

The Ghanaian diaspora in Germany

Potentials for collaboration with German development cooperation

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List of abbreviations

ACF	African Consultative Forum Hamburg
ADPC	The African Diaspora Policy Centre
AEDP	Africa-Europe Development Platform
AFFORD	African Foundation for Development
AGEF	Arbeitsgruppe Entwicklung und Fachkräfte im Bereich der Migration und der Entwicklungszusammenarbeit (Working group on development and experts in the area of migration and development cooperation)
AGNA e.V.	African German Network Association e.V.
ANAMED	Action Natural Medicine in the Tropics
AZR	Ausländerzentralregister (Central Register of Foreigners)
BA	Bundesagentur für Arbeit (German Federal Employment Agency)
BAMF	Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge (German Federal Office for Migration and Refugees)
BMZ	German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development
CIM	Centre for International Migration and Development
CMS	Centre for Migration Studies, University of Ghana
COMCAD	Center on Migration, Citizenship and Development
DAAD	German Academic Exchange Service
DAB	Diaspora Affairs Bureau
DC	Development cooperation
DEP	Diaspora Engagement Project
DFD	Diaspora Forum Development
DGE e.V.	Deutsch-Ghanaischer Entwicklungsverein e.V. (in English roughly ‘German-Ghanaian development association’)
DSU	Diaspora Support Unit
ECDPM	European Centre for Development Policy Management
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
FEGHADE	Federation of the Ghanaian Diaspora in Europe
GDEP	Ghanaian Diaspora Engagement Policy
GDF	Ghana Diaspora Fund
GPRS	Ghana Poverty Reduction Strategy
GIPC	Ghana Investment Promotion Centre
GIZ	Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit GmbH
GU Ma-Lu	Ghana Union Mannheim-Ludwigshafen e.V.
HTA	Home Town Association
ICMPD	International Centre for Migration Policy Development
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INTERACT	Researching Third Country Nationals’ Integration as a Three-Way Process – Immigrants, Countries of Emigration and Countries of Immigration as Actors for Integration
IOM	International Organization for Migration
IPPF	International Planned Parenthood Federation
IZAM	Information Centre Asylum and Migration
JSS	Junior Secondary School
MIDA	Migration for Development in Africa
MIEUX	Migration EU eXpertise
MPI	Migration Policy Institute
M4D	Migration for Development Programme

NRW	North Rhine-Westphalia
NRGS	Non-Resident Ghanaians Secretariat
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
PMD	Programme Migration for Development
PPP	Public-private partnership
ROPAA	Representation of the People Amendment Act
SP	Sector project
UGAG	Union of Ghanaian Associations Germany
WUS	World University Service
ZAV	Zentrale Auslands- und Fachvermittlung (International Placement Services of the German Federal Employment Agency)

1. Context and objectives of the study

The important role of the diaspora¹ as an actor for development in their countries of origin is undisputed. This study explores, among other themes, to what extent and in what form the Ghanaian diaspora in Germany, their clubs, associations and networks, and their individuals engage in development. Based on the results of the study, recommendations for action will be formulated for the Programme Migration for Development (PMD). The PMD is a BMZ-funded global programme that supports the transfer of knowledge from migrants to their countries of origin. The programme focuses on 23 priority countries. The PMD aims to strengthen various migrant communities in Germany in their capacities as mediators/carriers of knowledge and skills, and seeks to enable them to transfer knowledge through various pathways. This is designed to benefit local employers as well as civil society institutions and organisations in the countries of origin. The PMD addresses both qualified migrants wishing to return to their countries of origin and those who have established themselves in Germany and regard the country as the centre of their lives.

The PMD targets both highly qualified individuals and migrant organisations (MOs), as well as other networks of the diaspora groups. Qualitative analyses of the various diaspora groups in Germany still need to be conducted in order to further develop the PMD's areas of action and level of operation.

Back in 2006, Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ) GmbH published the study entitled 'Egyptian, Afghan and Serbian diaspora communities in Germany: How do they contribute to their country of origin?' In 2007 and 2008, six further studies followed on various diaspora communities in Germany (Morocco, Senegal, Viet Nam, Cameroon, Armenia and the Philippines). A study focusing on Ghana was published in 2009 (Schmelz 2009). Vizzoli/Lacroix addressed the Ghanaian, Serbian and Indian diaspora policy in their 2010 study. These publications contributed to closing knowledge gaps relating to migrant² activities in the countries of origin and identifying possibilities for collaboration in joint projects in these countries. Projects conducted by diaspora organisations in their countries of origin have been supported on a case-by-case basis since 2007, first under a pilot support programme and then as a programme component of the PMD. The document 'Cooperating with Diaspora Communities. Guidelines for practice' was published in 2011 on the basis of lessons learned from the pilot support programme (GIZ 2011).

The current study is designed to help identify with more accuracy and on an updated information basis the potential of cooperation between German Development cooperation (DC) and the Ghanaian diaspora in Germany to promote development in Ghana. A number of diaspora studies were commissioned in 2015, including on the Ghanaian diaspora, in cooperation with the Migration and Development Sector Project (SP)³. Based on a quantitative and qualitative analysis of the Ghanaian diaspora in Germany, the PMD team has obtained a good insight into the profile of this diaspora. It has also obtained an overview of contacts of Ghanaian migrant organisations, clubs and associations and informal networks in Germany.

On the basis of previous studies on the Ghanaian diaspora in Germany, this study updates their social and political-organisational profile and describes and assesses their engagement in

¹ See p. 7 for definition of the term 'diaspora'.

² The term 'migrant' as used in this study refers to both male and female individuals.

³ This BMZ-funded project, which was initiated in May 2006, aims to develop and disseminate strategies and instruments for addressing the developmental potentials and risks of migration.

their country of origin. As far as possible, the study also reflects on the engagement of the Ghanaians themselves within and for Ghana and the potentials of cooperation with German DC from their own perspective. It gives Ghanaian protagonists opportunity to articulate their view of the topic, particularly with regard to the conditions under which they can in future plan and intensify their engagement in development as builders of bridges and mediators of knowledge and expertise or with business ideas of their own in Ghana. Finally, it formulates recommendations for action aimed at strengthening the Ghanaian diaspora and harnessing their potential in the context of German DC – incorporating the target group’s own visions and ideas.

This study will neither broadly debate nor evaluate the scientific discourses on the vast topic of migration and development, nor the role of the diaspora for development. That would go beyond the scope of the study.⁴

Definitions

Who belongs to the Ghanaian diaspora? The use of the term ‘diaspora’ follows the definition of Scheffer (1986): Diaspora includes all ethnic minorities with a migrant background who live in a host country but maintain very strong emotional and material ties to their country of origin (cf. also Ong’ayou 2014).⁵ The diaspora concept of German DC also does not perceive diaspora as clearly definable, fixed groups with a homogeneous agenda. Furthermore, current citizenship does not determine membership of a diaspora. That depends on ‘whether and how strongly a person feels connected to their country of origin and wants to become involved there’ (Riester 2001:276; GIZ 2011:4). This applies to all Ghanaian citizens and persons with Ghanaian migrant background (naturalised persons and second-generation migrants). In addition, many persons surveyed used the term ‘Ghanaian community’ as a synonymous with ‘Ghanaian diaspora’ or used the self-designation ‘Ghanaian migrants’ or simply ‘Ghanaians’ even if they were naturalised and had become German citizens, for example.

The study uses the term ‘migrant(s)’ for any person who lives temporarily or permanently in a country where he or she was not born, and has acquired some significant social ties to this country (in accordance with the UN definition).⁶

2. Methodology

The study was conducted using the following material:

- evaluation of the scientific literature on the Ghanaian diaspora in Germany and world-wide, as well as current research literature on the debate over migration and development;

4 See: Addison 2005; Aikins 2008; BAMF 2011: Potenziale der Migration zwischen Afrika und Deutschland; BAMF: www.bamf.de/SharedDocs/Projekte/DE/DasBAMF/Forschung/Migration/migration-und-entwicklung.html; Bakewell 2008; Castles/Raúl Delgado 2008; DIE 2015: www.die-gdi.de/migration-und-nachhaltige-entwicklung/Faist 2008; Goethe/Hillmann 2008; Grillo/Mazzucato 2008; de Haas 2006; Hilber 2008; Manuh 2005; Orozco 2005; Portes/Escobar/Walton Radford 2007; Quartey 2006; Sieveking 2008b

5 Definition of the Minister of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration: ‘The Ghanaian Diaspora is defined as individuals and members of Ghanaian networks, associations and communities, who have left Ghana, but maintain links with the Country. This concept covers migrant workers abroad temporarily, more settled expatriate communities, expatriates with nationality of host country, dual nationals, and second/third generation descendants of migrants as well peoples of African descent’ (unpublished manuscript of the Embassy of Ghana in Berlin; 31 May 2015).

6 <http://en.unesco.org/>

- written and oral surveys of researchers (German and Ghanaian migration experts) as well as representatives of organisations and government agencies (IOM-Accra, Diaspora Affairs Bureau, Embassy of Ghana in Berlin, Hamburg Ghana Bridge e.V., GIZ, Centre for International Migration and Development (CIM) Germany and Ghana, International Placement Services of the German Federal Employment Agency (ZAV), IOM, , Federal Statistical Office);
- additional evaluation of documents and studies by international and national organisations (including the World Bank, North-South Centre of the Council of Europe, IOM, EU Commission) and research institutes focusing on the topic of migration and development;
- semi-structured guided (telephone or face-to-face) interviews with key representatives of clubs and associations as well as other experts; written survey of selected clubs and associations of the Ghanaian diaspora;
- additional information from websites/information portals, annual reports, proceedings and other documents of associations and initiatives, as well as from ministries and development cooperation actors from Germany and Ghana.

The main results and findings of previous studies conducted on behalf of GIZ have been a valuable starting point for the current survey. Nevertheless, there is a substantial need to update the profile of the Ghanaian diaspora and the latest developments in the Ghanaian migration and diaspora policy.

In a previous study, Schmelz (2009) systematically evaluated and summarised the findings then available on Ghanaian migrants in Germany, thus contributing to an understanding of the potential of Ghanaian migrants in Germany for engaging in development (Goethe/Hillmann 2008; Nieswand 2005, 2008a, 2008b; Schröder 2006; Sieveking/Faist/Fauser 2008; Sieveking/Faist 2008; Sieveking 2008a). These findings flow into the current study. It also draws on international and national research on the topic of remittances and return migration, as well as on the role of the diaspora for Ghana's socio-economic development (Badasu 2013; Buschke 2014; Mazzucato 2008; Ong'ayo 2014; Reich 2009; Sieveking 2009; Stechow 2014; Tonah 2007).

Across Germany, a total of 22 interviews (10 over the telephone and 12 face-to-face, lasting one to two hours) were conducted with key individuals and representatives of associations of the Ghanaian diaspora and other experts (NGOs, scientific community, DC) on the basis of a semi-structured guide. Depending on how the interviews progressed, parts of the guide were expanded or reduced. The face-to-face interviews were transcribed and the telephone interviews were minuted. Most of the contact persons (13 – three women and 10 men) were first-generation migrants who came to Germany in the late 1970s and in the 1980s. Two interview partners came to Germany as children through a family reunion and one of them was born there. These three persons represent the second generation of migrants in the study. A group interview was conducted with three representatives of the Ghanaian Embassy in Berlin, and a detailed questionnaire was completed in writing.

A guiding questionnaire in English and German was also sent to 12 member associations and nine associated clubs of the Union of Ghanaian Diaspora in Germany (UGAG), as well as to 20 other selected clubs and individuals. Unfortunately, the response was highly unsatisfactory, with only two completed questionnaires returned – despite repeated requests sent by email or left on voicemail. Overall, making contact was a very tedious and time-consuming process. Some of the persons contacted refused to participate, either because they had limited time at

their disposal or because they did not see the purpose or benefit for themselves or their club. Because of time constraints, it was not possible to participate in club meetings or similar events as an observer.

The identification of Ghanaian professional and/or business associations and of academic networks or highly qualified individuals proved to be difficult. It was not possible to obtain access to organised women's groups. Representatives of churches or other religious groups and branches of Ghanaian parties were not contacted, mainly due to lack of time. Nevertheless, the study did yield some findings on the role of women, churches and religious communities in the networks of the diaspora in Germany.

The survey methods do not permit representative statements⁷ to be made, but they do allow current development trends to be identified with regard to:

- the role of second- and third-generation migrants for engaging in development in Ghana and on the boards of clubs and associations;
- changes in the goals and activities of associations;
- the transition situations in some major associations;
- the efforts of the Ghanaian Government to more effectively involve the Ghanaian diaspora around the world and in Germany in development; and
- potentials for collaboration between the Ghanaian diaspora and German DC – taking into account the perspective of the Ghanaian diaspora.

3. The Ghanaian diaspora in Germany

The IOM estimates the number of international migrants from Ghana at 1.5 million to 3 million. As a proportion of Ghana's total population, between 5.6% and 11.1% of Ghanaians today live outside their country of origin.⁸ According to the UNHCR, the number of asylum seekers and refugees from Ghana has dropped from around 16,000 in 2003 to around 6,700 in 2008. Their distribution across the globe is noteworthy: migrants from Ghana have settled in more than 33 different countries, but according to UN estimates from 2013, a large portion of them remain in the neighbouring West African countries of Nigeria (some 177,000) and Côte d'Ivoire (around 48,000). The main destination countries in Europe are the UK (around 82,000), Italy (approx. 43,000) and Germany (some 23,700). The biggest Ghanaian community outside the African continent lives in the USA (about 150,000), while Canada is also a preferred destination country (approx. 22,200). The most populous regions of Greater Accra and Ashanti have the highest mobility rate.

7 Interviews were conducted only with active board members who demonstrated an interest in the object of study. The results must be 'read' against this background. These protagonists are already very willing to become involved in an organised/formal manner, also for promoting development in Ghana. The question how the 'mass' of the Ghanaian diaspora in Germany thinks about 'organised' engagement must remain unanswered. However, it should be kept in mind that the overwhelming majority makes a significant contribution to development in an informal manner by transferring money.

8 The current draft National Migration Policy for Ghana emphasises that reliable data on numbers and profiles of international Ghanaian migrants are not available and defines measures that are designed to help improve data collection under a national migration policy strategy (March 2013:60f.).

It is worth mentioning that around 87.7% of the Ghanaians who left Ghana for at least half a year between 2000 and 2007 have returned to their country of origin. The return rate was 18.8% in 2000 and increased to 34.6% in 2007. One reason for this could be that IOM Ghana has introduced various measures since the beginning of the 2000s to promote voluntary return and facilitate the reintegration of returnees (IOM 2013:12).

