act that indirectly or directly benefits themselves, either through appreciation, fame making, or gratification from beneficiaries, or through the benefit of using these projects during visits back home. Some of the respondents' quotes and my observations at their meetings cited here had explicit meanings whiles others were implicit. The question that lingers on is whether these projects are solely for the benefit of HTA members. Interpreting the dataset with individual and group self-centeredness has revealed the implicit aspects motivating Ghanaian HTAs to undertake their transnational engagements on the meso/communal level. Statements from my respondents allude to the fact that undertaking such projects back home is to the direct and indirect benefit of the Ghanaian HTA members. In terms of indirect benefit, statements from respondents confirm that projects were undertaken to also secure the welfare needs of the Ghanaian HTAs members when they visit their hometowns. Other statements from HTA members themselves implicitly confirm a form of prestige and respect that they expect to receive when such projects are undertaken in their hometowns. There were also aspects of the dataset that showed that there was explicit display of direct benefit to the Ghanaian HTA members and that reason motivated them to undertake such projects. However, this cannot be solely the case. Its is a mixture of different empirical evidence including, benefitting

communities, the Ghana HTA families back home and obviously the Ghanaian HTA members. In the concluding section, I will discuss the themes, the concepts used and how they relate to the migration and development debate.

**8.5 Conclusion**

To fully understand the perspectives of family/household livelihood, communal and exchange relationships, and individual/group self-centeredness and why they play a critical role in motivating Ghanaian HTA members to undertake activities within transnational social space, it is essential also to understand the key findings of other works. In Gowrichan's (2004) work, he concluded on two perspectives as his basis for migrants' transnational relations; 'primordial givens' and 'exchange elements' which are 'rewards' and 'returns' respectively (p 618). In primordial givens, migrants are rewarded moral capital or moral currency by non-migrants if they engaged consistently back home and are regarded as ingrates for not engaging (Gowricharn, 2004; Carling, 2008). In other studies by both Akudinobi (2001) and Akesson (2004), they argued that exchange elements between migrant and non-migrants were prevalent. That is, migrants knew they were expected to reciprocate the good done them by their nation, community and family, and often used submissive disclaimer statements of being ingrates for not remembering what the country, community or the family had done for them and not repaying or reciprocating their quota of assistance. Besides the moral dimensions used to judge migrants by non-migrant or migrants who engage back home to migrants who do not engage back home, there is also evidence that there are some subtle personal gratifications or self-interests or social prestige behind the reasons why migrants repay their communal debt (Bocker, 1994; Rodriguez, 2002; Ostergaard-nielsen, 2003).

My findings in this chapter partly corroborate that of the authors in the above paragraph. By adopting four different concepts, family/household livelihoods, communal and exchange relationships and individual or group self-centeredness, I postulate key socio-economic antecedents, motivating Ghanaian HTA members to engage within a complex socio-cultural structure of the Ghanaian people. It is this complex social structure of communal engagement expectations, which stems from socio-moral obligation and explained from socio-psychological concepts to engage, that is missing in previous works that explain migrant engagement on the communal (meso) level.

From the four concepts used in this chapter, two of them, family/household livelihoods perspectives and communal relationship concepts, have helped explained HTA members' activities were very explicit of engagement back home as a non- reciprocal act. Nonetheless, these engagements were at times implicitly motivated and situated within an expectation of engagement. I say implicit in the sense that several referrals were made about HTAs members having families back home and the need to take care of them although none cited engagement back home as a form of repayment to their family nor a family of communities. Family/household livelihood perspective and communal relationship concepts are non-reciprocal because they may appeal to the commonsensical reasoning, which may also be based on socio-moral obligations within the socio-cultural structures of Ghanaian societies. As already noted in Chapter 4 (4.2), family/household livelihoods perspectives ascribe a migrants' decision to migrate to an investment diversification strategy household resources and to cater for any economic hardships and possible financial constraints in the future. Hence it is expected that it will be the duty for migrants to engage back home when their economic situation in the receiving country progresses, but it is not mandatory. On the other hand, communal relationships help explain that the duty to communal engagement is due to the norm of mutual

responsiveness and the positive attitude members of the community ascribe toward benefiting the other when such a basis exists.

From the two concepts, it is also imperative to draw our attention to the idea of poverty in rural areas. This is because poverty in rural parts of Ghana is understood by my respondents as a key push factor for the Ghanaian HTAs' to transnationally engage. According to Mtika and Kistler (2017), approximately 75% of poor people in the world reside in rural communities. These communities "frequently suffer from inadequate enterprise creation, poor infrastructure, inadequate financial services, and insufficient provision of social protection"(Boto *et al.*, 2011 p 4). In Ghana, over 50% of the population live in rural areas and under deprived conditions (Fiadzo, Houston and Godwin, 2001; Gokah, 2007). Nevertheless, successive governments have turned a blind eye to the plight of these areas[88]. Thus HTAs find themselves in a bind as one of the few sources of development for the rural dwellers (Honey and Okafor, 1998; Portes, Escobar and Radford, 2007). This bind becomes more of a moral obligation or duty to assist, not as an act of reciprocity per se, but also as an act of morality and humanity, especially on the communal level, as evidenced in the responses of my respondents. As evidenced in Chapter 7 HTAs, especially those actively engaged in seeking to better the welfare of their communities and hometowns, are mostly from the rural areas. These towns are also heavily deprived of necessities, such as proper running and drinking water, electricity, education and health. Poverty is prevalent in developing countries, and studies on micro level migrant engagement back home confirm this as the reason that billions of US dollars in financial remittances are sent yearly to left-behind families in developing countries (Hage, 2002; Shandy, 2007; Carling,

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[88] In the next Chapter, I will focus on micro themes relating to policies, political culture and dispensation in origin countries, governance, partnership in developments and strategies adopted by HTAs to undertake these engagements back home.

2014). On the meso level, HTA funding or initiation of projects such as those studied in this thesis, add to the complex set of multifaceted motivations such as family wellbeing (micro), community and human development (meso).

On the other hand, the above motivational discussions cannot be applied to exchange relationships and individual/group self-centeredness concepts, as both explain the motivation of HTA members to engage back home as a reciprocal act and an indirect or direct benefit to HTA members. This aspect of my findings also corroborates previous research by Bocker (1994) Rodriguez (2002) Rodriguez, Ostergaard-Nielsen (2003) who found self-interest and gratification as a basis for migrants engagement back home. Nonetheless, their work did not apply exchange relationships and individual/group self-centeredness concepts to meso level engagements. Goldring (1998), identifies three areas that account for transmigration, including kinship, social networks and norms concerning social obligations, especially among Mexicans living in the United States.

The chapter has deliberated on the primary theme '*a duty to engage back home'* and three subthemes,*duty to family welfare and wellbeing, duty to develop community and human capital- an act of selflessness and lastly duty to develop community and human capital- an act for gratification and self-interest.* Per the empirical evidence adduced, it is understood that the motivation for undertaking engagement back home is multidimensional and complex. Hence, four concepts were adopted to explain the various motivations narrated by respondents and observed during their meetings. Under family wellbeing and welfare, I re-emphasise that, an extended version of the NELM's pluralistic concept of family/household livelihood played a motivating role for HTAs to engage back home on the communal/meso level and not just

family/household/micro level. Under community and human capital development, there were two subthemes. The first was an act of selflessness, which I conceptually analysed from communal relationship theory. The second was an act of self-interest or gratification, which I investigated with two concepts exchange relationship, and individual and group self-centeredness. The complex and multidimensional motivations discussed in the section and the chapter as a whole suggest that sociologists and social scientists may require the adoption of a multi-disciplinary, multi-conceptual scholarships to understand the transnational activities of HTAs, especially on a contextual level.

Migrants' duty to engage back home on the meso level is not as simple as one may anticipate. It also involves stakeholders, policymakers and a network of policies playing vital roles such that it complicates the discourse and debate of migration and development. In the next chapter, I discuss my second primary theme; *partners of welfare development*. This theme examines the perspectives of both recipients, end-users and HTA members on the status that the Ghanaians abroad, which HTA members are part of, hold. It also discusses how such status necessitates them supporting their communities. This support is also within a social structure, which mandates Ghanaians abroad as agents of development back home when other status occupants such as the Ghanaian government, which is also part of the social structure, are not undertaking their responsibilities but may be willing to partner the Ghanaians associations abroad such as HTAs to fulfil, for example, their meso level developmental duties.

# Chapter 9 - Partners in Welfare Development

## 9.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses my second primary theme; partners in welfare development. The theme seeks to address my second research question which is: what strategies and channels do Ghanaian HTAs adopt and which entities or agencies, if any, do they partner with in undertaking these projects or programs. The chapter also addresses my third research question: what are the perspectives and opinions of Ghanaian HTA members, end-users and recipients about the role of Ghanaian HTAs?

The theme primarily relates to welfare development on the meso level. It will also incorporate key aspects of welfare development on the micro and household-level discussed in Chapter 8. As already noted in Chapter 5 (5.7.2), meso level development has always been a significant challenge to the Ghanaian government and most developing countries. Hence, Ghanaians abroad finds themselves in a *de facto* position as one of the agents[89] playing a significant role in meso level development. To render the totality and the significance of the role played by Ghanaian HTAs as partners of welfare development, I examine four subthemes, namely, *Financiers of Welfare Development Projects*, *Social Remitters and Planters of Sustainable Ideas for Welfare Development, Agents of Welfare Development under Limited Partnerships* and lastly *Partners in Development Initiatives*. From the perspectives of respondents, I will

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[89] Other meso level development agents include International Organisations, Non-governmental Organisations Faith Based Organisations, Civil Society Organisations and the national government (Mercer, Page and Evans, 2009; Libal and Harding, 2012).

examine these subthemes as roles expected and undertaken by the members of Ghanaian HTAs as status-occupants back home. Additionally, I will conceptually try to explain the basis of these four subthemes using role-set theory (Merton, 1957) to scientifically understand the sociological positioning of the partners of welfare development.

The structure of this chapter will be as follows: section 9.2 will focus on a summarised version of the role-set theory discussed in Chapter 4 (4.5). Sections 9.3 to 9.6 will be the analysis of the four subthemes. Section 9.7 will conclude this chapter explaining how my findings have addressed these questions.

## 9.2 Role-Set Theory

Role-set theory elucidates the roles and statuses encompassing the principal building blocks of a social structure. Per the theory, the social structure of every society has 'roles' associated with designated 'statuses' (Merton, 1957). Hence, status occupants have responsibilities that the society, a group or community in question expects of them. Furthermore, every *person* in every society holds many *statuses* associated with several *roles* (Merton, 1957; Merton, Reader and Kendall, 1957; Mead, 1967). In this scenario, Ghanaians abroad are my primary status occupants in the society in question. The other status occupants include the Ghanaian government, traditional leaders, institutional heads and beneficiaries of HTA projects or initiatives. Per Merton (1957 p113-17), in undertaking their responsibilities status occupants are characterised by six different tenets in every social system namely:

*Relative importance of various statuses, differences of power of those in the role-set, insulation of role-activities from observability by members of the role-set, observability of conflicting demands by members of a role-set, mutual social support among status-occupants* [and lastly] *abridging the role-set.*

Having discussed these characteristics in Chapter 4 (4.5), I seek to apply them to my respondent's data to help understand why my respondents argue that Ghanaian HTAs are partners of welfare development. Like all other theories, role-set is not a perfect theory, but its holistic approach to examining status occupancy and their socially attached roles as well as its self-critique in terms of the acknowledgement of structural constraints, better explains the status and roles of my status occupants in the Ghanaian social structure. In Ghana, Ghanaians who live abroad hold a social status popularly known as *Burger*[90], as already discussed in Chapter 6 (6.6.4). From my experiential understanding, knowledge and interactions with Ghanaians abroad, which has spanned across the different countries discussed in Chapter 1(1.2), the term is not rejected but adored by most Ghanaians abroad. Although this terminology is universally known in Ghana, there is no unified form of spelling. For clarity purposes, I will adopt the spelling *burgers* henceforth and use it interchangeably with Ghanaians abroad and HTAs as this is how it is used by most of my respondents.

### 9.2.1 The *Burger*- Their Status and Responsibilities in Ghana

The term burger was introduced to Ghana by visiting Ghanaians who lived in Hamburg, Germany (Martin, 2005; Nieswand, 2014). These '*German-based* Ghanaians' referred to each

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[90] Ghanaians abroad accept this terminology and a number of them even find prestige in it at times.

other with their newly found vocabulary *'Bürger',* a German word which means citizen. Since then, non-migrant Ghanaians have adopted the word and universally applied this name to any Ghanaian who lives abroad. As already iterated in Chapter 8 (8.1), the perception that Ghanaians have about abroad, especially those who reside in rural areas, is thought provoking. This is because there is the belief that as a burger, you must be rich and also have exposure and knowledge of how things are done differently and properly in the developed world (Kleist and Thorsen, 2017). This perception of knowledge and exposure is even stronger when a burger has had his/her education and some work experience in the receiving countries where everything is assumed to be organised and 'top-notch'. Whereas the notion of knowledge and exposure has been in existence even before Ghana's independence[91], the perception of affluence has been in existence since the 1980s and 1990s. The notion of burger affluence also originates from the lavish lifestyles portrayed by burgers during visits back home or permanent return. These lavish lifestyles were expressed through huge investments such as real estate, driving luxurious cars, starting SMEs and large enterprises (Nieswand, 2014). The perception that burger and affluence go hand in hand, create responsibilities and high expectations from not just families but also communities in Ghana (Kleist, 2017). This perception is not limited to Ghanaians alone, since other developing countries have their narrative of *'burgers'* (Horst, 2004; Akuei, 2005). The idea of status as echoed by these narratives elevate the roles that come along with being a member of group based on ethnicity, religion, occupation etc. (Turner, 1988; Smith, 1998). Hence, in fulfilling such roles, migrants valorise their status, since communities usually have a shared historical context where certain practices, rituals etc. have contextual meaning to community members (Goldring, 1998). In my first subtheme, *'Financiers of Welfare Development Projects',* I discuss how the burger status requires and expects them to

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[91] This is because the majority of Ghana's leaders who helped Ghana gain her independence were educated abroad.

finance welfare projects collectively, not just in their hometowns alone but moreover in struggling communities.

## 9.3 Financiers of Welfare Development Projects

The affiliation of affluence to somebody or a group of people and being affluent are two different things. The rhetorical question is; are the Ghanaians abroad financiers of welfare development projects because they have the financial capacity to fund such projects or, are they expected to fund these projects because of their burger status? This was understood during my interviews in Kyebi. One of my respondents recalled a special appeal made by their king '*Okyenhene*' [92] Osagyefuo Amoatia Ofori Payin II', the traditional ruler of the Akyem Abuakwa Kingdom during a durbar[93] to the citizens. He stated:

> The Okyenhene had requested or appealed to the citizens of Akyem Abuakwa abroad
> and those who could afford to adopt some children in the community who were brilliant
> but needy. It was an appeal or program dubbed 'Boa Baako na Bua Wo Man' [literally
> translated as, help one to help the town but the actual meaning is that helping someone
> from the town, in this case, a student is a contribution towards the development of the
> Akyem Abuakwa State]. **(Mr Appianing Caretaker of Scholarship Project in Kyebi)**

HTA executives of the Kyebi Fekuo affirmed that it was the response to the king's appeal that subsequently led to the association's deliberation of the scholarship scheme and in 2009, the

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[92] Okyenhene is a twi word and the stool name for all Kings of the Akyem Abuakwa Kingdom.
[93] A durbar is usually a traditional gathering of all members of the towns and villages. It is usually organised and presided over by the traditional leader of the area. A typical example is a traditional festival.

scheme was launched. The call from the king to the burgers of Akyem Abuakwa, explains the perception and expectations the people back home have about Ghanaians abroad and their financial prowess. In my discussion with Mr Appianing, he also explained that this and other projects have never been imposed by the burgers on the community and, in most cases, the community sends such requests to HTAs to deliberate on the issue, and if they can help, then they assist.

> The idea [request for scholarship project] was more of community concern and discussion and not the Kyebi Fekou trying to impose their ideas on us. **(Mr Appianing Caretaker of Scholarship Project in Kyebi)**

In another separate but similar case, the Queen of Gomoa Benso Nana Odokua II and the Assembly member of Gomoa Akropong Akfroful, Honourable Ernest Quarm, contacted GUB to support the Gomoa Sports for Change initiative. After weeks of deliberation among members of the association, as to whether the aims and objectives of the initiative were within the aims and objectives of the GUB, the members of the GUB approved the request. Per the respondents, the program has since taken some of the participants off the streets of Gomoa Benso and enabled them to complete primary/junior high school education. The first cohort (see Pic 9.2) is currently in Swedru School of Business, a senior high school.

