

Loyalty beyond borders

The unceasing loyalty of the NPP Diaspora members to the homeland Ghana

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ABSTRACT

Stacey Ham Loyalty beyond borders: *The unceasing loyalty of the NPP Diaspora members to the homeland Ghana*

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This thesis analyses and explains the unceasing loyalty of the NPP Diaspora members in the Netherlands to their homeland Ghana. It presents the electoral and non-electoral activities of the members during the national elections in Ghana. Based on the individual characteristics of the respondents of the research, this thesis confirms that the expectation to return to Ghana is one of the motivations to engage in transnational political practices. This thesis also explains how being member of the NPP Diaspora is perceived as a way to improve the lives of friends and family in Ghana. Being a member of the NPP is also a form of political socialization. Some respondents were born in a family of NPP members. Furthermore, the evidence in this thesis suggest that the relationship between the NPP Diaspora and Ghana reinforces the engagement in transnational political practices. Besides from facilitating the return of the NPP Diaspora members, the sending state also treats the NPP Diaspora members as if they are an extended part of the homeland. Aside from that, the NPP Diaspora members are perceived as important sources to gain foreign currency. With respect to scientific relevance, this thesis shows how developing states can use diaspora members as a tool to improve their position in the international system. Based on the research findings, this thesis also questions the way in which democracy and citizenship are defined. Although this analysis is based on a case study which is not generalizable, it does give answer to why integration processes do not always succeed.

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1. Introduction

1.1 The puzzle

“(.)All of you Ghanaians, living abroad, members of the Diaspora, for want of a better term, constitute the single most important development partner of the nation. Currently, remittances from Ghanaians living abroad make up the third biggest foreign exchange inflow.” (Kufuor 2001)

During the opening speech of the Homecoming Summit in 2001, formal president of Ghana John Kufuor, leader of the New Patriotic Party (NPP), repeatedly emphasized the role of the members of the Ghanaian diaspora. He referred to them as important partners and contributors to the national development of Ghana. This important role is also the reason why the Homecoming Summit is organized in the first place. Having won the elections, the NPP party uses this summit to create a dialogue between the Ghanaian government and Ghanaians living abroad. This dialogue is mainly about the contribution of the Ghanaian diaspora to the advancement of the homeland. Thus, this summit is a tool of the NPP party to maintain its relationship with the members of the Ghanaian diaspora. For this same purpose, the NPP has established a wing called ‘NPP Diaspora’ which includes the NPP members living abroad.

During Ghana’s national elections of 2016, the current president and new leader of the NPP: Nana Akufo Addo visited different countries in Europe, including the Netherlands, to gain financial and political support from the NPP Diaspora members for the elections in Ghana. He successfully won the elections and became the new president of Ghana in January 2017. Therefore, another Homecoming Summit was organized in July 2017. The case of the current president Nana Akufo Addo demonstrates that the members of the Ghanaian diaspora are not only beneficial because of their remittances: They can also be good support for electoral campaigns. Nor is him reaching out for this support exceptional.

The Turkish government also tried to reach out to the Turkish diaspora in the Netherlands. In the spring of 2017, several Dutch media outlets reported on the Dutch government revoking the landing rights for the Turkish minister of foreign affairs, Mevlüt Cavusoglu. He had planned a rally in Rotterdam for people of Turkish origin living in the Netherlands. With this rally, President Erdogan attempted to mobilize support for the

referendum held on April 16 that would decide if the Turkish president would gain more power (Aljazeera 11 March 2017).

The fact that political leaders such as Erdogan and Akufo Addo reach out to diasporas abroad for political support seems to contradict the traditional concept of democracy based on a territorially defined nation-state. These two cases show that democracy is no longer territorially bounded but rather fluid and spanning across different states. The Ghanaians who supported president Nana Akufo Addo are citizens of the Netherlands. However, they remain loyal to their home country and the government of Ghana. Not only through remittances, but also by attending to these Homecoming Summits and financially supporting national electoral campaigns. These practices, which can be perceived as ways of expressing loyalty, are called transnational political practices which is defined by Ostergaard-Nielsen as follows:

“Various forms of direct cross-border participation in the politics of their country of origin by both migrants and refugees (such as voting and other support to political parties, participating in debates in the press), as well as their indirect participation via the political institutions of the host country (or international organizations)” (Ostergaard-Nielsen 2003: 762).

Transnational political practices are also evidence of the formation of transnational communities, which are challenging the traditional notions of the nation-state (Koopmans & Statham 2010: 3).