At the same time, Ghana attracts foreign nationals. According to the UN (as at 2013), around 359,000 non-Ghanaian citizens live in Ghana, especially migrants from Togo, Burkina Faso, Nigeria, Benin, Côte d'Ivoire, Niger and Mali. This must be seen in the context of regional mobility, which has always played a significant role in West Africa and was facilitated yet again by the formation of Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) in 1975 (see also IOM-Ghana 2011:26). The number of asylum seekers and refugees within Ghana has nearly trebled from 2007 to 2011 and is now at around 35,000 (2.2% of all immigrants, IOM 2013:11ff.).

Migration from and within Ghana is very well documented, confirming the country's long history and tradition of mobility (IOM 2011:25; Nieswand 2005 and 2008a; Schmelz 2009). A distinction is made between four historic phases of migration (IOM 2011:25ff.). The first was a period of 'minimal emigration' (pre-colonial up to the late 1960s), when Ghana was more a country of immigration, mostly for immigrants from West Africa, and only few Ghanaians, particularly educated migrants and business people, left the country. The second phase was the 1970s and 1980s, referred to as the period of 'initial emigration'. The local economic crisis and strong demand for skilled labour in African countries (including Nigeria, Uganda, Zambia and Botswana) induced highly qualified Ghanaians to leave the country. The third phase, from 1980 to 1990, was one of 'large-scale emigration' caused by high inflation, declining real wages, food scarcity, etc. Uneducated, less educated and highly educated Ghanaians emigrated during that time with two million Ghanaians emigrating to Côte d'Ivoire and Nigeria alone. Besides, emigration was strongly encouraged from 1979 by the ECOWAS Protocol on the Free Movement of Persons, Residence, and Establishment. In the early 1980s, Ghanaians increasingly emigrated to Europe and North America. They were not only economic migrants and educated migrants but, increasingly, political refugees as well. During that decade Ghana was among the ten countries with the highest proportion of political asylum seekers. The fourth period, which began in the 1990s and extends into the present, is described by the IOM as that of 'intensification and diasporization of Ghanaians', in which highly educated Ghanaians have migrated and continue to migrate, particularly to the USA and Europe. According to the IOM, Ghana has the highest emigration rate of skilled professionals (46%).

3.1 Size of the Ghanaian diaspora: an estimate

The German Federal Statistical Office and the Central Register of Foreigners register the Ghanaian citizens living in Germany but not the naturalised persons of Ghanaian origin or their children born in Germany, nor the dependent children from binational partnerships who have immigrated to Germany. As a result, the records of migration from Ghana to Germany to date must be regarded as still incomplete, permitting a socio-demographic analysis only of immigrants with Ghanaian citizenship.

According to Schmelz (2009), migration to Germany displays three typical patterns: educational migration, asylum-seeking migration and family reunification. The number of Ghanaian

citizens in Germany increased substantially after 1970 – the ‘initial period’ –reaching a first peak in 1992 at just under 26,000, then dropping slightly until 2007 and rising again to almost 27,000 in 2014 (cf. Table 1). According to Schmelz, most Ghanaian migrants residing in Germany today have arrived since the beginning of the 1980s in the context of asylum-seeking migration and family reunification. However, only very few asylum-seeking Ghanaian migrants have been recognised (Schmelz 2009).

According to the Federal Statistical Office (2015), 26,751 persons with Ghanaian citizenship were officially registered in Germany in 2014 – not counting further population groups with a Ghanaian migration background. That is a 30% increase on 2006 (cf. Table 1). A total of just under 12,400 Ghanaians became German citizens between 1981 and 2013.⁹ It can also be assumed that an estimated number of more than 10,000 descendants of German-Ghanaian couples live in Germany today (Schmelz 2009:9). Overall, an estimated 49,000 persons with a Ghanaian migration background are registered as residing in Germany.

Table 1: Migrants with Ghanaian citizenship and naturalised Ghanaians from 1981 to 2014^a

Year	Persons	Naturalised	Year	Persons	Naturalised	Year	Persons	Naturalised
1981	11,880	19	1993	24,769	147	2005	20,906	887
1982	14,011	31	1994	22,145	166	2006	20,587	742
1983	13,385	49	1995	21,550	223	2007	20,392	778
1984	12,147	55	1996	21,805	203	2008	20,447	595
1985	13,941	28	1997	22,170	254 ^b	2009	20,893	477
1986	17,578	31	1998	22,447	274 ^b	2010	21,377	444
1987	14,573	47	1999	22,602	270 ^b	2011	22,068	564
1988	11,837	35	2000	22,847	697	2012	23,150	456
1989	14,924	65	2001	23,179	1,070	2013	24,790	760
1990	18,814	70	2002	23,451	990	2014	26,751	NK
1991	21,952	88	2003	23,963	806	Source: Federal Statistical Office (2015)		
1992	25,955	112	2004	20,636	948			

a Up to 1990: old Federal Republic of Germany; from 1991: including eastern German states

b excluding Hamburg

Scientific studies (Lentz 2003; Mazzucato 2007; Schmelz 2009:7; Vizzoli/Lacroix 2010) and some interview partners surveyed under this study indicated that in addition to the persons statistically proven to have a Ghanaian migration background, there are around 30,000 to 40,000 more with Ghanaian roots who reside in Germany on a temporary or permanent basis. These are Ghanaians who live in Germany as irregular migrants and without registration, or Ghanaians who enter and leave the country regularly but are not registered by the Central Register of Foreigners because of their high mobility. The Embassy of Ghana in Berlin confirmed that the number of Ghanaian citizens living in Germany and persons with a Ghanaian migration background is estimated at 70,000 to 80,000 in total (questionnaire). Only a small fraction of 4.4% of the Ghanaian citizens registered in the Central Register of Foreigners reside in Germany under the old legislation (German Aliens Act of 1990), the majority (75.6%) have only a temporary residence permit (Federal Statistical Office 2015:129).

9 From the 1980s to the early 1990s, there was a steady rise in the naturalisation rate of 30 registrations per year but the figure remained consistently below 100 naturalisations over many years. Only after exactly 20 years did a significant increase set in, when 1,070 Ghanaians became German citizens in the year 2001 alone. The quota remained relatively high over the following years (but below 1,000) before levelling off at an average of 500 Ghanaians adopting German citizenship every year from 2008. It was not until 2013 that the naturalisation rate increased again to 760.

3.2 Age structure, marital status, gender distribution and duration of stay

40.2% of the Ghanaian citizens living in Germany are between 25 and 45 years old, one third (33%) between 45 and 65 years of age (in 2007, 27.3% were 45 years old and older) and one fifth are under the age of 20 (20.4%). The percentage of Ghanaian migrants over the age of 65 is rather low at just 2.1% (cf. Table 2).

Just under half the Ghanaian migrants are unmarried (13,488), less than one third (28%) are married to a non-German, around one tenth have a German partner and 14% are divorced. Since 1980, according to the study conducted by Schmelz, ‘the development of the Ghanaian migrant group in Germany has followed the worldwide trend of an increasing feminisation of migration processes’ (2009:15). In 1980, the proportion of female migrants was 22%, in 1990 it was already at 40.4% and in 2000 at 44%. In 2004, women for the first time outnumbered men, with a share of 50.4%. This proportion continued to rise in subsequent years, reaching 52.6% in 2007. There was no significant change to this moderate imbalance in the following years. The proportion of women was slightly lower for the first time after 2012 and dropped to 49.5% in 2014. At the same time, the total number of Ghanaian citizens living in Germany increased by 30% from 2007 to 2014.

What is interesting is the noticeably higher proportion of male Ghanaians in the age groups of 20 to 25 (61.3%) and, especially, in the pensioner bracket and above (65 to 95 years), at 78.9%. The statistics do not permit a statement as to why the proportion of women drops sharply among the older members of the Ghanaian migrant group while it remains almost balanced in the other age groups. It would definitely be interesting to examine the whereabouts of the female Ghanaian migrants. After all, in purely arithmetic terms, there is no major difference between the number of females and males in the age group of 65 to 95 who have de-registered with the Central Register of Foreigners for the year 2014 (Federal Statistical Office 2015:195).

Table 2: Migrants with Ghanaian citizenship in Germany by age and gender (as at 31 December 2014)

	All age groups	Under 20 years	20-25 Years	25-35 Years	35-45 Years	45-65 Years	65-95 Years	Average age
Men	13,507	2,794	716	2,378	2,580	4,598	441	36.5
in %	100%	52.1%	61.3%	52.2%	41.6%	52.3%	78.9%	
Women	13,244	2,670	452	2,179	3,623	4,202	118	35.7
in %	100%	48.9%	38.7%	47.8	58.4%	47.7%	21.1%	
Sum	26,751	5,464	1,168	4,557	6,203	8,800	559	36.1
in %	100%	20.4%	4.4%	17%	23.2%	33.0%	2.1%	

Source: Federal Statistical Office (2015)

According to calculations by the Federal Statistical Office (current as at 2014), most Ghanaians (41.6%) remain in Germany for 1 to 4 years, while 22.2% stay for only a year, 8.5% have lived in Germany for a remarkable 20 to 25 years, 8.1% have lived in the country for 4 to 6

years and 5.2% for 10 to 15 years. The average length of stay of those who left Germany again in 2014 was 6.9 years. In 2007 the statistics showed a different picture: the average length of stay at the time was still 12.1 years (Schmelz 2009:10; cf. also Orozco 2005:9). Most Ghanaian citizens who leave Germany again are in the age group of 25 to 55-year-olds, 37 years being the average (Federal Statistical Office 2015; cf. also Schmelz 2009:10). The reasons why the average length of stay has become shorter in statistical terms and how that impacts on the target group of the Ghanaian diaspora that is relevant to the study could not be explored. A study on permanence would be required to analyse the factors that determine the length of stay of Ghanaian migrants in Germany.

3.3 Employment situation

According to a separate statistic provided by the Federal Labour Office, in March 2015 just under 8,500 Ghanaian citizens were in gainful employment subject to social security contributions, 2,914 were registered as unemployed (Federal Labour Office: Statistics of March 2015 ‘Sozialversichert Beschäftigte aus Ghana nach Berufsgruppen sowie Arbeitslose aus Ghana nach Berufsgruppen’ (*Employees from Ghana subject to social security contributions by occupational groups and unemployed persons from Ghana by occupational groups*). Of these, almost 13.7% or 400 persons received unemployment benefits while the majority (87.1% or 2,538 persons) were reliant on Hartz IV support payments. These statistics cover a total of 11,414 Ghanaians but without indicating their age and actual educational background, describing only the current or most recent occupation they have exercised. The Federal Labour Office distinguishes between 147 occupational groups. The majority of Ghanaians in employment and registered as unemployed are found in the following occupational groups: ‘trade, health administration, disinfection’ (30.9%), ‘security, maintenance, transport infrastructure’ (9.2%), ‘food preparation’ (7%) and ‘hotel industry’ (3.9%). Other relevant occupational groups are ‘food and luxury food production’, ‘tourism and sport’, ‘merchants – transport and logistics’ and ‘metalworking’. It is clear that there are virtually no Ghanaians in occupational groups requiring higher skills. However, these statistics do not capture any self-employed professionals and freelancers and therefore no statement can be made in that regard. The highest number of Ghanaians registered as unemployed is found under ‘cleaning’, but only 16 employees subject to social security contributions are registered in this segment.

These data do not permit any statement to be made as to the original skills brought by individual Ghanaians because the statistics only list the occupation last exercised. A person who was or is employed as a warehouse worker may even be a trained medical professional. Only a medical practitioner who has worked in that occupation is registered by the Federal Labour Office as a ‘medical practitioner’. Despite this ambiguity, we can assume that the majority of the Ghanaian diaspora in Germany comprises low-skilled or unskilled migrants. Most Ghanaians work in what are referred to as helper occupations, as warehouse workers or cleaners. More highly qualified persons are a minority in this migrant group because they tend to prefer to settle in English-speaking countries even if they can work legally in Germany (Orozco 2005; Schmelz 2009). Orozco (2005:8) concluded in his study that around 30% of Ghanaian migrants in Germany have an annual income of less than EUR 10,000.

Fewer Ghanaian students are enrolled at German universities and universities of applied science than from other African countries such as Morocco or Cameroon. Starting in 1980, the number of Ghanaian students reached its peak in 2002, at 735. Statistics from 2012 recorded a mere 216 new Ghanaian students (170 with non-German school education and 46 with German school education) and 99 graduates (91 with non-German school education and eight

with German school education). Among the students with non-German school education, males significantly outnumber females (131 to 39).¹⁰ The preferred subjects continue to be engineering, mathematics and sciences, law, economics and social sciences, as well as agriculture, forestry and food science (cf. also Schmelz 2009). Most Ghanaians in Germany have attended junior secondary school (JSS) in their country of origin, relatively few a (technical) university and a very tiny minority has an academic degree (Orozco 2005:8).

3.4 Origin and geographic distribution

Of the 12 large ethnic groups in Ghana, the Akan are the largest. The Akan comprise the Ashanti, Fanti, Brong, Kwahu, Akim, Akwapim and Nzima. The second largest ethnic group are the Ewe, followed by the Ga-Adangbe, Mole-Dagbani, Grussi and Gruma. In Germany there are hardly any migrants from the north of Ghana, with most Ghanaian citizens coming from the southern, populous and economically stronger regions, mainly from the Ashanti region. A minority are Muslims while most migrants from Ghana in Germany are Christians. In addition to the large Catholic and Presbyterian communities, there are a number of small, medium-sized and large Pentecostal communities with which Ghanaian migrants are affiliated (Nieswand 2008a; Schmelz 2009; Schröder 2006; own research).

Most Ghanaians live in North Rhine-Westphalia (NRW), particularly in the Ruhr Valley, in the city-states of Hamburg, Bremen and Berlin, as well as in the greater Frankfurt/Main area. One fifth of all Ghanaian migrants in Germany have settled in Hamburg.¹¹ As a port city, Hamburg has attracted migrants ever since they started coming from Ghana to Germany, and migration networks in Hamburg have formed relatively quickly (Nieswand 2008a; Schmelz 2009).

7,706, that is, 29% of all Ghanaians in Germany now live in NRW. For comparison, the distribution across the other western German states is as follows: Hesse 9.4%, Berlin 7.4%, Lower Saxony 6.6% and Bremen 4.4%. The share of Ghanaian migrants in Germany living in the five eastern German states has risen by two percentage points to 3.9% since 2006. However, the numbers have gone up mainly in Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania, not in the other four eastern states. It can be presumed that besides unfavourable employment prospects, the fear of discrimination and racist attacks in Germany's eastern states explains why not many Ghanaian migrants live there (cf. also Schmelz 2009:14).

