



The Ghanaian Diaspora in Germany

Its Contribution to Development in Ghana



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Foreword

In May 2006, Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit (GTZ) GmbH (German Technical Cooperation) launched the Sector Project Migration and Development on behalf of the German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ) at GTZ Head Office in Eschborn. This project aims to devise and disseminate strategies and instruments to help the relevant actors deal with the development potential and minimise the risks posed by migration.

The advisory project acts as an interface between the realms of research, politics and practice. Its core tasks include both providing specialised advisory services to BMZ and mainstreaming the approach within GTZ and other German implementing organisations. An in-depth exchange of experience and cooperation with European partners is also an important part of the intervention.

Cooperation with diaspora communities in Germany, which is an important field of project activities, aims at first and foremost to acquire a better understanding of ongoing activities of the various migrant organisations in their countries of origin. To this end, GTZ published a study in 2006 on this subject: “Egyptian, Afghan and Serbian Diaspora Communities in Germany: How Do They Contribute to their Country of Origin?” Five more studies followed in 2007 and 2008 on the Moroccan, Senegalese, Vietnamese, Cameroonian and the Philippine diaspora communities in Germany. All of these publications helped close a gap in social research, since little was known at that time about the activities of migrants in their countries of origin.

The second step was to use these studies to identify cooperative approaches for the formulation and implementation of joint projects in the countries of origin. Within the framework of a GTZ pilot promotion programme on the cofinancing of investments in social infrastructure, which was launched in May 2007, a number of diaspora organisation projects are now receiving support in their countries of origin.

The present study on the Ghanaian diaspora in Germany continues to pursue the successful approach of getting acquainted with these communities and then exploring possibilities for cooperation between the diaspora and development cooperation.

Regina Bauerochse Barbosa

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List of abbreviations

ABEN	African Business and Entrepreneurship Network
ACI	African Cultural Institute
ADPC	The African Diaspora Policy Centre
AFFORD	African Foundation for Development
AGEF	Arbeitsgruppe Entwicklung und Fachkräfte im Bereich der Migration und der Entwicklungszusammenarbeit (Association of Experts in the Fields of Migration and Development Cooperation)
AYF	African Youth Foundation
BA	Bundesagentur für Arbeit (German Federal Employment Agency)
BAMF	Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge (German Federal Office for Migration and Refugees)
BMZ	Bundesministerium für wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit und Entwicklung (German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development)
CIM	Centre for International Migration and Development
COMCAD	Center on Migration, Citizenship and Development
DAAD	Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst (German Academic Exchange Service)
DC	Development Cooperation
GTZ	Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit
GIPC	Ghana Investment Promotion Centre
IOM	International Organization for Migration
KNUST	Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology
MIDA	Migration for Development in Africa
NRW	North Rhine-Westphalia
NRGS	Non-Resident Ghanaians Secretariat
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
PPP	Public-Private Partnership
PRF	Programm Rückkehrende Fachkräfte (Returning Experts Programme)
ROPAA	Representation of the People Amendment Act
SPRING	Spatial Planning for Regions in Growing Economies
UGAG	Union of Ghanaian Associations Germany e.V.
WUS	World University Service
ZAV	Zentralstelle für Arbeitsvermittlung (International Placement Services of the German Federal Employment Agency)

1. Introduction

In the policy debates concerning migration and development, the diaspora communities throughout the world play a key role. This study analyses the **structure and DC cooperation potential of the Ghanaian diaspora in Germany and its contributions** for the development of its country of origin. The **materials on which the study is based** include:

- the analysis of scientific literature on the Ghanaian diaspora in Germany and worldwide, as well as research literature on the debate on migration and development;
- queries and consultations with scientists, representatives of organisations and authorities (German Federal Office for Migration and Refugees, German Federal Statistical Office, Deutsche Bundesbank, the Ghanaian Embassy in Germany, DAAD, CIM, WUS, federal state government of North Rhine-Westphalia, IOM Germany, Inwent);
- supplementary documents and studies by international organisations (World Bank, North-South Centre of the European Council) and scientific institutions with research focuses on migration and development;
- semi-structured guided interviews with representatives of associations and key persons from business, science and academia, health care and churches;
- supplementary information from websites, annual reports, minutes and other documents of associations and initiatives and online information websites and websites of ministries and development agencies in Germany and Ghana.

For several decades, Ghana has been one of the most important emigration countries on the African continent. In Germany, Ghanaians constitute the most populous migrant group from sub-Saharan Africa, followed by Nigerians and Cameroonians. In contrast to the other diaspora communities from sub-Saharan Africa in Germany, **more recent research work** has been carried out and published on Ghanaian migrants, and this work was systematically analysed to address the central issue of the study.

The diploma thesis written by Schröder (2006), which was supervised by Dr Mundt, advisor for the GTZ Migration and Development Project, served as important **foundation** for this study. Schröder's thesis on the development-policy potential of the Ghanaian diaspora was oriented towards the issues dealt with in other GTZ studies on diaspora communities in Germany.¹ The empirical results of the thesis reflect the situation in 2005. This meant that the data and the information on the activities of the associations, private sector investments and knowledge and technology transfer all had to be updated.

Key findings on the Ghanaian migrants in Germany were also obtained from the doctoral dissertation written by Nieswand (2005, 2008a, 2008b) on the 'status paradoxes' of Ghanaian migrants and the scientific appraisals on the development-policy potential of African migrant organisations focusing on the Ghanaian diaspora that were written on behalf of the federal state government of North Rhine-Westphalia at the Center on Migration, Citizenship and Development (COMCAD) in Bielefeld, Germany (Sieveking/Faist/Fauser 2008; Sieveking/Faist 2008; Sieveking 2008a). A further study, entitled 'Migration dynamics and development in West Africa', was carried out on behalf of BMZ at COMCAD, using the case studies of Ghana and Mali (Sieveking/Fauser 2009). Taking an actor-centric approach, which focuses on the perspectives of the acting persons and institutions, the development-policy significance of migration and mobility in two West African countries is studied. Finally, the study by Goethe/Hillmann (2008) uses eleven interviews with highly qualified Ghanaian migrants who have already been living in Germany for decades to draw interesting conclusions about their development-related engagement.

In addition, the **international research literature** dealing with the theme of remittances and return of Ghanaian migrants was analysed (cf. especially Mazzucato 2008b, Tonah 2007, Arthur 2008). Empirical results that shed light on the transnational engagement and remittances by Ghanaian migrants in the USA,

¹ <http://www.gtz.de/de/aktuell/15634.htm> (As of 9 November 2008).

the UK and Germany are presented in the comparative study carried out by Orozco (2005) on behalf of the United States Agency for International Development. As part of this study, 986 migrants of Ghanaian origin living in the metropolitan areas of these countries were interviewed. In Germany, 241 Ghanaian migrants living in Frankfurt/Main were included in the survey. In addition to Berlin, Hamburg and the Ruhr region, Frankfurt is one of Germany's main centres of Ghanaian immigration. In contrast to the UK and US sample, the participants in the German sample were older, less qualified and had lower incomes than their counterparts in the UK and the USA² (Orozco 2005). The make-up of the sample reflects the social profile of the Ghanaian diaspora in Germany.

For this study, 32 interviews with key persons, representatives of associations in the Ghanaian diaspora and with experts were carried out, most of them by telephone. In some cases, establishing contact to members of the Ghanaian diaspora progressed slowly, because representatives of associations had already participated in interviews as part of previous studies. In addition, some persons contacted reacted critically and were skeptical about the use of the studies. Due to the limited time available, I was unable to establish more in-depth personal contact and undertake participatory observation. I would like to thank all the interviewees for their willingness to provide information and their support for the study.

The methodology of the study is based on a qualitative approach and follows the **research design and guiding questions** used in previous GTZ studies on various diaspora communities in Germany.³ The methodological approach of the study does not permit representative statements to be made. The study deals with and analyses the following themes:

- causes and course of migration and sociodemographic profile of the migrants;
- starting conditions for social integration and situation in Germany;
- diaspora policy of the Ghanaian and German governments, with a particular focus on the policy of the federal state of North Rhine-Westphalia;
- forms of social organisation of the Ghanaian diaspora community;
- remittances, non-profit and economic transfer contributions and transfer of know-how and technology.

In contrast to previous GTZ studies, in the case of Ghana, the role of the churches in the context of transnational migration and development policy is addressed. In addition, the diaspora policy in Ghana, Germany and North Rhine-Westphalia is described in greater detail, because it influences the Ghanaian diaspora's forms of social organisation, transnational relations and potential for development cooperation.

The **concepts of development, migration and diaspora** are key for the study. The relevant literature on the interaction between migration and development in the context of globalisation has grown exponentially in a matter of years. In most studies, the development concept is oriented towards the development-policy guidelines of national and international institutions. The latest approaches of transnational migration research call for the prevailing discourse and perspectives on the interaction between migration and development to open up. For instance, Bakewell (2008) a migration researcher at Oxford University's International Migration Institute, criticises the deeply rooted notions of a number of development-policy actors on the African continent. Bakewell would like to see a **broader perspective on development** in today's world, which is characterised by mobility, a perspective in which not only the migration of prosperous people is considered to be positive, but which also abandons paternalistic views and acknowledges the agency of migrants from poor countries.

The **concepts of diaspora, migration, immigration and transnational civil sphere** have already been discussed in great detail in previous publications (cf. Schmelz 2007).

2 Nearly two-thirds of the German interviewees (62%) had an annual income of less than USD 15,000. In the UK, 44% of the interviewees belonged to the lower income bracket, while in the USA, the share was 13%.

3 In order to document and analyse the development-policy activities of migrants in a holistic manner, on-site research in the African context is also needed (cf. Sieveking 2008a). See also <http://www.gtz.de/de/themen/wirtschaft-beschaefigung/23881.htm> (Accessed on 5 May 2009).

2. Profile of the Ghanaian community in Germany

2.1. Size of the Ghanaian diaspora in Germany

The available statistics do not provide comprehensive figures for or permit demographic and sociostructural analysis of the Ghanaian diaspora in Germany. In reporting on migration, detailed information on Ghanaians or on other African migrant groups is not separately evaluated due to the limited number of cases. The official statistics are based on the Ghanaian citizens living in Germany and do not include all **persons with a Ghanaian migration background**.⁴

In order to completely document immigration from Ghana, the following data must be taken into account, in line with the definition of 'persons with a migration background':

- naturalised persons of Ghanaian origin
- the second and third generation of Ghanaians naturalised here in Germany and the children from binational partnerships who did not immigrate on their own.

Today, there is statistical evidence that nearly **40,000 persons with a Ghanaian migration background** live in Germany. In 2007, 20,329 persons with Ghanaian citizenship were officially registered in Germany. 8,194 Ghanaian citizens became German citizens between 1980 and 2007 (cf. Table 1). In addition, 9,729 children were born to German-Ghanaian couples between 1965 and 2006.

Also, a **considerable number of undocumented migrants** can be assumed, most of whom enter with a valid visa and remain in Germany without a residence permit once three months have lapsed. According to qualitative and empirical studies on African migrants in Germany (Lentz 2003) and in the Netherlands (Mazzucato 2007), in addition to the number of registered African migrants, there are nearly the same number of migrants without legal residence permits. On this basis, the total number of migrants with Ghanaian citizenship alone can be extrapolated to at least 40,000.

⁴ Since the 'microcensus' carried out by the German Federal Statistical Office in 2005, the term 'population with a migration background' has become established in the analysis of German migration policy.

Table 1: Migrants with Ghanaian citizenship and naturalised Ghanaians in Germany, 1960-2007

Year	Total persons	Number of university students	Number of asylum-seekers	Naturalisations
1970	2,873	NK	NK	-
1980	8,343	NK	2,768	-
1981	11,880	NK	NK	19
1982	14,011	269	4,114	31
1983	13,385	247	2,701	49
1984	12,147	252	2,456	55
1985	13,941	248	2,876	28
1986	17,578	268	4,557	31
1987	14,573	280	4,720	47
1988	11,837	278	963	35
1989	14,924	303	1,640	65
1990	18,814	330	3,010	70
1991	21,952	411	4,220	88
1992	25,955	466	3,515	112
1993	24,769	487	8,305	147
1994	22,145	466	1,587	166
1995	21,550	492	1,110	223
1996	21,805	457	842	203
1997	22,170	434	748	254*
1998	22,447	403	529	274*
1999	22,602	376	449	270*
2000	22,847	353	415	697
2001	23,179	374	373	1,070
2002	23,451	532	380	990
2003	23,963	735	431	806
2004	20,636	698	487	948
2005	20,906	570	523	887
2006	20,587	441	413	742
2007	20,392	375	267	778

*without Hamburg

NK: Not known

Note: Up to 1990, all numbers refer to the Federal Republic of Germany without the former GDR.