In this thesis, I focused on the Ghanaian NPP Diaspora members in the Netherlands, and the formation of such a community. In particular, I was interested in determining how their loyalty towards their country of origin is maintained and why this loyalty is important for the NPP Diaspora members in the Netherlands. Eventually my aim was to answer to the following question:

“What explains the loyalty of the NPP Diaspora members in the Netherlands to their homeland Ghana?”

In this chapter I discuss the scientific and societal relevance of this research. I also briefly discuss the theories that are used, and introduce the case study that is investigated in this thesis. Finally, I also present the methodology based upon which I conducted my analysis.

1.2 The relevance for IR studies and Europe

1.2.1 Scientific relevance

Analyzing transnational political practices of the Ghanaian diaspora enables us to critically reflect on and revise our understanding of sovereignty as shaped by Realism. Realists see states as individual and rational units who only aim to maximize their own interest, which is mainly about survival (Fierke, 2013:190). Furthermore, the state is seen as sovereign over a political community which consists of people with a single cultural tradition. It is perceived as a community that is attached to a bounded territory and in which nationality is used to bind citizens to the state (UNESCO 2017). Mandaville argues that realist scholars are ignoring the fact that there are many spaces and layers of politics because they perceive the political as something which is only legitimate when it arises from the state (Mandaville 1999: 656).

There have been more contemporary approaches that have questioned these assumptions of Realism. Constructivists for examples do not see states as just a monolithic unit that is only acting in self-interest. They argue that states can only exist within a certain social structure which is created by states themselves through interaction with each other (Fierke 2013:190). For example, a sovereign state exists only when there is a shared understanding about the concept of sovereignty, and if a state is recognized as such based on these shared understandings (ibid.). Because of this social structure, states as well as individuals can influence their environment, but are also influenced by their environment which Fierke describes as mutual constitution (Fierke 2013:191). Thus, concepts like sovereignty or citizenship are socially constructed by states and individuals. Constructivism does lead us in the right direction when revising the concept of sovereignty. However, more empirical study is needed to really understand why this concept should be perceived differently. The case study of the Ghanaian NPP Diaspora can offer insights in this respect.

Ghanaians settling all over the world while remaining loyal to the homeland shows us that states do not necessarily have a community that is bounded by territory. Individuals move and create transnational ties. Laguerre explains this by stating that: *“The nation has outgrown the state because of its diasporic tentacles”* (Laguerre 1999:635). Even though the state still exists between certain territorial boundaries, the nation is no longer bounded to one territory but exists out of many different territories which are perceived as transnational sites (Laguerre 1999:646). This study gives us insight in these transnational sites and interactions within a

state, so that we can get an understanding of the transformation of the concept of nation-state within the international system.

From this study we can also learn that the concept of citizenship is interpreted in different ways by the members of the Ghanaian NPP Diaspora. Citizenship does not automatically assure loyalty to the state of residence. The state is not an individual unit in which everyone serves the national interest. It consists of different people who, like the NPP Diaspora members, might serve the interest of other states.

1.2.2 Societal relevance

With regard to societal relevance, this study provides insights with respect to integration processes of migrant groups in the Netherlands and in other European countries. It helps us understand to what extent transnational political practices influence integration processes. Certain studies have already examined the conditions under which migrants are likely to integrate due to certain factors in the country of residence. However, not enough empirical research has been done in Europe on the existing relation that migrants still have with their homeland. Therefore, this research can enhance the field of migration and integration studies by approaching it from a different perspective.

Aside from that, this thesis also sheds light on the impact that sending countries can have on migrants living elders. It enables us to understand the ways in which diaspora members can be a powerful tool for a sending state in order to improve the social and economic development of the homeland. It also reveals to what extent sending countries perceive migrants as part of the homeland, regardless of where they live.

Finally, this research also offers insights into diaspora networks and how diaspora members organize themselves across borders. It is not only useful for the Netherlands, but also for different EU countries to understand these networks and how they manifest in or outside the system.

1.3 Theoretical propositions with respect to homeland loyalty

The theoretical propositions that guide the analysis have been generated with the help of literature on transnational political practices. Before discussing my theoretical framework to explain the loyalty of NPP Diaspora members, I briefly discuss existing concepts related to the phenomena of transnational political practices.