Table 3 Geographic distribution of migrants with Ghanaian citizenship in Germany, 2006 and 2014

Federal state	2006		2014	
	Persons	Share in %	Persons	Share in %
Baden-Württemberg	1,643	8.0	1,796	6.7
Bavaria	1,110	5.4	1,389	5.2
Berlin	1,866	9.2	1,972	7.4
Brandenburg	86	0.4	75	0.3
Bremen	1,075	5.2	1,186	4.4
Hamburg	4,665	22.7	5,610	20.1
Hesse	2,022	9.8	2,508	9.4
Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania	141	0.6	766	2.9
Lower Saxony	1,139	5.5	1,757	6.6

¹⁰ Source: Hochschulinformationssystem (HIS), Statistics of 2013.

¹¹ The news portal www.zongonews.com/?p=23597 (2.6.2015) estimates the Ghanaian community living in Hamburg at 22,000! A total of 5,610 Ghanaians were officially registered there in 2014 (cf. Table 3).

North Rhine-Westphalia	4,909	23.8	7,706	29.0
Rhineland-Palatinate	635	3.1	601	2.3
Saarland	457	2.2	367	1.4
Saxony	93	0.4	86	0.3
Saxony-Anhalt	78	0.4	65	0.2
Schleswig-Holstein	644	3.2	827	3.1
Thuringia	24	0.1	40	0.2
All of Germany	20,587	100	26,751	100

Source: Federal Statistical Office (2015)

3.5 Remittances to Ghana

'My heart is in Ghana', says a 54-year-old Ghanaian who has lived in Germany for 24 years, has his family there and emigrated in order to *'see the world'*. Not just his heart and soul are attached to Ghana; he also feels a strong obligation to support his immediate and wider family – especially financially (MU_1, 4.5.2015).

According to the World Bank, money transfers from transnational migrants from developing countries to their countries of origin amounted to some USD 436 billion in 2014. That is a 7.8% increase on the previous year (USD 404 billion). According to World Bank estimates, total remittances will rise to USD 516 billion in 2016. In 2013, however, remittances to sub-Saharan Africa accounted for only USD 32 billion and rose by only 3.5% on 2012. A total volume of USD 41 billion is forecast for this region in 2016 with two thirds of this expected to flow to Nigeria alone.¹²

The World Bank defines personal remittances as transfers in cash made by non-resident households to resident households and emphasises that transnational transfers in cash are often combined with other private capital flows (even with development aid). The Bank of Ghana published the amount of USD 1.57 billion in personal remittances in 2009, while the International Monetary Fund (IMF) reported only USD 128 million.¹³ According to the Ghanaian Diaspora Investment Forum, transnational money transfers amounted to USD 163 million in 2013. The World Bank calculated that non-resident remittances from abroad represented 0.2% of Ghana's GDP in 2013 (GDP 2013: USD 48.14 billion). The Bank of Ghana, in turn, estimated the ratio of remittances to GDP at 7.3% for 2009. It is estimated that around 65% unregistered remittances flowing to Ghana through informal channels have to be added to the official cash transfer balance (Vizzoli/Lacroix 2010:24).

The Deutsche Bundesbank's official balance of payments statistics give an indication of the volume of cash transfers of Ghanaian citizens living in Germany. Because of problems in capturing these transnational transactions, however, the published figures are partly based on estimates. Accordingly, remittances from Ghanaians living in Germany last amounted to EUR 14 million (in 2014), a moderate increase of around 17% since 2008 (Deutsche Bundesbank: calculated on the basis of written information obtained on 5 June 2015).

Irrespective of which statistic or order of magnitude is the most reliable, there is no question that Ghanaian migrants make a contribution to Ghana through their remittances, whether in-

12 Sources: www.worldbank.org/en/news/press-release/2014/04/11/remittances-developing-countries-deportations-migrant-workers-wb; <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/BX.TRF.PWKR.CD.DT>; <http://blogs.worldbank.org/peoplemove/migrant-remittances-and-private-capital-flows-which-is-what>; 24 May 2015

13 Source: <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/BX.TRF.PWKR.CD.DT>; 24 May 2015

dividually, in networks or through activities and clubs and associations. The vast majority support their families, especially parents, children and spouses in Ghana. On average, most Ghanaian migrants in Germany make 11 remittances per year in amounts ranging from less than EUR 100 to EUR 150, plus payments for school tuition. Many contribute to infrastructure upgrades or construction of schools or clinics as well as social facilities. They transfer equipment or provide other humanitarian aid, they invest by purchasing real estate, building a home or setting up a business, and 60% of Ghanaians in Germany have a bank account in Ghana (Orozco 2005:6ff.).¹⁴

All interviewees confirmed that Ghanaians in Germany continued to feel attached to their country of origin even after a long stay and wished to improve the lot of their people. That is not surprising given that around one fourth of the population of Ghana (around 6.44 million)¹⁵ lives below the poverty line, and an even higher proportion in rural regions (Federal Office for Migration and Refugees 2014:3f.).

Ghanaian migrants are involved in transnational networks and maintain their family ties and social connections around the world (Orozco 2005; Nieswand 2008b; Schmelz 2009:23). For most persons of Ghanaian migration background living in Germany, solidarity with relatives living in Ghana and with their region of origin is the top priority. Contacts are maintained through regular visits, among other things. According to Orozco, more than half the Ghanaians in Germany travel to Ghana once or twice a year and spend between USD 1,000 and USD 3,000 there (Orozco 2005).

When asked what contribution the Ghanaian diaspora makes for development in Ghana, one interview partner responded:

'As a rough estimate, one out of three or one out of five people on the street in Ghana has someone in Germany or another country who regularly sends them money. Some say Ghanaians are magicians! Why? They make just EUR 200 a month but live like someone who has EUR 600. Guess where the money comes from? From abroad.' (BA_1; 2.5.2015)

The perspective of a German interview partner who works with irregular Ghanaian migrants:

'What moves me most is that these people have maintained this connection with their home country over so many years and take it upon themselves to send money to the family, such as school tuition (...). Very many of them actually have the desire to do something for their hometowns, to create something visible and give back something socially (...). I have a lot of respect for this, I can't imagine how they keep supporting who knows how many more people, and ad hoc, with such a low income here.' (SH_1; 30 March 2015)

Irregular migrants cannot travel to Ghana, but even they send large portions of their income to their country of origin. Migration expert Norbert Cyrus emphasised during the interview that *'the informal commitment of irregular migrants to their country's development receives too little attention because it is difficult to study and measure. Yet through their contributions relatives set up small businesses and create jobs, for example, and they pay school tuition and promote education'* (interview; 1 March 2015).

14 It was not possible to find a more recent study that would have updated the figures of Orozco's comparative study.

15 <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/gh.html>

According to Nieswand, the transnational engagement of Ghanaian migrants allows them to bridge paradoxes in status between the host country and their country of origin. He asserts that remittances and transnational activities permit their personal status in Ghana to rise. He regards this as particularly important against the backdrop of discrimination and demotion to lower-skilled jobs in Germany, where most Ghanaians tend to be in precarious employment and socially disadvantaged, for the most part (Nieswand 2008b:11ff.; cf. also Buschke 2014:23ff.).

4. Forms of social organisation

A number of studies have been published on the Ghanaians' forms of social organisation, formal clubs and associations and informal networks (Buschke 2014; Nieswand 2008b; Schmelz 2009; Schröder 2006; Stechow 2009). Ghanaians have been organising themselves in clubs and informal groups in Germany since the 1970s and established their own church communities early. The number of Afro shops has steadily grown over the last 45 years, particularly in cities such as Hamburg, Düsseldorf and Berlin. They are a popular meeting point for maintaining social contacts and purchasing food and goods from their country of origin (NRW_2; 17.4.2015). Even if ethnic and cultural affiliation plays a role in clubs, inter-ethnic networks, friendships and weddings do exist.

The section below describes the current clubs and networks of the Ghanaian diaspora in Germany and how they have developed in the past years. A focus of the paper is on the extent to which different forms of organisation (wish to) become involved in Ghana's development.

4.1 Clubs and associations

4.1.1 Profile and structure

Roughly a decade ago, Orozco estimated that 37% of Ghanaians living in Germany are members of a club or association (2005). There are no updated surveys. Reliable data on Ghanaian clubs and associations in Germany are still not available.¹⁶ Adding to the difficulty is the fact that some clubs or associations change their names or simply vanish over the years. Very few have an informative and/or updated website, and even the Union of Ghanaian Associations in the Diaspora (UGAG e.V.), the umbrella organisation which was founded in 2003 and is an important point of contact for the Ghanaian Embassy and diaspora affairs, does not have a web presence (as at May 2015).

There are both regional, national and pan-African organisations, as well as those based on common ethnicity. (Ong'ayo 2014; Sieveking 2008, Schmelz 2009; Tonah 2007; own research). Numerous Hometown Associations (HTAs) continue to exist as associations of Ghanaian migrants from the same home village or region (cf. Schmelz 2009; own research).¹⁷

16 In this context it must be emphasised that various initiatives have been launched by IOM Ghana, the Government of Ghana and all Ghanaian embassies worldwide to obtain a more detailed overview of the Ghanaian diaspora as well as their forms of organisation; these initiatives have had little success so far.

17 The current mapping also revealed that associations established on the basis of ethnic origin, such as the Ashanti/Asanteman Union, Brong-Ahafo Union, the Ga Union, Fanit Union, Kwahu and Akuapem Union, can be found in many large cities.

There are also small clubs that have been established with the express aim of promoting development in Ghana and/or providing humanitarian assistance. Some of the associations interviewed by the author rely for their work on German members without a Ghanaian migration background. Other associations are engaged in Ghana without the involvement of persons with a Ghanaian migration background.

UGAG was established at the initiative of the Ghanaian Embassy in Berlin in 2003 as an umbrella body of the Ghana Unions (some of them today carry the affix Council, Community or Association instead of Union), which have representations in many German cities (cf. Chapter 5.9). Today UGAG has 12 full members (Unions), and nine associations are merely associated members. No HTAs or religious associations are represented in UGAG. A second umbrella body at state level is the Ghana Council NRW (cf. Chapter 5.3), which was established in the context of the Ghana and NRW Germany partnership in 2009. Today the Council has 22 members and, unlike UGAG, has included not just clubs and associations since it was founded but church institutions, businesses and individuals as well (own research). The Council is not a UGAG member.

The HTAs have between 10 and 100 members (interviewees' estimate). The number of individual members in the numerous Ghana Unions could not be ascertained, as no relevant data was provided. Smaller associations (especially those engaged in development) have between five and 40 members (own research)¹⁸. Mostly from hearsay, interview partners estimate that some associations have in excess of 100 members. As no reliable data are available on: a) the total number of clubs/associations; b) the numbers of members, there is no way to calculate which clubs/associations have the most members and in what proportions the (estimated) 80,000 Ghanaian migrants and persons of Ghanaian migration background are distributed across the various diaspora organisations. Moreover, a number of Ghanaians are active in more than one association at the same time. Another problem in this field of study is that official membership figures do not indicate how many persons are in fact close to an association because *'formal memberships are not consistent with the associations' actual following and importance (...), the interest in formal membership is rather low'* (Schmelz 2009; cf. also Sieveking/Fauser/Faist, 2008; own research 2015).

According to Schröder (2006) the traditional system of 'chieftaincy' (derived from chieftain) plays a role in the structure of associations in Berlin and Hamburg.¹⁹ A contact request sent to the Ghana National House of Chiefs in Hamburg remained unanswered. Unfortunately, it is not possible to determine how many other clubs/associations exist in Germany that have been formed on the basis of 'chieftaincy' and to what extent they are relevant to the object of this study (cf. Nieswand 2008; Schmelz 2009).

In contrast to Cameroonian, Iranian, Moroccan or Afghan diaspora, no professional associations have established or asserted themselves among the associations of the Ghanaian diaspo-

18 On their establishment, registered associations must report at least seven members and thereafter may not have fewer than three; non-registered associations may have only three members from the outset; source: www.vereinsknowhow.de.

19 According to the Chieftaincy Act of 2008 (Act No. 759), a *chief* is a person 'who, hailing from the appropriate family and lineage, has been validly nominated, elected or selected and enstooled, enskinned or installed as a chief or queenmother in accordance with the relevant customary law and usage'. The following are the categories of chiefs of the country: *Asantehene* and *paramount chiefs*, *divisional chiefs*, *sub-divisional chiefs*, *Adikrofo* and other chiefs recognised by the *National House of Chiefs* in Ghana (Owusu-Mensah 2013:35f.).

ra. Schmelz, too, determined that a professional network of medical practitioners was disbanded as early as in the 1980s (2009). The current study was unable to identify any association of professionals with a Ghanaian migration background for any group of highly qualified professionals (lawyers, engineers, medical practitioners or specialists from the health sector, science/academia, social work, etc). A Ghanaian students' association was very active and visible in Berlin in the 1980s, but today students from Ghana are no longer organised (comment of many interviewees). This also needs to be seen in the context of the few Ghanaian students in Germany and their distribution across many tertiary institutions in various cities. It is conceivable that Ghanaian students today join and engage in other networks. This could not be verified in the course of the study.²⁰

It is therefore only with great effort that Ghanaian students/doctoral candidates/research fellows can be approached as a target group for collaboration with German DC. This might be done in the form of specific enquiries at universities, technical universities or research institutes, for example, as well as at the DAAD and PMD. It could not be done in the context of the study.

Women play an important role in the clubs, associations and networks of the Ghanaian diaspora (Sieveking/Faist/Fauser 2008a; Sieveking 2008). Women with a Ghanaian migration background act professionally in youth and development work, sometimes in associations they have formed themselves, and successfully implement projects aimed at development in Ghana and participation by the Ghanaian diaspora in all relevant areas of German society. The executive boards and membership of the associations continue to be male-dominated.

Sieveking has pointed out that because of time constraints (child-rearing and work), informal groups and networks are more frequent among. These can be found particularly in the various religious communities (Sieveking 2008; cf. also Schmelz 2009). Schmelz describes the forms of organisation as 'women's savings groups and solidarity networks' or 'mother and auntie networks' which are focused on social security issues, mutual social support and improving the opportunities for children's education and their future (2009). One interview partner commented on this as follows:

'Very many of them are involved in Ghana, just like me, they send sewing machines and enable girls to go to school. You can't measure that, it's not like associations that can list they have done this and done that. There are women who would really love to be present in an association out of political conviction. But they don't have time, they are raising their children, they are working and don't want to elbow their way through like that. They send money to Ghana for development, much more than you can see. They take the load off their husbands in churches and associations' (MM_1; 16.5.2015).