**Pic 9.1 Some Recipients and Coaches of Gomoa Sports for Change Initiative**



In my interview with Hon. Quarm, the president of the NGO, I asked why he contacted GUB, and his response was: '*For me, contacting them was [because they were] in the UK'* **(Hon. Quarm President for Gomoa Sports for Change).** A call for support can be requested when the beneficiary assumes that the benefactor has the means to support. It is also important to know that a beneficiary may send such request to a benefactor based on the expectation that the benefactor is responsible or partly responsible for that role.

The above statement also challenges other findings by Richman (2005), that the decision making relationship between migrants and the people back home is hierarchical and rather confirms forms of symmetrical relationship between '*transactors'*[94] and '*recipients'* (Åkesson, 2009; Carling, 2014), with those abroad not always dictating remittances, projects and other forms of transnational activities. The relationship also illuminates the idea of development from a bottom-up approach where the development needs of a people are determined and initiated

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[94] This term is synonymous to senders or remitters.

by the local people rather than the top-down approach development strategy (Hettne, 1995). However, this position is sometimes contradictory when analysing the idea shared by Mr Appianing and Hon Quarm. As will be evident in the following subtheme, the very idea of reaching out to Ghanaians abroad is not solely for financial reasons but also due to their exposure and knowledge to better ways of doing things. Hence, a bottom-up approach could be contested since there will be some form of top-down approach. A mixed approach of both may be a better way of describing their relationship.

In Chapter 8, I established that one of the key motivations for the Ghanaian HTAs to engage back home is also a moral obligation embedded within their socio-cultural understanding and worldview. In this section, I am also seeking to analyse whether the perception of affluence and burger status addresses the emerging subtheme that Ghanaian HTAs are *financiers of welfare development projects*. It is understood that Ghanaian HTAs do respond to requests from left-behind communities with urgency and importance, as seen in Kyebi and Gomoa Benso. Examining such responses through the lenses of the tenet- *relative importance of various statuses,* sheds light that in addition to their responsibilities to their families and households back home, Ghanaian HTAs attach importance to financing community-level development. The common denominator in this arithmetic is their burger status, which creates responsibilities and expectations back home. Moreover, and from the above responses, traditional leaders sending invitations to their distant *subjects*[95] to come to the aid of struggling communities reinforces the perception that, as a burger, there is a higher expectation when you have the financial capacity to support communities back home. As the perception of burger

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[95] In the advanced countries, one might think king-subject relations is outmoded but in Ghana all ethnic groups respect and accept that they are the subjects to the chiefs, kings and queens. Even past and present Ghanaian presidents do accept that they are subject to the king or queen of their hometown of origin. This is tradition

affluence and their crucial financier role continues to linger among left-behind communities, it then seems logical, when respondents assert the importance of Ghanaian HTAs, by encouraging them to be together as a unified body, as asserted by one respondent:

We have to encourage the organisations [HTAs] of these communities over there so that they will draw their attention to the needs at home. **(Mr Appianing Caretaker of Scholarship Project in Kyebi)**

To establish the burger-affluence perception, other respondents in Ghana believed HTAs have the financial means to finance projects, but it is incumbent on them whether to help or not. In one of my numerous questions I asked if burgers have the financial means and will to engage back home, below are responses from two respondents. The first stated:

Yes! If only they want to help with the development of their hometown… Anywhere that the group is, if only they will come together to support their community, it will help us move ahead. **(Mrs Nyame, PNO and Head of Maternity Unit, Mampong General Hospital)**

The other respondent and beneficiary from another initiative, the scholarship scheme in Kyebi, also noted:

On the whole, the issue is very dicey. But in my personal opinion, I will say that they have not been forthcoming. I will say the capacity is there, but the will is not there. **(Mr Ahenkan of Kyebi)**

Whereas the majority of respondents are optimistic that Ghanaian HTAs have the financial means and capacity to finance such projects, a few doubt not just their financial capabilities but also their willingness when it involves colossal funding for bigger projects such as a hospital. Others are also of the view that ownership after the project is completed might make HTAs less interested, since in the long term, the project will be community- or state-owned. Hence, others are of the view that it will be more feasible if Ghanaian HTAs undertake such projects in partnership with the government or community as per the two following responses:

Well, I can't say they do, [this was in terms of financial capacity] and even if they do, they will need a helping hand. Because they cannot say it is theirs after building the hospital. It is going to be for the community and the nation as a whole. With them alone, it is going to be a bit tedious. So, I think they need help, maybe from the government or the citizens of the community in any form. **(Ms Gloria Ansah of Bompata).**

The other respondent also argued that:

There is a saying that one person cannot do it all. So, I will think a collective contribution will be of many benefits. One person cannot build this big hospital. Even when a government wants to build a hospital, a lot of money is invested in it. So, it will

be very important that all people should come together to help. So, the more people join, the better for the project. Because those doing the project are not that many and when they want to do it alone, it will take time. From what they [Bompata Citizens Association] are saying they will be building the OPD[96] first then look for funds to continue… after they have come across money through fundraising. **(Mr Dauda Assemblyman of Bompata)**

There is also a third group. Although their response was indifferent, they still believed that a collective contribution of more HTA members was the key to averting any potential financial constraints:

I actually cannot say much about that [in terms of financial capacity] because I was just someone who received the scholarship and I have not come in close contact with the people. Their capacity to continue this project depends on the amount of contribution made by the people who are part of this organisation or the support they receive from people who want to be part of this organisation. I think that will determine if they can carry on or not. **(Mr Gyan of Kyebi)**

The above responses help establish the perspectives of beneficiaries when it comes to the Ghanaian HTAs and their financial capabilities, which are one of the cornerstones of how burgers are defined in Ghana and other African countries, as discussed in Chapter 6 (6.6.4) (Nieswand, 2014; Kleist, 2017; Kleist and Thorsen, 2017). Although the majority of my

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[96] Outpatients Department.

respondents are optimistic about the affluence of the Ghanaian HTAs, not all are of this opinion. Some are either pessimistic or indifferent with their financial prowess or willingness to undertake such responsibility of financing projects back home. Taking a cue from the statement of Gloria of Bompata, Mr Appianning of Kyebi and Mr Dauda the Assemblyman, there is the suggestion that collective burger support or co-partnership with government is preferable to individual support, due to the huge financial commitments required to undertake such projects. I will discuss co-partnership issues under section 9.4 and 9.5. It must also be noted that not all Ghanaian burgers may be willing to participate in funding towards projects. This raises the question regarding the assumption whether all migrants are transmigrants (Goldring, 1998). There are others that were reluctant to contribute to projects such as the Bompata hospital projects. This will also be further discussed in section 9.4. and 9.5. That said, the above responses also challenge scholarship debates about migrants not necessarily investing their finances in areas that are of developmental benefit or relevance to communities back home (Binford, 2003). That said, HTA executives opined that further external financial support is necessary to pursue further projects is on the table. Also, several challenges that they perceive, including mismanagement of finances by project caretakers back home, the overpricing of services from communal workers, and the lack of interest from Ghanaian governments and some traditional leaders, among others, further tighten their financial constraints. These constraints will be discussed further as a subtheme in section 9.5.

As already discussed in subsection 9.2.1, burgers are not just perceived to be people of affluence who finance welfare projects back home. They are also seen as possessing a wealth of ideas and knowledge conceived over the years of integrating into different cultures and different ways of life. These ideas and knowledge are also remitted and invested in Ghana through diverse channels. These idea-remitting-investments are examined as *Social Remitters*

*and Planters of Sustainable Ideas for Welfare Development* and discussed as the next subtheme.

## 9.4 Social Remitters and Planters of Sustainable Ideas for Welfare Development

The process of remitting ideas for sustainable development has been widely researched and established as *social remittances.* As already discussed in Chapter 2 (2.4.1 (iii)), Levitt (1996) explains how social remittances have a significant impact on sending countries by way of the new ideas, skills and knowledge that returning or visiting migrants exchange and circulate among communities of their origin with the motive of community development. Social remittances also have the potential to scale up and scale out when these new ideas, practices and knowledge are passed on from migrants to families, networks, associations and institutions on the local, regional and national levels in countries of origin (Levitt and Lamba-Nieves, 2011).

One integral and important part of the various roles understood to be attached to the status of the Ghanaian HTAs is remitting of ideas and knowledge back home. Such roles, in addition to other roles discussed here, relate to the tenet *relative importance of various statuses.* HTA executives are of the view that alongside their infrastructural projects, they send information, knowledge and new ways of doing things to build, improve and sustain developmental projects in their communities. However, such perceptions and notions of development have been widely critiqued as Eurocentric (Desai and Potter, 2014), which I discuss in the latter parts of this subtheme. In a conversation with one of my participants, he iterated his point and understanding of development:

Yes, in a sense, we are privileged in the UK, and we see what is good in this country. If you are not feeling well, you go and see your GP and go through the system. They [UK] started after the world war and looked at what they found. Look at the education system; every child goes to school free of charge. Literacy percentage very high compared to Ghana. Look at the agriculture that we do in Ghana with the cutlass [machete], how many [acres of farmland] could one cultivate? Here, [UK] it is mechanised. Now, who has to change the thinking in Ghana? The sad thing is that those in responsible positions were educated in the UK, America and others. They have known and seen…. In our small way, we plant ideas into people's head, and gradually some of it is coming to fruition. **(Patron Adarkwah of Amanianpong Kuroye Kuo, London)**

He further enumerated some examples of social remittances that have influenced the Ghanaian government:

Let me give you an example; you know Professor Arkosah? He used to be the Director-General for Ghana Health Services. This country, when you go to a hospital, you see a nurse doing hospital administration, BA Nursing. In Ghana, a nurse comes out of training college, and they are in the ward. And for you to get a promotion, you need to work to become a registered sister nurse… long process…and they are not paying them properly while they are doing all this. So, if you have a training college, why don't you offer them the syllabus that will bring them a certain status that they are recognised as graduates and go for the same money as other professionals? That will attract people

[nurses] to stay instead of nurses running away to this country, to South Africa and others. We sat Prof. Arkosah down, and we discussed this. I went around to universities and colleges and collected syllabus a pile of them and sent it to him. So, he presented it to the medical school or whoever is in charge. Now they do degree nursing. In my small way, I have influenced a decision. Nurses were leaving the country because they were not recognised[97], unlike somebody who holds a BA in education. So, any opportunity that we have like you saw Ampretwum, Member of Parliament for Ashanti Mampong sitting by me, we talk to them. **(Patron Adarkwah of Amanianpong Kuroye Kuo, London)**

Apart from HTA executives, beneficiaries such as students have also alluded to the fact that the background and exposure of the Ghanaians abroad place them in a status whereby their actions transcend beyond infrastructural projects. In my interview with some past beneficiaries of the Kyebi Fekuo scholarship scheme, they indicated that the valuable knowledge and ideas gained by the Ghanaian HTA members are the reason why they support special initiatives such as educational scholarships. One of the respondents opined that:

I think those people outside know the importance of education. To be in England, you will face a different challenge and problem because they [UK] have a different education system than that of Ghana. So, they know the importance of having the skill to read and having the means to be able to go to school. Because of the experience, they

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[97] A further investigation I conducted turned out that nurses who held nursing certificates were recognised but salaries were not very attractive unlike nurses who had degree in nursing from the universities in Ghana. So, the government upgraded nursing colleges in Ghana to award nursing diploma, which was better salaried than nursing certificates.

[HTA members] have had in England they want to bring it back home and help people. People in Ghana might not see it the same way because when you go outside, you have a different perception from the people back home. And being in a country like England with its developmental status in the world they know a lot, and I think they want to bring it back home and share it. They want to be of help to the people back home. They have experienced more, and they know the importance of having a good education, that is why it is not from Ghana but England. When you live outside your country, you see the things that are not in your country. For example, I'm here in Turkey, and there are a lot of things that I have seen that I never saw in Ghana. Seeing such things can make you transfer such ideas to your country. It is one of the greatest things about going outside and trying to live outside. It changes the way you see things and these changes in ideas and mentality help a lot when you go back home. You try to use these ideas to develop the economy in a way that will help the entire country as a whole because such ideas were able to help the countries from which you gained them. So, you have this motivation that when you take it back home, it will help the people there and it will bring the economy up as it did for the place you learnt it from. That is one of the good things about living outside. It changes the way you see things, and it gives you a lot of ideas on how to help your economy. **(Mr Gyan Kyebi Fekuo Scholarship Recipient currently in Turkey doing his bachelor's degree)**

Others are also of the view that the infrastructural projects the Ghanaian HTAs finance back home are in themselves social remittances. That is, the ideas conceived in receiving countries are tested and put into practice through infrastructures to solve welfare problems. HTA executives, for instance, asserted that it was unusual to have both antenatal and postnatal patients in the same ward, using syringes that are intended for adults on children or the use of

a kiosk as a laboratory for a health centre (see Pic 9.2), and so forth. To change this perception that is understood to be wrong, they HTA members are understood to step in and build infrastructures to change that old way of practice as retorted by one respondent below:

**Pic 9.2 A Kiosk used as the Laboratory for Bompata Health Centre**



> I would say that migration helps to develop a town or a place. When you migrate to a different place, you get more knowledge, more experience and ideas. For instance, you would be able to know that the things in the antenatal ward were so bad. You would not be able to know if you did not migrate to a different place to see what is there. So, I think that migration opens the eye. And also, when you migrate and come back to develop the place, it improves the economic situation of the country **(Mrs Amoah of Ashanti Mampong)**

Other respondents, such as the one below, are also of the view that the Ghanaian HTAs members have the potential to transfer comprehensive ideas. According to him, such comprehensive social remittances can even be geared towards modelling a replica of a full UK community in Ghana with all its health advantages:

While they are there, there are so many things they [HTAs] can come and do to help Mampong. It is not about bringing money; it is about modelling a community. Wherever they are living, they can look at how the community is set up, the architectural design and how the layout is set up, and when they come, they can model that community here. When it happens like that it can have a wider implication. For instance, in health; because we are here to prevent illness and provide good health if the environment and the community is well developed, the disease burden will go down. So that transfer of knowledge is very key so that when they come, they will also come and see little London in Mampong **(Mr Kesse Hospital Mampong General Hospital Administrator)**

The Ghanaian social remittances story is interesting in the sense that the whole idea and perception surrounding remitting ideas, perceived to be development from the developed world to developing world, is challenged. For instance, the examples cited by respondents such as replicating 'little London in Mampong' or good things in developed world as examples of development, and even the idea of modelling Ghana's nursing qualification to that of the UK, have been challenged by development experts as narrowly Eurocentric and unilineal in development model (Binns, 2014). Critics have challenged the idea that development should be the replication of Western development models, infrastructure, education or ideas (Seers, 1969, 1972; Binns, 2014). Rather, development should be contextual and must take into cognisance the reduction of poverty, inequality and unemployment (Lehman, 2011).