Transnationalism itself is not a new concept within the academic literature. Discussion related to it, however, has intensified over the past decades (Itzigsohn 2000:1130). Ostergaard-Nielsen (2003) defines the field of transnational political practices as complex. With respect to diasporas, the author observes that their practices are influenced by their multilevel institutional environment (Ostergaard-Nielsen, 2003: 760). This environment is constituted by common or non-common interests of political authorities of the country of origin as well as of the country of settlement (ibid). This multilevel institutional environment also includes other networks of non-state actors that are connected with transnational networks of diasporas as well as human rights regimes and norms (ibid). Moreover, it shapes the ways in which transnational networks of diasporas work and it also shapes the message that they try to deliver (Ostergaard-Nielsen, 2003:761).

There are many explanations for the emergence of transnational political practices. One of them is the increased speed of communication, and the decrease of prices for long distance travel. These developments are seen as structural developments that have contributed to the emergence of transnational communities and diasporas (Koopmans & Statham 2010:7). Through these new structural developments, diasporas are able to maintain ties across national boundaries. For example, they continuously cross-national boundaries electronically, financially and physically and in this way, establish and maintain a transnational political world (Koopmans & Statham 2010:7). Koopmans & Statham (2010) assume that this behavior of diasporas is eroding the capacity of nation-states to politically form diaspora members in line with the national identity of the nation-state. Nation-states are losing the power to form and maintain a community which is bonded by nationality.

In addition to the practices of diasporas, general categorizations have been advanced in the literature to distinguish the interests of those engaged in transnational political practices. Ostergaard-Nielsen (2003) has introduced five types of issues that, in her eyes, are of greatest concern to diasporas. The first one is *immigrant politics*, which is mostly focused on the politics

in the country of residence. Diasporas are mostly active on this issue to better their situation in the country of residence (Ostergaard-Nielsen 2003:762). This does not really fit the image of the NPP Diaspora members in the Netherlands, because it is not self-evident for this group to speak out, or even engage in such issues in the Netherlands. Furthermore, there is no evidence that proves that they have ever plead for the improvement of immigrant issues. They seem to be a predominantly silent community. Therefore, I do not expect them to be active in this type of politics.

The second type of issue is *homeland politics*. In this case, political activities are based on supporting or opposing the current political regime in the homeland and its foreign policy goals (ibid.). With political activities such as being a member of a political party, the NPP Diaspora members show their political support for the NPP government in Ghana. Also, when another party is in power, the NPP Diaspora members will try to oppose that current political regime to help the NPP government in regaining power. Therefore, homeland politics seems to be more in line with the NPP Diaspora members.

This political engagement of the NPP Diaspora members overlaps partially with the third type of issue which is *emigrant politics* which implicates diasporas who are socially, politically and economically engaged in their homeland. This might also be the case for NPP Diaspora members. As is further elaborated on in the second chapter, being a member of the NPP Diaspora requires these different types of engagement in the homeland, which are in line with the emigrant politics. In this thesis, I limit myself to the study of political engagement, since quite a bit of research exists with respect to economic and social engagement.

The last two types of issues are *diaspora politics* and *translocal politics*. The former can be seen as a subset of homeland politics. It includes the group that is excluded from direct participation in the homeland's political system or does not even have their own homeland political regime (Ostergaard-Nielsen 2003:763). Translocal politics are based on initiatives from diasporas to improve the situation in local communities.

While not all of these types might apply to the NPP Diaspora group in the Netherlands, the categorization by Ostergaard-Nielsen nevertheless proved useful to structure the interviews with diaspora members and gain insights into important issues to them and how being a member of the NPP Diaspora might also be helpful.

Finally, next to the issues of diasporas, select scholars also have advanced assumptions with respect to the reasons that motivate diasporas to engage in political practices (Guarnizo, Portes,

and Haller 2003:1215). Taken together, they can be divided into three categories: individual characteristics, migration context and social context. The motives of diasporas members are also of interest in my thesis. I examined the extent to which they apply to the NPP Diaspora members and used them to explain the continued loyalty that NPP Diaspora members exhibit towards their homeland Ghana. However, rather than exploring the social context as such, I examined the role of sending country as it seems to have a bigger role in transnational political practices. Based on the theoretical assumptions related to the different motives, I formulated a set of hypotheses.