Unfortunately, it was not possible to obtain an interview with any Ghanaian women's association. Therefore more detailed information about their goals, activities or contributions to development in Ghana cannot be provided. Nevertheless, Chapter 6 does present associations that have been founded by women and are active in Ghana. It provides examples of the potential of female Ghanaian migrants as contacts and partners for collaboration with German DC and illustrates that women of the Ghanaian diaspora must not be neglected as a target group.

In the meantime, another group within the Ghanaian diaspora is coming into focus: second- and third-generation migrants. One interviewee from NRW estimated that 90% of first-

²⁰ For more details on students cf. Schmelz 2009.

generation Ghanaian migrants now have children (NRW_2; 17.4.2015). A portion of the second migrant generation also has family themselves. It became clear in many interviews with representatives of first-generation migrants that the topic of ‘youth’ is of great importance in the Ghanaian community today. Three aspects were emphasised:

- the desire for the second and third generation to be fully involved in the host society, improve their educational and occupational opportunities and develop a political force in Germany;
- the desire to solve recruitment problems in associations, particularly with a view to board membership, by recruiting the second generation; and
- the desire for the next generations to retain their connection with Ghana and apply their skills and potentials for development in and for Ghana.

With regard to the topic of ‘youth’, the study demonstrated that the Ghanaian diaspora is facing new challenges in this area. The older generation must launch initiatives to promote the involvement of the second and third generation in their associations and to arouse their interest in Ghana and the country’s development.

‘We have to do it differently. The issue is being discussed within UGAG, also in the Ghana Forum NRW. But German associations also have the same problem (not enough young people – author’s note). Young people should be on the board, we must train them to succeed us, they should give it a try; we, the older ones, can accompany and mentor them. I can do that with my experience. My aim is to give preference to the young ones, also because it is more sustainable.’ (MM_1)

However, this vision cannot be realised unless the young target group is ready for it and interested in playing a role in the management of existing associations. Yet interviews with young people, that is, the second generation of migrants, show that this is not necessarily the case. They want to volunteer, be proactive and use their job experience/professional skills first and foremost in the host country. Their first priority is successful integration in the host society – in the German educational and health system – and in the primary labour market. Engaging in development is only a secondary priority for them, but they still mention it as an important objective. In summary, the young generation wants to:

- break free from old structures perceived as paternalistic;
- pursue other goals because their needs and visions no longer match those of first-generation migrants; and
- build more effective structures of associations on the basis of their acquired skills and higher education level, and open up to a broader circle of members that is multi-ethnic, national, pan-African and democratic. In short, they want to be open to all.

Much indicates that second-generation migrants as a target group are of particular interest to German DC. They include a relatively high number of highly qualified individuals who continue to have a strong connection to Ghana and are ready to become involved in a way that is relevant to the country’s development where they believe conditions permit. These conditions include working only for sustainable projects and knowledge transfer (not in regions already receiving a great deal of development support), transparent decision-making and implementation processes, and their participation in these processes through dialogue with German DC conducted on equal footing.

4.1.2 Organisational continuity, resources and capacities

Many Ghanaian associations have already been in existence for 10 or 15 years, or were established during the 1980s and 1990s (Schmelz 2009; Schröder 2006; own research). Spin-offs and new associations emerge time and again and some vanish entirely from the landscape of Ghanaian associations. Some also paralyse themselves, as it were. One example is the Ghana Union Hamburg (2006; over 550 members), which Schröder still regarded as one of the most important associations. The Ghana Union Hamburg has long been internally divided, so that this major protagonist now only plays a minor role in that city (interview evaluation; cf. Chapter 6.4).

Most associations have very limited financial resources and facilities. They charge no membership fees or only small amounts of between EUR 5 and 10 per month. Annual fees do not exceed EUR 50–60 (own research).²¹ Many interviewees mentioned that even a small contribution was difficult to collect or would not be paid by individual members. UGAG also charges its member associations a monthly contribution of only EUR 10, but still struggles with arrears (UGAG_1; 24.4.2014). Some associations survive exclusively on donations collected at cultural events or other festivities. In rare cases, larger associations apply for specific project support from their municipalities. The paucity of reliable data made it impossible to determine the average budgets available to clubs and associations or UGAG each year.

Most clubs or associations have no office and rely on rooms usually made available by German NGOs or social centres to conduct their meetings, consultations or other activities. Even the umbrella body UGAG does not have an office of its own. Associations are usually contacted through the private addresses and/or mobile numbers of one or more board members (own research). Work within the associations and on their boards is exclusively on a voluntary basis.

Despite the unfavourable conditions there are small, medium-sized and large associations that operate professionally. They cooperate with agencies at municipal and state level, including with BMZ and GIZ, and successfully acquire support funding through German or international NGOs for their domestic activities and for their development projects in Ghana. Work in the associations and/or projects is made transparent, usually through regularly updated websites, but also via Facebook, Twitter and blogs (own research).

The interviewees deplored that skilled and highly qualified Ghanaians are doing too little to unite or become involved in formal structures of associations. All of them agreed that within the Ghanaian diaspora in Germany there was quite a large number of successfully established university graduates and professionals. Schmelz estimated that at least 100 medical practitioners with a Ghanaian migration background were living in Germany (2009).

The call for more university graduates and other specialists/experts to join associations reflects the now active members' view that these are underrepresented on organisation boards. What is lacking is concentrated expertise to further develop associations and make them more visible to the general public, but also to implement their goals more successfully. Associations are looking for communication experts or managers to work on boards and in associa-

21 For the Ghanaian diaspora in the Netherlands, Ong'ayo (2014: 10) determined that monthly membership fees are between EUR 2.50 and EUR 10, a similar level as in Germany. This applies to both HTAs and umbrella bodies.

tion development, economists for financial management and fundraising, and doctors, engineers and educators for specific health, infrastructure or education projects in Ghana. The reasons given as to why this Ghanaian clientele was so unwilling to volunteer included lack of interest and even selfishness, time constraints, or frustration over the ineffectiveness of the associations. At the same time, educated Ghanaians are said to be involved informally on their own with other individuals in Ghana (usually in their region of origin).

The statements made on the lack of highly qualified individuals on association boards conflicts with the findings of the study. All interviewees of the Ghanaian diaspora are active on boards, have either a university degree or specialist training, and are or have been working in highly respected positions. Most of them are long-standing board members. It can be assumed that too few shoulders are carrying the burden of volunteer work and that individuals are overloaded. A larger number of professional collaborators with leadership and management skills could ease the situation.

The educated volunteers who were interviewed expressed considerable interest in cooperating with German DC and have different ideas or visions. Despite the rather unfavourable environment for collaboration, the association boards could be set up more effectively than before as important multipliers of information and contacts for German DC. Many of them have contacts to skilled and highly qualified individuals from the Ghanaian diaspora in their immediate and broader community who cannot be reached directly through clubs or professional associations. For example, an association member arranged an interview with a (non-member) Ghanaian who has been considering a business idea in Accra for a long time: a training centre for multimedia (music and video production) to give young people without a school-leaving certificate a career prospect.

4.1.3 Agenda and goals

Many active groups and associations today work actively towards achieving very broadly formulated objectives and carry out activities for the target groups of children and youths, as well as for families and adults of Ghanaian origin. They explicitly want to improve the educational opportunities for second- and third-generation Ghanaians in the host country. Among other things, they offer help with homework and private tutoring, language courses, occupational and even business start-up advice.

Today nearly all Ghana Unions, Ghana Councils or other associations of the Ghanaian or African diaspora that operate in the city-states are dedicated to the goal of enabling Ghanaian migrants and persons with a Ghanaian migration background to participate in all vital areas of society and policy-making. They focus on the precarious situation of the Ghanaian population in Germany. One group is the large portion of first-generation migrants who work in the low-wage sector or in helper occupations; many of them are unemployed and reliant on Hartz IV social assistance, as already described (cf. Chapter 4.3). Another group is the large number of Ghanaians who are in Germany on an irregular basis and have no access to the local assistance schemes or (further) education system and depend on the support of their compatriots.

Below is an overview of the diverse goals of associations, groups and networks (cf. also Schröder 2006; Schmelz 2009; Tonah 2007). Some associations pursue only one or two of the goals listed below, others want to advance all of them.

- provide support in difficult life situations such as death, disease, accidents;

- strengthen social cohesion;
- celebrate birthdays, weddings, funerals and other important occasions;
- provide support and advice for parents on parenting and educational matters; provide occupational guidance and advice on starting a business; counsel on legal and migration affairs; help after an experience of discrimination;
- promote good relations between Ghanaians and the local population through cultural or informative events;
- promote integration, including through the establishment of binational associations;
- promote intercultural networks with other migrant groups of African origin.

With regard to the object of the study, the following goals of many associations are of particular importance:

- maintain contacts and strengthen relations with Ghana;
- support the region of origin through donations in cash and in kind or on-site volunteering work;
- implement small-scale projects for development, often in the areas of education, health and infrastructure;
- strengthen the participation/integration of the next generation(s) in Germany in society and on the boards of association in order to harness their potential for, among other things, engaging in development in Ghana.

Current research findings on the association and network structures of the Ghanaian diaspora corroborate the findings of research conducted by Sabine Jungk in connection with diversity within the migrant society:

‘Migration organisations are as diverse as other associations and groupings. They develop activities in line with the needs, interests and abilities of their members in a (mostly) multi-functional and dynamic way in the course of the process of immigration and social development. The majority of them are created within the living environment. Only few associations have been and are created for strategic reasons; some migrant organisations over time develop collective-political interests in self-advocacy, participation and representation.’²²

4.2 Excursus: Religious associations

Churches and their communities play a central role for the social life of Ghanaians in Germany. The evaluation of interviews revealed some interesting aspects regarding the relationship between churches and associations. On the one hand, all interviewees confirmed that churches and communities are important in the lives and day-to-day affairs of Ghanaians. On the other hand, they take a critical view of the expansion of religious groups in all Ghanaian communities and of their spiritual leaders’ influence:

‘The incredibly large number of church communities are fragmented. Two or three years ago, Hamburg was said to have 90 church communities. But they always manage to find an aston-

²² Source: Documentation of International Conference ‘Rethinking Migration: ‘Diversity’ in societies of immigration. A model put to the test’, 8/9 December 2011:2; www.network-migration.org, 26 May 2015

ishing number of members (...) that is also an economic factor, they are profitable. We went to one of them, it was just a money collecting machine.’ (SH_1; 30 March 2015)

Other interviewees said that churches and religious groups were doing too little to support the Ghanaian community and individual Ghanaians in improving their sometimes very precarious situation in Germany, or to stand up for better educational opportunities for the second and third generation.

‘Most of them don’t open up the churches to outside influence (...), where ever we have been we’ve told the church leaders, you need to open up. When you are just preaching the fear of God, life after death and all of that, you need to get your church members to send their children to school because of education, you are perpetrating poverty.’ (EG_1; 20.4.2015)

At the same time, they stress that churches offer many Ghanaians a social and spiritual space that gives them mental support, enables them to identify with their peers and serves as a social meeting point for all Ghanaians.

‘Because of the difficult situation, many think that if no one can help, God is the only one, you find him in the church (...). The church has positive and negative sides. The negative is that they continue to keep the people dumb. The positive side is that people find hope (...). What is problematic is that the church does not have the knowledge required to support people in the real world. The solutions they propose are only of biblical nature.’ (Gen_3; 31 March 2015)

One interview partner estimated that almost 90% of Ghanaians belonged to ‘some church’. If you wanted to approach the Ghanaian community, ‘then through the church’ (FL_1; 31 March 2015).

Many associations of the Ghanaian diaspora can only dream of having as large a following as the Catholic, the Presbyterian or the many Pentecostal or charismatic communities around the country. Nieswand estimated that the church communities in Germany for their part have between 10 and 40 and up to 400 members (Nieswand 2008a; cf. also Schmelz 2009). In Ghana itself, more than two thirds (71.2%) of the population are Christians (Catholics, Baptists, Protestants, Evangelicals and Pentecostals), only 5.2% follow traditional religions and 17.2% are Muslims in northern Ghana,²³ a region traditionally underrepresented in international migration.

Although they compete, as it were, for ‘followers’, associations do cooperate with church communities, and some pastors or communities are members in associations of the Ghanaian diaspora. For example: the Ghana Council NRW shares an office, office equipment and other infrastructure with the Ghana Catholic Church Düsseldorf/Köln. This church community, in turn, is a member of the Ghana Council NRW.

Association members are aware that they must cooperate with the churches and their leaders in their own interest because ‘they have become a dominant force in the Ghanaian community, you can do virtually nothing without the church’, commented one interviewee from Hamburg. ‘You have to deliberately include the churches in your advertising strategies and ask them for an opportunity to recruit members in the churches to be heard. If not, it is hard for an association’ (to become known, author’s comment; Gen_3; 31 March 2015). A young German-Ghanaian who wants to make his association known during its inception phase and

23 Source: www.ghanaembassy.org/index.php?page=language-and-religion, 23 May 2015

approach young people for future activities is planning to go into the communities but must first obtain the pastor's permission. *'Through the churches I can approach Ghanaians who are not in an association but feel connected to Ghana. We have to find creative ways to convince the pastors that a non-church association can provide social support.'* (Gen_1; 10.5.2015)

With respect to the scope of the study, it can be said that major Ghanaian church communities often engage in development and humanitarian aid in Ghana, not only in the social but also in the cultural and economic sphere. They support Ghanaian church communities in building the infrastructure and they finance social facilities, schools or hospitals, and other projects. The research literature highlights the engagement of the church in development (Schröder 2006; Jach 2005; Nieswand 2008; Sieveking/Faist/Fauser 2008 and Sieveking 2008; Schmelz 2009).

Schmelz points out that the potential which church communities that maintain close connections with Ghana have for promoting the country's development is not sufficiently explored. Unfortunately, the current study cannot fill this research gap because its focus lies on the engagement of clubs, associations networks of the Ghanaian diaspora in development.

4.3 Excursus: Parties

The three biggest political parties in Ghana (New Patriotic Party – NPP, National Democratic Congress – NDC and Convention Peoples Party – CPP) are represented in Germany. For example, the NPP has branches in all major German cities. The limited time available for the study did not permit a closer examination of political parties as actors of the Ghanaian diaspora. In other words, this study cannot describe how many members the parties have or what goals and activities they pursue. The political landscape would surely be a field of study that could yield important additional findings. One aspect to examine would be, for example, where the associations and networks stand in relation to the three parties, whether and how the branches seek ties with other forms of organisation of the Ghanaian diaspora and for what purpose. For German DC it could be interesting to know how the Ghanaian party branches in Germany deal with migration and development and whether they place development-relevant objectives on their agenda.