Post colonialists have also championed other critical areas, including how development is perceived and measured, especially among former colonial states. According to Luiz (2013), social development patterns among sub-Saharan African countries that were previous colonies of the UK and France have continued to follow similar patterns of social development to date. Such paths have been touted by post colonialists as determining how development is perceived, when in fact, development should be contextual rather than universal (Said, 1978). Such arguments regarding what is considered as development in former colonial states are simulations of former colonial masters (Noxolo, 2011). Hence, with Ghanaian HTA members resident in the UK for instance, there are obvious reasons that their understanding of development will mirror that of the UK. Besides, recipients in Ghana are more exposed to the development of former colonial masters, hence, a replica of such will be what will be expected, other than, for instance, development in Russia or Germany. However, in terms of stiff opposition to remitting social ideas to these areas, it rather seems a free way for the Ghanaian abroad. Unlike other oriental countries such as Vietnam, where there has been stark opposition to migrants introducing new ideas (Nguyen-Akbar, 2014), recipients in this study seem to embrace these ideas as though the only way to improve will be through consumption of ideas and not creating ideas themselves. Such consumerist culture has also been central to the arguments of migration and development critics and anthropologists, who see the exporting of Western ideas and the purported forms of development to developing countries as a way of wiping out cultures and ways of life that are already suffering extinction (Ghosh, 1992; Gunvor, 2007). It can also be argued that the ideas remitted are not extremely liberal since they are remitted by 1st generation Ghanaians abroad, hence their liberalness may not be as radical as 2nd or 3rd generation Ghanaians abroad. This is because countries such as Mexico where 2nd and 3rd generation migrants have tried to remit ideas, as in the Ticuani region, encountered stiff opposition from the locals (Smith, 2006). Other transnational engagements in Cameroun tell

otherwise. Popularly referred to as globalisation from below (Portes, 1998), indigenization of modernity (Sahlins, 1994) or local modernities (Nyamnjoh, Durham and Fokwang, 2002), ideas purporting to be modern introduced by Cameroonians residing in the Western world were not wholly accepted but indigenised and contextualised in the various rural areas including Bali township where they are implemented. One example was the modernising of funeral practices (Mercer, Page and Evans, 2008)

That said, the burger status of the Ghanaians abroad may not be as desirable, although there was less dissenting from the HTA members I interviewed. According to respondents, several impediments linger in burgers way when engaging back home. These impediments have led the Ghanaian HTAs to resort to unorthodox and informal channels and strategies to engage their communities. In the next section, I discuss these challenges and the informal strategies adopted by the Ghanaian HTAs under the subtheme: *Agents of Welfare Development under Limited Partnership*

## 9.5 Agents of Welfare Development under Limited Partnerships

This subtheme is examined with three role-set tenets already discussed in Chapter 4 (4.5) namely, '*differences of power of those in the role-set, observability of conflicting demands by members of a role-set* and *insulation of role-activities from observability by members of the role-set'*(Merton, 1957 p 113-117).

According to Ghanaian HTA executives, several roadblocks have been encountered in their transnational activities. They are of the view that their motivation to get the job done surpasses

any impediments that hinder their transnational activities. Per their assertions, the inadequate health centre at Bompata (see Pic 9.2) and the not fit for purpose antenatal ward at Mampong General Hospital (see Pic 9.3), are enough reason for them to improve welfare facilities irrespective of the impediment they might encounter. According to them, they adopt different strategies to try and get the job done whenever they encounter constraints from the people back home. Per the position of role set, such constraints often arise due to *differences in power between members of the role-set* and *conflicting demands by members of a role-set* (Merton, 1957). In such constraining scenarios, status occupants within the role-set may adopt strategies or activities that *insulate their actions from the observability of role-set members* (Merton, 1957).

Such has been the scenario between HTAs on one side and the government, traditional leaders and some recipients, on the opposing side. In my discussions with HTA executives, there was distrust of past Ghanaian governments, some local chiefs and occasionally recipients who were handymen or craftsmen, as well as caretakers of HTA-funded projects.

**Pic 9.3 The state of the Antenatal ward at Mampong General Hospital Pre-reconstruction**

According to the president of National Council for Ghana Unions (NCGU) in the UK, past Ghanaian governments have placed several impediments, making it very difficult for the Ghanaian HTAs to find a smooth passage or process to get their transnational activities across. Perhaps, these impediments might have been linked to the historical formation of the Ghanaian associations in the West, who were mainly political dissidents and anti-authoritarian elites that left Ghana in the early 1980s due to military dictatorship and political persecution, as discussed in Chapter 5 (5.6.1). Per the NCGU president, past governments did not enact better regulations to address the efforts and responsibilities the Ghanaian HTAs have been putting in Ghana's development. When asked where and how these impediments should be addressed, he stated:

> The focus should be more on Ghana [government] itself on what they can do in the system, to tighten up the rules, to build the infrastructure and regulations. It is more of an internal thing, and once that is done, it will then inspire the confidence of the people outside. The focus is not so much on the people outside [Ghanaians abroad] at this point. The focus is more about the inside [policies, regulations and procedures], so once people see the development inside in terms of the development of rules inside, the structures, transparency, then that will act as an incentive for the people [Ghanaian abroad]. But at the moment because the system internally is not very well structured, well developed, it just puts people [Ghanaians abroad] off. It is like putting your money in a bottomless pit. **(Dr Quaye, President of NCGU, London)**

Such assertions also exemplify *conflicting demands by members of a role-set* (Merton, 1957). Whereby a status occupant within the role-set has a demand that does not concur with other

status occupants. Dr Quaye evidenced his claims with an example of how a group of Ghanaian physicians in the UK became so frustrated in a transnational engagement they left. He lamented:

> Yes, there are a lot of challenges when you are involved in these projects. I've heard challenges where people taking some supplies of medical stuff to villages in Ghana wanted tax exemptions because they did not [see the] need that they have to pay tax. I mean it's bad enough having to pull all these resources together here and also pay tax when it gets to Ghana. So, they had problems with that. I remember, there was a diaspora conference here in this building, and the [Ghanaian] Minister for Information was here… and there was a medical practitioner who was so frustrated by his efforts to support a Ghanaian community and the expectation that he had to pay taxes on that [at the harbour]. **(Dr Quaye, President of NCGU, London)**

Another challenge, which subsequently led to muddy the relations between the Ghanaian government and the HTAs, was the policy of *non-corrupting of budget*. This policy forbids any entity/ties to simultaneously fund a project that the government has already voted money to solely complete or for the government to use surplus budget to fund other projects in the same fiscal year. According to HTA executives, this policy has brought to a standstill several projects that the Ghanaian HTAs assumed partnership with the government. Two such projects, (see Pic 9.4) and (Pic 9.6), were initially started by the BCA in London and the Amanianpong Kuroye Kuo in London, respectively. During my field visits, HTA executives and project care takers in Ghana lamented how the construction of the project was earmarked for partnership

with the respective district assemblies,[98] only for them to realise halfway through the project that the government had withdrawn its partnership due to the policy of *non-corrupting of budget*. One respondent expressed his frustrations below:

> What happens with people willing to start something with the government? One of the things that I was told when I was in Ghana was that there was a directive that they should not corrupt their budget. Corrupt their budget in the sense that that the district will apply for a specific budget, looked at and allocated money. And that money should be restricted and ringfenced purposely for that particular project. If somebody came in with a different idea, like I want to start a clinic, then the person will have to bear the whole cost. So that was the directive given to them. Even if they had a surplus after their expenditure, they would not release it for further development of other projects. They will rather declare it as profit and the government will say they have done very well so we don't need to give them different money. Rather they add a little to the same old money to make up for the next year. They are not innovative at all in their thinking.
> **(Patron Adarkwah, Bompata Citizens Association, London)**

Such disagreements have led HTAs to also leave projects halfway complete to start a similar project solely funded by them. For example, the BCA abandoned the health centre extension project (see Pic 9.4), to start a full-blown hospital construction (see Pic 9.5). In the new project, the BCA partnered with the Bompata Traditional Council headed by the Chief, who is

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[98] These are a cluster of civil service offices in charge of running the day to day administration of the district at the district level. They are headed by a District Chief Executive who is appointed by the President of Ghana.

traditionally the custodian of all lands. This partnership secured the association a 20-acre land free of charge from the chief as confirmed in a respondent's statement:

**Pic 9.4 Abandoned Expansion of the Outpatients Department for Bompata Health Centre**



I met the chief, and I sat down with him and the chairman, and we said Nana[99], this is what we want to do, and he said I agree with you, all I can do is I will offer you the land which you can build on. So, he went and offered us almost 20 acres of land**. (Patron Adarkwah, Bompata Citizens Association, London)**

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[99] *Nana* literally means chief or king in this scenario. It can also mean grandparent in a different context.

**Pic 9.5 The New Hospital under Construction on the outskirts of Bompata**



Similarly, in Mampong, the Amanianpong Kuroye Kuo in London abandoned the child ward (see Pic 9.6) and diverted their funds to the reconstruction of the antenatal ward (see Pic 9.7), which is completed and currently in use. The General Secretary of Amanianpong Kuroye Kuo in London explained this:

> That policy [non-corrupting of the budget] is the reason why the children's ward has taken too long …. Because it was a hospital project, we went through the Ministry of Health at Mampong District Office to make it work and it never. What we did not realise was, there is a government directive that whenever anybody comes to do any government thing, it takes that burden from the government hands and the government is not supposed to do anything which I find it so diabolical. So, if you have a broken jaw and somebody wants to hold it for you, why do you leave it on that person? The person is just there to help you. So that is why the children's ward project is there, and

when we send money, they squander it… That is why we decided to undertake the antenatal project ourselves, and as a result, the antenatal ward was quickly done. **(Mr Brenya-Mensah General Secretary Amanianpong Kuroye Kuo, London)**

**Pic 9.6 The Abandoned Children's Ward project at Mampong General Hospital**



The above discussions open up the debate about the status of HTAs, which is confirmed by government officials in section 9.6 as partners of development. However, the level of partnership seems less entrenched on the ground. From one side of the argument above, HTAs seems to position themselves as the victims of governments not playing their part of the partnership or agreements they have had. However, the question could also be, did HTAs apply the statutory agreements and enquire about the right channels to engage in order not duplicate or co-fund projects that does not require co-funding? As it will be understood in section 9.6, the development policy of the Ghanaian government includes the Ghanaian diaspora playing a crucial role, which is also confirmed by policy makers that I interviewed in the next two pages.

However, the channel of implementation may be where HTAs are having issues and not using the appropriate channels set up by the government. So rather than abandoning projects, HTAs could save money by using government approved channels.

In addition to the above strategies adopted by HTAs, respondents opined that HTAs also adopt facilities that by Ghanaian statutory law are state-owned. It is understood that such unorthodox strategies give HTAs the leverage to continue maintaining such facilities devoid of government's help. Such was the case of the antenatal ward. According to the Principal Nursing Officer (PNO), the Amanianpong Kuroye Kuo:

Have adopted the ward, so as time goes on, anything they think they can do to maintain the ward, they are prepared to do that. So, the best word to describe it is they have adopted the ward. That is their ward. **(Mrs Nyame, PNO and Head of Maternity Unit, Mampong General Hospital)**

**Pic 9.7 The Renovated Antenatal Unit at Mampong General Hospital in Mampong**



HTA executives opine that beside challenges with partnering the government, getting clearance from government offices to start HTA funded projects has always been an issue. Project caretakers and HTA executives have found themselves in a back and forth struggle with district assemblies. Mr Ohemeng, the caretaker of the project at Bompata, explained the frustration they had to endure at the hands of the district assembly to get the necessary documentation and clearance to start the Bompata general hospital project on a different land. He lamented:

We did have a serious problem. The problem was that the district assembly was supposed to do this [give us the clearance of the hospital plan through the district quantity surveyor] for free…. But they were delaying and giving excuses such as come today, come tomorrow. So, one day, Mr Adarkwah [patron of the association] came to

Ghana, and we organised a meeting with the then-District Chief Executive [DCE] Hon. Fokuo. He then gave an order that they should do it for us, and it was there that they made us aware that the cost [of approving the plan of the project a] must be paid by us. **(Mr Ohemeng Project Caretaker-Bompata)**

I took the opportunity to ask two key policymakers about these complaints, and in response, the director of the Diaspora Affairs Office (DAO) explained that:

If they [HTAs] are coming through our office, we will be able to give them the advice and to enable them to contact that district assembly and make sure that, an understanding can be reached. We will not be able to say you do this and that, but we will make sure that we take you to the right place. We will take you to the DCE. If it means a letter of introduction to the DCE to let him know that they should work with you or listen to you that is what we can do. We can direct, and if in the cause of that some DCE is not cooperating then, of course, you will want to let us know why perhaps s/he is unable to help. If you [DCE] get that sort of query as to why you are not able to help. I think you will sit up a little bit. **(Mr Awuah-Ababio, Director of DAO at the Office of the President)**

Furthermore, the deputy director of Diaspora Affairs Bureau (DAB), Mr Abdul-Rahman said that, because the government had implemented the Ghana Integrated Financial Management Information System (GIFMIS), it made it impossible for solely government-funded projects to be partnered or side funded by private entities halfway through the project. The consequence

is that the project will be stalled, and any monies sent down to the district will not be properly accounted for by the district. He explained:

> My comment on it is that for the government department, agencies and what have you and especially now that we have the GIFMIS project, before you disburse any money within the government sector you need to budget for it. So, your budget may be 100 million this year that you want to use for next year. You want to use these monies to fund the projects…Some of these things are a lack of knowledge. Maybe if they [HTA] ask and use relevant stakeholders to assist them in doing all this, maybe it can help. So first, it might have to do with the budget the district or municipality is having, they don't want to use it on what is not supposed to be used for. The second aspect I will advise is that they [HTAs] should use the relevant agencies and organisations to influence these things [project funding]. Sometimes lobbying helps. Lobbying is now an Act. **(Mr Abdul-Rahman, Deputy Director of Diaspora Affairs Bureau (DAB) at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration).**

Also, respondents were of the view that traditional leaders and caretakers of projects at times abuse their power and their proximity to these projects. HTA executives have complained of instances where funds and materials sent to traditional rulers and caretakers of projects have gone missing and remain unaccounted for. The Kyebi Fekuo in London explained that they almost lost confidence in the traditional system when one chief wanted to monopolise the funds for a vigilante project to tighten-up security in Kyebi and its environs. According to Mr Appianing's account, he said:

I remember in the case of the vigilante group project, one of the chiefs in town, suggested that the money that they [Kyebi Fekuo] brought should be given to him so that he will procure the items, but we told him, that would not happen. So, in fact, on the day of the presentation, he intentionally failed to attend, but we decided that we will go ahead. We met the young men, and they decided what they need. Even the sewing of the uniforms, they chose their tailor, they chose the type of material they want, so we accompanied them to the tailor, paid him and the other items like torchlight and wellington boots. We did the procurement with them. They decided what they wanted, and we wanted to make sure that the money was fully spent on what was envisaged in the project. **(Mr Appianing Caretaker of Scholarship Project in Kyebi)**

Similarly, in the case of Mampong, the General Secretary of Amanianpong Kuroye Kuo in London recalled that they sent some medical stuff to the Mampong general hospital through one chief, but the stuff never reached them. He lamented:

We are in Britain, and we have formed an association, and the association embodies the township that we come from. So more or less, even though the chiefs are not here if you want to do anything you normally go through them. Initially, we used to, but now we do not because our past experiences with them did not yield any progress at all. That is why we decided to undertake the project ourselves, and as a result, the antenatal ward was quickly done. We tried several times by sending donations through the chiefs, for example bedsheets to the hospitals, computers to the library; which we went there and never found one. **(Mr Brenya-Mensah General Secretary Amanianpong Kuroye Kuo, London)**

These experiences validate other works by Mazzucato and Kabki's (2009), and Kandilige (2017) which confirm long-lasting mistrust between some chiefs and migrants undertaking projects in their countries of origin. Per HTA executives, such actions have necessitated insulating key activities from chiefs and governments to enable them to bring their projects to fruition. From their experiences it is understood that they adopt and adapt to situations where they feel the need to include or exclude partners to get their transnational activities accomplished. Although HTA adaptations maybe constraining and informal, HTAs executives are of the view that these insulated strategies have worked for them with good results. One such strategy involves using HTA executive members or trusted individuals to be project supervisors. For instance, the treasurer of the Amanianpong Kuroye Kuo, Major (Rtd) Nsiah took the funds voted for the antenatal project at Mampong general hospital to Ghana himself, and completed the project before returning to the UK:

I think they channeled everything through somebody to do the project. It seems passing through somebody to do the project for them is not going on. So according to Major Nsiah [Treasurer], this time around, they decided to come down themselves and do something. So, when they were coming, they brought the money, they were here, and they involved our estate manager. So, they were around when everything was done.
**(Ms Vivian Fianyo Midwifery Officer Nurse, Mampong General Hospital)**

HTAs executives have also complained of project beneficiaries not having the innovative ideas of maintaining infrastructures. Probably a kind of a consumerist culture noted earlier, where nothing is created or even repaired but just consumed. The idea of consumerist culture

discussed in Chapter 2 (2.3.2) has been a critical concern for structuralists (Lipton, 1980; Binford, 2003). Consumerists have alluded to a remittance-driven economy causing a vicious cycle of underdevelopment and over-dependence on the diaspora (De Haas, 2012b).