Source: Federal Statistical Office

2.2. Causes and motives for migration

There is a long tradition of migration by Ghanaians to Europe, the USA and Canada. In the first half of the 20th century, these were mostly university students and businesspeople who migrated to English-speaking countries abroad. Prior to independence in 1957, due to the language barrier, few Ghanaians came to Germany.⁵ According to current estimates by the World Bank, 1.7 million Ghanaians or 7.6% of the total population of Ghana live abroad, most of them in English-speaking countries.⁶

The most important **reasons for increasing transnational mobility** stem from the economic and social crisis in Ghana since the mid-1960s and the simultaneous expansion of education for the broad population. In the West African country, in the first decade after independence, a growing population group with formal education and middle-class aspirations emerged. However, these aspirations could not be fulfilled in Ghana itself. In the quest for better living conditions and opportunities for promotion and improvement, a growing number of Ghanaians first migrated to neighbouring West African countries, especially Nigeria and Cote d'Ivoire. Due to economic crises in these countries, since the early 1980s the focus of migration has increasingly shifted towards Europe and North America. The primary destination countries of Ghanaian migrants in Europe were the UK, Germany, the Netherlands, Sweden and increasingly also Italy and Spain, and this continues to be the case today. In the 1970s and 1980s, a new class of migrants who were relatively successful in economic terms inspired a larger number of Ghanaians to go abroad in order to strive for a standard of living that could not be achieved in Ghana itself (Nieswand 2005 and 2008a).

Complex migration networks between Ghana and Germany and other destination countries that have grown over the years facilitate so-called chain migration. In the 1990s, poverty reduction and remittances transferred to the families became important motives for young Ghanaians to migrate. In Ghana, as in other countries in sub-Saharan Africa, the decision to migrate is not up to the individual alone, but is often taken and supported by the (extended) family (Schröder 2006; Amponsem 1996). In return for their support for the migration, the family expects remittances, as well as investment in follow-up migration. This puts many migrants under extreme economic pressure, who cannot return until they have achieved economic success.

Recently, the impacts of the **climate change** in Ghana have also been discussed as a primary factor for increasing North-South migration to the cities, which in previous decades has often proved to be a preliminary step towards migration.

2.3. Types and course of migration

The history of Ghanaians migrating to Germany is characterised by three types of migration that played a role in various phases of Ghanaian migration: **educational migration, asylum-seeking migration and family reunification**. Employment visas are rarely granted to Ghanaian migrants.⁷ Since 1970, the total number of Ghanaian migrants in Germany has grown significantly (cf. Table 1). In 1992 it reached its peak in the context of the 'asylum crisis'. Since then, the number has leveled off and is now between 24,000 and 20,300 Ghanaian citizens.⁸

5 While historical relations between Germany and Ghana go back as far as the 17th century with the trade base established by Frederick William I in 1683, the long colonial relationship between Ghana and Great Britain has caused migration by Ghanaians to continue to focus on the colonial power even today.

6 <http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTPROSPECTS/Resources/334934-1199807908806/Ghana.pdf> (Accessed on 3 November 2008).

7 Due to the high number of people applying for asylum, for many Ghanaians who have settled in Germany, the path between entry into the country and the achievement of resident status or the change from one legal category to another one cannot be fully reconstructed (Sieveking/Faist/Fauser 2008).

8 On the other hand, this statistical decline is less severe if the nearly 7,000 naturalisations during the period between 2000 and 2007 are added to the figure.

In the 1960s and 1970s, most of the Ghanaian migrants to Germany were **education migrants**. In contrast to the UK and the USA, Ghanaian students who wanted to study in Germany had to learn a new language. However, due to the lower tuition fees and better opportunities for receiving scholarships from Germany and to get a job while studying, Germany was still an attractive place to study. In the 1970s, the number of Ghanaian education migrants dropped. On the one hand, opportunities to study in Ghana improved and on the other hand, conditions for university admission became tighter. In order to enrol in a course of study, potential students had to prove they had a command of German before leaving for Germany (Schröder 2006).

The basic concept of the ‘course of study for foreigners’ was based on education aid as indirect development aid, and this stipulated that graduates would return to their country of origin once they had completed their studies. Thus, only relatively few education migrants were able to settle in Germany if they were not able to acquire permanent residence status through marriage or by having a family. Many of the education migrants who completed their studies in Germany migrated to third countries (Schmelz 2004).

Most of the migrants from Ghana who permanently reside in Germany today migrated to Germany in the context of **asylum-seeking migration and family reunification**. More than one-quarter of the migrants who are Ghanaian citizens⁹ came to Germany through family reunification. Economic deprivation and political violence on the part of the various military regimes in Ghana gave rise to a growing number of Ghanaian refugees, who have sought asylum in European and African countries since the 1970s.

The introduction of a visa requirement for Ghanaians in Germany in 1975 made it more difficult for Ghanaians to emigrate to Germany. Up until a visa requirement for the former GDR was introduced in 1986, Ghanaians took advantage of the opportunity to enter Germany via Berlin-Schönefeld. The German authorities classified most Ghanaian migrants as economic refugees. The acceptance quotas for political refugees from Ghana have constantly been below one per cent. The total number of migrants from Ghana recognised as political refugees between 1983 and 2007 is a mere 112 persons. Even today, only one out of 13 registered migrants with Ghanaian citizenship in Germany does not have a secure residence title.¹⁰

2.4. Sociodemographic structure of Ghanaian migrants

The following data analysis does not reflect the actual **profile of the Ghanaian diaspora** in Germany, because the high number of more than 8,000 naturalised Ghanaians and their children cannot be used for sociostatistical analysis. The following **sociodemographic analysis** refers only to immigrants from Ghana who still have Ghanaian citizenship.

The **length of stay and age structure** can be used to demonstrate a consolidation of the immigration process of Ghanaians in Germany. More than half the migrants with Ghanaian citizenship (51.6%) have resided in Germany for longer than 10 years. Nearly one-fifth (17.2%) have already resided in Germany for over 20 years (cf. Table 2).

Table 2: Length of stay of migrants with Ghanaian citizenship in Germany, as of 31 December 2007

Total	Less than 1 year	1-4 years	4-10 years	10-15 years	15-20 years	More than 20 years	Average length of stay in years
20,392	632	3,082	6,190	2,899	4,083	3,506	12.1 years
100%	3.1%	15.1%	30.4%	14.2%	20.2%	17.2%	

Source: Federal Statistical Office

⁹ As of 31 December 2007, 26.8%=5469.

¹⁰ As of 31 December 2007, 7.6%=1544.

Currently, 6,327 Ghanaian citizens in Germany are employees subject to social insurance.¹¹ Most Ghanaians entered Germany by the 1990s and were between 20 and 35 years old at the time of arrival. More than one-quarter (27.3%) of Ghanaian citizens in Germany today are over 45 years old. Initially, most migrants from Ghana were men. Thus, more than one-third of the male migrants with Ghanaian citizenship (34.2%) are over 45. The age structure of women with Ghanaian citizenship is younger, and the average age of men and women varies accordingly (cf. Table 3).

Table 3: Migrants with Ghanaian citizenship broken down by age and gender, as of 31 December 2007

Years total		Less than 15 years	15-25 years	25-35 years	35-45 years	More than 45 years	Average age
Male	9,666	1,600	826	1,299	2,632	3,309	36.0 years
in %	100%	16.6%	8.5%	13.4%	27.2%	34.2%	
Female	10,726	1,634	828	2,361	3,688	2,215	33.6 years
in %	100%	15.2%	7.7%	22.0%	34.4%	20.7%	
Together	20,392	3,234	1,654	3,660	6,320	5,524	34.7 years
in %	100%	15.9%	8.1%	17.9%	31.0%	27.3%	

Source: Federal Statistical Office

Since 1980, the development of the Ghanaian migrant group in Germany has followed the worldwide **trend of an increasing feminisation of migration processes**. In 1980, the share of female migrants was 22%. By 1990 it had already risen to 40.4% and in 2000, it was 44.0%. In 2004, the percentage of women (50.4%) exceeded that of men for the first time. In the subsequent years, this proportion has continued to grow and today stands at 52.6% (cf. Table 4).

Table 4: Development of gender distribution of migrants with Ghanaian citizenship in Germany, 1980-2007

Year	Total	Male	Female	Percentage who are female
1980	9,174	7,249	1,925	21.0
1990	21,952	15,300	8,872	40.4
2000	22,847	12,785	10,062	44.0
2004	20,636	10,263	10,373	50.3
2007	20,392	9,666	10,726	52.6

Source: Federal Statistical Office

2.5. Origin and geographic distribution of Ghanaians in Germany

Twelve large ethnic groups with different language, culture and belief systems live in Ghana. The largest group is the Akan, to which the Ashanti, Fanti, Brong, Kwahu, Akim, Akwapim and Nzima belong, followed by the Ewe, Ga-Adangbe, Mole-Dagbani, Grussi and Gruma. The **migrants' ethnic affiliation** in Germany does not correspond to the ethnic distribution in Ghana. Migration to foreign countries primarily takes place from the southern, more populous and economically stronger regions of the country. For

¹¹ Statistics published by the German Federal Employment Agency, 2007.

this reason, very few Ghanaians from the north of Ghana migrate to Germany. A large number of Ghanaian migrants in Germany belong to the largest ethnic group, the Ashanti. Most Ghanaian migrants have a Christian background. Very few are Muslims, who tend to live in the northern regions of Ghana (Schröder 2006).

The **main areas of residence for Ghanaians in Germany** are the metropolises of Hamburg, Berlin and Bremen, as well as the Ruhr region and the Frankfurt/Main metropolitan area. More than one-fifth (22.7%) of the Ghanaian migrants live in Hamburg, meaning that the highest percentage of Ghanaians lives in this city. In addition over one-fifth of the Ghanaians living in Germany (23.8%) live in North Rhine-Westphalia. One out of ten Ghanaian citizens living in Germany lives in Berlin (9.2%: 1,866 persons) or in the federal state of Hesse (9.8%: 2,022 persons).

There is a higher presence of Ghanaian migrants in economic urban agglomerations and larger cities, where there are better job opportunities and earning potential. The geographic concentration of Ghanaians in Hamburg can be explained by a long tradition of Ghanaian migration to Hamburg, which is reinforced by the establishment of migration networks. In Ghana, the word 'booga' or 'burger', taken from the word 'Hamburg', is now used to refer to migrants (Nieswand 2008a).

Table 5: Geographic distribution of migrants with Ghanaian citizenship in Germany, as of 31 December 2006

Federal state	Number of persons	as % of total
Baden-Württemberg	1,643	8.0
Bavaria	1,110	5.4
Berlin	1,866	9.2
Brandenburg	86	0.4
Bremen	1,075	5.2
Hamburg	4,665	22.7
Hesse	2,022	9.8
Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania	141	0.6
Lower Saxony	1,139	5.5
North Rhine-Westphalia	4,909	23.8
Rhineland-Palatinate	635	3.1
Saarland	457	2.2
Saxony	93	0.4
Saxony-Anhalt	78	0.4
Schleswig-Holstein	644	3.2
Thuringia	24	0.1
Germany total	20,587	100

Source: Federal Statistical Office

In the five federal states of former East Germany, the total percentage of Ghanaian migrants has dropped to a current level of 1.9% (as of 31 December 2006). The lack of job opportunities and more frequent incidence of discrimination experienced by the migrants there have made these states unattractive as a place to live and work.¹²

¹² Due to the distribution key for granting asylum, in 1992, the percentage of Ghanaians remained at a level of 14.2%.