5. Nine examples of organisational diversity and manifestations of engagement in development

Depending on the size and available financial and human (volunteer) resources, clubs or associations implement their secondary and overarching objectives through specific activities and measures which include those that are of developmental relevance. Various clubs/associations/groupings are briefly presented below as examples of the diversity of objectives, activities and specific involvement with development issues. This will enable a better insight into the day-to-day activities of the organisations and their commitment to development in Ghana. Knowledge of the 'who is who' of the Ghanaian diaspora and their networking strategies is an important prerequisite to successfully establish contact with selected actors of the diaspora.

This chapter also points to more recent developments in the organisational structures of the Ghanaian diaspora that may become relevant for future cooperation with the diaspora in the area of development for Ghana.

The following clubs/associations/ groupings are presented:²⁴

- Ghana Diaspora Fund (GDF), headquarters in Paris, France
- African Consultative Forum Hamburg (ACF)
- Ghana Council NRW, headquarters Düsseldorf
- The Ghana Unions, all across Germany
- African German Network Association e.V. (AGNA e.V.), Hamburg
- Deutsch-Ghanaischer Entwicklungsverein e.V., Kiel
- Maaka e.V., Münster
- Haskey Project e.V., Bochum
- Union of Ghanaian Associations in Germany (UGAG), all across Germany
- Federation of Ghanaian Diaspora in Europe (FEGHADE), headquartered in Brussels, Belgium

5.1 An international NGO – Ghana Diaspora Fund (GDF)

This NGO is a new actor on the stage of the Ghanaian diaspora. The GDF was inaugurated in Paris in January 2015. The French capital is also the seat of the GDF headquarters. This NGO sees itself as a global player of the Ghanaian diaspora. The GDF representative in Germany is a first-generation Ghanaian migrant who is also active on the board of the Ghana Union Mannheim-Ludwigshafen (GU Ma-Lu).

The other 10 foundations and board members live in the Netherlands, France, the UK and the USA. Their ambitious plan is to be known and established as a transnational, politically independent NGO in over 80 countries by 2017. Their core objective is to promote Ghana's economic growth and development. To achieve this objective, they aim to mobilise and encourage the Ghanaian diaspora (particularly highly qualified individuals) to share their financial resources as well as their human and knowledge capital. The target groups are engineers, lawyers, financial experts, business administrators, accountants, medical practitioners, scientists, sociologists and education experts. The GDF wants to:

- develop ideas, solutions and networks that promote the prosperity of Ghana and all Ghanaians;
- play an active role in building bridges between Ghana and western countries facilitating and promoting socio-economic initiatives;
- support the government of Ghana in closing development gaps;
- facilitate the transfer of knowledge and expertise through diaspora experts and connect professionals with local businesses and institutions to enable needs-oriented advisory services (on a volunteer or paid basis).

All Ghanaians can register with the GDF free of charge on the professionally designed internet portal, but may opt to donate an amount of their own choosing. There is no requirement to register as a full member; individuals can simply register as an associate member, upload their professional profile and briefly describe how they intend to contribute to the GDF or to de-

24 All information on the basis of interviews, websites and news portals such as www.ghanaiandiaspora.com; www.ghanaweb.de and others

velopment in Ghana.²⁵ The idea is to support the development of a database and promote global networking with the aim of combining the knowledge/skills of all Ghanaians so that they can be used for development in Ghana.

The financial basis of the GDF is to be secured exclusively by donations: *‘Just one euro a month of every Ghanaian in the Diaspora could emerge up to five million, since we are 5 million living in the diaspora’* (interview; 28 April 2015).

So far, the board is planning and developing the following projects:

- reduction of teenage pregnancy and empowerment of women and girls;
- pilot project for stable power supply of regional clinics;²⁶
- volunteer work by medical practitioners of the Ghanaian diaspora in Ghana;
- improving the tax collection system in Ghana.

The current cooperation and negotiation partners are the Ghana Radio Network (with six radio stations in Ghana and around the world), the DAB in Ghana, Vodafone Ghana and Western Union.

Conclusion: The GDF should be kept in mind as a newcomer and multiplier with global visions and creative potentials for development activities. The GDF in Germany maintains its networks through the GU MA-LU and the UGAG, and it has direct access to important diaspora media as well as good contacts with highly qualified Ghanaians. However, in what form cooperation with the GDF might be possible would have to be examined because it is registered in Paris and does not have an office in Germany.

Internet: www.ghanadf.com (as at June 2015)

5.2 An advisory forum – African Consultative Forum Hamburg (ACF)

The ACF is a pan-African association and advisory forum in Hamburg. Since it was founded in 2012 it has been acting as a think tank for Africans in the areas of training and education, employment and housing, youth affairs, science and research, health and consumer protection, social and family matters, business and integration as well as culture and sport. It is a project initiative for and with the African diaspora which pursues the long-term objective of strengthening the equal participation of Africans in social and economic life in Hamburg and promoting their integration. Its focus is not on contributing to development in Ghana and Africa but promoting migrant groups from Africa in the host society. Within the ACF structures, Ghana is represented by a spokesperson of the Ghana Union Hamburg.

25 Registration with the GDF is simple and straightforward. A personally addressed confirmation email is sent to the applicant after three minutes asking them to describe their professional background, the connection they have with Ghana and how they might be able to contribute to development in Ghana (Test, 28 April 2015).

26 ‘Dumsor’ is the brief colloquial expression used in Ghana and by the diaspora to refer to persistent power outages in Ghana. It roughly translates as ‘off-and-on’.

The ACF is composed of a steering and coordination group with specialist spokespersons (some of them with a Ghanaian migration background) in all socially relevant areas mentioned above, and it cooperates with the African-German Information Centre (AGIC gGmbH), which implements specific integration, education and social projects.

Its current partners are the Chamber of Skilled Crafts and Commerce in Hamburg and the Self-employed Migrants' Association (*Arbeitsgemeinschaft selbstständiger Migranten*).

Conclusion: Like the GDF, the ACF might perhaps be useful for identifying highly-qualified individuals of Ghanaian background in the Hamburg area; however, currently no clear approach can be identified for direct engagement in development in Ghana or Africa. What is interesting is that cross-connections exist between individuals in the ACF and UGAG, as well as the GDF. This indicates that educated opinion leaders from the Ghanaian diaspora who perform volunteer work in leadership positions use their networking potential for themselves and their interests.

5.3 A regional umbrella association – Ghana Council NRW

On its website the Ghana Council NRW, which has its head office in Düsseldorf, presents itself as an umbrella organisation of Ghanaian clubs, associations, religious institutions, businesses, self-help organisations and Ghanaians in NRW interested in its work but not yet organised, and as a link to the state government of NRW. It was founded at the end of 2007 in the context of the partnership agreements with the state government of NRW and has been registered as an association since 2009. Officially, the Ghana Council NRW currently has 22 members. It holds a quarterly membership meeting. The work of the coordinator (15 hours per week) for the Ghana and NRW Germany partnership within the Ghana Council NRW is financed by the state chancellery of NRW. The Council itself is sustained by voluntary work.

The goals and functions of the umbrella association are formulated as follows (see Ghana Forum NRW 2012:8; www.ghancouncilnrw.wix.com/04, 25 May 2015):

- facilitate networking between clubs, associations, institutions and individuals of the Ghanaian diaspora in NRW;
- coordinate and support the social and economic-policy activities of the associated organisations and groups;
- support integration activities;
- maintain working contacts with the state government and the Ghanaian Embassy in Berlin;
- activities and exchange programmes within the framework of the Ghana and NRW Germany partnership in the areas of integration, migration, health and energy;
- promote Ghanaian culture in NRW.

The coordinator of the Ghana Council NRW is also a technical coordinator of the One World Network NRW and is responsible for the exchange of information between the member organisations. To the extent he is available, he supports the public relations work of the Council in order to recruit members, among other things.

A strategic plan has been defined for the Council's engagement in development in Ghana for the period from 2012 to 2017. So far it has been implementing the following development projects in Ghana:

- establishment of ICT training courses supported by GIZ/CIM for unemployed youths through the LIFE Liberty Foundation in Accra, which is experienced in training programmes;
- energy project in the Ashanti Region;
- the Anopa Project in Cape Coast in partnership with Landessportsjugend NRW, the DJK-Sportverband e.V. – Landesverband NRW and the Fußballverband-Mittelrhein e.V. (FVM);
- School and city partnerships between NRW and Ghana.

In NRW the Council is involved in the following issues:

- introduce Ghanaian languages in NRW schools;
- organise information events on natural resources in Ghana;
- establish youth support and counselling centres in the large cities of NRW and projects for women and families in NRW (planned).

Important partners of the Council include Engagement Global Düsseldorf and the Fachstelle für Migration NRW in Solingen, as well as the Ghana Forum NRW e.V., an association of civil-society actors who promote projects in Ghana and perform educational work on development policy in NRW (including church institutions, foundations and other NGOs). The association, which was founded in 2008, emerged from a working group on development policy that has existed since the late 1990s and also coordinates work under the Ghana and NRW Germany partnership.

Conclusion: As an umbrella body in NRW and as a well-connected and recognised actor of the Ghana and NRW Germany partnership, the Council is an important contact for future initiatives within the PMD. The potential the Council has in NRW for collaboration with the PMD activity areas of entrepreneurship/business ideas and knowledge transfer for Ghana would have to be reviewed. Thus far, only one specific project partnership exists with CIM/GIZ.

Internet: www.ghancouncilnrw.wix.com/04

5.4 The Ghana Unions

The Ghana Union Mannheim-Ludwigshafen e.V. (GU Ma-Lu) can be regarded as an example of the many Ghana Unions in Germany. GU Ma-Lu was founded in 1991 with the aim of uniting/unifying the diaspora in the region and collectively addressing the concerns of the Ghanaian migrants in the host society. The Union fell apart at the end of the 1990s.

In the year 2000, 15 Ghanaians ventured a new start, one of the goals being to anchor the topic of migration for development in the mission statement. The modernised GU Ma-Lu was registered as an association headquartered in Mannheim; the board convenes biannual membership meetings. The Union is a member of the UGAG and a partner of the Diaspora Forum

Development (DFD) and the Africa-Europe Development Platform (AEDP, which was initially founded as the Europe-wide African Diaspora Platform for Development (EADPD) in 2011).²⁷ One of the board members is a co-initiator of the GDF presented in Chapter 5.1 above. The Union currently has 62 active members and charges a monthly membership fee of EUR 5. The board of seven members works on a rotating basis so that each of them assumes different executive functions at each board election.

Today GU Ma-Lu presents itself as an actor in the field of migration and development and has engaged in numerous international initiatives (migration4development;EADPD, etc.) since 2008.

Its by-laws define the following goals:

- promote relations between Ghanaians and citizens of other nations and their associations;
- act as a mediator in conflicts between members and associations;
- advise members (residence and employment rights, family reunion, parenting and relationship problems); support asylum seekers, new arrivals, students;
- provide humanitarian aid for non-profit social and medical facilities and schools in Ghana;
- promote Ghanaian culture, music and folk dances;
- promote tourism in Ghana by advising/informing travellers to the country.

Development-related activities include acquiring donations for non-profit facilities (health care and education). It does not have the financial resources (donations or project support) for further-reaching development initiatives in Ghana.

Regional partnerships exist with the city of Mannheim (integration officers, municipal administration and cultural office), the *Volkshochschule* (adult education centre), the Mannheim labour office and the One World Forum with the aim of offering language courses and advanced training/placements for members. Among other things, an information event on the German education system was held, which other Unions are now copying in order to promote educational opportunities for the younger generation with a Ghanaian migration background. HTAs, which are not members of the GU Ma-Lu, also participate in this initiative.

Conclusion: The GU Ma-Lu is one of the very active Ghana Unions that has constantly evolved. Moreover, its board participates in the international discourse on migration and development. So far, however, it has not conducted any projects of its own in Ghana. There are indications that the GU Ma-Lu holds great potential for collaboration with German DC: as a contact and multiplier of information on the area of activity of migrants as entrepreneurs, and as a builder of bridges with sustainable projects of its own in Ghana, or as a conveyor of knowledge and expertise.

Internet: ghanaunionmalu.com

The rebirth of the GU MA-LU demonstrates that associations are not static and that they can indeed adapt to changing conditions (here: internal conflicts). Even the Ghana Union Berlin, which was founded back in the 1980s and was a strong diaspora actor in Germany until well

27 See <http://africaeuropeplatform.ning.com/>

into the 1990s, has experienced a radical transformation. One of the triggers was the frustration of the board members who at times had to subsidise the association from their own private funds to ensure its survival. Furthermore, there were not enough committed volunteers, so the survival of the Union in Berlin was in danger. Many years later a new start was attempted under the name of Ghana Community Berlin, but it was short-lived. Today the former Union carries the name Ghana Council Berlin, and it has fundamentally changed the old association structures: now the member associations delegate up to four representatives to the Council in order to improve the networking among them and make their communication easier. When the Council asks for support from among its own ranks today, it only has to approach the elected members of the currently 16 member associations with 50 to 100 members. *'In this way we create synergies and link the groups with each other. The representatives of the associations are our multipliers within their associations. That minimises the effort'* (FL_1; 22 April 2015).

Another advantage is that even the heavyweights of the organised diaspora with, for example, 100 or more members, delegate the same number of representatives (up to three) to the Council/for deliberations as does a small association with 20 or fewer members. That gives rise to a structure in which the 'more powerful' ones do not have more voting rights than the smaller ones. According to one hypothesis, this is designed to help prevent conflicts within the Council.

Unfortunately, the Ghana Council Berlin does not have a website, which today would be an instrument particularly for regional umbrella bodies to become more visible to the general public and more transparent for the relatively large Ghanaian community in Berlin. The Council has neither a concept/strategy for development-related involvement in Ghana nor the resources for it. The Council Berlin is registered merely as an associate member of the UGAG.

Conclusion: Although the Council in Berlin is not engaged in Ghana specifically and does not appear to have resources for such targeted activity either, it should not be disregarded as an actor. It maintains good contacts to the embassy in Berlin and, as the regional umbrella association, is present at all events relevant to the Ghanaian diaspora in Berlin. For German DC it would be beneficial to connect with the active members in Berlin in order to perhaps make contact with skilled and highly qualified individuals known to the Council or individuals from the Ghanaian diaspora who are interested in, for example, entrepreneurship or temporary short-term assignments in Ghana.

5.5 Pan-African – African German Network Association e.V. (AGNA e.V.), Hamburg

AGNA e.V. is a type of organisation primarily dedicated to the challenge of improving the social and economic situation of people with an African migration background in Germany. AGNA e.V. was founded in 2009 as an independent and politically neutral network of African and German families, students, university graduates, entrepreneurs and associations. Law, education, health, integration and development cooperation are the core areas for offerings and activities implemented in cooperation with state and non-state institutions in Hamburg.