> Over the past 20 years we have concentrated on doing small and big things at Mampong hospital but what is depressing about it is you go and paint a building today, 5 years' time because of lack of maintenance you go, and things are falling off (**Mr Brenya-Secretary of Amanianpong Kuroye Kuo, London).**

In Bompata, similar concerns were shared by recipients when asked about the challenges HTA projects might encounter when completed. One said:

> Oh, a lot of challenges. Maybe monetary aspects, and how the citizens in the village are going to manage the things whilst they are not here (Maintenance). So, I think that one to, they will face problems with that **(Mrs Gloria Owusu of Bompata).**

Beside complaints about the culture of non-maintenance of completed projects, HTA executives have also complained about the over-pricing of expenditure and material cost by people in Ghana. One of the respondents expressed that:

> You cannot trust them, they over price things, because they think the money is easy to find here. So if you ask me that question there are only 2 answers; we either do it ourselves which we do not have the time to do because we are here and also we need to influence government decisions **(Mr Oppong, Chairman for BCA, London).**

HTA executives also view some caretakers, handymen and labourers as people who charge exorbitant prices for the services they provide on projects that in the long run will benefit themselves, their families and their community. HTA executives are of the view that such people should voluntarily contribute in any form rather than them rip-off when these projects are for the development of their towns. The treasurer of the BCA was disappointed about the conduct of the people back home. According to her:

If we can help in some ways or every little way, why shouldn't they [caretakers, handymen, labourers] help us? Also, the people back home, they should realise that after all, the people who went to Europe when they got money, they could have given it to just their families, but they didn't do that, they want everybody to benefit from it. They are struggling to help build this hospital. To me, the message we are passing on to others is not; oh! The abroad people are here, so let's get what we can. Whereas the project is for all of us. And those people there should realise [that], we think about them and not to grab from us. Or if we say, o people, give us water for the day's [construction] then they start charging us, they should know the benefit is for both of us. That's my opinion. **(Mrs Adarkwah Treasurer Bompata Citizens Association, London)**

The case above draws interest and prompts the question of why project recipients overcharge prices when they are aware those projects have been agreed by them and a partnership agreement has been settled with them. The Ghana case is not alone in migration studies. Similar cases include Tanzanians and Cameroonians abroad who were of the view that they were being overcharged by locals, hence financing of projects was no longer forth coming. Thus prompting

the locals to organise funding with domestic associations for several social and community projects (Mercer, Page and Evans, 2008, 2009). Such ethical issues fuel mistrust, as discussed earlier, prompting these Ghanaians abroad to resign from such family developmental projects back home (Kandilige, 2017) due to the non fulfilment of social obligations, which are often entrenched in societies (Parekh, 1996; Lyon, 2000)

Besides the issue of mistrust, the president of NCGU explained a similar incident where agreement between a school and a philanthropist in the UK could not be achieved:

> I remember a story about somebody [a diasporan] sending computers [donation] to a school. He got there [Ghana] and requested the school to bring a truck and collect the items, and the school said they were not in a position to provide a truck to come and collect the items. And this guy said hang on, I have brought these things from England to this place, and all I am expecting you to do is to bring a truck to collect them. The whole thing was becoming a burden on the person, and the person did not know what to do, the person was tempted in thinking I might as well sell them. So, there are challenges. **(Dr Quaye, President of NCGU, London)**

The Chairman of the BCA also narrated his encounter with the artisans in Bompata before the inception of the hospital project. He stated that:

> What was going on was that none of them [artisans], have been able to communicate our ideas to them, so when I went done there I told the Omanhene, I wanted to

communicate the idea to them and he said that is ok and when you finish let me know what happened. So, I went and met them and sincerely, they received it with joy. They were so happy, and they brought ideas. They said we have associations in this town, we have mason association, carpenters and joineries association, steel benders etc. so anytime you are starting the project let us know. If this day is for masonry, we will all sacrifice and go and work for free because we want to make sure the hospital is built because, you have brought the idea, the money to do the job but the reality is, it is for our benefit. So, the people there are so happy and so helpful and ready to sacrifice anything. One thing I have realised is they are committed to help but all they need is to guide them, encourage them, motivate them and they will do everything. So, it makes me feel that labour will not be a problem. All we need is the materials, when we have the materials, they will do the labour. And they are happy. They said some of them will do security job, some of our brothers and sisters are nurses so they will come and do the nursing job, so we are creating even jobs. People who sell food and make restaurants can set up there. So, we are very happy that we are going to have a hospital here. I was very proud of them. So, in terms of labour, I am very sure they are ready to help **(Mr Oppong, Chairman for BCA, London)**

On the contrary, recipients are of a different view and do not agree to the position of HTA executives. The assembly member of Bompata, for instance, disagrees with views presented above of the HTA executives. Speaking on behalf of the labourers and handymen in Bompata, he asserted:

When it comes to cleaning or gathering of the finished blocks, we use communal labour, and that is what the community can contribute to the project, but in terms of the blocks not everyone knows the skill, so we have recruited experts to do that. So, we have to pay for them. **(Mr Dauda, Assemblyman for Bompata).**

However, the project caretaker at Bompata denounced the statement made by the assembly member. In his remarks below, he expressed that even communal labour was a problem. He felt that nobody turned up unless you told them you would pay them. According to him, such demands have created deficits in the budget because the HTA members always thought communal labour and handymen from the town would work for free as a partner and as a form of their contribution to the town's welfare development:

Anytime they [Bompata Citizens Association] try to do a project like this, they expect communal labour to be available for the community to also assist in terms of labour, but it does not happen. When you call them [labourers], they don't come. They attend to their farm activities and other things. They [Bompata Citizens Association] planned the budget mainly for the cost of at least the materials and expected the community to also help with labour, but the community are not supporting. Every time, you have to call people and pay them. So, this has increased our expenses, and that has been our challenge for a very long-time **(Mr Ohemeng Caretaker of Bompata Hospital Project)**

Such disagreements and misunderstandings call into question whether there are real partnerships with the local people, or these projects are being imposed on town residents by

the Ghanaian HTAs, as is suggested in neo colonial scholarships. Was there a form of sweat equity (Harrison and Scorse, 2010; Mayo, Mendiwelso-Bendek and Packham, 2012; Watkins, 2017), that was used but not properly transacted? It also calls into question the motivation behind such projects, as examined with individual and group self-centeredness concepts in Chapter 8 (8.4.2). In the computer delivery cases for instance, it is unclear why the school could not afford to come for the computers. What was the agreement between the philanthropist and the school in terms of shipment and transportation in Ghana? Was it a request from the school or it was supposed to be a gift initiated by the philanthropist? These critical questions are not investigated. However, one can only speculate that such silent resistance by local residents or partners is a sign that real partnerships or agreement with HTAs have not been amicably discussed or agreed to. Hence the reason why local residents or partners may not turn up for a project assumed to benefit them in the long-term or a school may not organise the collection of the computer donation. Silent resistance has been used by peasants in the past when there have been disagreements between factions (Scott, 1985). There are studies showing grassroots participation in community development has often been seen as a form subtle tyranny, where local people are diplomatically coerced to participate in projects in the name of empowerment, self-help and even skill development (Pollock and Sharp, 2012). Whereas in reality it is a form of participation tyranny where power and decision making are made by people with power and financial resources over the poor and weak who are often at the receiving end of such projects (Chambers, 1983, 2005; Cornwall, 2003; Mohan and Hickey, 2004).

Amid all these criticisms from project recipients and governments, HTAs executives opine that their transnational activities will continue. They believe that if systems are well organised in Ghana, their engagements will transition smoothly and also encourage and inspire other

members of the Ghanaians abroad who are demotivated and have *abridged the role-set* to join hands. The president of the NCGU shared that viewpoint below:

> The key thing is regulation. If we [Ghana] like here, have a charity commission that regulates all charities, the whole thing will be transparent for me to be able to access any information. From the comfort of my home here in England, I can ask the charity commission and access it…That way, countries are connected to other countries and other interested parties anywhere else in the world. So, there is a lot more we can do if we have a regulator very well equipped in Ghana, that is interested in securing or protecting the charity rules and regulations and wants people to have interest in donating and putting money to the country, then there has to be a very well-regulated channel. Because you are dealing with a very well-sophisticated group of people [Ghanaians abroad]; people who are exposed to better ways of doing things elsewhere and they have certain expectations when they put their money in these places. What we need is a model that would help facilitate development in Ghana. It doesn't matter how structured you are here [UK] when you send something there [Ghana] without accountability, you won't see the impact of what you have sent… on a more personal level; I will be much more motivated to do it [engage back home] if I have confidence in the accountability system over there. **(Dr Quaye, President of NCGU, London).**

In sum, this section illuminates the different views of participants in this study and how they perceive several constraints and barriers inhibiting proper engagement between their HTAs and communities back home. Per HTA executives, the level of mistrusts, lack of transparency and accountability of some government officials, some local leaders, project caretakers and even

beneficiaries back home, demotivate them from undertaking their transnational activities on the communal level. However, other responses from government officials show that there are possibilities to make the engagement work if HTAs are willing to listen to their concerns, including using the appropriate government channels and agencies and toeing the development policies of Ghana. On the part of project recipients who double as artisans, there should be some form of incentive, since they abandon their daily subsistence livelihood to work on pro bono basis which does not help their household economy. In all these, HTA executive responses seem to show perseverance, even within the limited partnerships and options available to undertake their transnational activities. As a people with social status in Ghana, their actions and activities seem to show seriousness and intent to upgrade the welfare of their people and communities back home. Whether these engagements are done for their self-interest or families back home or communities, as discussed in Chapter 8, I presume that it is of such relevance that past and incumbent Ghanaian governments have recognised the necessity to create a welcoming environment to attract Ghanaians abroad. Although past relations between previous Ghanaian governments and Ghanaians abroad have been very gloomy, the Ghanaian HTAs and the government still seems interested to give each other a chance to prove themselves as examined in the responses in the next subtheme; *partners in development initiatives.*

## 9.6 Partners in Development Initiatives

As one of the status occupants within this role-set, the government of Ghana has the *de-jure* responsibility to undertake meso level development, however this has not been the case. Several reasons account for the non-performance of the Ghanaian government at the meso level. These include neopatrimonialism, corruption, ineptitude, red-tapism and lack of

resources (Gould and Amaro-reyes, 1987; Ohemeng and Ayee, 2016; McDonnell, 2017; Nyendu, 2017). These reasons have persisted and continue to persist within the public sector and the government. This has subsequently compounded the plight of rural residents who are already experiencing the paucity of essential resources and facilities to support their livelihood. Such concerns give other status occupants, such as the Ghanaians abroad, no other option than to expand their responsibilities to include sectors that are at times the sole responsibility of the Ghanaian government to develop. It is also important to note that undertaking such roles does not necessarily take away the responsibility of the government, but places Ghanaian HTAs in a position of influence when confidence has been built among the communities where such projects are funded. This process has been adopted by other HTAs such as the The New York Committee of the Ticuanis giving them leverage to partner municipal government in developing Ticuani (Smith, 2006). While efforts are being undertaken in Ghana by the government to build a system with minimum corruption, (Asiedu and Deffor, 2017) this incumbent government believes support or partnership from the Ghanaians abroad would hasten the development of the meso level.

According to the fifth tenet; *mutual social support among status-occupants,* status occupants within a role-set can support each other for a common goal (Merton, 1957). For example, through partnering, status occupants can mutually support each other to reduce conflicts and monopoly of power (Merton, 1957). As per the Ghanaian government, Ghanaians abroad in a collective unit such as HTAs are key stakeholders in the national development of the country when it comes to resources such as their wealth of knowledge, financial resources and the pool of international network they have in receiving countries, as discussed in sections 9.3 and 9.4. These crucial resources have over the years been applied to enhance development within their families, communities and even on the national economy in terms of monetary remittances

(The Diaspora Affairs Office, 2018). Hence, it was a policy manifesto by the then opposition party, the New Patriotic Party (NPP), to properly engage Ghanaians abroad as partners of the government's welfare development agenda, especially in the sectors where the activities of Ghanaians abroad are entrenched and visible. To undertake this, it is understood that, in February 2017, the government established a directorate at the presidency called the Diaspora Affairs Office (DAO). They were to report directly to the president, bypassing any potential corruption, ineptitude, red-tapism and unnecessary bureaucratic hindrances within the public service that in the past demotivated the Ghanaians abroad from engaging with the government. This was expressed in an interview with the director of DAO at the Presidency:

> This department was set up as part of the fulfilment of the party [NPP] in the manifesto pledges to the country before the elections in 2016. We realised the importance of the diaspora community and the role they play in the socio-economic development of the country. We felt it was going to be important to bring them closer to the government…. But essentially the fulfilment of the party's manifesto was the key reason why this department was set up. The essence of it was to give the office the political force. Before the creation, we had a similar structure, which exists currently at a lower level at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. But that office is a typical civil service organisation led by a civil servant. **(Mr Awuah-Ababio, Director of DAO at the Office of the President)**

I also had the opportunity to interview other civil servants at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration who confirmed the essence and importance of the Ghanaians abroad to both this incumbent and the past administration. According to one of the deputy directors of Diaspora Affairs Bureau (DAB), the Bureau was non-existent until 2014, when the former

administration, under the National Democratic Congress (NDC) government, set it up to enhance dialogue with the Ghanaians abroad towards national development. He noted that:

> We do many things concerning diaspora. First, I can give you some background of the formation of the Diaspora Affairs Bureau. It was pursuant to the presidential policy directive for enhanced dialogue and engagement between the Ghanaian government and the Ghanaian diaspora for national development… A fully-fledged bureau was formed in 2014. So, the work of the Bureau started on the 1st of February 2014. There are some specific aspects that we were to handle. As I mentioned, it was to enhance dialogue between the government and the Ghanaian community, which is the diaspora. **(Mr Abdul-Rahman, Deputy Director of DAB, at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration)**

This position of the government traces back to the early 2000s when the Kufuor administration opened its doors to officially engage Ghanaians abroad, as discussed in Chapter 5 (5.7.3). Since then, the engagement of Ghanaians abroad has taken a positive turn on national development, especially in the area of remittances (Nieswand, 2009).

In analysing migrants' engagement with sending countries, the political dispensation, posture and attitude of the incumbent government at home must be considered with much significance. This is because the successes of migrant engagement, especially on the meso or macro level, will even be grander and have a wider positive impact if the attitude and environment created by the host government is a welcoming one(Sørensen and van Hear, 2003; Vammen and Brønden, 2012). Therefore, for such anticipated partnerships to work, government policies

towards the migrants must be geared towards a friendly atmosphere. Such friendly policies can help expedite the positive impact of migration and development in countries that implement them (ECDPM and ICMPD, 2013a). The creation of such a friendly environment is also discussed in Foucault's governmentality theory in Chapter 2 (2.5.1), which asserts that governments worldwide use their monopoly over distant subjects to coerce them into investment, and assets that are locked in sending countries to lure migrants to take part in development agenda of the sending countries (Larner and Walters, 2004; Larner, 2007). These monopolies include the oversight responsibility governments in sending countries have over the investments and left behind relatives of migrants in sending countries. This, per the advocates of governmentality, places migrants in a vulnerable position with no option other than to take part in a request to engage through developmental agendas of sending countries (Larner and Walters, 2004; Larner, 2007, 2015).