1.4 The NPP political party and the NPP Diaspora branch in the Netherlands

For the analysis of transnational practices, I focused on the NPP Diaspora branch in the Netherlands and its Ghanaian members. There are about 23.000 Ghanaians living in the Netherlands, excluding the ones who do not have a residence permit (Obbink 2017). Even though they are strongly represented in the Netherlands, especially in Amsterdam, they are rarely discussed. They are often called ‘silent migrants’ who do not really speak up in society (ibid). Amma Asante, former politician of the Dutch political party PVDA, states that the Ghanaian community is very closed and prudent (ibid.). When it comes to domestic politics, however, they are not that silent. The current elections endorse this. In the past, the Ghanaian expats even gained voting rights in national elections while living abroad, as is further discussed in this paragraph. Thus, it seems as if they are more engaged in their homeland politics than in those of the country of residence. When we dive into history, it becomes clearer why they became more political engaged in the first place.

According to Mohan (2006), many Ghanaian diaspora associations were linked to opposition forces against the former president Jerry Rawlings and his National Democratic Congress party (NDC). Most Ghanaian migrants had fled the country because of political persecution or economic uncertainty during the Rawlings era (Mohan 2006:878). Having fled, members of the Ghanaian diaspora pleaded for dual citizenship for Ghanaians living abroad which they were granted in 1992 (Whitaker 2001:769). However, it would take until 2005 for the law to be implemented by the NPP government (ibid.). The NPP is the opposition party of the NDC party in Ghana. The constitution of President Rawlings refused the implementation of dual citizenship (ibid.). However, the NPP has focused on institutionalizing and strengthening the state’s relationship with diaspora communities and associations (ibid.). Therefore, it is not

a coincidence that this party eventually implemented dual citizenship for Ghanaians living abroad.

Thus, this case shows us that the first engagement in transnational politics could be seen as an insurgency against President Rawlings. In order to vote him off, one needed the power to vote. With the emergence of the NPP, many doors have been opened for the Ghanaian diaspora to stay engaged in the homeland politics. This dual citizenship implementation has enabled many Ghanaians to participate in the politics of their homeland.

However, transnational political practices are not only in the interest of the Ghanaian diaspora. The Ghanaian government, especially under the rule of NPP, also benefits from it. By now, major Ghanaian political parties rely on migrants for votes and more importantly, for campaign contributions (Whitaker 2006:772). The 'NPP Diaspora' wing of the NPP has branches spread over different countries including the Netherlands. For now, it is certain that there is an NPP Diaspora branch in The Hague and in Amsterdam. The current president of Ghana and party leader of NPP recently organized a congress called Ghana Homecoming Summit '17 for all these branches. During this summit, the NPP Diaspora members across the globe were invited to Accra to hear about their opportunities in business and other career possibilities if they return to Ghana. This summit offers an illustrative example not only of how both the NPP Diaspora and the government of Ghana benefit from transnational political practices, but also how transnational political practices are reinforced by the NPP Diaspora as well as by the NPP government of Ghana. Therefore, to answer the research question, I focused on both the role of the NPP government in Ghana as well as the role of the diaspora members in the reinforcement of political transnationalism.

1.5 Qualitative research format

The aim of this thesis is to test if the three assumptions: the individual characteristics, the context of migration and the role of the sending state, can be applied on the case of the NPP Diaspora branch in the Netherlands. Therefore, this thesis is based on a theory testing research. Because of limited access and time, a case study with a small N is conducted. The NPP Diaspora branch in the Netherlands is selected as a case because it exhibits many of the characteristics of transnational political practices and enables us to obtain a better understanding of this phenomenon.

In line with conducting a case study, the methods that are used are based on qualitative research. The most engaged NPP Diaspora members are selected for in-depth interviews in order to explore what motivations can lead to the engagement in transnational political practices. Furthermore, documents with respect to the role of the NPP government in Ghana are collected from www.ghanaweb.com and are analyzed. These documents include online news articles and party manifestos of the NPP.

Finally, the timeframe of this research is from the year 2000 until 2016. NPP was in power from 2000 until 2008. After 2008, they were in opposition until the recent elections. They have regained power since 2016. Based on these facts, this time frame enables us to reflect on how the NPP government, when in power, influences the engagement of the NPP Diaspora members in transnational political practices. Because the NPP lost power in 2008, this time frame also provides insight in the process of transnational political engagement of the NPP members, when their party is in the opposition. I elaborate more on the methodology in chapter three.

2. The field of political transnationalism

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter I introduce some theories and ideas of different authors, related to transnational political practices, which enabled me to construct hypotheses. I start with literature on how transnational political practices manifest themselves. This literature is used to operationalize the dependent variable which is the unceasing loyalty of the NPP Diaspora members towards the homeland. Aside from that, I present the three main actors that contribute to the manifestation of transnational political practices in order to identify them in this case study. Furthermore, I discuss three factors to explain migrants' behavior concerning transnational political practices and their loyalty to their home country government.