AGNA e.V. offers:

- contacts, competent support and correspondence with institutions (public agencies, schools, job centres, banks, embassies etc.), businesses and third parties in Germany and Africa;
- help with homework and job applications (internships, apprenticeships, university places in Germany and Africa) and occupational orientation;
- advice for business start-ups: brainstorming – SWOT analysis, legal forms, business plans, support offers, business placement in Germany and Africa, entrepreneur support: market, sales and price policy, help in ensuring the survival of a business. Target group: small enterprises (e.g. Afro shops);
- legal counselling (in general and specifically on alien law and labour law) by pro bono lawyers;
- advice on legal issues in medicine, and health issues in general.

AGNA e.V. has been able to win over important partners: the Hamburg centre for political education (Landeszentrale für politische Bildung), the Hamburg agency for labour, social, family and integration affairs (Behörde für Arbeit, Soziales, Familie und Integration – BASFI), the Hamburg chamber of skilled crafts and commerce (Handwerks- und Handelskammer) and the NGOs Entrepreneurs Without Borders (Unternehmer ohne Grenzen), the Self-employed Migrants' Association (Arbeitsgemeinschaft selbstständiger Migranten), Help Development Association e.V. and Amansie Union e.V. Hamburg. The radio station TopAfrica, (run by Ghanaians) is a media partner.

All board members, associated members and volunteer advisors of AGNA e.V. are university graduates (engineers, medical practitioners, public relations, marketing and media experts, business administrators) and have a Ghanaian migration background. They maintain close ties with the Ghanaian community. However, the low-threshold services primarily target socially disadvantaged members of the African community in Hamburg and not exclusively the Ghanaian diaspora.

According to a representative of AGNA e.V., the association is very open to engagement in Ghana. In April 2015, the general manager travelled to Ghana to conduct an analysis of needs and potentials for two project ideas in the education sector (transfer of knowledge and technology). The findings are intended to form the starting point for more concrete project ideas.

AGNA e.V. does not have an office of its own; for its activities it uses the rooms of the educational agency Projekt Globus in the multi-cultural district of Hamburg-Dulsberg, a form of support which a number of other Ghanaian associations also rely on. This allows it to maintain close contact with other HTAs of the Ghanaian diaspora.

Conclusion: The interview with AGNA e.V. revealed that approaching skilled and highly qualified individuals, including students, with a Ghanaian migration background through this organisation and its board might be an option in the future. There is potential for collaboration with German DC to promote development, given the diverse skills and expertise available on the AGNA board, whether as mediators to the intended target group of skilled and highly qualified persons or as providers of ideas for projects aimed at bringing knowledge and expertise from Germany to Ghana. Some board members have expertise in economics which they are already employing in advisory services for business start-ups in Hamburg.

Internet: www.agnaonline.com

5.6 Committed to development – Deutsch-Ghanaischer Entwicklungsverein e.V. (DGE e.V.), Kiel

The Deutsch-Ghanaische Entwicklungsverein e.V. (in English roughly ‘German-Ghanaian development association’) is a classic example of an organisation created with the specific goal of engaging in development in Ghana to promote education and health and help people to help themselves. Other typical features of this category of association:

- The association was founded at the initiative of a person with a Ghanaian migration background (here: a German-Ghanaian nurse; first-generation migrant).
- The association has been operating without interruption for over 20 years, with aid projects of manageable proportions targeted at a specific group of the population in a clearly demarcated region. On the basis of an initial project, it designs and implements further measures in small stages. The founders work on the basis of their professional background and the skills they have acquired, contributing to the transfer of knowledge and expertise.
- In the course of its engagement, the association develops reliable partnerships with local actors (social welfare, administration, traditional chiefs) and/or creates a partner NGO in Ghana itself. It also accompanies projects with volunteer (very rarely full-time) staff on site.
- The association is becoming increasingly involved in German civil society as well in an effort to promote mutual understanding between Germany and Ghana.
- It has a small membership (23 passive and active members).
- The board is composed of Germans without a migration background and members with a Ghanaian migration background who have close ties with the region in which the association operates (DGE: two Ghanaians, two Germans).
- The annual membership fee is less than EUR 50; donations and public funds top up the association’s budget.
- The association is very willing to invest private funds and time resources, and members regularly travel to Ghana and the project region.
- The association is being managed with dedication motivated by the desire to give back to Ghana and the will to improve the precarious situation of the local population.
- With good knowledge of the country, location and culture, the association is able to creatively and assertively handle adverse conditions such as uncooperative administrative structures and/or corruption.
- The association does not show any interest in integrating into a regional umbrella body but is a member of the Germany-wide umbrella association UGAG. It operates autonomously and successfully without networking more than necessary.

The objectives of DGE e.V. are formulated as follows:

- improve the educational situation of children of single mothers and low-income families;
- improve health care;
- expand infrastructure;

- promote civil society in Ghana;
- educate the German public about Ghana.

All measures include the approximately 5,000 inhabitants of Teshie. The following projects have so far been implemented there:

- support for a local association in the construction of the Community Clinic Teshie (completed);
- construction of a drainage system as a neighbourhood project (completed);
- construction of a Community Centre in Patukope/Ada (ongoing);
- construction and operation of a child day-care centre and a preschool and primary school in Ada (ongoing);
- foster home (ongoing);
- construction and operation of a junior secondary school in Teshie (planned);
- measures for vocational training, construction of a vocational college for girls without vocational qualifications (planned).

Partner NGOs in Ghana:

- Teshie Mannoya Kpee (self-help association in Teshie, founded 50 years ago)
- German-Ghana Aid Association, Teshie (founded in 2013)
- Help a Child to Save a Nation (Foster Home), Teshie
- Agbleezaa (Zone F) Resident Association, Teshie

In Germany the association is active in the areas of culture, education and integration, among other things by contributing to school project days (Global School) and by participating in events of the cultural associations' working group Arge Kieler Auslandsvereine (with information stands). It cooperates with other Ghanaian associations, other MOs and German NGOs, as well as with foundations, the city administration and the local authorities. The lottery foundation Bingo! is supporting the construction of the vocational college, and GIZ supported the construction of the educational facilities in Ada under a pilot project in 2009, but this support has ended.

Conclusion: The German-Ghanaian founder of the association has been working for Ghana with great commitment for a long time. However, she deems it impossible to devote any more of her personal resources (time and money). Cooperation with German DC, e.g. for measures involving knowledge transfer within the Ghanaian health sector, could take place in the context of her trips to Ghana, which she already undertakes on a regular basis, but beyond that would have to offer other incentives that would also benefit her association and the projects in Teshie.

Internet: www.ghana-hilfe.org

The association presented below was also founded by a German-Ghanaian nurse and has a similar profile with regard to its objectives and engagement in development.

5.7 Development for northern Ghana – Maaka e.V., Münster

The initiator of the association (a palliative care nurse) has been committed to supporting development in northern Ghana for 25 years. In 2001 the German-Ghanaian from the first migrant generation founded the non-profit association Maaka e.V. in Münster with a group of Ghanaian and German friends (in Bulsi, the language of the Bulsa, maaka means help). It has 10 members, four of whom have a Ghanaian migration background and six are Germans. What they all have in common is that they have for many years been privately supporting the Bulsa, an ethnic group in Upper East Ghana. Their goal is to improve the living conditions in the region. Five associated members in Ghana are involved in supporting and accompanying the initiatives on-site. No membership fees are collected, but the association receives a total of around EUR 8,000 annually through donations. It has never filed an application for project support.

The activities in the village of Gbedema (5,000 inhabitants) primarily involve the areas of education (especially for girls), livelihood (micro-loans) and healthcare (prevention and education). Intercultural understanding between Ghana and Germany (e.g. through school partnerships) is another express aim of Maaka e.V. Cooperation partners are the One World Network NRW, the Ghana Forum NRW and Action Natural Medicine in the Tropics (ANAMED) Germany/Ghana.

Concrete examples of Maaka's initiatives:

- educating the population on the introduction of the state health insurance system and helping them to register;
- raising hygiene awareness (preventing epidemics such as meningitis) and HIV/AIDS;
- organising a capacity building seminar in cooperation with the ANAMED Ghana group on the production of soap from shea butter for home use and sale through retail outlets;
- constructing a well on the central market square of Gbedema with start-up financing of EUR 2,000;
- providing interest-free micro-loans of EUR 50 to EUR 100 for women through the association's own fund in Ghana.

All measures are discussed with the traditional local chief and subs-chiefs through telephone conferences. A village inhabitant accompanies the activities and informs the association of project developments, a local associate member of Maaka (accountant) looks after the financial affairs and the fund that finances the interest-free micro-loans.

The founder of the association is an individual member of the UGAG, but Maaka e.V. is not. The association is regionally connected in the Ghana Forum NRW and the German-Ghanaian is a volunteer board member.

Conclusion: In the opinion of the interview partner of Maaka e.V., opportunities for collaboration between German DC and the Ghanaian diaspora lie in acknowledging and being aware that smaller associations do also exist whose initiatives may 'not always be measurable in concrete terms', such as their educational work on HIV/AIDS or meningitis. Associations such as Maaka e.V. were said to have hardly any resources and not enough contact persons in order to assert themselves in the formal structures of German DC, she said. With its

potentials and project experience, Maaka e.V. is valuable to German DC. The association operates in a region that otherwise receives little attention from the diaspora.

No website, see: <http://www.buluk.de/Buluk6/MaakaTheresia.htm>, current as at 4 June 2015

5.8 Supporting disadvantaged people – Haskey Project e.V., Bochum

Like Maaka e.V. and DGE e.V., Haskey-Projekt e.V., which is headquartered in Bochum and was founded in 2009, is a joint initiative of Ghanaians and Germans, specifically of the remedial teacher Musah Abubakar and German professional colleagues. The association has 15 members, the majority of whom are Germans. Its aim is to support people with mental/psychological disabilities who live on the margins of Ghanaian society. It focuses on the metropolis of Kumasi and its surrounding areas.

The association has the following goals:

- raise awareness in Ghana on the topic of disability and inclusion (information events and brochures);
- transfer services (support materials, equipment) from Germany to Ghana in the field of remedial and special-needs education;
- transfer and exchange knowledge from Germany to Ghana and vice versa.

The project has thus far been financed from membership fees as well as donations in cash and in kind from friends and acquaintances of association members and from individual cooperation arrangements. For example, EUR 7,000 has been invested in the construction of a day-care centre, while in-kind donations such as learning materials, gymnastic balls and others are collected within Germany as well as in Ghana. A hospital in Dortmund has announced its willingness to donate hospital beds, but the association currently does not have the funds to pay for the transfer to Ghana. It is now applying for admission to BMZ's development volunteer service *weltwärts* and for project support through BMZ.

The project has maintained an office near Kumasi in Ghana since 2011, where it opened a counselling centre for families and children with mental and physical disabilities in 2012. The day-care centre mentioned above has been caring for 15 children aged 2 to 17 years with mental and physical disabilities between the hours of 9 am and 3 pm for the past year. The day-care services for the children and a warm lunch are free of charge for the parents. Families only have to pay a minimal admission fee and the transport costs.

The local team is composed of five trained and untrained workers (nurse, carers) and five further staff. A German remedial teacher who is also the co-chair of the association has provided volunteer support. The staff are paid a mere EUR 50 per month²⁸ as compensation for their efforts. In 2015 Abubakar will spend a year in Ghana and renounce his salary during that time. This is possible because his employer will exempt him from duty for that whole period.

Conclusion: Haskey Project e.V. makes an important contribution to the social participation of and support for people with disabilities in Ghana. As in the case of the two preceding examples of small development-oriented, active associations, the project in Guyana primarily

²⁸ According to Abubakar, nurses earn around EUR 200 to EUR 300 per month. According to the country information sheet of the BAMF, community nurses earn less than USD 400 (2014:16).

benefits from the protagonists' personal involvement. Nevertheless, it is apparent that the associations are making efforts to build lasting structures in order to secure the projects. The examples also demonstrate how determined some qualified Ghanaians and German-Ghanaians are to volunteer and tenaciously realise their visions. The challenge for German DC is to identify a significant number of such actors. The study has also shown, however, that this target group is not readily accessible within the Ghanaian diaspora because it cannot necessarily be located within the visible social organisation structures of the Ghanaian diaspora.

This now leads us to address the importance and role of the UGAG: what potential lies in a collaboration with the UGAG to implement measures under the Programme Migration and Development?

5.9 UGAG – not an umbrella association for all

At the beginning of the study it was legitimate to assume it would be easy to make contact with a large number of associations and/or actors of the Ghanaian diaspora in Germany through the umbrella body UGAG. This turned out to be a fallacy. The reasons are outlined below.

As an umbrella association for the Ghanaian diaspora in Germany, UGAG was established only in 2003 at the initiative of the Ghanaian Embassy in Berlin; it now has 12 associations as active members and nine as associate partners. All member associations are independent, with cooperation or consultations taking place only on joint activities/events (own research). Composed of volunteers, its board has a president, a vice president, a general secretary, a vice general secretary, a treasurer and two secretaries. There is no official UGAG head office, however, and as mentioned previously, no website (as at June 2015). The objectives of UGAG are formulated as follows:

'To enhance the integration of all Ghanaians in the Diaspora, as well as to improve lives (socially, politically and economically) of all Ghanaians (both at home and in Germany) (...), to serve as a medium and link between the Ghanaian Community and the Ghana Embassy, Berlin. To promote integration and harmonious intercultural relations between Ghanaians and Germans, and between Ghanaians and members of other communities living in Germany. Also to promote trade, investment and tourism in Ghana' (Akwasi Opoku Edusei, UGAG Secretary-General, questionnaire dated 26 April 2015).

The above statement does not underline the role of UGAG as an agent for development activities in Ghana. It is true that UGAG founded the Ghana Solidarity Fund in Accra eight years ago with the aim of continuously supporting schools and other educational facilities with materials and equipment.²⁹ Other than that, however, UGAG does not implement any concrete projects to promote the development of Ghana but acts primarily as a point of contact for the Ghanaian diaspora in Germany. To this end UGAG is in close contact with the Ghanaian Embassy in Berlin and with ministries in Ghana and Germany.

UGAG has a minimal budget. The 12 full members (primarily Ghana Unions) pay a monthly membership fee of only EUR 10. It neither runs major campaigns for donations nor targeted

²⁹ Specific activities could not yet be identified on the basis of the author's research.

fundraising events. The nine associate member organisations pay no fees. Unfortunately, an annual report or statement of accounts that would have given more details on UGAG's financial situation and activities was not available.