3. The policy of the German and Ghanaian governments towards the Ghanaian diaspora

In Ghana and Germany, the diaspora has established itself as a new development-policy actor. The extent to which the Ghanaian diaspora can influence the development of its country of origin is dependent not only on the cultural, social and economic capital of the Ghanaian migrants in Germany, but also depends on the political and economic conditions in Ghana itself and the willingness of the Ghanaian Government to cooperate with the diaspora. The next part of this study presents an overview of the diaspora and migration-related development-policy activities in Germany and Ghana; the report, however, does not claim to be exhaustive.

3.1. (Re-)migration and diaspora cooperation in German development cooperation

3.1.1. Brain gain through returning experts

Ghana is one of the current 23 partner countries in the **Returning Experts Programme (PRF)**, which has been in existence since 1980. The programme is financed by BMZ and implemented by the Centre for International Migration and Development (CIM). CIM is a joint operation of Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit (GTZ) GmbH and the International Placement Services (ZAV) of the German Federal Employment Agency (BA). For programme implementation, in Germany CIM cooperates with the Association of Experts in the Fields of Migration and Development Cooperation (AGEF) and the World University Service (WUS) and with various partners.

The programme supports returning experts from developing and emerging countries who received basic or advanced training or education in Germany. The objective is to support **know-how transfer** in the countries of origin, **especially in areas that are significant for development policy**, via vocational integration of returning experts (Returning Experts Programme 2007). The programme offers information and advisory services, job placement, specialist and social network-building and financial support (subsidies for travel expenses, specialist literature, workplace equipment and specialist media).

In **Ghana**, the focus is on creating jobs and providing equipment that are relevant for development policy in the areas of good governance, sustainable economic development and agriculture. The subject areas preferred by the approximately 300 Ghanaian university students in Germany are mechanical engineering, economics and electrical engineering (cf. also Table 1 in the Annex). In recent years, the number of students from Ghana in Germany has steadily declined. In 2008, CIM advised 51 Ghanaians, and 20 of them received support with their return and professional integration. The job placement and advisory work in Ghana was carried out by a consultant for returning experts in Accra as part of the Returning Experts Programme.

In the past decades, the **debate on ‘brain drain’ and ‘grain gain’** has dominated development-policy debate on the migration of highly skilled professionals. According to a World Bank study, nearly half the Ghanaian experts with a university degree (46.9%) are living abroad (Özden/Schiff 2007). The trend for (highly) skilled experts/professionals to migrate from Ghana is continuing, especially in the health care and education sectors in English-speaking countries. Thus, in addition to promoting return, in Germany and at EU level, **concepts of ‘circular migration’** are being discussed as possible solutions in the development cooperation setting. The Returning Experts Programme is planning to establish new instruments and partnerships in the coming years in order to more specifically valorise circular migration processes of returning experts in development policy.

3.1.2. Diaspora cooperation, remittances and migration-policy advice

In contrast to Germany's neighbouring EU Member States France, the UK and the Netherlands, in German DC, engagement with the theme of migration and development and cooperation with diaspora organisations is fairly new. The migration history of these countries since decolonisation has been characterised by migration from non-European countries to a larger extent than is the case for Germany.

As part of the GTZ Migration and Development Project, three approaches are currently in use to improve the potentials of migration between origin and destination countries:

- 1) migration-policy advice: carrying out analyses and providing information on impacts of migration and cooperation of origin countries with their diaspora
- 2) remittances: reducing the costs of money transfer, improving conditions for development-effective transfer of remittances, for example, developing savings and insurance products and improving business skills
- 3) harnessing the potential for cooperation on the part of diaspora communities and supporting non-profit activities in particular in a pilot programme.

In future, **migration-related approaches in development cooperation** are to be taken into account to a greater extent in the promotion of sustainable economic development (Daume et al. 2008). Other migration-related project approaches in DC can be expected from the previously mentioned study carried out on behalf of BMZ on the dynamics of migration and development in Ghana.

Through GTZ's **pilot promotion programme**, which specifically supports projects of diaspora members, investments in local social infrastructure are made, training events carried out and projects promoting income and employment are implemented. Currently, support is provided in Teshie to furnish a children's centre with health-promoting measures. Further projects are in the planning stage. In the past, active migrant association (e.g. Ghana Community Lower Bavaria) have already received support via the BMZ household budget item on the promotion of projects of private development cooperation organisations, as well as via other development-policy promotion programmes. In cooperation with Inwent, the **Office for Migration and Development** offers training courses to improve the capacity of African associations and organisations in the administration of associations, public relations work, project management and acquisition of funding.

Since November 2007, services have been online by www.geldtransfair.de, which was developed and maintained by GTZ and the Frankfurt School of Finance & Management as a Public-Private Partnership (PPP) project on behalf of BMZ. Ghana is one of 25 countries for which **information on fees charged by official money transfer providers** can be accessed. The free online service compares the prices and speed of financial service providers for transferring money abroad. Similar service offers that particularly target migrants also exist in neighbouring foreign countries.¹³ Raising transparency of consumer information should lead to increased competition and in turn, to a reduction in costs incurred and charged by the various providers in Germany, thus making transfers via formal channels more attractive. So far, few Ghanaian migrants are aware of the website, because many of them prefer informal money transfer methods (statements by interviewees).

In the area of sustainable economic development, in November 2008 the **Mentori programme for small and medium-sized enterprises** was launched in Ghana. The project, which was developed by the consulting firm Inspiris (UK/Spain) in cooperation with Shell African Network, Barclays, GTZ and Busyinternet, receives advice and support from experts and managers from the Ghanaian diaspora. The two-year coaching and training project aims to bring together around 100 sectoral experts from the diaspora with Ghanaian entrepreneurs. While there are a number of experts and managers of Ghanaian origin in English-

¹³ <http://www.sendmoneyhome.org> (UK); <http://www.moneymove.org> (UK); <http://www.geldnaarhuis.nl> (Netherlands); <http://www.sendepenger.no> (Norway); <http://www.envoidargent.fr> (France).

speaking countries, in Germany, the language barrier and discrimination have prevented the promotion of Ghanaian migrants to managerial positions.

Ghanaian migrants in Germany include those who have started businesses, for example, in the forwarding and logistics industry, in telecommunications or in the area of software solutions, whose expertise can be extremely beneficial for a mentoring programme. However, these persons are not permanently employed experts and managers whose voluntary involvement could be made possible through agreements with the corporate management in the framework of social responsibility programmes, but rather as self-employed entrepreneurs with limited time for volunteering (statements by interviewees).

3.1.3. Ghana as a partner country of North Rhine-Westphalia

At federal state level, North Rhine-Westphalia is particularly active in diaspora policy and has supported networking of African migrant organisations for several years.¹⁴ Connecting the topics of migration and development is an important guideline in the state's development policy.¹⁵ Based on an appraisal of the development-policy potential of migrant organisations (Sieveking 2008a; interviewees) in North Rhine-Westphalia, the state government signed a partnership agreement with Ghana in November 2007. The choice of Ghana as a partner country was based on the development-policy potential of Ghanaian migrants, Ghana's political stability and the number of development initiatives already active in Ghana. The inspiration for the agreement with Ghana is the partnership between Rhineland-Palatinate and Rwanda, which has been in existence for 25 years and very successfully builds on municipal development cooperation.

The partnership agreement¹⁶ refers to the support of every form of citizen involvement, the establishment of school partnerships, city twinnings, university cooperation, church partnerships and the exchange and cooperation of youth and women's organisations.

Since the end of 2007, discussions have been held and projects launched, particularly in the area of energy. Projects are currently under development in the area of health, economic cooperation, gender and education.

In June 2008, the Ghana Forum NRW e.V.¹⁷ was founded, in which over 40 participants from partnership initiatives, associations, churches and the Ghanaian diaspora are represented. The forum aims to enable the exchange of opinions and experience, encourage networking and foster common representation of interests. There are three Ghanaians on the eleven-member board.¹⁸ Independent of these political initiatives at federal state level, the Ghanaian diaspora in North Rhine-Westphalia has been very active in development policy for a long time and often implements projects in Ghana in a highly professional manner (statements by interviewees).¹⁹ In early 2009, the Ghana Council e.V. will be founded, an association of 45 active Ghanaian migrant organisations in the Ruhr region. The founding process is flanked by critical debates on the opportunities and limits of cooperation between the federal state government and the diaspora.

14 Cf. Office for Migration and Development at the Institute for Social Innovations <http://www.institut-fsi.de/site.php?siteID=28> (Accessed on 4 December 2008).

15 http://www.eine-welt-netz-nrw.de/html/partner/foren/ghana/documents/rede_minister_laschet_GF.pdf (Accessed on 20 October 2008).

16 On 5 November 2007, the governments of Ghana and North Rhine-Westphalia signed the partnership agreement. <http://www.mgffi.nrw.de/internationale-zusammenarbeit/partner-ghana/index.php> (Accessed on 19 October 2008).

17 The new association unites civil society organisations and individuals who already promote partnerships between North Rhine-Westphalia and Ghana, plan to establish these types of contacts or who wish to support the partnership between North Rhine-Westphalia and Ghana.

18 http://www.eine-welt-netz-nrw.de/html/partner/foren/ghana/LF_Ghana.php (Accessed on 20 October 2008).

19 During the process of becoming acquainted, to date four workshops have taken place on the following themes: 1. Ideas on the part of the government with regard to the priority area of media, education and energy; 2. Presentation of options for promotion: Inwent, GTZ, foundations; 3. Training module, carried out by Inwent; 4. CIM returnees' office: presentation of options for promotion (statements by interviewees).

3.2. Diaspora-policy approaches of Ghana as a country of origin

From the perspective of the country of origin, diaspora policy is understood to be the institutions and political practices of the government that are directed towards emigrants and their offspring living outside the country (Gamlen 2008).²⁰ Gamlen especially distinguishes between a diaspora policy that seeks to **build a community** among the diaspora members and **diaspora-policy mechanisms** aimed at extending membership privileges and obligations to these diaspora community members, maintain ties to the country of origin and promote engagement of diaspora members for their country of origin. Since the change in regime in 2000, the policy of the Ghanaian Government under (neo)liberal President Kufuor is increasingly regarding the diaspora community as an economic and political resource and has specifically supported the organisations of Ghanaian migrants in registered associations through the embassies. During the Rawlings administration, migrants were often accused of lacking patriotism, because many of them had applied for political asylum in Western foreign countries and were considered to be supporters of the opposition.

3.2.1. Founding an umbrella organisation of Ghanaian associations in Germany

At the initiative of the Ghanaian Embassy in Germany, the Union of Ghanaian Associations in Germany (UGAG)²¹ was founded in June 2004 as the umbrella organisation of all Ghanaian associations in Germany. The first attempt to organise the Ghanaian associations in Göttingen as the National Association of Ghanaians in Germany (NAGG) in 1996 failed. The associations were unable to agree on a common constitution (Schröder 2006).

The aim of the second attempt to establish an umbrella association was to bring together the many Ghanaian associations. Today, 21 local Ghana Unions are members of the UGAG.

The UGAG is based on the structure of the locally established associations in each area, the so-called Ghana Unions. The Ghana Unions go back to the initiative of Kwame Nkrumah, the first president of the independent state of Ghana, who sought to organise the intellectual elite of the Ghanaian diaspora after independence and engage it in the establishment of the Ghanaian nation.

The UGAG's official function is that 'of an interface between the Ghanaian diaspora in Germany organised in the Ghana Unions and the Embassy of Ghana' (Sieveking/Faist/Fauser 2008). Its purpose includes facilitation of the authentication of a person's Ghanaian citizenship and dealing with social issues and difficulties in Germany. A representative of the Embassy is a permanent member of the UGAG's National Executive Committee (NEC).

In order to become a member, a union must be formally registered as an association.

Due to its size, the Ghana Union Hamburg in particular required special status and did not participate in the UGAG. Even today, not all associations are represented by the UGAG. Currently, a regional umbrella association, the above-mentioned Ghana Council e.V., based in Oberhausen, is being established among the very active Ghanaian associations in the Ruhr region. The establishment of a representative organisation of association activities with the UGAG has not been successful.