This however is not the case in this case study. Although information retrieved from both DAO and DAB showed considerable efforts from both preceding and current administrations to draw Ghanaians abroad and HTAs into their national development, HTA executives are of the view that Ghanaian governments need to do more to draw them. That said, several remarkable milestones have been achieved by Ghanaian governments. For instance, the former NDC government was accredited in its effort to engage Ghanaians abroad by ratifying the much-awaited national migration policy in 2016, discussed in Chapter 5 (5.7.3). Before the ratification of the policy, other ad hoc programs were put in place to engage Ghanaians abroad. One such was the creation of DAB to facilitate engagement of Ghanaians abroad through its Attachés at Ghanaian missions abroad  (Government of Ghana, 2018). However, HTA executives complained that several attempts to engage DAB via their Attachés proved futile. One such disappointment was expressed by the chairman of the GUB:

Initially, when we got the kits [sports resources intended for shipment to support the Gomoa Sports for Change project] to send to Ghana, we contacted the High Commission to see if they can help and send it as a diplomatic mail or something like that. [Unfortunately] that was not possible, so we had to go by ourselves and pay for the shipment and everything to make sure that it gets to them [Gomoa Sports for Change]. So, there was no help at all from the government or the High Commission. For the Youth and Sports Ministry in Ghana, we just assumed that we are not going to get the help that we need. So, we have not been in touch with the Youth and Sports Ministry, knowing how things are done [the uncooperative nature of the Ghanaian government and its public sector ministries]. **(Mr Sateklah, Chairman Ghana Union Bradford)**

There have also been other instances where the cooperation between the Ghanaians abroad and past governments have been successful. One example was a project to provide continuous flowing clean water for Bompata and its environs by the BCA. The project idea was adopted from Nevada, USA, through the association's international networks. The patron of the association explained:

I spoke to the High Commissioner H.E Isaac Osei[100] some time ago. Let me give you an example of what we were able to achieve with the High Commission. I went to see them, and I told them one of the problems that we have in Bompata is water. We hear

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[100] He was the Ghana High Commissioner to the UK from 2001 to 2006.

about the government doing boreholes and others. And with the boreholes, you dig a well, put the pump in and pump for water. But during dry seasons, what happens? ……So, what we [Bompata Citizens Association] said was, we are going to build one [differently]…We are not going to do the same way because we have seen what is being done in Nevada in the US. He [the High Commissioner] said whatever you want to send down…transformer etc. let me know, and I will write an accompanying letter and say this is for charity [so no duty will be charged] ... So, if you go to Bompata, you will see a beautiful tank there. And anytime water is available, it is pumped in there, and it stores it, and when the dry season comes, they rely on it. **(Patron Adarkwah of BCA, London)**

The critical question here is why would the high commission collaborate in some projects and not other projects? The reason might be the non-involvement of the high commission probably from the start of sports initiative program. As suggested by the government policy makers, HTAs have been found not to follow government guidelines and channels when engaging back home. I also wonder if the high commission is in a way distancing itself from HTAs that have not duly registered under the charities commission in the UK, due to the possibility of money laundering and breaking the UK charities Act. That said, GUB is a registered charity organisation in the UK and delivers the sports initiative legally unlike BCA, which undertook the replica project from Nevada is not registered.

Other documentary evidence collected during my fieldwork to substantiate the assertiveness of the government, as expressed by the deputy director and the director, include the government's appointment of over fifty Ghanaians who lived abroad into ministerial and sub ministerial

positions. These appointees currently oversee key sectors of the Ghanaian economy hoping to wave the magic wand and turn their respective sectors into a productive one given the knowledge, expertise and international networks the government perceive them to have. The government has also created a quarterly magazine called *The Ghana Diaspora,* to showcase and disseminate information about avenues and sectors where the country is in dire need of expertise as well as investment opportunities solely reserved for Ghanaians abroad. The government has also adopted a multi-stakeholder coordination approach involving Ghanaian associations abroad, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration, Ghana missions abroad, other government institutions, the private sector, non-profit organizations and international organizations, to develop a Ghana without Aid agenda, dubbed *Ghana Beyond Aid* (The Diaspora Affairs Office, 2018). The question asked is, how different will the DAO be from its predecessors and what has it achieved so far, one year since its establishment, to rekindle a mutual trust of partnership with Ghanaians abroad?

In light of the above points, the government, through DAO in 2018, organised 13 diaspora for development programs (see Doc 9.1), which previews the first page of the 13 activities that were undertaken last year. Key among those activities are several high-level delegation meetings between the government and Ghanaians abroad and two homecoming summits[101] (The Diaspora Affairs Office, 2018).

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[101] The just ended homecoming summit took place from the 3rd to the 6th of July 2019 in Accra with the theme '*Recognizing the potential of the Ghanaian Diaspora'.* The country's President and Vice Presidents were the Keynote Speakers. December 2019 also witnessed the just ended the maiden year of return initiative for Ghanaian diaspora https://www.yearofreturn.com/ 18/01/2020.

**Doc 9.1 Government of Ghana Diaspora for Development Activities 2018**

| No | Name of Activity/Programme | Objectives | Expected Outcome |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | **DIASPORA FOR DEVELOPMENT ACTIVITIES 2018** | |
| 1 | Stakeholder Consultative meeting | Effective participation of stakeholders in a Round Table Meeting. Establish working relationship and cooperation with stakeholders. | Establish agreed timetable for the anticipated joint outreach programs, and setup a 5-person committee to develop a broad policy framework and country-specific plans to engage Ghanaians abroad |
| 2 | Sensitization on Draft Diaspora Engagement Policy | Get feedback and input on draft diaspora policy. Mobilize & engage Ghanaian Diaspora Associations. Enable a more realistic policy change and meaningful formulation. | Build trust with diaspora community as their input would strengthen the policy framework and ways to improve the engagement. Provide evidence based inputs for the policy. |
| 3 | Diaspora Pension Scheme | Provide opportunity for pension fund providers to reach out to our Diaspora Community with innovative schemes. Fulfill aspirations and expectations of decent retire in Ghana. | Promote comfortable retirement, Provide assurance and pension for old age, Inflow of foreign exchange. Provide funds for investment. |
| 4 | Cooperation with Ghanaian Associations Abroad | Provide access to the Ghanaian Community. To promote the welfare of Ghanaians. Provide a forum for engagement. | Improve engagement with the Ghanaian community in the Diaspora. |
| 5 | Awareness and Social Media Campaign | Create awareness among potential emigrants on the risk of irregular migration. Create awareness about government's focus on brain gain and brain circulation. Diaspora sensitization of government's policies and initiatives. | Increase awareness about DAOOP and ways the Diaspora can engage in Ghana. Awareness through social media and conventional media-print and electronic. |
| 6 | Diaspora Magazine | Launch, promote and deliver a quarterly publication to address and inform the Diaspora | Provide information on government policies and programs, Opportunity for business to reach the diaspora community through adverts |

Analysing the statements and documentation above, certain critical points discussed in Chapter 2.5 need to be unearthed here. Critics have wondered about the motivation behind governments in sending countries reaching out to migrants to engage in developmental projects that are their primary responsibility (Larner and Walters, 2004; Larner, 2007). Scholars have cautioned that such responsibilities, if not critically assessed, can shift the social transformation responsibilities from governments to migrant populations (Pellerin and Mullings, 2013), when migrant associations are deeply drawn into development agenda of national governments. Others have also posited that such diaspora strategies are clandestinely channeled through international organisations (IOs), such as the World Bank and the IMF, to continue the post Washington consensus agenda of the West (Pender, 2001; Kunz, 2012). Hence, diaspora-

centered strategies and programs are welcomed and funded by these IOs to export the West's idea of development to sending countries; a neocolonial or a postcolonial way of controlling countries of the South who are predominantly developing countries/ former colonial countries (Boyle and Ho, 2017). Besides, there might not be any real form of partnerships between the migrants and government of sending countries as touted. Instead, an unequal relationship with sending countries, with the backing of Western nations, dictating the pace and measurement of development partnership (Noxolo, 2006). Hence, migrants may not have any option to opt out of such complex expectation due to liabilities including the risk of reprisals on their left-behind families in the countries of origin (Malone and Durden, 2018)

In sum the government's iteration that Ghanaians abroad are a vital development partner seems accurate. Works by Agunias and Newland (2012) found that between 1980 to 2012, there was a fourfold increase in diaspora missions in receiving countries. In addition, governments in sending countries have made considerable efforts to engage their diasporas in sectors that are struggling (Brinkerhoff, 2002, 2009; Riddle, Brinkerhoff and Nielsen, 2008). Whether such strategies will yield an equal partnership and long-term developmental impact, especially on welfare of the communal/meso level is left for posterity.

## 9.7 Conclusion

This chapter, under the theme Partners in Welfare Development, has discussed four subthemes, namely, *financiers of welfare development projects*, *social remitters and planters of sustainable ideas for welfare development, agents of welfare development under limited partnerships* and lastly *partners in development initiatives.* These subthemes have addressed my two research questions; first, what strategies and channels do Ghanaian HTAs adopt and

which entities or agencies if any, do they partner in undertaking these projects or programs? And second, the perspectives and opinions of members of HTAs, end-users and recipients about the role of Ghanaian HTAs.

I have discussed how Ghanaians abroad (HTAs), also referred to as burgers in Ghana, hold social status as project development initiators, partners and financiers with responsibilities or roles in Ghana, especially in the rural communities. I have examined these responsibilities with role-set theory and its tenets to sociologically help explain the perspectives of members of HTAs, beneficiaries and key policymakers about the role of Ghanaian HTAs and the strategies adopted during engagements with their communities. As expected of them by their Ghanaian communities, I have evidenced and discussed with case studies of past and present projects undertaken or being undertaken in Bompata, Kyebi, Ashanti Mampong and Gomoa Benso. I have also evidenced and discussed the strategies and channels adopted by Ghanaian HTAs, even amid what they feel are perceived challenges and constraints to undertake their responsibilities back home. Based on these pieces of evidence, I have established that the perceptions held by people in Ghana about the roles and responsibilities, which include financing of welfare projects, remitting of social remittances, agents of welfare development and partners in development initiatives. These perceptions are also accepted by Ghanaian HTAs. However, several constraints and impediments discussed in this chapter sometimes make them wonder the need.  I have also established that the channels used are informal and unorthodox, but these strategies have somehow worked over the years, especially when pieces of commentary by respondents are understood as systemic and bureaucratic hindrances. In addition, I have also discussed that effective participation strategies must be adopted by entities involved in the development of these communities; most importantly between the Ghanaian HTAs and artisans in the communities. The evidences adduced illuminate a lack of

understanding and a potential tyranny of participation whereby artisans are subtly forced to engage pro bono due to the fact that the projects are for their benefit. Ghanaian HTAs should organise platforms and forums for better clarifications of each status occupants' role and expectation for projects on the communal level.

Also, the statements from Director Awuah-Ababio and Deputy Director Abdul-Rahman, confirm that the government is aware of such constraints and is ready to work with the Ghanaian HTAs. However, procedures and the availability of information about the necessary channels that must be adopted by the Ghanaian HTAs, must be agreed if such partnership is to work. As earlier noted, the Ghanaian HTAs must be more cooperative with government, local residents and traditional leaders and also build a more symmetrical relationship and mutually beneficial partnership with these entities, since they are the very people they will have to work with if they wish to see an extensive and positive impact of their transnational engagements in Ghana. However, critics have questioned the ulterior motives behind the actual role of the migrants in shaping development in their countries of origin, by relating these activities as part of the postcolonial strategies of the West, used to civilise and control the development of the Global South, which are predominantly sending countries. Others have also questioned the strategies adopted by sending countries, or through IOs and the West to attract their distant subjects to engage in transnational activities all in the name of nation building through partnership whereas in reality the relationship is asymmetrical to the advantage and dictates of sending countries and West. Although it is important to understand different positions of scholarships, I am of the view that the *subaltern must eat*, as I initially echoed in Chapter 2 (2.5.3) hence transparency, accountability, well-established institutional systems of the government as touted by Ghanaian HTAs are in their own right forms of social remittance, which should be encouraged and not polarised in conceptual discourse. Thus, one key area that

Ghanaian governments, Ghanaian HTAs, and partners of development need to dedicate their attention to, is how these constraints and challenges that inhibit effective transnational activities can be tackled to induce effective development on the meso level.

In the next chapter, I discuss the contributions of my research to knowledge. Lastly, I discuss critical grey areas that my research could not cover but has paved way for in terms of further research to be undertaken.

# Chapter 10 – Conclusion

## 10.1 Introduction

This study has analysed four Ghanaian HTAs by focusing on their engagement on the meso level. To achieve the above, this investigation did not only try to answer the research questions set out in Chapter 6 (6.4), but to also embark on knowledge expansion by advancing the family/household livelihood concept. The study also draws on conceptual frameworks from non-traditional migration studies, such as socio-psychological studies, including communal and exchange relationship theories, role set theory and individual or group centeredness, to help explain the motivations, perspectives and strategies adopted by the four Ghanaian HTAs to transact meso level engagements.

This chapter is structured in four major sections. The first section focuses on the findings of this study. It achieves this by summarising my three research questions and most importantly how the results explain meso level transnational engagement. The second section discusses this study's contribution to knowledge and literature. The third section focuses on recommendations and the last section looks at the limitations of this study and posits potential areas for future study.

## 10.2 Findings

In all, three questions were investigated, and the findings were explained with four concepts, namely, communal relationship theory, exchange relationship theory, individual or group self-

centeredness, role-set theory. I also adopted family/household livelihood perspective and extended its tenets to include communal wellbeing, to help explain aspects of my dataset. Below I summarize my findings.

1. *What are the motivations for Ghanaian HTAs to engage their communities back home?*

As already discussed and examined in Chapter 8, the motivations for Ghanaian HTAs to engage back home are multifaceted. These motivations were grouped under two main areas which are *duty to family welfare and wellbeing*, and *duty to develop community and human capital*. Under a duty to family welfare and wellbeing, Ghanaian HTAs and recipients alike are of the understanding that it is HTAs' responsibility to support the wellbeing and welfare of their families back home. This is more important when such support is not available. However, as a group, they can only support aspects that will be beneficial to all their families, although families might have separate and diverse pressing needs. Hence, for a group to collectively support the collective needs of their families back home, it is imperative that it is done on the communal or meso level. Hence the reason for the second motivation, *duty to develop community and human capital*. The findings confirm that such a motivation also benefits non-related community members, left-behind families, and the Ghanaians abroad.

Although the motivations to engage back home are primarily due to the needs of families back home, the community back home and the Ghanaians abroad, there are important underlining sociological factors that precede these motivations. One such finding is the nature of kinship, lineage and family in Ghana, which are tied to moral norms and obligations, as discussed in Chapter 5 (5.7) and its subsequent subsections, and are understood to be part of the sociological

302

worldview of the Ghanaian and encompass both the individual and his/her society's wellbeing (Wiredu and Gyekye, 1992; Wiredu, 2009). These are embedded in the way they engage back home and in the proverbial sayings of their ethnic groups. Such proverbial sayings and their sociological worldview stress the importance of fulfilling one's ambitions and wellbeing. Such self-fulfilment is also in alignment with the society's wellbeing, the respect for one's hometown and even to the larger extent to other towns in the country where the need is pressing. Wiredu and Gyekye(1992; 2009) they explain that personhood in Ghana, or for that matter, the African continent, encompasses both individual and communal wellbeing. This sociological understanding resonates in the worldview of Ghanaians abroad, hastening them to live a transnational life worthy of supporting their communities, hometowns and even other towns and villages back home.

The second preceding or underlining factor is family type. As a communal oriented society, families are still regarded as extended and not just nuclear. Even with the influence of Western family ideals, urbanisation, migration and expensive economic commitments, Ghanaians still view the family as extended, especially in the rural areas where these HTA engagements are very visible. Hence, support to extended families, the majority of whom also reside in the hometowns where these projects are undertaken, benefits them directly. Retrospectively, such engagement relieves the burden of the Ghanaian abroad from supporting requests from his/her extended family that otherwise would have been funded by them. For example, the collective funding and construction of an adequate health facility in the villages or towns, relives a Ghanaian abroad from sending money every month to an ailing grandmother so she may travel several miles to where an adequate health facility can serve her needs. The same can be said for construction of schools, scholarship programs and social intervention initiatives since they believe such support contributes to the human capital development of the youth, which from

their view is also a long-term benefit to these towns and villages. For example, two of the scholarship recipients have managed to enter higher education. One is reading law at the bachelor level, and the other has completed his bachelor's in business administration. Both recipients and their parents said that without the scholarship, completing their education would have been very difficult. My respondents opined that the human capital invested in such students could have a beneficial impact on the villages and towns from where these students originate. It is the respondents' conjecture that their towns and villages could benefit from the graduates of these scholarships when they contribute the knowledge and human capital skills gained to the political and social development of their towns or country.

The third and last underlining factor is a critical viewpoint that reveals the motivation to engage is for the interest of Ghanaians abroad. This underlining factor shows that when HTAs develop their hometowns, it indirectly benefits them when they visit these towns or retire and decide to relocate back home. It is understood that during these times in the lives of Ghanaians abroad, they might need an adequate hospital to attend, stable electricity and water supply, and a community with minimum or no social vices, or robbery. Hence, they support such welfare developments for their indirect benefit. Furthermore, undertaking such developmental projects brings prestige and honour to them. This prestige is understood to make migrants worthy and respected in their towns and villages (Nyamnjoh, 2005). In the case of Ghana, this is especially so because traditional Ghanaian societies are known to show appreciation to worthy statesmen and women by crowning them with special statuses such as *nkosuhene/nkosuahemaa* (Bob-Milliar, 2009; Kleist, 2011). These motivations and their underlining factors have been the findings that addressed my first research question.