The first factor pertains to individual characteristics of migrants who engage in transnational political practices. The second factor relates to the context of migration, which enables or motivates migrants to become active in transnational politics. The third factor defines the role that the sending countries can play in engaging migrants in transnational political practices. Together, these factors are the independent variables to explain the dependent variable —transnational political practices as an indicator for loyalty.

2.2 Theoretical perspectives related to transnational political practices

In this section, the theoretical perspectives of different authors concerning various dimensions related to transnational political practices is discussed. These concern the manifestation of transnational political practices as well as the widespread institutional pattern of transnational politics. Finally, I elaborate further on the three main factors concerning transnational political practices and deduce three hypotheses from them.

Manifestations of transnational political practices

Transnational political practices are different forms of direct cross-border participation by migrants in the politics of their homeland (Ostergaard-Nielsen 2003:762). Guarnizo et al. (2003) distinguish two types of transnational political practices: 'electoral activities' and 'non-electoral activities'. The former includes being a member of a political party in the country of origin, sending money to this party and being actively involved in the political campaigns of the country of origin (Guarnizo, Portes, Haller 2003:1223). 'Non-electoral activities' entail that one is a member of a civic association in the hometown, that one contributes to civic projects

in a community of the homeland by sending money, and that one is a regular member of different charity organizations that sponsors projects in the country of origin (ibid.). The latter is seen as political because of the influence it has on regional and local governments in their decision on which public project will receive the financial support of diaspora members (Guarnizo, Portes, Haller 2003:1223). In this way they force authorities to take the priorities and wishes of the diaspora into account.

Because the field of transnational political practices consists of many different phenomena, recent studies have also tried to classify transnational political practices based on the intensity of the field (Burgess 2014:26). On the one hand, when the intensity of transnational political practices is very high, it can be labeled as “narrow” transnational practices. This refers to actual membership of hometown parties or associations (Ostergaard-Nielsen, 2003: 761). ‘Broad’ transnational political practices on the other hand is when migrants just participate in events or meetings occasionally (ibid.). Other words used to classify the intensity of transnational political practices are ‘core’, which is the same as narrow, and ‘expanded’ which is the same as ‘broad’ (ibid.). Ostergaard-Nielsen (2003) argues that there are more migrants who are engaged in broad political transnationalism than migrants who are engaged in narrow political transnationalism. Thus, many migrants have sporadic engagement and are mostly moved by actors and political events in the country of origin (Ostergaard- Nielsen 2003:762).

Regardless of how narrow or broad their engagement intensity is, migrants can influence political processes in the country of origin in many ways, even if they do not have as many political rights as the locals (Burgess 2014:15). They do this in indirect ways by, for example, advocacy, expatriate voting, and party activism or by simply shaping the political behavior of family and friends in the homeland (ibid.). Issue advocacy is one of the main types of transnational political practices (Burgess 2014:28). It is based on migrants who demand the reform of policies in the country of origin (ibid.). This is mostly done collectively, especially when migrants have direct access to policymakers (ibid.). The most common issues that migrants advocate for are issues that affect them directly (Burgess 2014:29). Examples are protection against migrant abuses or voting rights for migrants living abroad, but they also advocate for certain domestic reforms like anti-corruption strategies (ibid.).

Another main transnational political practice is getting engaged in electoral politics in the country of origin (Burgess 2014:26). Even without voting rights, support can be shown in the form of donating money to the campaign of a certain political party. Above all, voting is the

most direct form of a migrant's political engagement. However, it depends on the extent to which voting rights are given by the country of origin.

Three main institutional actors

Itzigsohn (2000) introduces the idea that transnational politics have a widespread institutional pattern as illustrated in table 2.1., which contains three main institutional actors. First, you have the immigrant organizations in the country of residence, next to that, there is the administration of the country of origin, and the third type of actor is the political party in the country of origin (Itzigsohn, 2000:1131). Each of these actors individually and together construct and reproduce transnationalism.

TABLE 2 MAIN INSTITUTIONAL ACTORS IN TRANSNATIONAL POLITICAL FIELDS		
INSTITUTIONAL ACTORS	INCENTIVES FOR PARTICIPATION IN TRANSNATIONAL POLITICS	INTERESTS IN TRANSNATIONAL POLITICAL FIELD
States of origin	Current form of insertion in the world economy	Guarantee the flow of remittances. Promote investment by migrants. Mobilize support of immigrants as lobbyist in the host country.
Political parties in country of origin	Consolidation of competitive party politics. Presence of large constituencies residing abroad	Mobilize financial and political support among immigrants.
Immigrant organizations	Attachment to home country Limits to mobility and integration in host country.	Extend the field of citizenship Participate in local development Validate newly acquired status Escape racialization.