3.2.2. Mechanisms of diaspora policy

In Ghanaian politics, so-called 'long-distance nationalism' has become increasingly significant since the beginning of the new millennium. Similar to the political practice in traditional emigration countries, the **national awareness** in 'deterritorialised states' has been promoted beyond Ghana's national borders and the

²⁰ The spectrum of these political approaches ranges from state-financed celebrations and prizes for emigrants, the establishment of specific administrative units for the diaspora, the right to vote while living abroad and even bilateral social security agreements. Levitt and De la Dehesa (2003) distinguish between investment policies, political rights, state services and symbolic politics.

²¹ http://www.ugag.org/nav/local_union.htm. The website only reflects the development up to 2006. (Accessed on 24 November 2008).

migrants' loyalty to their home country called for. These government policies increasingly give rise to trans-national activities and are supported by the government.

The Kufuor government strives to systematically foster national awareness and engagement of the diaspora. It seeks to use the financial, social and academic resources of communities of Ghanaians living abroad, as well as their willingness to return, particularly in the immigration countries of the UK, USA, Canada, the Netherlands, Germany and Sweden. A meeting with the diaspora community is now an integral part of every foreign visit undertaken by Ghanaian politicians (Nieswand 2008; Tonah 2007).

By introducing **legal and institutional changes**, the Ghanaian Government sought to more actively include the diaspora community in its economic and political development. One of these changes involves the 'home-coming policy', which targets African-Americans and their descendents who were deported as slaves, while other policies are aimed at emigrants and their descendents, especially those who left the country since the 1970s and 1980s. The government already used lobbying work on the part of Ghanaians residing in the USA and Canada to introduce **dual citizenship** back in 1999. It is possible for Ghanaians to become citizens of the host country without losing Ghanaian citizenship. In 2006, the Ghanaian parliament passed the Representation of the People Amendment Act (ROPAA), which provides for **voting rights for Ghanaians living outside the country**.

At the institutional level, various administrative and government offices have been assigned the task of addressing migration and diaspora-related issues (cf. also Sieveking/Fausser 2009). Following the Homecoming Summit that took place in 2001, a diaspora summit sponsored by the government for representatives of business, politics and civil society, **the Non-Resident Ghanaians Secretariat NRGs**) was founded in 2003 within the Ghana Investment Promotion Centre (GIPC). The secretariat's task involved the coordination of policies, programmes and activities with regard to the Ghanaian diaspora, targeting investors from the diaspora.²² Based on the model of countries such as Mali and the Philippines, in 2005, Jacob Obetsebi-Lamprey became the first Ghanaian Minister of Tourism and Diasporan Relations. The minister's primary task is to encourage the African-American diaspora to engage in Ghana.²³ Critics from the diaspora in English-speaking countries disapproved of the assignment of the diaspora to the Ministry of Tourism, calling instead for the establishment of a separate ministry for diaspora or an independent department in the foreign ministry. In 2006, a **Migration Unit** was established within the **Ministry of the Interior**. The unit was tasked with coordinating migration policy, particularly taking development-policy issues into account.²⁴ That same year, the Center for Migration Studies (www.cmsgh.org) was established at the University of Ghana. The Center's application-oriented research enabled it to take on an important role as a political advisor. Another migration-policy actor is the **Ghana Immigration Service** headed by Elizabeth Adjei and whose original task was the management of relevant migration data. At the Global Forum for Migration and Development held in October 2008 in Manila, Ms Adjei presented suggestions and concepts for promoting diaspora cooperation, such as mentoring and twinning programmes, skills auditing and the establishment of a ministry.²⁵

Today, the diaspora's role in the specific measures of the above-mentioned ministries is very low-profile. Plans call for information for the Ghanaian diaspora to be strengthened throughout the world and specific investment products for the diaspora to be developed, such as a **Non-Resident Ghanaian Fund for Poverty Reduction**. In addition, Diasporan Relations Desks are to be established in the major immigration

22 As part of these activities, for instance, with the support of GTZ, a study trip to six large German cities took place in order to establish contact to associations. http://www.gipc.org.gh/UserFiles/File/annual_reports/Annual_Report_2005.pdf (Accessed on 20 October 2008).

23 Boateng, Kofi A., When Diasporan Relations does not include the Ghana Diaspora (2006-05-22).

<http://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/features/artikel.php?ID=104626&comment=2023077> (Accessed on 20 October 2008).

24 <http://www.modernghana.com/news/102642/1/Interior-Ministry-to-set-up-Migration-Unit.html> (Accessed on 9 December 2008) The Migration Unit is also referred to as the 'Migration Bureau' (Sieveking/Fausser 2009).

25 http://government.gfmd2008.org/philippine_gfmd_agenda.html (Accessed on 9 December 2008).

countries.²⁶ The government has also announced that it will assume the shipping costs for emergency supplies and donations.

As a non-profit initiative of the Databankgroup Foundation and the Nubuke Foundation, the website Ghana Opportunity Network (GoNET) went online in August 2007 (www.ghanaopportunity.com). The website provides information in the areas of investment, real estate, mobility aid and contact to associations in various countries. In addition, practical assistance is offered and information and contact addresses provided for advice on investment opportunities, price surveys for household goods, housing and cars, shipping costs, furnished accommodation for short stays and on schools.

In sum, the issues of diaspora and migration have not been accorded high priority in the development strategy of the Ghanaian Government since the beginning of the millennium. In the Ghana Poverty Strategy Paper (2003-2005), migration is only marginally touched on as a resource for Ghana's development and poverty alleviation.²⁷ There is neither a coordinated strategy for political action on the part of the Ghanaian Government with regard to migration and diaspora-related issues, nor are the responsibilities and capacity of the various institutions entrusted with the issues clearly delineated from each other.

The individual interviews with Ghanaian migrants also show an ambivalent attitude towards the Ghanaian diaspora policy. On the one hand, concerted efforts on the part of the government towards the diaspora are welcomed. On the other hand, however, the lack of specific and transparent approaches and programmes for the promotion of investments in Ghana by Ghanaians living abroad and for their return is criticised.²⁸

26 'Emigration from Ghana: a motor or brake for development'. Keynote address by Hon. Papa Owusu-Ankomah, MP, Minister of Interior at the 39th session of the Commission on Population and Development New York, USA 4 April, 2006, in: http://www.un.org/esa/population/cpd/cpd2006/CPD2006_Owusu_Ankomah_Statement.pdf (Accessed on 8 December 2008).

27 Ghana Poverty Reduction Strategy 2003-2005. An Agenda for Growth and Prosperity, in: http://poverty2.forumone.com/files/Ghana_PRSP.pdf (Accessed on 1 March 2009). Cf. also Sieveking/Fauser 2009.

28 These interview results correspond to the research results from interviews with highly qualified professionals in Hamburg and Berlin carried out by Goethe/Hillmann (2008).

4. Forms of social organisation

Since the beginning of Ghanaian migration in the 1970s, Ghanaians have founded and been active in associations in order to obtain practical help and stabilise their cultural identity in the context of social conditions of discrimination and marginalisation. Many Ghanaians belong to one or more associations and are often organised in informal groups. In addition, churches, and in many places, afroshops as well, play an important role in the social life of Ghanaians.

To some extent, the Ghanaian Government's diaspora policy (cf. Chapter 3.2.) has contributed to a **shift in the significance and function of Ghanaian associations**. While in earlier years, the associations primarily served as points of contact for self-help and protection from the German anti-migration policy, today they are 'intermediaries for transnational inclusion' (Nieswand 2008a).

4.1. Transnational connections between Ghanaian migrants

Ghanaian migrants in Germany are often involved in national and transnational networks of relatives and friends. They often maintain close social relationships among each other within Germany and across several European borders,²⁹ as well as across the Atlantic to the USA and Canada. Reciprocal obligations and solidarity within families connect migrants and non-migrants in Ghana who live in different countries. Transnational private, civil society and economic relations allow many Ghanaian migrants to live in transnational social spaces that influence their life sphere and social activities (Nieswand 2008a; Tonah 2007).

Based on the study on remittances and transnational engagement of Ghanaians living abroad (Orozco 2005), close family and financial ties are observed between Ghanaians and their country of origin.³⁰ For example, more than two-thirds of the interviewees visited Ghana at least every two years, and one-sixth of them even travel to Ghana twice a year. Eighty-eight per cent of the interviewees said that they buy products from their country of origin, especially food items, and the same number had a savings account in Ghana.

According to Nieswand's analysis, transnational engagement allows Ghanaian migrants to bridge paradoxes in status between the host and origin country. Remittances or various types of transnational activities permit the migrants' own status in Ghana to rise. At the same time, however, their status is demoted through the migration process in Germany, where Ghanaians are frequently employed in the low-income sector (Nieswand 2008b). According to the analysis by Tonah (2007), Ghanaian migrants living abroad are forced to maintain ties to relatives, friends and social institutions and invest at home, in order to obtain recognition and identity independent of their precarious social status abroad. **Associations and churches** serve as institutions that provide migrants with social, financial and psychological support in what many of them perceive to be a hostile host society.

While ethnic and cultural affiliation play a role in associations, they do not necessarily rule out interaction with people of other backgrounds in migrants' social lives. In the living context and social relationships of Ghanaian migrants, interethnic friendships and marriages are very frequent.

²⁹ In particular, to the UK, the Netherlands, Italy and Sweden.

³⁰ The transnational relations between the diaspora and the country of origin are described on the basis of the '5 Ts': transportation, telecommunications, tourism, transfer of money and nostalgic trade. Cf. Orozco 2005.

4.2. Mapping associations and organisations

4.2.1. Types of organisations

Networks among Ghanaian migrants are extensive. According to a comparative study, 37% of all Ghanaians surveyed in Germany belong to an association (Orozco 2005). The exact number of Ghanaian associations is not known, because a number of associations operate only informally, without being officially recorded in the register of associations. A number of **informal migrant groups** have existed for a long time and do not see either the need or the benefit of organising themselves in a more formal manner. **The types of organisations established by Ghanaians** in Germany are not new. They go back to transnational ties and models in Ghana itself, as well as in the Ghanaian diaspora in other immigration countries, such as the UK, the Netherlands and the USA.³¹

In the panoply of Ghanaian associations (Sieveking/Faist/Fauser 2008, Tonah 2007), **origin-related organisational patterns** that are regionally, ethnically and nationally oriented must be distinguished from **associations which are pan-African and those composed of migrants from various backgrounds**, which have a stronger focus on development and youth-related activities. **Hometown associations**, in which Ghanaian migrants from the same place of origin gather together, often exist in Germany on an informal basis, because Ghanaian migrants are dispersed throughout Germany and their numbers in a given place are very low. According to Tonah (2007), some of the most significant origin-based associations are the Ashanti Akim Kuo, the Obo Citizens Union and the Oguaa Kuo. In nearly all larger cities, ethnically oriented groups can be found, such as the Ashanti/Asanteman Union, Brong-Ahafo Union, the Ga Union, Fanit Union, Kwahu and the Akuapem Union. In most of these associations, the language of the city or town of origin is generally used for communication. In centres of the Ghanaian diaspora, such as Berlin and Hamburg, the **traditional system of 'chieftaincy'** is practised, in which chiefs are the traditional leaders. This practice is controversial in the diaspora community itself (Schröder 2006).

In the **associations with a development-policy focus**, the origin of the members often does not correspond to their geographic engagement (for instance, the association for the promotion of development projects in Ghana e.V., German-Ghanaian development aid association, Society for the Promotion of Rural Development in Africa). Several newer associations are especially committed to **children's, youth and family-related activities**, with the aim of improving the educational and professional situation of second-generation Ghanaian children and young people. The focus of these associations' work is on language courses, homework supervision and tutoring for pupils with an African migration background and advice on parenting. Examples include the African Youth Association for Culture, Science and Arts (AYACSA e.V.), education without borders e.V. and the African Youth Foundation (AYF).

In contrast to the Cameroonian, Afghani and Iranian diaspora communities, **professional associations** of Ghanaian migrants no longer play a role today. A network of Ghanaian doctors that had existed in the 1980s has been disbanded. Today, more than 100 doctors with a Ghanaian migration background are living in Germany. Their commitment in the health care sector is frequently on an individual basis rather than as members of associations (statements by interviewees). The three larger **political parties** in Ghana (New Patriotic Party, the National Democratic Congress and the Convention Peoples Party) all have active branches in Germany, although their presence is stronger in English-speaking countries (Tonah 2007).