*2   What strategies and channels do Ghanaian HTAs adopt and which entities or agencies, if any, do they partner in undertaking these engagements?*

Ghanaian HTAs have had to rely on unconventional strategies in the past and present to engage in communal or meso level development back home. According HTA executives, this has been the case due to the lack of a prescribed process designed by the Ghanaian government for their diaspora to utilise. HTA executives also posit that, entities and agencies that they have hoped to collaborate with in welfare development have not been very fruitful. It is understood that there has been crucial disagreement, misappropriation of funds, mistrust, and blame games leading to projects stalling halfway through and being abandoned. To them, other entities, such as chiefs, queens, project caretakers and even labourers that the Ghanaian HTAs collaborate with have also had issues. Complaints about corruption, misappropriation of funds and materials as well as a consumerist culture have been levelled against them by Ghanaian HTAs. This has set in high levels of mistrust.

Labourers and caretakers have also countered the viewpoint of the Ghanaian HTAs that, although they will in the long run benefit from such projects, they cannot work on pro bono basis. This is because they leave their daily work which would have otherwise brought them income to work on these projects a whole day or two. Hence, they expect to be paid. Such disagreements lead to questions being asked whether silent protest such as labourers and artisans not turning up to work as a sign of participation tyranny. On the part of government officials and policymakers, they are aware that much has not been done on their part, although this new government hopes to review these complaints and work in proper partnership with Ghanaian HTAs. However, policymakers and government representatives are also of the view

that the Ghanaian HTAs have not utilised existing channels that have already been set up by previous governments. According to policy makers and government officials, channels such as lobbying, the use of an Attaché and following government policies will reduce or even eradicate the duplication of projects in rural areas.

According to HTA executives, these reasons have led them to undertake unconventional, slow and painstaking processes to engage rural communities when it comes to communal/meso level welfare development. One of the unconventional processes is sending a Ghanaian HTA executive to Ghana with hard cash to stay for almost 2 to 3 months to complete a project or fund a project till he/she runs out of money and return to the UK. The process is repeated over a period until the project is completed. Besides this, Ghanaian HTAs have had to use trusted persons and sometimes relatives to manage such projects in their absence. This leads to a complex situation where issues concerning real partnerships between HTAs, the government and chiefs/resident/artsians may just be in theory and not established. Hence fragments of contention continue to arise between them.

Although there are disagreements, there have also been times when chiefs/queens and government officials or ministries have collaborated with Ghanaian HTAs to the successful completion of projects. Diplomatic missions have facilitated the waving of tax and duty on imported machinery intended for projects such as the Water project in Bompata. Chiefs also have freely given acres of land for projects such as the Bompata hospital project to kick off and continue to collaborate with the BCA. In Kyebi the King has promised to give the Kyebi Fekuo in London free land to build a community playground for the town. In Mampong the hospital facilities management team, together with the head of the hospital administration, collaborated

with the Amanianpong Kuroye Kuo in London to complete the refurbishment of the antenatal ward in Mampong general hospital. In sum, reactions and responses have been mixed, although the main objective for all parties is to develop these communities.

3    *What are the perspectives and opinions of Ghanaian HTA members, end-users and recipients about the role of Ghanaian HTAs?*

Ghanaian HTA executives, end-users and recipients are of the view that the Ghanaian HTAs were fulfilling their socially mandated roles by contributing to the development of their hometowns and other villages in Ghana. Explicitly, Ghanaians back home expect their people abroad to develop their hometowns especially when they have the financial means. Also discussed in Chapter 8 and 9, Ghanaians back home are of the view that living abroad especially in the developed world denotes that one is rich. Hence, all one needs is the will and the interest to develop their communities back home. Furthermore, the engagements of the Ghanaian HTAs in Ghana in itself reveal that such welfare engagements are undertaken but will need well-coordinated and established collaboration and partnership with other entities as per the mixed reactions of the recipients and end-users.

Furthermore, Ghanaian policymakers are of the view that, although things have not been well organised in the past, they have always known the Ghanaians abroad (which in my case study are in the collective sense-HTAs) as partners in welfare development. This clearly stated in the Ghanaian government's national migration policy and the diaspora engagement policy (Government of Ghana, 2016). For this reason, the current administration is pursuing various events to attract Ghanaians abroad to engage in all levels, but primarily in macro level development. Evidence of this is seen in the considerable diaspora engagement programs

organised by the Ghanaian government to properly engage their diaspora and collaboratively push for effective initiatives to develop the country (Government of Ghana, 2018). In furtherance to the above, policymakers, end-users and the Ghanaian HTAs are of the view that the Ghanaians abroad are forebears and remitters of social ideas. They posit that, although Ghanaian HTAs implement infrastructural projects to solve welfare problems on the meso level, they also send social ideas and sustainable ways of resolving pertinent problems that they have witnessed being used to resolve similar problems in the countries that they reside. Through such experience, they export and transfer those ideas to Ghanaians back home to help solve similar issues.

## 10.3 Scientific Contributions

I situate my scientific knowledge contribution in the area of migration studies. Hence, the thesis contributes in two ways - theoretical and empirical - to the scientific body of knowledge.

1.  *Empirical Contributions*

In terms of empirical knowledge contribution, I have used the dataset from respondents to examine and explain how meso level engagements are undertaken by Ghanaian HTAs in the UK to develop their hometowns and other towns in the rural/meso/communal level in Ghana. As reviewed in Chapter 5, most of the body of literature on Ghanaians in the UK, including Mohan (2006, 2008), Kandilige (2011, 2012, 2017), Kandilige and Adiku (2019), is focused on individual migrant transnational engagements and obligations to their families back home, and to the nation. Seldom did such literature account for Ghanaian HTAs in the UK and their engagement on the meso level. Other works, including Teye, Setrana and Acheampong (2015)

Setrana and Tonah (2016), (Asampong *et al.*, 2013, 2016) and Teye *et al.*(2018), although touching on the UK in the broader sense, rather focused on labour migratory trends from Ghana to the UK in the health sector. On the other hand, the bulk of literature on Ghanaians HTAs and their transactions, both collective or individual back home, have focused on other Western countries, including Germany (Nieswand, 2009, 2014), the Netherlands (Mazzucato and Kabki, 2009; Dietz *et al.*, 2011), Italy (Riccio, 2008) Canada (Owusu, 2000, 2003) and the USA (Bump, 2006). Hence, this work adds a layer of empirical work within research on migration studies to the existing literature, which has been seldom covered. It is clear that, as the UK is resident to diverse migrant populations and the largest Ghanaian community in Europe, such a case study will be important contribution to migration studies.

## 2. *Conceptual Contributions*

In this study, I have evidenced the importance of adopting interdisciplinary research in migration studies. By doing so, I have used the socio-psychological concepts of communal relationship, exchange relationship and individual or group self-centeredness and also extended the family/household livelihood perspective to include community wellbeing, to help explain the motivations for transnational engagements of Ghanaian HTAs on the meso level back home and the perception about the status of Ghanaian HTAs. The use of socio-psychological concepts in migration studies, as discussed in Chapter 4, is not new. Socio-psychological concepts have been used in migration studies to explain migrant experiences, identity crises and inter group belonging (Lotfalian, 1996; Agnew, 2005; Lee *et al.*, 2007; Bhatia and Ram, 2009; Hunt *et al.*, 2009; Binks and Ferguson, 2014; Parladir and Ozkan, 2014; Story and Walker, 2016). However, such concepts have been barely used to explain the motivations,

channels and the perspectives of Ghanaian HTAs in the UK that undertake transnational engagement on the meso level in Ghana.

Having adopted such scientific practice, it would be prudent if socio-psychological concepts are further probed to illuminate the nuances in migration studies and how and why migrants transact transnational engagement in sending countries. To date, socio-psychological concepts have only been used to explain migrants experiences in receiving countries, due to the rife and ongoing stigmatization, discrimination and racism that continue to be meted out to migrants in receiving countries (Das Gupta, 1996; Portes and Rumbaut, 1996; Castles and Davidson, 2000). However, socio-psychological concepts could also be used to analyse further key aspects within migration studies that impact development in sending countries. Since migration is a complex-multifaceted phenomenon that has diverse contextual meanings and approaches, such an approach would help illuminate diverse scientific knowledge and insights about migration. In sum, socio-psychological concepts could help social scientists further explore contextual key derivatives of past literature on migration studies that relate to development in either sending or receiving countries, in ways that may not have previously been investigated, such as in the case of this thesis.

## 10.4 Recommendations

### 1. *Policy Implications in Ghana*

Having developed a comprehensive national migration policy in 2016 and the diaspora engagement policy in 2017 (Teye *et al.*, 2018), it is equally important to understand how diaspora policies positively impact and harness development in Ghana (Awumbila and Teye,

2014). Hence, it may be useful if the focus on diaspora development in Ghana does not just focus on macro and micro levels of impact but also the meso. As discussed in Chapter 8, under-development in rural/meso Ghana is rife (Fiadzo, Houston and Godwin, 2001; Gokah, 2007). This under-development has resulted in high unemployment and inadequate social services/amenities in these rural areas prompting rural-urban migration in Ghana (Caldwell, 1968; Enu, 2015; Government of Ghana, 2016). Hence, with the works currently being undertaken in the rural parts of the country by Ghanaian HTAs, it may be well thought out if the development policies within the diaspora engagement policy and national migration policy also concentrate and focus on the diaspora engagement in rural Ghana. This could facilitate the drawing out of better initiatives that enhance, harness and support Ghanaian HTA engagements in the rural communities. That said, key partners, such as international and local NGOs, FBO and CSO should be encouraged to continue their priceless work in these deprived areas, since their activities still contribute to better livelihood in the rural areas (Dogra, 2012; Libal and Harding, 2012).

It will also be prudent for the government to set up a fully-fledged Commission for Diaspora Affairs, as evidenced in many dominant sending countries including the Philippines (Licuanan, Omar Mahmoud and Steinmayr, 2015), the Sierra Leone (Nieswand, 2002) and Mexico (Portes, Escobar and Radford, 2007; SEDISOL, 2011; Malone, 2020). The imperativeness of such a commission will help depoliticise diaspora-government relations in Ghana, which has over the years been much politicised and rather focus on the development needs of rural resident, as posited by participants in this thesis. As discussed in Chapter 4 (5.7.3), during President Kufuor's administration in 2003, the NRGS was created but was shut down after the Atta Mills/Mahama administration took over governance in 2009 (Nieswand, 2009). In 2014 the DAB office was created by the Mills/Mahama administration only to be replaced by

creating a parallel office called DAO at the presidency by the Akuffo Addo administration in 2017. Analysis of the above government actions shows that DAO may not survive a new government. Hence, to avoid further politicisation of Ghanaian-diaspora relations, a fully-fledged independent commission similar to other statutory commissions in Ghana could be established to oversee diaspora engagement and help facilitate government-diaspora development agenda, that is tailored to the national development policy but with less political influence and much independence.

## 2. Registration of HTAs under the UK Charity Commission

To prevent money laundering, and the informality of their organisations, Ghanaian HTAs in the UK must endeavour to register under the UK Charity Commission as a charitable organisation. Today, just a few Ghanaian associations in the UK are registered under the Charity Commission's Act. Such a step would move Ghanaian HTAs from informal, ad-hoc associations to formalised, registered associations undertaking transparent and legalised philanthropic and welfare development projects and transactions in Ghana. It would also make Ghanaian HTAs legally bound by their responsibilities and accountability under the UK Charities Act 2011 and 2016, which seeks to protect donors, the public and vulnerable people in receipt of charitable activities (The Charity Commission, 2016). Their membership in such a legal entity would act as a check and balance, especially in terms of the misappropriation of funds voted for developmental projects and probably instil more confidence in any Ghanaian government to formally partner them in development agenda.

*3. Youth Participation*

One area that needs critical attention is the sustainability of Ghanaian HTAs engagement back home. Besides the other salient challenges that are addressed above, there is the lack of active participation and engagement of the youth wing of the Ghanaian HTAs. During my observations at their meetings, youth participation was non-existent. It was only Amanianpong Kuroye Kuo that had a youth wing. What this means is that Ghanaian HTA engagement activities back home will die a natural death after first-generation migrants who seems to be predominantly its members as discussed in Chapter 6 (6.5.1) cease to be active members. This can be as result of old age or after a significant reduction in first-generation immigration to the UK. Interestingly, recent years have revealed $2^{nd}$ and $3^{rd}$ generation Ghanaians in the UK and other receiving countries returning to Ghana to take up employment and other economic activities (Yeebo, 2015; Mordy, 2018; Ojo, 2019). Hence, there is interest from $2^{nd}$ and $3^{rd}$ generation Ghanaian migrants, although such a phenomena of return could have a backslash because past works have found that $2^{nd}$ and $3^{rd}$ generation migrants often encounter culture clashes due to naivety and lack of knowledge on customs and norms when they return to the countries of their parents and grandparents (Smith, 2006). Also, the social and family ties of $2^{nd}$ or $3^{rd}$ generation migrants back home are not as strong as their $1^{st}$ generation (Vathi, 2015). Thus, and for the sustainability of Ghanaian HTA engagements back home and for Ghanaian HTAs to hold a longer-term position as partners of development back home as by participants in this study, current HTA leadership, especially those HTAs with a mandate and objective to undertake welfare development back home, would need to address the limitation of non-youth participation in their engagements. Furthermore, with an active youth wing, potential donors, governments of receiving and sending countries as well as migration experts may begin to

analyse the sustainability of the development roles played by Ghanaian HTAs especially on the meso level.

## 10.5 Limitation and Areas for Future Research

Although this work has covered a comprehensive area in terms of Ghanaian HTA engagements on the meso level of their sending countries, it was very contextual. It is well established that there are several similarities among West African and even African countries, where Ghana is geographically situated. However, in as much there are similarities, so are there vast differences among ethnicities in West Africa and Africa, let alone the other sending countries worldwide. For that reason, it will be academically and scientifically prudent, if similar research is undertaken in other sending countries, especially in Africa, to add knowledge and empirical literature to contextual findings in the area of transnational meso level engagements between sending and receiving countries. Such contextual limitation, although not a fatal limitation, requires further work in similar HTA meso level engagements between receiving and sending countries.

Secondly, in every human endeavour where a developmental agenda is vital, the sustainability of such an agenda is of utmost importance. One area that this research did capture but could not emphatically conduct much detail investigation into is the sustainability of transnational engagement on the meso level. In this area, I believe second, and third-generation migrants are at the centre of such sustainability concerns but how have they been included in the transnational developmental agenda? What roles they have been playing and what plans have they conceived for engaging back home when their social ties and social networks diminish over time? And lastly, what are sending countries' governments actively doing to engage and

tap into such wealth of knowledge and ideas? These are all interesting areas and gaps for future research to be done.

The third area is a research on the transnational engagement of Ghanaian expats and professionals such as health workers, social workers, teachers etc. and how they offer parallel support to their families, communities or even the country. This is a limited area that can also be further researched. Krause (2008), for instance, highlighted this in her work as one of the gaps in Ghanaian transnational literature that needs to be taken up by researchers. Since 2008, few scientific works, including Asampong *et al.*, (2013, 2016), and Teye, Setrana and Acheampong, (2015), have published such important pieces of knowledge about the transnational health engagement of Ghana healthcare workers in the UK. However, more scientific research needs to be undertaken on the transnational life of Ghanaian expats and professionals in other fields to add to the existing literature on the transnational lives of Ghanaian healthcare workers.

Lastly, the demographic data of my HTAs, showing women outnumbering in most meetings but men holding the chairmanship and presidency positions, is an area that could be of interest for further research as well. Interesting areas such as feminisation of transnational activities on the meso level of sending countries or inequalities in the hierarchical organisation of Ghanaian HTAs or diaspora associations could be illuminating topics to be further investigated.

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# Appendices

**Appendix 1 -Research Questions**

# <u>GROUP A- HTA Representatives</u>

| Name of Interviewer | Kwaku Gyening Owusu |
|---|---|
| Name of Interviewee | |
| Place of Interview | |
| Date of Interview | |

## Participant and HTA background

➤ For the record could you please mention your full name, your position and the name of your HTA
➤ When did this organisation start?
➤ What are the main aims and objectives of this HTA?
➤ How many branches and registered members do you have?
➤ How often do you have your meetings and where?