Table 1: Main Institutional Actors in Transnational Political Fields (adapted from Itzigsohn 2000: 1140)

2.3 Reinforcing factors of homeland loyalty

Aside from the theoretical perspectives on the manifestations of transnational political practices and the main actors of this development, there is also literature on the different factors that reinforce this engagement. Guarnizo et al. (2003), present three factors with the help of which immigrant transnationalism can be explained (Guarnizo, Portes, and Haller 2003:1215). They include the role of individual factors in the assimilation of immigrants, theories about the way in which migrants are embedded in their context, and the social network theory. In this thesis I focused on the former two—individual and contextual factors—and added the role of the sending country as a third factor because the sending country plays an important role in transnational politics. The individual aspect is important for this research to select the people for the interviews and to see if there is a general link in their personal motivations of engaging in transnational political practices. Aside from that, the context of migration is also assumed to be important to analyze what characteristic of the host country might reinforce engagement in transnational political practices.

The social network theory is based on the assumption that migrants with a larger social network, existing of people with the same ethnicity in the country of residence, will be more engaged in transnational political practices. This dimension is not explored in this thesis as it would not only be time-consuming to define the size of the social network of every individual, but also afford a large-N-study to decide what impact social network has on transnational political practices.

2.3.1. Individual characteristics

According to different authors, there are certain personal characteristics of migrants that might influence their engagement in transnational political practices (Guarnizo, Portes, and Haller 2003:1215). The first theory is based on the idea that the length of stay in the country of residence might weaken the engagement in transnational political practices. Thus, the longer the migrant is in the country of residence, the less likely it becomes that he or she will engage in transnational political practices (Guarnizo, Portes, and Haller 2003:1216). However, the empirical research of Guarnizo et al. (2003) shows that length of residence actually increases involvement of interest in the homeland politics (Guarnizo, Portes, Haller 2003:1238). This is because through transnational activism, migrants can reproduce the respect for civil rights and

institutional practices and discourses of integrity that they have learned in the host country, in the national and local politics of the homeland (Guarnizo, Portes, and Haller 2003:1239). The longer they stay, the newer political insights they get, which they can try to implement in the homeland politics. Thus, there is a contradiction between the two theories. Both theories acknowledge that length of stay plays a role in transnational political practices. There is however, a disagreement on which length is needed to reinforce engagement. Therefore, more empirical research is needed in order to reach a consensus.

Socially Expected Duration (SED) might also play an important role in the behavior of migrants. This is the expectation that migrants and their friends and family have about the duration of the stay in the country of residence (Guarnizo, Portes, and Haller 2003:1217). When there is a strong expectation of returning back to the homeland, migrants are less likely to establish themselves in the country of residence because they are focused on saving money for investments in the homeland. This SED helps to preserve ties with the homeland (ibid.). Therefore, it might be useful in this case to compare the SED with the extent of engagement in transnational political practices

There is also the notion that education plays an important role in the choices of the migrant. In the first place there was this idea that the more educated a migrant is, the less likely one is to remain focused on the homeland politics. Thus, education would lead to more focus on politics in the country of residence (Guarnizo, Portes, and Haller 2003:1216). This notion has now been disproved because research has shown that migrants who were already active or interested in the politics of the country of origin maintain this interest after moving to the country of residence. Also, educated migrants are more proficient in keeping themselves updated on events in the homeland and finding ways to play a role in them (Guarnizo, Portes, and Haller 2003:1229). Thus, a higher education should lead to a stronger engagement in political transnationalism.

Furthermore, gender is also frequently mentioned as an important factor that might influence whether one assimilates or stays engaged in homeland politics. In general, migration leads to a change in the household of the migrants. Men lose their status as the only income producer because women become paid workers. This changes the way in how women are perceived by men and how women perceive themselves (Guarnizo, Portes, and Haller 2003:1216). Because migration seems to improve the status of women, they are less likely to engage in transnational political practices than men. They gain more status in the country of

residence than they had in their country of origin. Men, however, tend to lose more in status when migrating and, therefore, are assumed to compensate for this by engaging in ethnic organizations that are focused on the homeland more often (ibid.).