As the volunteer board is spread across Germany and the umbrella body has no head office and only a modest budget, it is not surprising that UGAG cannot operate effectively in every respect and is forced to set priorities. What the interviewees rated positively was that UGAG represents their interests as the umbrella body of the Ghanaian diaspora in Germany in the political arena both in Ghana and in Germany. However, in its function as a uniting and unifying umbrella body it could and should, in the eyes of many interviewees, achieve more.

Conclusion: UGAG may act as an official representative of the interests of the Ghanaian diaspora in Germany towards German DC, e.g. in the context of advisory talks with the Ghanaian Embassy in Berlin. After all, 22 Ghana Unions/Councils are members of the umbrella body and regularly informed by UGAG of diaspora matters.

If other Ghanaian organisations are also to be approached in addition to Unions/Councils, that would have to be attempted using other information channels (Ghana Council NRW, Ghana Forum NRW, AGNA e.V., IMIC e.V., ACF, the embassy itself, large church communities, the media). As a co-founder and member of FEGHADE, UGAG could act as a bridge builder to link other Ghanaian diaspora groups in Europe.

FEGHADE was founded in the context of a conference on Ghana Engagement Policy in Brussels in late October 2014. This initiative was spearheaded by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ghana, supported by the International Centre for Migration Policy Development (ICMPD) under the EU Programme Migration EU eXpertise (MIEUX).

The FEGHADE board is composed of a president (France), a general secretary (UK), a treasurer (UGAG, Germany), a financial secretary (Netherlands) and a coordinator (UGAG/Ghana Union Hamburg). Membership is open to all registered national Ghanaian associations/groupings.

FEGHADE (headquartered in Brussels, Belgium) wants to:

- become an umbrella organisation for all national umbrella associations of the Ghanaian diaspora in Europe;
- provide all international Ghanaian organisations operating in Europe with a platform and strengthen their activities to promote development processes in Ghana;
- improve the prosperity of all Ghanaians in Europe;
- coordinate all Ghanaian organisations in Europe;
- play an important role in shaping the Ghanaian diaspora policy.³⁰

Conclusion: From the perspective of German DC, it is definitely beneficial to follow FEGHADE as a new actor on the diaspora stage. The EU umbrella association may offer the opportunity to enter into contact with important representatives of the Ghanaian diaspora across Europe as and when needed. FEGHADE demonstrates that the Ghanaian diaspora in

30 Sources: www.feghade.com; www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/diaspora/artikel.php?ID=353764; www.modernghana.com/news/604018/1/introducing-feghade-federation-of-ghanaiandiaspor.html; 28 May 2015

Europe is uniting to strengthen its position. The Ghanaian Government is supporting it in its effort.

6. Ghanaian diaspora policy since the year 2000

The history of the Ghanaian migration and diaspora policy shows that Ghanaian governments did not begin to concern themselves with the Ghanaian diaspora and its contribution to the country's development until the 1990s, and then more intensively from the decade of 2000. A coherent overall migration policy is still lacking, however. The third draft of a National Migration Policy for Ghana has been available since March 2013 but has since been 'on hold'. An overview of the Ghanaian migration and diaspora policy since the year 2000:³¹

2001:

Entry into force of the Dual Citizenship Act (Act 591) and the Citizenship Regulations 2001, which permit dual citizenship (does not apply to the diaspora in Germany). The aim is to facilitate investment by the Ghanaian diaspora. The Ghana Investment Promotion Centre (GIPC) hosts a first Homecoming Summit with 500 participants to attract investment in Ghana.

2003:

The Non-Resident Ghanaian Secretariat is established in the GIPC to coordinate investments.

2003-2005: The Ghana Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (GPRS) envisages the establishment of a Non-Resident Ghanaians Fund for Poverty Reduction through which to channel remittances for poverty reduction projects. This fund is no longer even mentioned in the GPRS 2006-2009. The project was never implemented.

2006:

The Ministry of Tourism is renamed Ministry of Tourism and Diaspora Relations. The Ministry for the Interior establishes a Migration Bureau/Unit and a Migration Commission to coordinate national institutions/ministries. The objective is to manage migration and integrate the Ghanaian diaspora into national development activities. This measure remains without consequence. The Diaspora Vote Committee wins the right to vote for the Ghanaian diaspora through the enactment of the Representation of the Peoples (Amendment) Act of 2006. However, the government prevents large-scale voting by the Ghanaian diaspora by allowing only Ghanaians who are registered in Ghana to vote in the 2008 election.

Inauguration of the Centre for Migration Studies at the University of Ghana with the mandate to research, teach and provide policy advice in the field of (international) migration research (<http://197.255.124.90/cms/>; 31 May 2015).

2007:

Another Homecoming Summit is convened but yields few tangible results. The representatives of the Ghanaian diaspora openly complain that corruption and bureaucracy hamper their involvement in Ghana. The Ghana Opportunity Network is launched as an information portal for migrants.³²

31 Sources: Awumbila/Teye 2014; IOM 2011; National Migration Policy for Ghana, March 2013; Ong'ayo 2014; Orozco 2005; Schmelz 2009; Vezzoli/Lacroix 2010; own research/interview evaluations and following websites: www.ghanaiandiaspora.com; www.icmpd.org; www.iom.int/cms/ghana; www.ae-platform.org; www.modernghana.com (as at 31 May 2015)

32 www.ghanaopportunity.com; last updated in 2010; as at 25 May 2015.

2009:

The Ministry of Tourism loses the attribute 'and Diaspora Relations'. The efforts of state actors in Ghana to address the concerns of the diaspora appear to peter out. At the same time, the Ghanaian embassies in countries such as the United Kingdom, Italy and the USA undertake increasing efforts towards improving contacts with the relevant Ghanaian diasporas. Under the GPRS II, the expansion of banks in rural regions is accelerated through the Ghana Joint Assistance Strategy II. This is an attempt to direct informal remittances into formal channels. For the period up to 2005, Orozco concluded: *'Few policy makers, community leaders, and other players are aware of the magnitude of these relationships. There is also lesser understanding of the intersection between remittances and development. Therefore, it is important to set a policy agenda that helps to identify certain dynamics. The establishment of a commission or a taskforce that involves parties from the diaspora, the government, the business community, development players, academics and civil society groups working with migrants who are aware of issues relating to remittance transfer would be a step in the right direction'* (2005:40).

2011:

In cooperation with IOM Ghana and the Ghanaian Government, IOM launches the Diaspora Engagement Project (DEP) with the aim of improving the relations with the global Ghanaian diaspora and promoting their involvement for Ghana. IOM Ghana develops a strategy plan 2011-2015 as a general strategy for migration policy. In this effort IOM Ghana, in collaboration with the Foreign Ministry, the Ministry for the Interior and the Ghana Immigration Service, initiates a mapping of the Ghanaian diaspora in Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Great Britain and the USA in order to set up a database of organised diaspora structures and as a starting point for further measures aimed at facilitating the participation of the Ghanaian diaspora in these five pilot countries.

Other DEP components: in 2012 a series of videoconferences is held with leading associations in the pilot countries in dialogue with representatives of the Ghanaian Government, various colloquia are held on the topic of diaspora and development in Accra, the internet platform www.ghanaiandiaspora.com goes online and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs establishes a Diaspora Support Unit (DSU).

2013:

The DSU is renamed Diaspora Affairs Bureau (DAB) as a national platform for diaspora involvement.

2013:

Diaspora Business Summit in Accra with more than 200 participants.

2014:

The DAB commences work in 2014 and remains attached to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Its functions are to promote the skills/capacities/potentials of Ghanaians living abroad in order to secure their participation in Ghana's national development in a structured manner. To achieve this, various strategies and tools are specified (www.ghanaiandiaspora.com; 31 May 2015). The DAB formulates the action plan for a Ghanaian Diaspora Engagement Policy (GDEP) in collaboration with ICMPD and in the context of MIEUX (EU/ICMPD Project). As the result of a workshop, in Accra an action group is formed composed of representatives of all ministries/institutions involved in migration and diaspora topics. As a point of contact for the Ghanaian diaspora in Accra, the DAB employs two officers (returnees from Germany arranged via the CIM).

The measure Ghana II is being implemented via MIEUX since June 2014 with the objective of further developing the GDEP in order to more effectively utilise the potential of the Ghanaian diaspora for the country's development. Among other things, consultative talks took place in Brussels in late 2014 between representatives of umbrella associations of the Ghanaian diaspora in Europe and the DAB. One outcome was the founding of the FEGHADE.

A current analysis of the Ghanaian migration and diaspora policy aptly summarises the most recent developments: *'While Ghana has robust laws which seek to facilitate the participation of the diaspora in development, many of the laws limit their full involvement in some aspects of socio-economic development of the country. It is recommended that the State hastens the process for the passage of the national migration policy, which will comprehensively deal with migration in its entirety'* (Awumbila/Teye 2014: Preface).

'The government has noticed that the diaspora plays an important part for our development. Now they are trying to find ways to let the diaspora know, yes, we take you seriously' (BA_1; 2.5.2015). This very succinct and personal quote describes, the momentum unfolded by the Ghanaian Government's migration and diaspora policy in the past years from the perspective of a Ghanaian (first-generation migrant) from Hamburg. All Ghanaian embassies around the world are now installing what are referred to as Diaspora Desks. Their functions and objectives can be described using the Embassy in Berlin as an example:

Since mid-August 2014, the Ghanaian Embassy in Berlin has been operating a Diaspora Desk whose officer is in charge of policy and diaspora-related matters (own research) and whose tasks are clearly defined by the DAB in Ghana.³³ They include:

- establishing contacts with the Ghanaian diaspora;
- mapping the Ghanaian diaspora;
- developing an information management system (money transfer costs, investment options, migration and development in Ghana, etc.);
- regular reporting to Ghana; and
- sharing information with other Ghanaian embassies.

A questionnaire is currently being developed for the mapping that is to be placed on the embassy's website shortly (status as at May 2015; DD_1; email dated 23 May 2015). At the same time, Ambassador Dansua and her staff regularly attend meetings of clubs and associations, churches and ethnic groups in all German states in order to introduce themselves, to report on the DAB and other government measures and to encourage a dialogue. There are plans to prepare a newsletter that is to report on the initiatives of the Ghanaian Embassy in Berlin and the actors of the Ghanaian diaspora.

With regard to the mapping, the Ghanaian Embassy in Berlin also remains rather sceptical: *'The truth is that you can only appeal to Ghanaians to register, you cannot force them. So we will place it on our website and encourage the various Ghanaian communities and their members to register online'* (DD_1; email dated 23 May 2015). Another obstacle is said to be the high number of illiterates within the Ghanaian communities.

33 All Ghanaian embassies have been called upon to set up a Diaspora Desk; Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration, January 2014: Concept Paper: Diaspora Engagement Initiative of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration; pdf download at www.ghanaiandiaspora.com; 31 May 2015

Nevertheless, a large portion of the interviewees were unaware of the existence of the Diaspora Desk in Berlin. The future will tell whether the goal of building close and trusting relationships between the Ghanaian community across Germany and the embassy in Berlin will be reached. The interview evaluations revealed that the embassy and the government tend to be regarded with suspicion and great scepticism.

The diaspora policy of the Ghanaian state has in part shaped the importance and role of some clubs/associations in the past. One example is the umbrella body UGAG, the founding of which was 'artificial' because a contact point was sought for the Ghanaian diaspora in Germany. In the case of the Ghana Council NRW, the integration policy of the Government of North Rhine-Westphalia led to the constitution of an association and ascribed to it the role of contact for the Ghanaian community in NRW and that of coordinator for the state partnership NRW-Ghana. *'Whereas in previous years the associations used to be mainly a port of call for self-help and serve as protection against German anti-migration policy, today they are 'mechanisms of mediation for transnational inclusion' (Schmelz 2009).*

In his study on the Ghanaian diaspora organisations in the Netherlands and the ways in which their development activities are supported, Ong'ayo concludes that a positive environment exists for engagement in development by non-state, collective actors: *'The ease with which one can register an NGO in Ghana and the freedom to operate in any location without hindrance shows how the political context facilitates collective action, especially by diasporas. The prevailing political and policy environment allows non-state actors such as diaspora organisations to engage transnationally and locally in development activities'* (2014:20).

Overall, Ong'ayo rates the existing policy situation in Ghana favourably because state structures exist that are in charge of the various dimensions of migration and can be contacted by diaspora organisations. *'The government makes certain provisions, launches initiatives and programmes and creates institutions and legal and financial tools. The policy responses play an enabling, inclusionary and catalytic role in diaspora participation'* (2014:20). The author does add the qualifying remark that the structures lack 'synchronisation' and complementarity as well as political coherence, and that synergies are not being utilised. His findings are consistent with those of the present study.

7. Summary and conclusions on potentials of cooperation with the Ghanaian diaspora

The Ghanaian diaspora in Germany remains the largest group of migrants from sub-Saharan Africa today. The number of young adults and second-generation adults is increasing, as is the number of offspring. There has been no significant improvement in the life situation or income level of the majority of the Ghanaian community in Germany since the period previously studied by Schmelz (2009). They continue to be employed in the low-wage sector, unemployment is widespread and many remain dependent on social benefits and Hartz IV social assistance. Older migrants in particular (aged 50 and older) have few prospects of finding employment on the primary labour market.

The total number of informal, ethnically oriented, church or religious groups or women's networks within the Ghanaian diaspora can only be estimated. The Ghana Unions and Ghana Councils are relevant players in Germany, if with varying degrees of success and continuity caused by disruptions, spin-offs and internal conflicts. The Ghana Unions/Councils in particular face a large number of church (community) and religious groups whose following is sub-

stantially higher than the memberships of clubs and associations. Associations are engaged in several areas of activity, including the integration of the Ghanaian community into the host society. Engagement in development in Ghana is enshrined in some of the associations' by-laws, but often not practised. Important reasons for this include scarcity of financial and human resources, lack of familiarity with the formalised DC structures and promotional landscape, as well as lack of capacity in the area of project design, application, implementation and follow-up.

Work in associations usually takes place on a volunteer basis. Clubs/associations do not have sufficient human and financial resources that would enable them to maintain professional structures or perform effective project, lobbying and public relations work. As an umbrella body, UGAG is not perceived or recognised in its role of network and mediator except by its 22 members. As an actor on the political stage in Germany and in Ghana that represents the interests of the Ghanaian diaspora in Germany and is able to assert these to a certain degree, however, it is nevertheless relevant. The Ghana Council NRW as a regional umbrella body contributes to networking at the state level in cooperation with the Ghana Forum NRW, but not beyond. Although not a member of UGAG, the Council is an important point of contact for the Germany-wide umbrella organisation. In addition, the Council exercises its role of co-designer of the Ghanaian diaspora policy and maintains good contacts with the Ghanaian Embassy in Berlin as well as with representatives of the Ghanaian Government.