## What are the motivations for Ghanaian HTAs to engage back home?

➤ Tell me about some projects that your HTA was/is involved with in Ghana and where in Ghana?
➤ What are the main objectives behind the implementation of these projects?
➤ Why do you undertake projects in Ghana?
➤ Let's talk about (community X) which you said your association has implemented (project X) there. Why did you implement this project and why this community?
➤ What other projects have you completed or is ongoing in this or other community/ties in Ghana?

## What strategies and channels do HTAs adopt and which entities or agencies, if any, do they partner in undertaking these projects?

➤ What processes do your HTA adopt to implement projects in communities Ghana?
➤ Why do you adopt these processes /partner these entities?

- ➢ What are some of the barriers your HTA encounter when they engage communities back home?
- ➢ In regard to (project X), could you please explain the processes and any entities you partnered with to implement?
- ➢ What challenges did your HTA encounter and how was it resolved?
- ➢ I will be happy to have copies of any documents on this /these projects if they are available

## What are the perspectives and opinions of end users and recipients of the role of Ghanaian HTAs?

- ➢ What impact/s do you think (project X) have had on (community X)?
- ➢ In what financial capacity and efficiency does your Ghanaian HTAs have to continue similar/other projects in this/other communities in Ghana?
- ➢ What is the long-term impact on future migration to the UK from this community from these to UK?
- ➢ Are there any other things you wish to add

# GROUP B – End Users

| Name of Interviewer | Kwaku Gyening Owusu |
|---|---|
| Name of Interviewee | |
| Place of Interview | |
| Date of Interview | |

## Participant background

- ➢ For the record could you please mention your full name and your role or position in the community

## What strategies and channels do HTAs adopt and which entities or agencies, if any, do they partner in undertaking these projects?

- ➢ In regard to Project X (I have some pictures of the project here) when was this project completed and how long has project been used by the community?
- ➢ Which organisation/s completed this project?
- ➢ What process and channel did the HTA X adopt to implement this project?
- ➢ How is project X maintained?
- ➢ What other projects have been completed by HTA X or any other HTA in this community or neighbouring communities?
- ➢ What barriers did the HTA X or any other HTAs encounter during the implementation of project X or the other projects?

## What are the motivations for Ghanaian HTAs to engage back home?

- ➢ Why did HTA X implement this project in this community?
- ➢ How often does the HTA X support this community?
- ➢ What are their aims and objectives behind the implementation of this project in this community?

## What are the perspectives and opinions of end users and recipients of the role of Ghanaian HTAs?

- ➢ How often does the community patronise the project?
- ➢ On the average how many people use it in a day?
- ➢ What about your relatives or friends and loved ones, how often do they use this project?
- ➢ What positive and negative contributions have project X brought to your household and community?

- How do you envisage Ghanaian HTAs in the UK in terms of their capacity to support community development is Ghana? (such as what they have done?
- What is your personal/general opinion on migration to the UK in relation to migrants bringing development back home?
- What long term impact will this project and any other project completed by Ghanaian HTA have on further migration to the UK?
- If this community becomes developed and self-sustaining, what will be the long-term effect on future migration from this community to the UK?
- Are there any other things you wish to add?

# GROUP C- Policy Makers

| Name of Interviewer | Kwaku Gyening Owusu |
|---|---|
| Name of Interviewee | |
| Place of Interview | |
| Date of Interview | |

## Participant and Background of Department

- For the record could you please mention your full name, your position and the name of ministry/department you represent
- Since this department/ministry is not one of the traditional government ministries in Ghana, could you explain what your functions are or why this department was set up?

## Motivations for Involving in Diaspora Engagement?

- Tell me how your department engages Ghanaian hometown associations, especially those in the UK
- Tell me about some welfare development projects undertaken by some Ghanaian hometown association especially from the UK and why they undertook or undertake such projects.
- What challenges did they encounter?
- What policies have your current government initiated or plans to initiate since you took office in 2017 to attract the Ghanaian diaspora as partners of welfare development especially on the meso level (district, communities, towns and villages).
- Tell me how these policies will resolve some of the challenges mentioned above
- Could you explain motive why there is still a government directive to the Districts Assemblies not to 'Corrupt their Budgets' i.e. 'when a private association or Ghanaian diaspora association or individual wants to undertake a public project that is traditionally supposed to be undertaken by government, the government decides to fully abstain for the project even if there is surplus money from district budget, the surplus budget cannot be used to support any project for whatsoever?
- Tell me about some diaspora projects that your Departments has been involved or plans to be involved in Ghana
- What role did your department play or plan to play?

➢ What are the main objectives behind your involvement of these projects?

## Perspectives on Project Impact

➢ What impact/s does your department think welfare development projects undertaken by Ghanaian hometown associations in Ghana have on communities?

➢ What is the long-term impact on future migration to the UK from communities where Ghanaian hometown association has been active in their welfare development?

➢ Are there any other things you wish to add?

## Appendix 2- Consent Forms

Participant Consent Form- HTA Office

Title of Research Project: Migration and Development: The Ghanaian Diaspora as Drivers of Welfare Development Back Home

Name of Researcher:  Kwaku Gyening Owusu

Participant Name: (Please initial box as appropriate)

1.  We confirm that we have read and understand the information sheet and the summary of this research dated ……………………………….. explaining the above research project and we have had the opportunity to ask questions about the project.

2.  We understand that our participation is voluntary and that we are free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason and without there being any negative consequences. In addition, should we not wish to answer any particular question or questions, we are free to decline by calling the researcher on *+447404333288*

3.  We understand that our data collected will be kept strictly confidential.

4.  We give permission for members of the research team to have access to our anonymised responses. We understand that our association name will not be linked with the research materials, and we will not be identified or identifiable in the report or reports that result from the research if we request this.

5.  We agree for the data collected from us to be used in future research

6.  We agree to take part in the above research project as Hometown Association

_____          _____          _____
Name of HTA                              Date                       Signature
(*or legal representative*)

_____          _____          _____
Name of person taking consent            Date                       Signature
(*if different from lead researcher*) *To be signed and dated in presence of the participant*

_____          _____          _____
 Lead Researcher                         Date                       Signature
*To be signed and dated in presence of the participant*

Copies:
*Once this has been signed by all parties the participant should receive a copy of the signed and dated participant consent form, the participant information sheet and any other written information provided to the participants. A copy of the signed and dated consent form should be placed in the project's main record (e.g. a site file), which must be kept in a secure location.*

Participant Consent Form- HTA Representative

Title of Research Project: Migration and Development: The Ghanaian Diaspora as Drivers of Welfare Development Back Home

Name of Researcher:  Kwaku Gyening Owusu

Participant Name: (Please initial box as appropriate)

1.  I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet and summary of the Summary of the research dated ………………….. explaining the above research project and I have had the opportunity to ask questions about the project.

1.  I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason and without there being any negative consequences. In addition, should I not wish to answer any particular question or questions, I am free to decline by calling the researcher on *+447404333288*

2.  I understand that my responses will be kept strictly confidential.

3.  I give permission for members of the research team to have access to my anonymised responses. I understand that my name will not be linked with the research materials, and I will not be identified or identifiable in the report or reports that result from the research if I request this.

4.  I agree for the data collected from me to be used in future research

5.  I agree to take part in the above research project as Hometown Association representative.

_____   _____   _____
Name of Participant                Date                    Signature
(*or legal representative*)

_____   _____   _____
Name of person taking consent  Date                    Signature
(*if different from lead researcher*)
*To be signed and dated in presence of the participant*

_____   _____   _____
 Lead Researcher                   Date                    Signature
*To be signed and dated in presence of the participant*

Copies:
*Once this has been signed by all parties the participant should receive a copy of the signed and dated participant consent form, the participant information sheet and any other written information provided to the participants. A copy of the signed and dated consent form should be placed in the project's main record (e.g. a site file), which must be kept in a secure location.*

Participant Consent Form-Caretaker

Title of Research Project: Migration and Development: The Ghanaian Diaspora as Drivers of Welfare Development Back Home

Name of Researcher:  Kwaku Gyening Owusu

Participant Name: (Please initial box as appropriate)

1.  I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet and the summary of this research dated……..explaining the above research project and I have had the opportunity to ask questions about the project.

2.  I understand that allowing the researcher to collect data from the site is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason and without there being any negative consequences. I am free to decline by calling the researcher on *+447404333288*

3.  I give my consent to the above research project as caretaker of the site being researched

_____    _____    _____
Name of Participant        Date                Signature
(*or legal representative*)


_____    _____    _____
Name of person taking consent  Date            Signature
(*if different from lead researcher*)
*To be signed and dated in presence of the participant*


_____    _____    _____
 Lead Researcher          Date                Signature

*To be signed and dated in presence of the participant*
Copies:

*Once this has been signed by all parties the participant should receive a copy of the signed and dated participant consent form, the participant information sheet and any other written information provided to the participants. A copy of the signed and dated consent form should be placed in the project's main record (e.g. a site file), which must be kept in a secure location.*

Participant Consent Form - End-User

Title of Research Project: Migration and Development: The Ghanaian Diaspora as Drivers of Welfare Development Back Home

Name of Researcher:  Kwaku Gyening Owusu

Participant Name: (Please initial box as appropriate)

1.  I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet and the summary of research dated …………………………………. explaining the above research project and I have had the opportunity to ask questions about the project.

2.  I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason and without there being any negative consequences. In addition, should I not wish to answer any particular question or questions, I am free to decline by calling the researcher on *+447404333288*

3.  I understand that my responses will be kept strictly confidential.

4.  I give permission for members of the research team to have access to my anonymised responses. I understand that my name will not be linked with the research materials, and I will not be identified or identifiable in the report or reports that result from the research if I request this.

5.  I agree for the data collected from me to be used in future research

6.  I agree to take part in the above research project as an End-User

_____   _____   _____
Name of Participant              Date                   Signature
(*or legal representative*)


_____   _____   _____
Name of person taking consent  Date                   Signature
(*if different from lead researcher*)
*To be signed and dated in presence of the participant*

_____   _____   _____
 Lead Researcher              Date                   Signature

*To be signed and dated in presence of the participant*
Copies:

*Once this has been signed by all parties the participant should receive a copy of the signed and dated participant consent form, the participant information sheet and any other written information provided to the participants. A copy of the signed and dated consent form should be placed in the project's main record (e.g. a site file), which must be kept in a secure location.*

Participant Consent Form- Policymaker

Title of Research Project: Migration and Development: The Ghanaian Diaspora as Drivers of Welfare Development Back Home

Name of Researcher:  Kwaku Gyening Owusu
Participant Name: (Please tick as appropriate)

1.  I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet and summary of the Summary of the research dated …………….......explaining the above research project and I have had the opportunity to ask questions about the project.

2.  I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason and without there being any negative consequences. In addition, should I not wish to answer any particular question or questions, I am free to decline by calling the researcher on *+447404333288*

3.  I understand that my responses will be kept strictly confidential. I give permission for members of the research team to have access to my anonymised responses. I understand that my name will not be linked with the research materials, and I will not be identified or identifiable in report or reports that result from the research if I request this.

4.  I agree for the data collected from me to be used in future research

5.  I agree to take part in the above research project as Director for the Diaspora Office at the Presidency, or Deputy Director, Diaspora Affairs Bureau, Government of Ghana.


_____          _____          _____
Name of Participant                         Date                               Signature
(*or legal representative*)


_____          _____          _____
Name of person taking consent  Date                               Signature
(*if different from lead researcher*)
*To be signed and dated in presence of the participant*


_____          _____          _____
 Lead Researcher                          Date                               Signature
*To be signed and dated in presence of the participant*
Copies:

*Once this has been signed by all parties the participant should receive a copy of the signed and dated participant consent form, the participant information sheet and any other written information provided to the participants. A copy of the signed and dated consent form should be placed in the project's main record (e.g. a site file), which must be kept in a secure location.*

# Appendix 3 - Participant Information Sheet

## Participant Information Sheet - HTAs and Representatives

**1. Research Project Title**:  Migration and Development: The Ghanaian Diaspora as Drivers of Welfare Development Back Home.

**2. Invitation paragraph**: You are being invited to take part in a research project. Before you decide it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully and discuss it with others if you wish. Ask us if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information. Take time to decide whether or not you wish to take part. Thank you for reading this.

**3. What is the project's purpose?** The purpose for this project is to empirically establish that migrants are one of the salient contributors of welfare developments in their countries of origin. I will investigate the welfare engagements of Ghanaian Hometown Associations (HTAs) in the UK with their communities back home in Ghana. The duration of the project will be 36 months in total. The project started in March 2016 and will end February 2019.

**4. Why have I been chosen?** You have been chosen because you are a representative of a UK based Ghanaian HTA nominated by your HTA to talk about any welfare related projects your HTA undertakes.

**5. Do I have to take part?** It is up to you to decide whether or not to take part. If you do decide to take part, you will be given this information sheet to keep (and be asked to sign a consent form) and you can still withdraw at any time without it affecting any benefits that you are entitled to in any way.  You do not have to give a reason.

**6. What will happen to me if I take part?** You will be interviewed; it will be a one-time 40 minutes to 1-hour interview. During the interviews, there will be audio recording of the interviews and questions that will be asked will be semi-structured to give you the avenue to expand your answers within the question lines. I will also take documentary evidence and pictures to support some of your projects that you have implemented if you have them.

**7. What do I have to do?** Nothing special. All you need to do is to answer the question I will ask you freely to the best of your opinion without compromise or persuasion from anybody and submit any documentary evidence if you have them.

**8. Will I be recorded, and how will the recorded media be used?** Yes, you will be recorded if it is an interview and you will be observed if you are in the Hometown Association meeting. The audio recordings of your interview made during this research will be used only for analysis and for illustration in conference presentations and lectures. No other use will be made of them without your written permission, and no one outside the project will be allowed access to the original recordings.

**9. What are the possible disadvantages and risks of taking part?** At the moment, I do not foresee any high risk or crucial disadvantages in taking part of the interview. This research has been carefully planned and measures have been put in place to curtail any disadvantages to participants and researcher.

**10. What are the possible benefits of taking part?** The benefits of taking part is making your voice heard. It is an opportunity to contribute your beliefs and opinions on migration and development. It is a platform that you can express your view whether the diaspora is making positive or negative impact on development in sending countries. As this research focuses on Ghana-UK migration trend which plans to investigate whether the Ghanaian diaspora positively impact welfare development in Ghana, you, being either part of the diaspora or end user of diaspora project can make your perspective known which will go a long way to help shape migration policy and the way migrants and migration is perceived.

**11. What happens if the research study stops earlier than expected?** You will be informed by telephone and the reason why it was stopped will also be explained to you

**12. What if something goes wrong?** Should you have any complaints, you are free to contact any of my supervisors below. They will take the matter up and find an amicable way of resolving the issue. If you feel that has not been resolved to your satisfaction, you are free to contact my director of graduate research who will then

escalate your complaints through the appropriate channels. Contact details of my supervisors and the director are under item number 18 below:

**13. Will my taking part in this project be kept confidential?** Although I think this research does not really touch on sensitive topics that would require confidentiality, if you still prefer that your taking part in this research should be confidential, anonymised or both, I am more than happy to make your inputs and contributions confidential and anonymised to the public. Only the research team which include myself and my 2 supervisors will see the raw data. All the information that I will collect about you during the course of the research will be kept strictly confidential and anonymised and you will not be identified in any reports or publications

**14**. **What type of information will be sought from me and why is the collection of this information relevant for achieving the research project's objectives?**

The information that I will sought from you will focus around:

Your basic background

Your commitments back home

Reasons for your commitment back home

Your general opinions about migration and its impact on development back home

**15. What will happen to the results of the research project?** The results of the research will be published some months after February 2020. If you wish to be informed about when, where and which part of the research your involvement was, I am glad to let you know when it is ready. Due to the nature of this research it is very likely that other researchers may find the data collected to be useful in answering future research questions. We will ask for your explicit consent for your data to be shared in this way and if you agree, we will ensure that the data collected about you is untraceable back to you before allowing others to use it.

**16. Who is organising and funding the research?**

The project is self-funded

**17. Who has ethically reviewed the project?**

The project has been ethically reviewed and approved by the department of sociological studies and has been monitored by the University of Sheffield's Research Ethics Committee monitors through the application and delivery of the University's Ethics Review Procedure across the University.