Women play an especially active role in the associations, organisations, churches and other networks of the Ghanaian diaspora (Sieveking/Faist/Fauser 2008; Sieveking 2008a). In the youth and development-related sector, **women with a Ghanaian migration background** establish **associations in a highly professional manner** and implement projects with a great deal of success. The leadership structure and membership of the majority of Ghanaian associations, however, is male-dominated.

³¹ In isolated cases, social clubs, such as the Progressive Women's Association, the Onnauado Kuo, the Old Timers Club and the Ghana Black Stars Supporters Club, play a role in the social organisation of the Ghanaian diaspora.

As observed by Sieveking, the transnational and translocal networks of women are organised on a less official basis.³² Due to time constraints and their responsibility for bringing up the children, women are frequently involved in informal women's groups and women's networks, which tend to be maintained as part of the various religious communities (cf. also Chapter 4.3.). Women use forms of organisation such as women's savings groups and solidarity networks³³ or organise 'mother and auntie networks' that they transfer from their society of origin to their life in Germany. These types of women's groups and networks are strongly focused on social security issues and mutual social support, especially for improving the opportunities for children's education and their future.

4.2.2. Objectives and capacities of the associations

The **overarching objectives** of the associations, groups, networks and clubs are very similar (the section below is based on Tonah 2007) and are implemented at varying degrees of intensity, depending on the individual case.

The first objective of the associations is strengthening the **ties between their members living abroad**, in order for them to help each other in difficult life situations and promote social cohesion. The members share festive occasions such as births and marriages and offer support in emergency situations, such as deaths, illness or accidents by offering community care and visits. The group members support each other with difficult migration and parenting issues. The second objective of all associations is the promotion of good relations between Ghanaians and the local population. In general, the perception between the Ghanaian community living abroad and the respective local population is characterised by stereotypes and discrimination. This is particularly true for non-English-speaking countries such as Germany, the Netherlands, Italy and the Eastern European countries. The associations also organise social and cultural activities that aim to contribute to a positive image of the Ghanaians in the host society. In this context, binational associations, such as the Ghana-German Association in Hanau, Germany, are also formed in order to improve the relations with the local population. Ghanaian associations also seek good intercultural relations with other migrant groups, especially with those with African origins. Thirdly, all associations aim to strengthen transnational ties and relations to Ghana. Most frequently, disadvantaged groups are supported, primarily through the transfer of donations, equipment and experts.

The continuity and organisational capacity of the Ghanaian associations varies widely. Of twelve associations surveyed by Schröder, most of them had already been in existence for ten or more years (Schröder 2006). Among the Ghanaian associations, splinter groups and new establishments of groups can frequently be observed. The **largest organisation is the Hamburg-based Ghana Union** with around 550 members. The Asanteman Union of the Ruhr region has 250 members and organises the Ashanti, which constitute Germany's largest ethnic group. The size of the organisation reflects the demographic significance of the respective group of migrants in Germany, on the one hand, and the weight of the respective region and ethnicity in Ghana, on the other. In contrast to the church communities, whose numbers are often much larger, the number of members in the associations is limited to between 20 and 60 people. **The number of official memberships does not correspond to the actual popularity and significance of the associations.** While Ghanaians are very interested in association activities such as festivities and social contacts, the interest in subscribing to formal membership is rather limited (Sieveking/Faist/Fauser 2008; statements by interviewees).

The **financial capacity of most associations** is limited and is largely based on donations and monthly membership subscriptions of between 3 and 10 euros. Some associations work professionally and are

³² This can be observed in particular within Muslim migrant groups, whose numbers are much lower than those of migrants with Christian backgrounds (Sieveking/Faist/Fauser 2008).

³³ Among migrants from Ghana, in one savings group it was typical to pay in between 50 and 200 euros a month. At this rate, in a group with approx. 10 members, a sum of 1,000 euros or more could come together quickly for the given recipient in Ghana. The contributions are frequently used for remittances for the families or for investments. In view of the financially precarious situation of families and women, today many female migrants can no longer afford to make such monthly contributions (Sieveking/Faist/Fauser 2008).

successful raising funds both for integration projects here in Germany and for development-policy causes. In the past, some Ghana-related associations managed to finance development-related aid projects from BMZ funds (e.g. Ghana Union Lower Bavaria). In many cases, municipal financial support via the migration and integration officer plays an important role for association funding. Association revenues are also frequently derived from sponsoring activities and benefit events (statements by interviewees).

In view of the **time constraints and limited economic resources** of the members, associations are often in competition with each other with regard to individual engagement and recruiting of new members. In the context of power positions, similar to other diaspora communities, competitive situations and conflicts can be observed within and among Ghanaian associations.³⁴

4.3. Churches and religious groups

In the literature, the **major significance of the churches for society and social life of the Ghanaian people** and for their development-policy engagement is unanimously acknowledged (Schröder 2006, Jach 2005, Nieswand 2008a, Sieveking/Faist/Fauser 2008 and Sieveking/Faist 2008).³⁵

The church communities are among the Ghanaian organisations in Germany with the strongest structures.³⁶ The distribution of Ghanaian migrants in Germany based on the individual denominations is not precisely known and does not directly correspond to the percentages of the religious structure in Ghana. **Christianity is the prevailing religion in Ghana**, whereby the Pentecostal and charismatic churches play a major role. Approximately one-sixth of the population in Ghana is Muslim, with most of them living in the north of Ghana, the region that is underrepresented in international migration.³⁷ Christian groups of Ghanaians in Germany are frequently supported by established church institutions. Aid provided by these institutions also boosts the amount of development-policy donations.³⁸

Size and significance: The best-known religious groups include the Ghana Catholic Mission-Hamburg, the Bethel Church-Stuttgart and the Presbyterian Church of Cologne. There are around 50 Ghanaian churches in Hamburg, while more than 10 church communities are active in Berlin. Since the early 1990s, the number of Pentecostal churches in Germany has exploded, most of them subsidiary parishes of churches in Ghana. The size of the parish communities varies widely, from between 10 and 40 members to 400 members (Nieswand 2008a; Jach 2005).

Ghanaian churches are not only a place of worship for Ghanaians living abroad. The church communities also engage in social, cultural and economic activities that tie them to Ghana. In addition to their religious functions, the religious leaders provide social, psychological and moral support in the everyday life of their parishioners, which is characterised by frequent discrimination (Tonah 2007). The **Pentecostal churches** in particular recognised the deep spiritual vacuum that existed among the Ghanaian migrants living abroad. These churches place particular emphasis on wealth and success in life and offer their members hope for a better future with material security.³⁹

34 This observation corresponds to the results of the GTZ studies on other African diaspora communities.

35 While the research focused on the church organisation structures here in Germany (Jach 2005), the development-policy potential of the church communities, which maintain well developed and close ties to Ghana, has not yet been studied in detail.

36 The church communities are among the Ghanaian organisations in Germany with the strongest structures. Some of these religious organisations are international and are not exclusively nationally oriented.

37 More than two-thirds of the population (68.8%) are members of a Christian church. Muslims constitute about one-sixth (15.9%) of the population. The rest of the population claim to be adherents of traditional religions (Tonah 2007).

38 Muslim groups have very little infrastructure at their disposal. This is exacerbated by the fact that Muslim organisations are generally suspected of being terrorist groups, which also complicates cooperation among various Muslim migrant groups, who are generally composed of people with different nationalities (Sieveking/Faist/Fauser 2008).

39 Members of Pentecostal churches in Ghana and the diaspora countries tend to belong to the middle class. In Germany, the social structure of members of Pentecostal churches is more mixed, which corresponds to the social profile of the Ghanaian community in Germany.

The transnational and **development-policy function of the churches** is also highly significant. The churches outside Ghana provide the parishes in Ghana and other African countries with financial support for the church infrastructure and for development projects, especially for schools and hospitals. For their part, the churches in Ghana support their foreign parishes by seconding and supplying clergy members.

5. Contributions of the Ghanaian diaspora

Transnational activities are carried out by Ghanaians as individual or collective initiatives. The literature distinguishes between the different motives listed below (Schröder 2006), which overlap within the social and economic activities of the actors:

- family and friendship-related motives based on social obligations towards the relatives and friends who have remained behind
- social and humanitarian reasons, primarily altruism and a sense of responsibility towards the migrants' country of birth
- social and economic self-interest, in order to establish an existence locally and secure or boost social status through certain projects.

In the sections below, some major aspects of non-profit and economic engagement of Ghanaian migrants and activities in the area of know-how and technology transfer are discussed and illustrated by examples.⁴⁰ In order to identify the structures and relationships between the host and origin country and the prerequisites and results of social and private sector initiatives, more in-depth case studies are needed.

5.1. Non-profit engagement of individuals and associations

5.1.1. Range of non-profit activities

Many Ghanaians become involved in non-profit activities as both private persons and through organisations. These activities particularly focus on the areas of health and education, as well as infrastructure investments such as power and water supply. The initiatives are related to areas which primarily aim to meet the need for support in Ghana. Health facilities in the country have a shortage of personnel, medical devices and equipment and medicine. In rural regions, the infrastructure with regard to the water supply and electricity, as well as the furnishing of schools, is frequently inadequately developed or in poor condition (for the passage below, cf. Schröder 2006 and our own interview results).

For more than 20 years, Ghanaians who are well known and well educated have **become engaged in non-profit activities as individuals** and in some cases, have organised aid projects and infrastructure measures in their home villages/regions with a great deal of success. For instance, individual initiatives were responsible for a kindergarten, a hospital, a community centre and a school that were built locally by volunteers as a community project. With other initiatives, the energy supply system was expanded with the help of public funding and water pumps were brought in from Germany. In other cases, large in-kind donations, such as computers or table tennis tables for schools in migrants' home villages and medicine for a hospital in Accra were collected.

A high-profile representative of the Ghanaian diaspora, the leader of the Hohoe Gbi, who is well known as a singer and author in Germany, implemented several development projects in the area of water supply and training for orphaned young people to become car mechanics. Furthermore, he used various projects, such as the voluntary engagement of 25 doctors and the transfer of medical devices, wheelchairs and medicine, to improve the medical care in his region of origin. For these projects, he recruited financial sponsorship from companies, organised fund-raising drives and donated the proceeds from his work as an author.

While the primary activities of the associations target social integration and cohesion (cf. Chapter 4.2.), **most of them also implement projects in Ghana or plan future aid projects.** According to Orozco's (2005) study on transnational engagement of Ghanaians in Germany, only one association among the

⁴⁰ The breakdown of engagement into economic, welfare-oriented and know-how and technology-transfer-related is for the sake of analysis and cannot be observed as such on the basis of the actors' own intentions to take action as individuals or as associations.

association members interviewed was not committed to Ghana. According to Schröder's (2006) survey of associations, half the associations had also carried out non-profit activities in Ghana.

Individual associations have planned **complex village development projects** that cover the entire range of municipal infrastructure measures, i.e. drinking water supply and sanitation, basic medical care, improved agriculture and energy supply, as well as the improvement of the school situation and promotion of training through sponsorships (the information here and below is based on Schröder 2006 and statements by the interviewees). **Training projects sponsored by individual associations** prepare participants for vocations such as tailor/seamstress, carpenter, smithing or farming. Training in these vocations is linked to income-generating measures. In one case, an all-day centre that offers schooling and care of disadvantaged children was established in Accra.

The Bonn-based **African Youth Foundation (AYF)** is engaged in a number of projects for diaspora cooperation in the third sector, such as economic promotion with Ghana and other African countries. The focus of the activities is on stays for volunteers and internships for a period of several months in the areas of education, health care, economic promotion and civil society, as well as a leadership programme. The target group of these projects are primarily second-generation family members with a Ghanaian or African migration background. AYF also sees itself as a platform for business activities on the African continent. The African Business and Entrepreneurship Network (ABEN) founded in 2007 promotes networking, exchange and the presentation of African businesses from the diaspora. In 2007, AYF also founded a Diaspora Fund in cooperation with the JANERO Consultancy in order to use remittances from African diaspora members collectively for development projects in Africa.