There are many reasons why members of a diaspora want to stay engaged with the country of origin. Laguerre lists inward and outward goals as reasons why this engagement with the homeland remains (Laguerre 1999: 636). Inward goals are when migrant participate in transnational political practices because they want to maintain the memory of their homeland or because they want to help their country of origin in any way that they can (ibid.). Outward goals, by comparison, have to do with acting in response to requests from the government or family members (ibid.).

H1: Members of the NPP Diaspora who engage in transnational political practices and feel loyal to their home country can be expected to be predominantly politically educated male and to have expectations of returning to their homeland.

2.3.2. Context of migration

The second factor from which the engagement in political transnationalism can be drawn is the context in which diaspora members act. Even though the country of origin plays an important role in transnational political practices, Ostergaard-Nielsen (2003) argues that the political and societal-institutional context in the country of residence is just as important (Ostergaard-Nielsen 2003:767).

The national system of migrant incorporation in the country of residence might influence the engagement in transnational political practices (Ostergaard- Nielsen 2003:768). Especially when it comes to political opportunity structures, which is about the opportunities that migrants have in a state to get political rights such as voting or running for elections. These structures can be exclusive, thus making it almost impossible for migrants to gain these rights, or inclusive, which means that migrants can gain these rights easily. For the former, Ostergaard-Nielsen (2003) uses Germany as example, where migrants, categorized as foreigners, have to nationalize in order to get political rights (Ostergaard-Nielsen 2003:768). Scholars have argued that this exclusive system might reinforce a migrant's transnational orientation (Abadan-Unat 1997). Within different literature there is the notion that when a migrant has experienced a

negative reception because of discrimination or hostility, he or she will be more likely to maintain the ties with the homeland (Guarnizo, Portes, and Haller 2003:1218).

A multicultural incorporation regime, which is characteristic of the Netherlands, might also be conducive for transnational orientation. This regime entails multicultural rights, which are special rights or exemptions from duties that migrants receive because of their religious or/and cultural differences from the rest of society (Koopmans & Statham 2010:15). They allow new citizens to preserve their cultural identities and express these in the public sphere and through institutions like school systems. Dual citizenship is one of these rights. It enables Ghanaian diaspora members to enjoy many of the same political rights as Ghanaian citizens who actually live in Ghana (Whitaker 2011). This makes it easier for migrants to stay engaged in transnational political practices and in that way, remain loyal to their homeland after settling in another state. Thus, both national systems of migration incorporation can promote transnational political practices in various ways.

H2: We should expect members of the NPP Diaspora living in the Netherlands with either a dual citizenship or Ghanaian nationality to be more engaged in transnational political practices than NPP Diaspora members with only a Dutch nationality.

2.3.3. The sending country

The sending country also plays a role in transnational developments. Smith distinguishes two different ways of interaction between the sending state and members of diaspora. There is a distinction made between global nation policies and homeland policies. Global nation policies mean that the sending state implements policies that encourage migrants to stay abroad but to stay in touch. With homeland policies however, the sending state implements policies to create institutions aimed at preparing migrants for return (Ostergaard-Nielsen 2003:766). Both categories might influence the reinforcement of engagement in homeland politics. With the organization of the Homecoming Summit, one could predict that the Ghanaian government is more focused on homeland policies.

Laguerre (1999) has also introduced five models that indicate different forms of interaction between diaspora and state (Laguerre 1999:646). The ethnic model, the economic model, the political opposition model, the reincorporation model and the transnational model.

The first model is the ethnic model. In this model, the relation between the homeland and the diaspora is maintained by the diaspora. The purpose of this relationship is to strengthen the position of the diaspora in the country of residence. The diaspora also preserves this relationship to position itself as an ethnic group that needs special rights. Here, the homeland is perceived as a symbol that defines and legitimizes the ethnic identity of the group. For example, it can be used for the demand of bilingual education in the country of residence (Laguerre 1999:638).

The second model is the economic model. In this model, the government of the sending state perceives the diaspora as a source for money. The government preserves the ties with the diaspora to extract foreign currency for the national economic development. In order to get a share from the diaspora, the sending state can put tax on travel expenses or remittances. This relationship keeps the financial markets of the homeland stable (Laguerre 1999: 639)

Aside from that, there is the political opposition model. In this model the sending country perceives the diaspora as a threat that has the purpose to overthrow the government or to do harm to it in any other way. Mostly this is the case, which makes the relationship between the diaspora and the government of the homeland very tense. Diaspora members can undertake different actions such as influencing the public opinion, in order to liberate the homeland from a certain political leader (ibid.).