**18. Contact for further information**

Supervisors

- Dr Majella Kilkey
  Department of Sociological Studies, The University of Sheffield, Elmfield, Northumberland Road, S10 2TU Sheffield, UK. +441142226459 m.kilkey@sheffield.ac.uk

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Director of Graduate Research in Sociology

- Dr Lorna Warren, Department of Sociological Studies, University of Sheffield, Elmfield, Northumberland, S10 2TU Sheffield, UK, +441142226468, i.warren@sheffield.ac.uk

I really thank you for agreeing to participate in this research. You will receive a copy of this information sheet and a copy of your signed consent sheet.

**Participant Information Sheet - End User**

**1. Research Project Title**: Migration and Development: The Ghanaian Diaspora as Drivers of Welfare Development Back Home.

**2. Invitation paragraph**: You are being invited to take part in a research project. Before you decide it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully and discuss it with others if you wish. Ask us if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information. Take time to decide whether or not you wish to take part. Thank you for reading this.

**3. What is the project's purpose?** The purpose for this project is to empirically establish that migrants are one of the salient contributors of welfare developments in their countries of origin. I will investigate the welfare engagements of Ghanaian Hometown Associations (HTAs) in the UK with their communities back home in Ghana. The duration of the project will be 36 months in total. The project started in March 2016 and will end February 2019.

**4. Why have I been chosen?** You have been chosen because you are an End User of one of the projects implemented by UK based Ghanaian HTAs.

**5. Do I have to take part?** It is up to you to decide whether or not to take part. If you do decide to take part, you will be given this information sheet to keep (and be asked to sign a consent form) and you can still withdraw at any time without it affecting any benefits that you are entitled to in any way. You do not have to give a reason.

**6. What will happen to me if I take part?** You will be interviewed and photos elicitation of the project in your community used during the interviews. It will be a one-time 40 minutes to 1-hour interview. During the interviews, there will be audio recording of the interviews and questions that will be asked will be semi-structured to give you the avenue to expand your answers within the question lines.

**7. What do I have to do?** Nothing special. All you need to do is to answer the question I will ask you freely to the best of your opinion without compromise or persuasion from anybody.

**8. Will I be recorded, and how will the recorded media be used?** Yes, you will be recorded if it is an interview and you will be observed if you are in the Hometown Association meeting. The audio recordings of your interview made during this research will be used only for analysis and for illustration in conference presentations and lectures. No other use will be made of them without your written permission, and no one outside the project will be allowed access to the original recordings.

**9. What are the possible disadvantages and risks of taking part?** At the moment, I do not foresee any high risk or crucial disadvantages in taking part of the interview. This research has been carefully planned and measures have been put in place to curtail any disadvantages to participants and researcher.

**10. What are the possible benefits of taking part?** The benefits of taking part is making your voice heard. It is an opportunity to contribute your beliefs and opinions on migration and development. It is a platform that you can express your view whether the diaspora is making positive or negative impact on development in sending countries. As this research focuses on Ghana-UK migration trend which plans to investigate whether the Ghanaian diaspora positively impact welfare development in Ghana, you, being either part of the diaspora or end user of diaspora project can make your perspective known which will go a long way to help shape migration policy and the way migrants and migration is perceived.

**11. What happens if the research study stops earlier than expected?** You will be informed by telephone and the reason why it was stopped will also be explained to you

**12. What if something goes wrong?** Should you have any complaints, you are free to contact any of my supervisors below. They will take the matter up and find an amicable way of resolving the issue. If you feel that has not been resolved to your satisfaction, you are free to contact my director of graduate research who will then escalate your complaints through the appropriate channels. Contact details of my supervisors and the director are under item number 18 below:

**13. Will my taking part in this project be kept confidential?** Although I think this research does not really touch on sensitive topics that would require confidentiality, if you still prefer that your taking part in this research should be confidential, anonymised or both, I am more than happy to make your inputs and contributions confidential and anonymised to the public. Only the research team which include myself and my 2 supervisors will see the raw data. All the information that I will collect about you during the course of the research will be kept strictly confidential and anonymised and you will not be identified in any reports or publications

**14. What type of information will be sought from me and why is the collection of this information relevant for achieving the research project's objectives?**

The information that I will sought from you will focus around:

Your basic background

How the project under research fulfils your welfare

Your general opinions about migration and its impact on development back home

**15. What will happen to the results of the research project?** The results of the research will be published some months after February 2020. If you wish to be informed about when, where and which part of the research your involvement was, I am glad to let you know when it is ready. Due to the nature of this research it is very likely that other researchers may find the data collected to be useful in answering future research questions. We will ask for your explicit consent for your data to be shared in this way and if you agree, we will ensure that the data collected about you is untraceable back to you before allowing others to use it.

**16. Who is organising and funding the research?** The project is self-funded

**17. Who has ethically reviewed the project?** The project has been ethically reviewed and approved by the department of sociological studies and has been monitored by the University of Sheffield's Research Ethics Committee monitors through the application and delivery of the University's Ethics Review Procedure across the University.

**18. Contact for further information**

Supervisors

- Dr Majella Kilkey
  Department of Sociological Studies, The University of Sheffield, Elmfield, Northumberland Road, S10 2TU Sheffield, UK. +441142226459 m.kilkey@sheffield.ac.uk

- Dr Afua Twum-Danso Imoh, Department of Sociological Studies, The University of Sheffield, Elmfield, Northumberland Road, S10 2TU Sheffield, UK, +441142226444. a.twum-danso@sheffield.ac.uk

Director of Graduate Research in Sociology

- Dr Lorna Warren, Department of Sociological Studies, University of Sheffield, Elmfield, Northumberland, S10 2TU Sheffield, UK, +441142226468, i.warren@sheffield.ac.uk

I really thank you for agreeing to participate in this research. You will receive a copy of this information sheet and a copy of your signed consent sheet.

**Participant Information Sheet - Caretaker**

**1. Research Project Title**:   Migration and Development: The Ghanaian Diaspora as Drivers of Welfare Development Back Home.

**2. Invitation paragraph**: You are being invited to take part in a research project. Before you decide it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully and discuss it with others if you wish. Ask us if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information. Take time to decide whether or not you wish to take part. Thank you for reading this.

**3. What is the project's purpose?** The purpose for this project is to empirically establish that migrants are one of the salient contributors of welfare developments in their countries of origin. I will investigate the welfare engagements of Ghanaian Hometown Associations (HTAs) in the UK with their communities back home in Ghana. The duration of the project will be 36 months in total. The project started in March 2016 and will end February 2019.

**4. Why have I been chosen?** You have been chosen because you are a either a caretaker of a project implemented by (name of HTA), a UK based Ghanaian HTA

**5. Do I have to take part?** It is up to you to decide whether or not to take part. If you do decide to take part, you will be given this information sheet to keep (and be asked to sign a consent form) and you can still withdraw at any time without it affecting any benefits that you are entitled to in any way.  You do not have to give a reason.

**6. What will happen to me if I take part?** I will visit the site of the project and take some pictures of the projects and interview people who use the projects.

**7. What do I have to do?** Nothing special. Just a signed consent form granting me permission to visit the site.

**8. Will I be recorded, and how will the recorded media be used?** No

**9. What are the possible disadvantages and risks of taking part?** At the moment, I do not foresee any high risk or crucial disadvantages in taking part of the interview. This research has been carefully planned and measures have been put in place to curtail any disadvantages to participants and researcher.

**10. What are the possible benefits of taking part?** The benefits of taking part is that, as this research focuses on Ghana-UK migration trend which plans to investigate whether the Ghanaian diaspora positively impact welfare development in Ghana, projects such as the one under your care can analysed if they contribute to welfare development of your community.

**11. What happens if the research study stops earlier than expected?** You will be informed by telephone and the reason why it was stopped will also be explained to you

**12. What if something goes wrong?** Should you have any complaints, you are free to contact any of my supervisors below. They will take the matter up and find an amicable way of resolving the issue. If you feel that has not been resolved to your satisfaction, you are free to contact my director of graduate research who will then escalate your complaints through the appropriate channels.  Contact details of my supervisors and the director are under item number 18 below:

**13. Will my taking part in this project be kept confidential?** Although I think this research does not really touch on sensitive topics that would require confidentiality, if you still prefer that your taking part in this research should be confidential, anonymised or both, I am more than happy to make the project site confidential and anonymised to the public. Only the research team which include myself and my 2 supervisors will see the raw data. All the information that I will collect about the site during the course of the research will be kept strictly confidential and anonymised and it will not be identified in any reports or publications

**14. What type of information will be sought from the site and why is the collection of this information relevant for achieving the research project's objectives?**

The information that I will sought from the site are pictures and opinions from end-users of the site.

**15. What will happen to the results of the research project?** The results of the research will be published some months after February 2020. If you wish to be informed about when, where and which part of the research your involvement was, I am glad to let you know when it is ready. Due to the nature of this research it is very likely that other researchers may find the data collected to be useful in answering future research questions. We will ask for your explicit consent for your data to be shared in this way and if you agree, we will ensure that the data collected about you is untraceable back to you before allowing others to use it.

**16. Who is organising and funding the research?** The project is self-funded

**17. Who has ethically reviewed the project?** The project has been ethically reviewed and approved by the department of sociological studies and has been monitored by the University of Sheffield's Research Ethics Committee monitors through the application and delivery of the University's Ethics Review Procedure across the University.

**18. Contact for further information**

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I really thank you for agreeing to participate in this research. You will receive a copy of this information sheet and a copy of your signed consent sheet.

**Participant Information Sheet - Policymakers**

**1. Research Project Title**:  Migration and Development: The Ghanaian Diaspora as Drivers of Welfare Development Back Home.

**2. Invitation paragraph**: You are being invited to take part in a research project. Before you decide it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully and discuss it with others if you wish. Ask us if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information. Take time to decide whether or not you wish to take part. Thank you for reading this.

**3. What is the project's purpose?** The purpose for this project is to empirically establish that migrants are one of the salient contributors of welfare developments in their countries of origin. I will investigate the welfare engagements of Ghanaian Hometown Associations (HTAs) in the UK with their communities back home in Ghana. The duration of the project will be 36 months in total. The project started in March 2016 and will end February 2019.

**4. Why have I been chosen?** You have been chosen because you are a policy maker in diaspora relations willing to discuss welfare related projects undertaken by some UK based Ghanaian Hometown Associations in Ghana.

**5. Do I have to take part?** It is up to you to decide whether or not to take part. If you do decide to take part, you will be given this information sheet to keep (and be asked to sign a consent form) and you can still withdraw at any time without it affecting any benefits that you are entitled to in any way.  You do not have to give a reason.

**6. What will happen to me if I take part?** You will be interviewed; it will be a one-time 40 minutes to 1 hour interview. During the interviews, there will be audio recording of the interviews and questions that will be asked will be semi-structured to give you the avenue to expand your answers within the question lines. I will also take documentary evidence and pictures to support some of your projects that you have implemented if you have them.

**7. What do I have to do?** Nothing special. All you need to do is to answer the question I will ask you freely to the best of your opinion without compromise or persuasion from anybody and submit any documentary evidence if you have them.

**8. Will I be recorded, and how will the recorded media be used?** Yes, you will be audio recorded during the interview. This audio recordings will be used only for this analysis of this research and for illustration in conference presentations and lectures. No other use will be made of them without your written permission, and no one outside the project will be allowed access to the original recordings.

**9. What are the possible disadvantages and risks of taking part?** At the moment, I do not foresee any high risk or crucial disadvantages in taking part of the interview. This research has been carefully planned and measures have been put in place to curtail any disadvantages to participants and researcher.

**10. What are the possible benefits of taking part?** The benefits of taking part is making your voice heard. It is an opportunity to contribute your beliefs and opinions on migration and development. It is a platform that you can express your view whether the diaspora is making positive or negative impact on development in sending countries. As this research focuses on Ghana-UK migration trend which plans to investigate whether the Ghanaian diaspora positively impact welfare development in Ghana, you, being a policy maker can make your perspective known which will go a long way to help understand the government's diaspora and migration policy and the way the diaspora and migration is perceived.

**11. What happens if the research study stops earlier than expected?** You will be informed by telephone and the reason why it was stopped will also be explained to you

**12. What if something goes wrong?** Should you have any complaints, you are free to contact any of my supervisors below. They will take the matter up and find an amicable way of resolving the issue. If you feel that has not been resolved to your satisfaction, you are free to contact my director of graduate research who will then escalate your complaints through the appropriate channels.  Contact details of my supervisors and the director are under item number 18 below:

**13. Will my taking part in this project be kept confidential?** Although I think this research does not really touch on sensitive topics that would require confidentiality, if you still prefer that your taking part in this research should be confidential, anonymised or both, I am more than happy to make your inputs and contributions confidential and anonymised to the public. Only the research team which include myself and my 2 supervisors will see the raw data. All the information that I will collect about you during the course of the research will be kept strictly confidential and anonymised and you will not be identified in any reports or publications

**14. What type of information will be sought from me and why is the collection of this information relevant for achieving the research project's objectives?**

The information that I will sought from you will focus around:

Your Departments backgrounds and functions

Any commitments or known commitments and roles and engagement with Ghanaian Hometown Associations in the UK or Abroad

Reasons for your/their commitment

Your general opinions about migration and its impact on development back home

**15. What will happen to the results of the research project?** The results of the research will be published some months after February 2020. If you wish to be informed about when, where and which part of the research your involvement was, I am glad to let you know when it is ready. Due to the nature of this research it is very likely that other researchers may find the data collected to be useful in answering future research questions. We will ask for your explicit consent for your data to be shared in this way and if you agree, we will ensure that the data collected about you is untraceable back to you before allowing others to use it.

**16. Who is organising and funding the research?**

The project is self-funded

**17. Who has ethically reviewed the project?**

The project has been ethically reviewed and approved by the department of sociological studies and has been monitored by the University of Sheffield's Research Ethics Committee monitors through the application and delivery of the University's Ethics Review Procedure across the University.

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I really thank you for agreeing to participate in this research. You will receive a copy of this information sheet and a copy of your signed consent sheet.

## Appendix 4 - Summary of Research

### Summary of Research for All Participants/Respondents

**Title:** Migration and Development: The Ghanaian Diaspora as Drivers of Welfare Development Back Home

### Dear Participant

This scientific research is for my PhD studies at the University of Sheffield in the UK. The research aims to contribute to the emerging discourse of migration and development nexus. This nexus is aimed at finding out if migration mainly from developing countries to developed countries has a positive impact on developing countries. In order to get knowledge of this broad area of migration-development nexus, I will be studying the Hometown Association (HTAs) of the Ghanaian diaspora in the UK that have been engaging on welfare development or welfare related projects in their communities back home.

### Why Ghana and the UK

Ghana has been a country that have witnessed progress and growth in many areas of endeavour. In addition to that, Ghanaians have been migrating to developed countries in high numbers. It is estimated that between 7 and 13% of Ghanaian population live outside the country. According to the world bank, financial remittances sent home by Ghanaian diaspora contribute to 5% of the Ghanaian GDP which is a remarkable amount to development of the country. This makes the Ghanaian diaspora a population to reckon with when it comes to research and participant coverage. According to the United Kingdom's office of national statistics there are over one hundred thousand Ghanaian legally resident in the UK. It is also known that there are over 500 Ghanaian diaspora hometown association worldwide out of which 200 are located in London alone. This makes Ghana and the UK a good case to investigate whether HTAs contribute to welfare developments back home. Several participants will be contacted during the research. These include hometown associations and their representatives and ordinary members, projects of implemented by the HTAs, opinions of end users and policy makers. Data will be gathered through interviews, observation of some HTA meetings, photographic data of projects and documentary evidence of projects. These will all be analysed, and the findings will be published at the end of my PhD.

### Why You

You have been selected because I think you are one of the right people with the key to unlock this knowledge of migration and development nexus. The information and experiences you have regarding your everyday engagements back home are crucial towards this research. It will help in shaping how natives of every country perceive immigrants and immigration as a whole. As you are a Ghanaian involved in either sending or receiving remittances, you are in the right position to inform us if this idea of remittances from the developed world to the developing world is having positive impact in communities. When I say remittances, it is not just about sending physical money through western union or through someone going to Ghana, but sending new ideas, implementing or building a project, affecting lives back home among others.

I will be glad if you will be willing to take part in this research which will go a long way in educating policy makers, governments, decision makers etc about how immigration should be treated. Attached to this document is also participant information sheet which answers frequently asked questions. I look forward that you voluntarily contribute to this work.