The **numerous church communities** are also intensively committed, especially in health and education-promoting activities in disadvantaged regions or urban neighbourhoods. In the church communities, women are particularly active (Sieveking 2008). Funds raised by the parish members have been used to purchase beds, medical equipment, medicine and training equipment for health care institutions in the partner church communities in Ghana. In addition, construction and rehabilitation of school buildings was supported and teaching materials and equipment for schools in Ghana provided (Tonah 2007; statements by interviewees).

5.1.2. Factors hindering non-profit engagement

With regard to development-related engagement, a distinction must be made between difficult conditions here in Germany and those on the ground (the information in the passages below is taken from Schröder 2006 and statements by interviewees):

Difficulties in Germany: As a rule, most associations have limited organisational capacity and human and financial resources. Work in associations and fund-raising is nearly always done on a voluntary basis and requires a high level of time and financial commitment, as well as know-how, which only very few people have at their disposal. Several interviewees reported that the willingness to donate and to engage in time-consuming volunteer work in Germany had waned in recent years. Relatively few associations are familiar enough with fund-raising, public relations work and project management to be able to successfully raise project money for development projects and back these projects up on an ongoing basis. As part of the Office for Migration and Development at the Institute for Social Innovations, associations are provided with infrastructure for capacity building, and this is seeing increasing use (statements by interviewees). However, some association representatives criticised that the series of training courses gave rise to expectations for funding opportunities that were not met.

Obstacles to project implementation in Ghana: Frequently, difficulties arise from the lack of effective controls during implementation and safeguarding of the sustainability of projects and from administrative and financial constraints in Ghana. This experience corresponds to that of many project initiatives carried out by other diaspora communities. Failure to establish reliable partnerships or sponsors on the ground

who reliably implement the projects financially and on a content-related basis with a high level of commitment was frequently mentioned by interviewees as a hurdle to project implementation. Controls are needed to ensure that money and materials reach the target group. In order to guarantee the use of the money, in some cases monetary or in-kind donations are published in Ghanaian newspapers. In some cases, the interviewees also reported that project money and in-kind donations were misappropriated, both at the level of the partner organisations in Ghana and by the target groups. Finally, customs duties, high shipping fees and import regulations on in-kind donations can prove to be barriers with the result that the value of the transferred in-kind donations are not in proportion to the transport costs incurred.

5.1.3. Development-policy engagement and integration

In the literature, there is unanimous agreement that successful integration and a high level of education and training foster effective and long-term engagement (Baraulina et al. 2006; Sieveking/Faist/Fauser 2008) in the non-profit sector. The case study of Ghana confirms that in the long term, successful association activities of diaspora communities are rooted in a **high level of engagement by individuals, both in terms of time and money**, most of whom are well-educated and professionally established, such as engineers, lawyers, university professors, doctors and IT specialists. Without a high degree of individual initiative, stamina and assertiveness, as well as the investment of personal funds, association activities could not be carried out in either Germany or Ghana (statements by interviewees). The interview results also show that well-integrated Ghanaian migrants do not necessarily restrict their commitment to activities related to their own national origin. They involve Germans with a migration background as well as migrants from various countries on the African continent (Sieveking 2008a; Goethe/Hillmann 2008; statements by interviewees).

In the Ghanaian diaspora in Germany, however, the starting conditions for non-profit and economic engagement are much more difficult than those of better-established Ghanaians living abroad in the UK and the USA (cf. Orozco 2005; Arthur 2008). The majority of the Ghanaians in Germany are vastly underemployed, working in the low-income sector and are affected by the increasingly precarious situation of the living standards here in Germany.

For this reason, several Ghanaian associations founded in recent years see an urgent need for action in Germany with regard to improving educational opportunities and access to the labour market, especially for second-generation Ghanaians. In view of the difficult living situation of Ghanaian migrants and their families, some interviewees, as well as researchers (Nieswand 2008a; Goethe/Hillmann 2008), have raised criticism towards the exaggerated expectations raised by politics for development-policy engagement on the part of the diaspora, with regard to both individuals and associations. They report that Ghanaians living abroad frequently have to fulfil high obligations towards their families and relatives. In addition, they are expected to serve as a stopgap guarantor for the Ghanaian state or for development cooperation for necessary investments in social infrastructure (statements by interviewees).

In general, the development-policy potential of the Ghanaian diaspora is characterised by failure on the part of the German integration and migration policy of the past decades (Sieveking/Faist/Fauser 2008).

5.2. Remittances

5.2.1. Available data

Throughout the world, remittances are a central aspect of diaspora and development-policy approaches in origin and host countries. Ghana is now one of the top recipients of remittances from a globally dispersed diaspora. Private remittances are currently estimated to constitute more than one-sixth of the gross domestic product (Mazzucato 2008a, 2008b; Arthur 2008).

In order to assess the amount and use of remittances (as cash flows), two data sources must be distinguished, both of which have limited significance:

1. surveying migrants;
2. analysing macrodata on cash flows.

The methodology of assessing remittances based on individual interviews is time-consuming and is representative to only a limited extent. However, in contrast to the macrodata, individual surveys elicit both of official and informal money transfers.

In Germany to date, no systematic survey of migrants from Ghana⁴¹ or any other African country has been carried out that sheds light on migrants' patterns regarding the amount, objective and purpose of remittances.⁴² A larger number of Ghanaians living in Germany was surveyed as part of the above-mentioned comparative study on remittances (Orozco 2005).

An important source of data for estimating the amount, significance and impacts of remittances in Ghana is the Standard Living Survey, a country-wide survey of nearly 6,000 households carried out by the Statistical Office in Ghana. The object of the survey is both international remittances, as well as those transferred within Ghana. While these data **do not allow specific statements to be made on the amount and use of remittances transferred between Germany and Ghana**, they do permit interesting conclusions to be made regarding the development-policy impact of remittances. For instance, a study by the World Bank based on the household survey concludes that remittances in Ghanaian households are considered to be one source of income among several sources. According to the study, the percentage of remittances spent on consumer goods and investments such as education and real estate is not disproportionately high (Adams et al. 2008). A study carried out in the Netherlands shows that the development-policy impact of remittances should be critically reconsidered in the context of poverty alleviation, because they benefit rural regions and poorer income groups less often (Mazzucato 2008a).

5.2.2. Data on remittances based on interviews with migrants

Amount and frequency of money transfers: According to the survey carried out by Schröder (2006), 90% of Ghanaians send money to Ghana, in some cases, more than half their income, and go into debt in order to fulfil their family's expectations. According to the study by Orozco (2005), the majority of the migrants support their families with regular money transfers on nearly a monthly basis. For example, well over half the Ghanaians surveyed in Germany sent money to Ghana eleven times a year, most of them in smaller amounts of less than 100 euros. According to statements by interviewees in the context of the study, there are very few Ghanaians who do not provide financial support in Ghana. Goethe/Hillmann's study on highly qualified Ghanaian education migrants who had lived in Germany for more than 20 years revealed that only two out of eleven interviewees actually send money to their families on a regular basis (Goethe/Hillmann 2008). These interviewees, who have good incomes, transfer money less often and the amount transferred is not necessarily higher. Thus, migrants with higher incomes and transnational networks do not automatically make larger remittances. Available resources may also be invested for education and training and for promoting opportunities for the second generation.

Beneficiaries and intended purpose: According to the study by Orozco (2005), the remittances generally

41 In contrast to Germany, where to date no systematic studies have been carried out on remittances sent by migrants from sub-Saharan Africa to their origin countries or regions, in the Netherlands remittance transfer patterns of Ghanaian migrants have been investigated. Within the Ghana TransNet Research Programme (2002 and 2005), 131 Ghanaians residing in the Netherlands, primarily in Amsterdam, were interviewed. At the same time, the recipients of the transfers were included in the study (Mazzucato 2008a).

42 More recent findings on money transfers by migrants to their origin countries are based on non-representative surveys of only a few people. Of particular interest are studies that investigate both migrants' remittance transfer patterns and the use of money transfers in Ghana (Mazzucato 2008a, 2008b). In the country studies carried out by GTZ for several diaspora communities in Germany (<https://www.gtz.de/de/themen/wirtschaft-beschaefigung/23881.htm>), remittances are a central aspect; however, in each case they are based on only 20 to 30 interviewees. The same is true for the studies carried out by Schröder (2006) and Herold (2008).

benefit the immediate relatives, especially the migrants' parents (46%). In many cases, siblings and parents-in-law are supported. Frequently, migrants also send money to their own children for their education and living expenses. A number of migrants also support the children of their siblings (cf. Table 7).

Table 6: Beneficiaries of remittances to Ghana by Ghanaian migrants in Germany

Of 241 Ghanaians interviewed in Germany, the responses were as follows:	
Husband/wife	16%
Mother/father	46%
Children	23%
Siblings	7%
Grandparents	3%
Other relatives	4%
Friends	1%

Source: Orozco 2005

The primary purpose of the remittances is to support the family's basic needs, such as food, clothing, child-rearing and health care. Money is also frequently transferred for family festivities and funerals. In addition, more than 40% of the Ghanaians surveyed said that they sent money for 'other activities', among them especially for real estate and school fees (cf. Table 8).

Table 7: Purpose of remittances to Ghana by Ghanaian migrants in Germany

(More than one answer possible)

Of 226 Ghanaians surveyed, responses were as follows:	
Food	89%
Clothing	22%
Education	47%
Housing	8%
Business	6%
Savings	5%
Other	40%

Source: Orozco 2005

Investments in real estate and business: In addition to financing education and training, building a house is one of the primary family obligations and often serves as security for return. For this reason, investing in real estate plays a major role in supporting the family. The rise in house construction measures can also be attributed to the fact that in the past, many Ghanaians have had a bad experience with the misappropriation of business investments by relatives and friends (Schröder 2006; interviewees). Houses that are built are primarily for the use of family members in Ghana, much less often as rental objects. In general, in comparison to the UK, the USA and the Netherlands, in Germany, investments in houses and business play a minor role (Orozco 2005).⁴³ In Orozco's comparative study, more than 13% of the interviewees in

⁴³ Based on the results of the study carried out by the Ghana TransNet research programme on remittances undertaken by Ghanaians living in the Netherlands, 44% of the remittances sent by Ghanaians living in the Netherlands are earmarked for the construction of their own house and one-quarter (28%) for securing their livelihood (Mazzucato 2008a).

Germany are paying off a property mortgage, while the percentage in the two English-speaking countries is more than twice this amount.

Table 8: Information on remittances for purposes other than support of the family

Of 110 Ghanaian migrants interviewed in Germany, the responses were as follows:	
Charitable purposes	22%
Political contributions	10%
Payments for real estate investment	18%
Payment of loans to maintain business	4%
School fees	82%

Source: Orozco 2005

5.2.3. Information on remittances based on macrodata

In a broader sense, remittances can also include goods. Goods shipped to the origin countries are not registered separately in the balance of payments. In Ghana, shipments of goods continue to play an important role, not only for commercial purposes, but also for private use. These goods primarily comprise electrical appliances, such as refrigerators, entertainment centres, computers and IT equipment (Schröder 2006, statements by interviewees).

Due to the unreliable data situation, it is not possible to estimate the **total volume of money transfer** undertaken by Ghanaians residing in Germany. While macrodata on remittances are registered by both the Deutsche Bundesbank and the Central Bank of Ghana, the poor data collection situation means they are incomplete.⁴⁴ While the data can be used to make statements about development trends, the plausibility of these statements is controversial.

Since the beginning of data collection of 'home transfers' undertaken by Ghanaians in Germany by the Bundesbank, from 1983 to 2007, only an increase in remittances from 10 to 12 million euros has been observed.⁴⁵ The volume of remittances sent by Ghanaians living abroad to Ghana has sharply risen in the past years. In some cases, the sharp increase can be attributed to improved data collection on the part of the commercial banks or the increased use of official channels for transfer (Table 9).