Clubs/associations cooperate on a case-by-case basis with other networks, as well as with church communities and religious groups, e.g. on the occasion of special festivities (such as the Ghanaian Independence Day, the African Day in Hamburg, the visit of the Ghanaian President) and in the organisation of information and cultural events. However, it was not possible to identify instances of cooperation between clubs/associations aimed at development goals and/or projects in Ghana. Clubs/associations tend to go it alone in their engagement in development. One reason for this is that the instruments/funds to support engagement in development are found primarily at the state or regional level. Sometimes associations compete for the same forms of support.

The cash transfers and support payments, the transfers of knowledge and expertise as well as the large number of volunteer activities for Ghana, which elude precise statistical quantification, contribute to improving the income situation, educational opportunities and living conditions of families and/or village communities in the country of origin. Most of the efforts undertaken by the Ghanaian diaspora to advance development in Ghana focus on the areas of education, health, infrastructure and humanitarian aid. The degree of activity in Ghana is heavily dependent on personal resources (time and money).

As in 2009, it is obvious in 2015 as well that few members of the Ghanaian diaspora in Germany have a university degree and are successfully integrated on the primary labour market. Many educated migrants leave Germany after their graduation. Compared with other groups of migrants (e.g. from Cameroon or Morocco), Ghanaian professionals do not unite to form professional or business associations and are less active in existing association structures. Their engagement in development in Ghana takes place on an individual basis or jointly with a few like-minded individuals (including Germans). The study corroborates the fact that educated individuals continuously contribute to the transfer of knowledge and technology within a self-determined framework, and that volunteers help to advance the development of Ghana. The study also found that many qualified Ghanaians and German-Ghanaians are engaged not only in Ghanaian organisations but often within a pan-African setting. That does not reduce their potential for collaboration

with German DC in any way, but it does make it much more difficult to identify and approach them.

Two new developments have taken place within the structures of associations and networks. The first involves second-generation migrants. Their needs and goals differ from those of their parents' generation. The organisations of the diaspora have not yet sufficiently adapted to this circumstance so that the young generation does not feel that they are being well catered for there. They also sense an intergenerational conflict which is at once a kind of 'educational conflict' because unlike first-generation migrants, their offspring have been able to seize the educational opportunities in Germany more successfully and establish themselves on the primary labour market. Traditional respect for elders still forbids them from confidently presenting themselves as young 'know-it-alls' and articulating the desire for change; so they cannot do more than complain about the ineffective structures and wrong goals set by the clubs and associations. Some of the first-generation migrants are now working to promote the participation of youths by taking concrete steps.

The second development mentioned is the trend to network beyond Germany across Europe (FEGHADE) or even globally (DGF) in order to represent the interests of the Ghanaian diaspora – in part also with the express goal of promoting development in Ghana. FEGHADE still appears like an artificial political construct for the few (in Germany: for two UGAG representatives). FEGHADE is unlikely to reach the majority of the Ghanaian diaspora in Germany and their diverse forms of social organisation, nor to allow them to participate in its activities.

The Ghanaian Government has been working since 2006, in cooperation with national and international development-policy actors, to further develop its migration and diaspora policy and, in this context, to build transparent political-administrative and market-economy structures. But the Ghanaian diaspora in Germany still needs to develop more trust in the government and in the subordinate political-administrative structures. So far, suspicion predominates, as does the feeling of being taken advantage of by the Ghanaian Government. There is much to suggest that Ghanaian policy-makers have not yet succeeded in communicating their strategies, programmes and measures with sufficient transparency and at a sufficiently low threshold to enable them a) to be perceived and accepted in a positive manner, and b) to be used by the diaspora strategically and effectively in the interest of development in Ghana.

7.1 Inhibiting factors – the perspective of the Ghanaian diaspora

The findings of the study show that the Ghanaian diaspora in Germany can be said to be very willing to engage in development in Ghana – whether it be as a club/association, an umbrella body and/or as individuals. On the other hand, the qualitative survey (interviews) yielded indications that the potentials for collaboration with German DC currently cannot be realised to the extent that would be desirable and theoretically possible. From the perspective of the interviewees, the following factors hamper collaboration:

Lack of motivation/different goals:

- The engagement of the Ghanaian diaspora in development is just one of many pillars on which development in Ghana rests. The responsibility for this lies primarily with the Ghanaian Government; the Ghanaian diaspora cannot make up for the misguided developments of the last decades.

- The life situation of many Ghanaians in Germany is precarious. Improving their own lives and those of others in the Ghanaian community is therefore important to many of them. That explains why engagement in development is not at the centre of attention or on the agenda of clubs and associations.

Conflicts:

- The diaspora lacks a strong and unifying leadership that would succeed in mobilising as many clubs/associations as possible to advance development in Ghana. Ethnic, political and individual interests predominate. There is too much rivalry and competition among the clubs/associations, which prevents collective efforts to drive development in Ghana.

Lack of skills and knowledge management:

- In the context of development initiatives/projects/programmes, neither the prominent actors of the Ghanaian diaspora in Germany nor the state bodies (Ghanaian Embassy in Berlin; DAB; IOM Ghana) are able to draw, when needed, on a reliable database that would enable them to effectively identify and approach professionals, students/researchers, clubs or associations engaged in development or other organisations of the Ghanaian diaspora.
- Skilled and highly qualified individuals do not participate in the clubs/associations in sufficient numbers. The organisational structures therefore lack professionalism and skills to use when needed. That prevents partnerships with major development cooperation partners from materialising. It also makes it difficult to design projects more professionally to make them eligible for external support.
- Only few clubs/associations/individuals have sufficient expertise in development matters as a basis for initiating sustainable projects.
- Associations/individuals have insufficient knowledge of formalised DC structures and do not know where to start with (project) ideas and what prerequisites need to be met for collaboration/support.
- There is a widespread lack of awareness of the migration and diaspora policy of the Ghanaian Government, its objectives and regulations and measures which should be available to the Ghanaian diaspora in order to facilitate and promote their engagement in development in Ghana.

Insufficient participation:

- The formalised structures of German DC are not transparent. Cooperation is bilateral at a political level without the organisations of the Ghanaian diaspora being sufficiently involved.
- The formalised structures of German DC only appeal to highly qualified migrants and therefore exclude the majority of Ghanaians in Germany. They too, however, can contribute their skills, expertise and experience in a variety of different ways to promote development in Ghana in cooperation schemes with German DC. These potentials in fact remain largely untapped. What would be conceivable are non-graduate professional groups who work in sectors that are relevant for Ghana, e.g. forwarding agents, taxi businesses, multimedia experts, skilled craftspeople (electrical installers, joiners, sanitary ware specialists and builders, steelworkers, etc.) or Afro shop operators, hairdressers,

traders. However, these persons should have established themselves successfully in Germany.

- Most associations do not feel that they are a trustworthy partner for German DC, there is no dialogue on a par with the actors of German DC. It is not possible for clubs/associations to co-design programmes and measures for development in Ghana.

Political conditions:

- Mismanagement and corruption in Ghana make the implementation, follow-up and sustainability of projects difficult or impossible. There are too few contacts or partner organisations in Ghana that could be trusted.

7.2 Analysis of needs, visions and recommendations for action

The interviewees also had the opportunity to formulate proposals for improvements and visions for more effective cooperation with German DC. Their suggestions mainly relate to the areas of skills, knowledge management and participation:

- What they require is a reliable database of all important actors of the Ghanaian diaspora to indicate who acts where, with what aims and measures, and what skills and resources are available. That would make it easier to support each other and promote knowledge transfer within the diaspora. Major clubs/associations in various regions could be commissioned to build up such a database. As this cannot be done by unsalaried volunteers, however, the clubs/associations would require financial support. The vision is to put together the data collections in the individual federal states to form a database of the Ghanaian diaspora that can be accessed throughout Germany as and when needed. The database would have to be continuously updated.
- Access to important information on German DC and, in particular, information that is relevant to the target group, should be on a low threshold. This could be achieved through media (radio, TV), the internet (website, Facebook) and multilingual flyers/brochures (English, Twi, German). There is a need for information particularly on themes and structures of formalised development cooperation and on contact persons who are of relevance to the Ghanaian diaspora. Easily accessible information on project application procedures and funding eligibility criteria is also considered important.
- A regular information event should be held for active protagonists of the Ghanaian diaspora to inform them of new developments and strategies of German DC. Events of this kind would also be helpful for promoting a dialogue between German DC and the Ghanaian diaspora.
- Training opportunities for clubs/associations are proposed on the following topics: establishing an association, managing an association/board (good governance), recruiting members, finances, fundraising, public relations work and use of social media, as well as lobbying and networking.
- Establishing various coordination offices for the Ghanaian diaspora as regional points of contact was also described as desirable. These offices could exercise the function of networking instances and multipliers and secure the flow of information between them. They could also become part of the 16 Eine Welt-Landesnetzwerke ('One World State Networks'), for example (www.agl-einewelt.de). It was also suggested that initiatives mod-

elled on the Ghana and NRW Germany partnership should be encouraged in other German states.

7.3 Further recommendations for action based on the findings

Further recommendations for action to improve and expand collaboration between German DC and the Ghanaian diaspora:

1. The needs, visions and recommendations for action formulated by the active members of the Ghanaian diaspora should be addressed in the further development of the PMD and the area of activity ‘cooperation with the Ghanaian diaspora in Germany’. It should be examined which of them are deemed beneficial and, moreover, viable from the perspective of German DC/the PMD. At the same time, a technical discussion should take place with selected representatives in order to jointly identify the most urgent measures that may support cooperation between the two parties most effectively. In doing so, it will be important not only to invite representatives of UGAG or the Ghana Unions, but to reach as broad a target group as possible, representing the diversity of diaspora organisations in Germany. Most of all, smaller clubs/networks that have engaged in development in Ghana over many years should be involved as well.
2. Ghana previously did not have a coordinated migration and diaspora policy, but today it is intensifying its efforts to restructure and further develop migration and diaspora-related institutions. That will result in new approaches for migration policy advice to complement and intensify existing support measures.
 - It would be important to advise the migration and diaspora-related institutions with regard to the current communication strategies. So far, a large section of the Ghanaian diaspora in Germany has not been supplied with adequate information on advisory and support services available or on development trends – despite the fact that the information portal www.ghanaiandiaspora.com has gone online. Whether additional tools are required to reach the target group must be periodically evaluated.
 - The interviewees explicitly referred to the importance of a comprehensive database that would provide information about all active clubs and associations of the Ghanaian diaspora in Germany. Such a collection of data could improve networking between them, contribute to greater transparency and enable clubs/associations to be approached in a more targeted manner when required. In the context of migration and diaspora policy advice, it might be considered what measures and tools could be used to implement such a project more successfully than before. A first step would be to analyse why attempts at building up such a database in the past (IOM Ghana, DAB and now the embassies) have not been successful. The study indicates that most clubs and associations interviewed were unaware of the possibility of registering and connecting with each other on the diaspora platform www.ghanaiandiaspora.com. In fact, only 89 associations from Europe (United Kingdom, Germany, France and Italy) and the USA are registered on the platform so far, and many links to the associations do not work (own research). In Germany alone, there are more organisations than those presented on that website. The interviewees suggested examining whether the clubs/associations here in Germany were aware of the diaspora platform and its offerings, or why they do not wish to be recorded. That could explain why the mapping attempts so far have been unsatisfactory.

3. Schmelz (2009) had already recommended not limiting the target group of DC programmes to (highly) qualified migrants but incorporating migrants of different competence levels as well because they, too, possess a wealth of experience. The present study corroborates this recommendation. In future, the PMD will have to be better aligned with the socio-economic profile of the entire diaspora in order to optimise its cooperation strategies.
4. In the interviews, the second generation of Ghanaian migrants and young educated Ghanaian migrants were mentioned as actors who shape the future of German-Ghanaian relations and as beacons of hope for development in Ghana. Clubs and associations, however, need to be supported in the task of encouraging younger generations to participate in association structures. Numerous international NGOs such as the International Planned Parenthood Federation (IPPF)³⁴ have prepared relevant guidelines. A guideline could be developed for clubs and associations of the Ghanaian diaspora in Germany on the basis of best practice examples of other NGOs. Initiatives of clubs and associations that encourage volunteering and occupation-related engagement by second-generation migrants in Ghana should also be promoted (cf. also Schmelz 2009).
5. It should be investigated which target groups within the Ghanaian diaspora could be considered for temporary volunteer work in Ghana (e.g. in the framework of a temporary return), for example. The willingness to do this ultimately depends heavily on factors such as age, current life, educational and occupational situation and state of health. Individuals who (may) volunteer are often in a stage of their lives in which work and family life are impossible or hard to reconcile with volunteer work. The will to work for development in Ghana is there, but so is the expectation that support and incentives will be given and that (short-term) engagement in Ghana will not create unacceptable disadvantages for their life in Germany.
6. In order to identify actors of the Ghanaian diaspora who have an interest in developing business ideas of their own and working as entrepreneurs in Ghana, it will be necessary to conduct further surveys and/or research among the clubs and associations or multipliers. After all, the study revealed that no professional or business associations have been established within the Ghanaian diaspora that could be directly approached. The study also revealed that there is little or no awareness of the support services offered by CIM for entrepreneurship in Ghana. We recommend exploring how knowledge of these services can be spread more effectively in the Ghanaian diaspora.

34 See www.ippf.org/our-work/what-we-do/adolescents/leadership

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Links to websites relevant to Ghana

Africa Europe Development Platform
www.africaeuropeplatform.ning.com

African Youth Foundation
www.ayf.de

Africa Recruit
www.africarecruit.com

African Foundation for Development (AFFORD)
www.afford-uk.org

African Diaspora Policy Centre (ADPC)
www.diaspora-entre.org

Centre for Migration Studies, University of Ghana
<http://197.255.124.90/cms/>

Centrum für Internationale Entwicklung (CIM)
www.cimonline.de

Diaspora Affairs Bureau
www.ghanaiandiaspora.com

Ministry of Interior
www.ghana.gov.gh

Ghana Opportunity Network
www.ghanaopportunity.com

Ghana International Promotion Council
www.gipc.org.gh

IOM-Ghana
www.iom.int/ghana/index.html

IOM/Migration for Development
www.iom.int/MIDA/

Ministry of Tourism and Diaspora Relations
www.touringghana.com

Information portals on Ghana
www.ghanaweb.de, www.modernghana.de, www.zongonews.com