Table 9: Remittances to Ghana, 2000-2007 (million US dollars)

2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
32	46	44	65	82	99	105	105

Source: Migration and Remittances Factbook, compiled by Dlip Ratha and Zhimei Xu, World Bank 2008 <http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTPROSPECTS/Resources/334934-1199807908806/Ghana.pdf> (As of 24 October 2008)

⁴⁴ The volume of remittances transferred to Ghana is estimated by the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank and the Bank of Ghana, one of the few banks in Africa that collects data on private remittances. The statistics of the IMF and the World Bank are based on data from the Bank of Ghana.

⁴⁵ Cf. Table 2 in the Annex. The unpublished Bundesbank statistics register only the official payment flows of Ghanaian citizens, without taking the large number of naturalised Ghanaians into account. Only money transfers to foreign countries amounting to over EUR 12,500 have to be reported. Information on 'remittances by guest workers' are based on estimates which use the German Federal Employment Agency's statistics on the number of employees subject to social security contribution from Ghana.

In the literature, estimates on the percentage of informal remittances of the total volume of money transfers vary from one-half to two-thirds of the official amount recorded by the banks⁴⁶ (Mazzucato 2008a, Higazi 2005).

For Germany, too, the amount of unofficial remittances is also likely to be very high, because in this country, an ID must be shown in order to make an international money transfer. Undocumented migrants thus have no access to official money transfer in Germany. Afroshops, courier services, Forex Bureaus and networks of relatives and friends play a major role as informal transfer channels in Germany. In addition, larger sums of money are personally carried to Ghana during visits to the country (Orozco 2005, statements by interviewees).

It is now possible to call up the fees charged by a number of official financial institutions for money transfers to Ghana at the website www.geldtransfair.de. Very few of the interviewees had heard of this service, which has been available at no cost since the end of 2007. Some of the interviewees had reservations about the usefulness of this instrument, since the transfer fees charged by the banks were still high and the banking system in Ghana does not yet operate very well (cf. also Chapter 3.1.2.).

5.3. Business activities and investments

5.3.1. Range of business investments

The literature distinguishes between three types of transnational business activities (Zhou 2007), whose roles are more or less pronounced in the Ghanaian diaspora in Germany depending on the business sector:

- transfer businesses, which transfer goods and money between the origin and host country
- cultural and ethnic businesses, such as retail stores or restaurants that target the migrant community and import and sell groceries, cultural products and other goods from the origin country
- businesses set up through the capital or savings of returnees or diaspora members in the origin country.

Ghanaian migrants operate nearly only small or microenterprises that are situated in the first two sectors. Self-employment is often motivated by the poor conditions on the job market. In Germany, Ghanaians' business activities are frequently in freight and shipping between Germany and Ghana, as well as with other African countries. Especially in Hamburg, the Ruhr region and in the Rhine-Main metropolitan area, Ghanaians operate businesses in the international **transport and logistics industry** in their country of origin, as well as throughout the African continent, creating jobs in some cases. In the African-European shipping and trade sector, service providers of Ghanaian origin with special sectoral expertise offer legal or management consultancy or translation services.

Many afroshops and telephone shops with internet cafes, particularly in the Ghanaian centres such as Hamburg and Berlin, as well as in the Ruhr region and the Rhine-Main metropolitan area, are run by Ghanaians. In these areas, Ghanaians also frequently own art and handicraft shops, hair salons, as well as clothing and grocery booths at markets. In some cases, Ghanaians also operate small restaurants, bars and clubs. These small enterprises are often combined with an import/export business for various African products that are sought by members of the Ghanaian community, other Africans or the German population.

In recent years, the **import/export trade** with cars, electrical appliances and computers has become less lucrative due to the competition with cheap products from Asia. Starting up and operating taxi and transport businesses in Ghana, which played a significant role in the past, has also been compromised by cheaper delivery and import possibilities from Asia (statements by interviewees).

⁴⁶ In his study on money transfers, Mazzucato estimates that 64% of the total volume of remittances arrive in Ghana via informal transfer routes.

Business investments also take place in the **agriculture sector**, as well as in livestock trading. Agriculture has traditionally been one of the preferred subjects taken up by Ghanaian education migrants in Germany.⁴⁷ In addition to capital, Ghanaians educated in Germany contribute technical expertise and business skills to these business activities. Examples of these kinds of business start-ups in the agriculture sector and food industry are the establishment of a poultry farm, a fish farm, egg production, as well as cultivation and processing of tomatoes and citrus fruits. Plants such as medicinal herbs and nuts are cultivated and processed for medicinal and cosmetic use (cf. Schröder 2006 and our own interviews).

According to several of the interviewees, the **tourism and real estate sector** is a slowly growing area for investments. Ghanaians living in Germany invest in small hotels and restaurants and offer other services, such as guided tours for tourists. Today, migrants who have already built a house for their family also invest in real estate they rent out as private dwellings or for commercial purposes.

While the investment climate has improved due to the economic stabilisation of the recent years, there continue to be reservations regarding aspects such as legal security. According to several interviewees, there is potential for specialised business start-ups both among the experts and academics trained and educated in Germany, as well as in the growing second generation of Ghanaian migrants. Business ideas for services and products exist for areas such as the IT sector, the mining industry and mineralogy, as well as natural medical treatments.

The Diaspora Fund, to my knowledge the only one of its kind in Germany, was founded in 2007 as part of the African Youth Foundation (cf. also Chapter 5.1.1.). In this investment fund, money from the African diaspora is collected that is intended for use for projects in the area of infrastructure and income-generating measures. A conference is planned for June 2009 in order to present the Diaspora Fund's activities to the public. The African Youth Foundation has given the ADLER AWARD to economically successful members of the African diaspora on an annual basis since 2005.

5.3.2. Obstacles to and positive factors for business activities

According to several interviewees, many Ghanaians fail as entrepreneurs because they cannot adequately control company operations and finances from a distance. There is a wide range of reasons for the difficulties or failure of private sector investments, and in many cases, they correspond to the experience of other diaspora communities (e.g. Schüttler 2006, Schmelz 2007). The following challenges were reported in the interviews:

- reliability of partnerships, cooperations;
- different business culture and ethics;
- lack of professionalism, flexibility and commitment;
- inadequate technical and sectoral expertise, market assessment and business know-how;
- miscalculation, mismanagement and misappropriation of money;
- lack of legal security and transparency of administrative procedures and corruption, for instance, tedious approval procedures, unclarified land-use rights and certificates;
- high production costs in comparison to other countries;
- high taxes and customs duties;
- corruption;
- inadequate capital endowment and underdeveloped capital market, as well as difficult local financing conditions.

⁴⁷ Cf. Table 2 in the Annex.

According to the interviewees, the lack of capital endowment and local presence constitute the largest obstacles to expanding or starting up businesses.

Business investments require sufficient capital and a certain scope of action in order to cope with losses over a longer period of time. In Germany, most Ghanaians have low incomes, since they work in the low-income sector. Thus the lack of capital endowment and the low level of creditworthiness on the German capital market is a fundamental problem. The capital market in Ghana is not an alternative, because the base rates and inflation are high (statements by interviewees).

When starting up a business, local presence and control are essential, both in the development phase and in the further course of the business. Family ties in Germany and job commitments are not enough to guarantee ongoing advice and support for the development of the business on the ground. It is not possible to intervene promptly when problems arise. Crucial decisions are blocked or prevented. In addition, after years away from Ghana, it is often difficult to clearly assess the local market situation and administrative conditions.

In the meantime, positive factors and an increasing confidence in the market situation and the investment climate can also be observed that may be able to attract further investments by Ghanaians living in Germany and in the other immigration countries. This is attested to by the growth rates of the Ghanaian economy and efforts by the Ghanaian Government to promote investments by Ghanaians living abroad.

Given the different qualifications and financial resources of Ghanaians living abroad, the Ghanaians living in the UK, the USA and Canada invest on a larger scale than the level typically possible for the migrants living here in Germany (Arthur 2008; statements by interviewees).

5.4. Know-how and technology transfer

Germany and Ghana are connected by a long tradition of educating and training education migrants that started back in the 1960s. Many Ghanaian graduates of German universities returned to Ghana once they completed their degrees and now have positions of leadership in the government, the economy, politics and civil society. DAAD has more than 700 alumni in Ghana who are active in research and teaching and contribute to the transfer of knowledge and methodology and to innovation in the education and health care sector, the economy, the government and civil society.⁴⁸ However, even today little is known about the type and amount of technological and scientific transfer services performed by education migrants who have returned (Laaser 2008).⁴⁹ Many returnees go back to Germany or emigrate to third countries after several years, because in the medical and technology sectors in particular, the opportunities for innovations are limited due to the inadequate infrastructure (Martin 2005; Schröder 2006).⁵⁰

Today, very few **Ghanaian education migrants in Germany** are interested in undertaking a **full course of study**. However, the interviewees reported that post-graduate studies sponsored by DAAD in Germany were very attractive. Ghanaian students, who either pay study-related costs themselves or receive grants or scholarships, study **development-related continuing education courses** that have a positive impact on their professional careers upon their return to Ghana.

48 Special promotion programmes sponsored by DAAD for materials and equipment and advanced training allow returnees to undergo scientific advanced training and education and have short stays in Germany.

Due to the tight situation on the labour market in Ghana, in the past many returnees also became self-employed and used the skills and resources they acquired in Germany in this way (cf. interview with Head of Africa Department, DAAD).

49 The transfer of cultural capital has received little research attention to date, so that no systematic observations are available on the social and economic living conditions of returnees, their investment strategies, organisational forms and their technological and scientific transfer services (Laaser 2008).

50 A study on returnees (Martin 2005) describes the dissatisfaction on the part of re-migrants, who lament the lack of investment opportunities in their areas as university teachers or doctors. Frequently, this prompts Ghanaian university graduates to migrate to other countries, because they do not see any satisfactory job prospects in their origin country due to factors such as the lack of equipment, low wages, inadequate social security and difficult working conditions.

Know-how transfer in the case of the Ghanaian diaspora takes place on an individual basis and not via organised networks such as professional associations. The interview study carried out by Goethe/Hillmann (2008) with eleven highly skilled migrants who had come to Germany in the 1960s to study at a university showed that education migrants who have permanent residence permits in Germany become involved during their brief stays in Ghana on an ongoing basis, sharing their knowledge in courses and lectures. Medical doctors invest efforts in free treatment and shipment of donated medical devices and medicine.

The **transfer of know-how and methodology** takes place both in the context of **formal university cooperation** and in **informal exchanges**. Several university cooperations (exchange of academics, interns, etc.) between German universities and the Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology (KNUST) have been initiated or promoted in the past through the engagement by academics of Ghanaian origin, for example, in the area of medicine with the University of Ulm. In 1984, a cooperative course entitled the SPRING Programme (Spatial Planning for Regions in Growing Economies) was initiated between the University of Dortmund and KNUST. The programme has now become established as an independent course of study in Kumasi.

Highly qualified individuals who have high-level positions in academia or the health care sector in Germany do not restrict their involvement to Ghana, but are engaged in the cause of Africa as a whole. Prof. Charles Yankah, a head surgeon at the German Heart Institute Berlin, has established the African Cultural Institute (ACI) to support ways for African academics in Germany to apply their know-how and skills in their regions of origin. Since 2004, the renowned specialist has offered continuing professional development courses on heart surgery and cardiological ultrasound diagnostics in eleven African countries. The week-long courses take place in different countries. They are attended by an average of 150 specialists and are simultaneously broadcast as a teleconference to several participating countries. Several well-known heart surgeons from European hospitals are involved in this continuing education project.

Prof. Bruce-Boye, a university professor of Ghanaian origin on the faculty of the Lübeck University for Applied Sciences, has established a multi-year training and consultancy programme for small and medium-sized enterprises in Ghana in order to promote IT solutions for automating various areas such as the production of food and beverages or wood processing. The programme is a Public-Private Partnership project between GTZ, the Lübeck University of Applied Sciences and private companies. At the same time, two course specialisations have been set up in the area of computer technology at KNUST in Kumasi. Currently, Prof. Bruce-Boye is planning a cooperation project as part of the certification of IT solutions that were developed in Ghana (statements by interviewees).

A wide variety of **forms are used to transfer know-how and methodology** Scientists of Ghanaian origin are involved in exchanges for teachers and professors, students and interns between Germany and Ghana. They invite specialists from Ghana to meetings, promote scholarships for post-graduates and post-doctoral students and researchers from Ghana and hold lectures and seminars in Ghana free of charge. In-kind donations, such as ICT, laboratory equipment and other teaching aids are also provided by Ghanaians in Germany who act as intermediaries.

6. Conclusions

In Germany, the Ghanaian diaspora is the **largest migrant group from sub-Saharan Africa**. For the most part, Ghanaian immigrants have come to Germany since the 1970s as asylum-seekers or as part of family reunification. In the meantime, there is a large number of young second and third-generation Ghanaians who are small children. The **living and income situation** of many immigrants from Ghana in Germany is characterised by employment in the low-income sector and by unemployment. Many Ghanaian immigrants in Germany have been demoted to lower-skilled jobs as a result of the migration process, and their hopes for promotion through education and training have remained unfulfilled.

For development and migration-policy-related reasons, **very few educational migrants with a German university degree** from Ghana have settled permanently in Germany. However, after their return to their country of origin, many graduates of German universities maintain contact to their specialities through DAAD's alumni work, church-sponsored scholarship programmes and as part of the German-Ghanaian returnee organisation. They also participate in continuing education courses and networking meetings and contribute to the transfer of know-how and technology between Germany and Ghana on a permanent basis.

The Ghanaian diaspora has a **high level of self-organisation**. In addition to informal, often ethnically oriented groups and the Ghana Unions, the churches serve as both central points of contact for community life in the Ghanaian diaspora as well as intermediaries for transnational connections and transfer activities. Membership in more than one of the various organisations on the part of the Ghanaian immigrants leads to well-functioning communication and networking among the migrant self-organisations.

Professional project and lobbying work by the Ghanaian diaspora requires a certain amount of capacity and financial support and cannot be achieved through volunteer work alone. While the establishment of viable structures for cooperation is supported by the Ghanaian embassy and the state government of North Rhine-Westphalia, there has not been any extensive financial support to date. Umbrella organisations such as the UGAG or the Ghana Council e.V., which is in the process of being founded, contribute to networking and exchange.

The members of the Ghanaian diaspora send **remittances**, carry out a wide range of **non-profit and private sector activities and are engaged in the transfer of know-how and technology**. With their support, they contribute to improving their families' income situation and standard of living, as well as the training and education of the up-and-coming generation in Ghana. They help to further expand the social and economic infrastructure of their places and regions of origin. Some highly skilled migrants with Ghanaian roots use their specialist expertise to promote **innovations** in their areas of specialisation, both in Ghana and in other African countries. In the areas of trade and forwarding, Ghanaians are the market leaders in the African diaspora in Germany and thus constitute an important potential for continued expansion of the trade relations between Germany and Ghana and between the continents of Africa and Europe.

The possibilities for future engagement that is relevant for development policy are dependent on continued growing confidence in transparent political and administrative and market-based structures and on the financial resources available to the migrants. A central prerequisite for private sector engagement is also access to information through suitable consulting authorities who can disseminate know-how based on business experience and which are particularly knowledgeable about the profile and market requirements of small and microenterprises.

7. Recommendations for action for development cooperation

Based on the profile of the Ghanaian diaspora, the potential for cooperation for DC can be expanded in various directions. Priority areas are constituted by the approaches in the area of know-how and technology transfer by highly qualified migrants in business, government and civil society and economic promotion in the trade and logistics sector. In order to develop opportunities for cooperation in these areas on a deeper level, more detailed analyses on the need for support and on promising approaches for action are needed. In addition, it must be taken into account that many transnational activities of Ghanaian diaspora members, especially in the areas of commerce and know-how and technology transfer, include other African countries besides Ghana. In their business activities, in university relations and in the area of technological innovations, highly qualified migrants of Ghanaian origin not only use professional networks involving fellow specialists from Germany and Ghana, but also tap into the expertise of specialists throughout Europe and Africa.

Based on the results of the study and the desire for support expressed in the interviews, **recommendations for action** are suggested below. The recommendations refer to both overarching and specific fields of action from the economic, non-profit and scientific and technological sectors in DC-diaspora cooperation and take aspects of migration-policy consultancy into account.

- Private sector investments are undertaken by both diaspora members and returnees. The precondition for business success is adequate capital endowment and a conducive investment and business climate in the country of origin. In the interviews it became clear that **procurement of capital and lack of credit opportunities**, as well as inadequate assessment or clarification of market conditions frequently hamper the realisation of new business ideas and the expansion of business activities. There is a need for support in the area of economic promotion, particularly for capital endowment, market analysis and marketing strategies of small and microenterprises, whose needs are not covered by existing advisory structures in Ghana and Germany, which generally support large-scale investments. For this reason, the extent to which business start-ups can be supported should be investigated, whether this support can be provided as part of already existing national programmes or promotional programmes sponsored by the donor community or rather through specifically developed training modules that could include teaching coaching and possibly credit opportunities for Ghanaian migrants.⁵¹ A needs analysis should take the know-how gained in programmes from the Netherlands and Italy, as well as experience with past German programmes, into account. The target groups of such programmes should not be limited to (highly) qualified migrants, but should rather include migrants with different levels of training and education, who offer a wide range of experience in various commercial and service sectors, as well as in the informal sector.
- In the area of **business promotion**, industry newcomers in Ghana can profit from the transfer of know-how from industry specialists from the diaspora or from successful returnees. When designing **mentoring and twinning projects** in the area of entrepreneurial activities (such as the Mentori programme), the specific qualifications profile and income situation of the Ghanaian diaspora in Germany should be taken into account. In Germany, in contrast to the English-speaking countries, it is nearly impossible to mobilise experts and managers with a Ghanaian migration background working in international companies whose voluntary engagement is supported by the company management. It should be established to what extent involving successful returnees and company owners of Ghanaian origin in the Mentori programme can facilitate the dissemination of experience-based know-how in certain sectors.
- **Know-how/technology transfer and innovations:** The expansion and development of virtual learning platforms can allow advanced training and specialist courses to be offered. Members of various African diaspora communities abroad are able to work together on an international basis and can consolidate and disseminate their expertise to several African countries simultaneously. The continuing education initiative offered by one of the head surgeons at the German Heart Institute Berlin could serve as a

51 Cf. e.g. Eckhardt 2003.

model for knowledge transfer and could be transferred to other disciplines. The initiator of the continuing education initiative would like to receive support from DC in the area of technical logistics.

The IT sector is a major field of action for development-policy contributions at the levels of development, application and use. At the department of automation engineering at the University of Lübeck, negotiations are currently under way for support for the certification of IT solutions developed in Ghana and other African countries. The goal is to make IT solutions developed in Africa more competitive for the international market. According to several representatives of associations, teaching computer literacy for disadvantaged youth and women is an important field of action for partnership initiatives in order to prevent large parts of the Ghanaian population from being excluded from the knowledge society of the 21st century.

The pool of more than 700 Ghanaian DAAD alumni⁵² and the German-Ghanaian returnee organisation provide expertise in a wide range of areas. Members constitute human resources for DC, especially in the promotion priority areas of good governance, sustainable economic development and agriculture. In addition, Sieveking/Fausser (2009) consider it to be imperative for Germany to be more strongly engaged in research cooperation, because the number of university students from Ghana is declining and other Western countries are very actively involved in research promotion in Ghana.

- Engagement by the African diaspora in Germany with regard to **collective remittances** is still rare.⁵³ The establishment of a Diaspora Fund by the African diaspora in the context of the Bonn-based African Youth Foundation is the only one of its kind. It was launched in cooperation with the JANERO Consultancy in 2007 and is currently in a pilot phase. Based on the exchange of experience and consultation process with this diaspora initiative and similar project initiatives in the EU-wide context, the possibilities and limits of collective remittances of the Ghanaian and African diaspora in the German context can be investigated.
- In the interviews, **the second generation of Ghanaian immigrants and young Ghanaian education migrants** were mentioned as promising actors for German-Ghanaian and European-African relations. Due to their background, which is often bicultural, they constitute a special target group and resource for voluntary development-policy work and DC in general and can become involved in social, cultural and economic promotion initiatives for the development of their parents' origin country or region. Many young second-generation immigrants with a Ghanaian or African migration background wish to become actively involved in the cause of Africa and can be useful as intercultural intermediaries and in their capacity to build bridges in Ghana's civil society and economy. In the dialogue between the relevant actors, experience to date and forms of voluntary and job-related engagement should be examined and refined. Summer schools and forums for dialogue among young second-generation migrants and their peers in Ghana on the theme of diaspora and migration could provide trend-setting impetuses.
- Ghana is a significant emigration and immigration country that to date does not have a coordinated migration policy, since the (e)migration and diaspora-related institutions are still under development. For **migration-policy consultancy** there are thus a number of possible approaches for action mentioned in statements by representatives of the Ghanaian Government, such as data management, skills auditing, labour migration and continuing brain drain, as well as migrants' safety in the context of irregular migration and return.
The **protection of migrants** on the dangerous migration routes to Europe and the protection of human rights in the European destination countries is a field of action that has received little attention to date in which the experience and **cooperation with the churches** could play a fundamental role.
- The approaches for cooperation between DC and the diaspora should involve not only the potential of the German diaspora community but also measures and lessons learned from countries with a larger

⁵² www.alumniportal-deutschland.org

⁵³ For example, the Cameroonian association of physicians, CAMFOMEDICS, is planning to develop a product in the area of health insurance.

Ghanaian diaspora. For example, the extent to which development-policy approaches and practical experience of other European governments that are currently being implemented via IOM in Ghana and supranationally in West Africa can be beneficial for refining diaspora cooperation in German DC should be investigated.⁵⁴ In mid-2008, the Dutch Government signed an agreement with IOM in order to enable 150 doctors from the Netherlands, the UK and Germany to temporarily return to their country of origin as part of the MIDA programme. In Italy, IOM is implementing a MIDA programme in Ghana and Senegal with the financial support by the Italian ministry for development cooperation. The programme has three components: implementation of projects, business start-ups and facilitation of remittances, including microfinancing⁵⁵ (cf. also Sieveking/Fausser 2009).

54 <http://www.iom.int/MIDA/#Ghana> (Accessed on 19 December 2008).

55 http://www.iom.int/jahia/webdav/shared/shared/mainsite/published_docs/brochures_and_info_sheets/fact_sheet_mida_july07.pdf (Accessed on 19 December 2008).

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- Zhou, Min (2007):** Revisiting Ethnic Entrepreneurship. Convergencies, Controversies and Conceptual Advancements, in: Portes/DeWind (eds.): *Rethinking Migration*, pp. 217-253.

Links to websites of important organisations and programmes related to Ghana

African Youth Foundation www.ayf.de

Africa Recruit www.africarecruit.com

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

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

Centre of Migration Studies, University of Ghana www.cmsgh.org/

Ministry of Interior www.ghana.gov.gh

Ghana Immigration Service <http://www.ghanaimmigration.org>

Ghana Investment Promotion Council www.gipc.org.gh

IOM/Ghana <http://www.iom.int/ghana/index.html>

IOM/Migration for Development <http://www.iom.int/MIDA/>

Ministry of Tourism and Diasporan Relations www.touringghana.com

Websites offering information on Ghana www.ghanaweb.de, www.modernghana.de

Annex:**Table 1: Ghanaian citizens enrolled in German universities by subject area, winter term 2006/2007**

Subject area	Number of students	Percentage
Engineering	114	30.4
Mathematics and natural sciences	84	22.4
Agriculture, forestry and nutrition	41	10.9
Medicine	31	8.3
Law, economics sociology	65	17.3
Languages, linguistics and cultural studies	33	8.8
Sports and physical education	3	0.8
Art and fine arts	4	1.1
Total	375	100%
Female students	76	20.3

Table 2: Remittances from Germany to Ghana, 1983-2007 (million €)

Year	Remittances	Year	Remittances	Year	Remittances
1983	10	1992	10	2000	10
1984	5	1993	10	2001	12
1985	10	1994	5	2002	13
1986	15	1995	5	2003	13
1987	10	1996	11	2004	13
1988	10	1997	17	2005	12
1989	10	1998	18	2006	12
1990	10	1999	9	2007	12
1991	10	2000	10		

Source: Deutsche Bundesbank



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