Another model is the reincorporation model (Laguerre 1999:637) which is in line with homeland policies introduced by Smith (Ostergaard-Nielsen 2003:766). It implies the intention of the sending state to welcome diaspora members back to the homeland. In this situation, the country of origin takes action to enable the diasporic population to return back home (ibid.). The sending state may take different measures such as paying for the trip to the homeland, in order to facilitate the return of diaspora members (Laguerre 1999:637). It may vary in being a step by step process or a big change.

The last model is the transnational model. In this model, the boundaries between the diaspora and the state are blurred (Laguerre 1999:640). This means that the state perceives the diaspora group as a community that is part of the homeland. This makes the diaspora community a trans-nation; an extended part of the nation. It implies that border-crossing practices like practicing a profession or occupying a certain position in the homeland while living abroad, are normalized (Laguerre 1999: 641). Thus, diaspora members maintain a double allegiance to the country of residence as well as to the sending country (ibid.). They work in both states and serve both states.

Furthermore, governments as well as political parties rely on political and economic support from migrants (Ostergaard-Nielsen 2003:767). Many states have used different strategies to get financial investments from migrants or to include migrants in domestic politics. Itzigsohn (2000) argues, that the country of origin is the main institution that shapes the transnational field, with the goal to guarantee the flow of remittances (Itzigsohn 2000: 1143).

Political parties of the homeland are a second group of actors that also play a big role in the constitution of the transnational political field (Itzigsohn 2000:1144). They are mainly interested in getting financial and political support. One main example is giving citizens living abroad extended political rights (Ostergaard Nielsen 2003:766). Whitaker (2011) argues that the most common diaspora engagement strategy is the adoption of dual citizenship laws (Whitaker 2011:755). In the case of African governments, dual citizenship is seen as a mean to not only engage diaspora, but also to increase remittances and investment. Besides that, it also enables African politicians to rally funding and support for their campaigns (Whitaker 2011:756).

Aside from this, there is also another factor in the interaction between diaspora and the homeland that can lead to transnational political practices. When it comes to members of the Ghana diaspora, Giles Mohan (2006) argues that there is this general idea amongst Ghanaian migrants to ‘return back home’ one day, even if it is only to be buried in Ghana (Mohan 2006:867). Therefore, it seems to be a social obligation and a strong moral obligation to keep connected with home and support in any way possible (ibid.). Mohan has done research on the politics of these obligations. In this case, obligation is seen as social actions that an individual has to undertake by which failure will lead to social disapproval of family and friends in the homeland (Parekh 1996:264).

Obligation might be acquired by being member of a group, community or an organization (Mohan 2006:871). When it comes to the obligations that migrants have, it is mostly based on ‘repaying’ the people who made it possible for the migrant to move to another country (ibid.). Mohan calls this “calculative obligation” (Mohan 2006:871). This also includes: supporting in welfare of friends and family back home, to ensure that when migrants return home after they retire, someone will also take care of them (ibid.). Obligations are part of defining what it means to be a good member of a group and thus defining citizenship (Mohan 2006:880). This does not preclude that the identities of diasporic political communities have multiple relations and obligations and are thus very fluid (ibid.). Other authors also mention

obligations or the feeling of having obligations as a drive to maintain ties and engage in homeland politics. Engagement in transnational political practices are means that migrants can use to respond to the (social) obligations that they have in the country of origin (Guarnizo, Portes, and Haller 2003:1239).

H3: We should expect that the reincorporation model and the transnational model of Ghana as a sending country encourages transnational political practices of the diaspora members.

2.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, three hypotheses have been developed based on the three factors that scholars consider relevant for diaspora members to engage in transnational political practices. These hypotheses address individual characteristics of a NPP Diaspora member, their status in the receiving country and what we can expect from the role of the sending country. These hypotheses will be operationalized in the next chapter so that they can be applied to the case study. The theories which are not explicitly mentioned in the hypotheses will be a scope through which the research will be done.

3. Methodology

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the methodological design of this research is presented. First, I operationalize the dependent variable. After that, I operationalize the independent variables, which I elaborated upon in the previous chapter. Secondly, following a brief discussion of the case study method, I explain why the case of the NPP Diaspora in the Netherlands is suited as a case. Furthermore, the methods that I used in order to gather data are conducting interviews, the congruence procedure and a document analysis. I explain why these methods are suited for this research and will also address the weaknesses of the chosen methods. My main data sources are the interview transcripts of the members of the NPP Diaspora in the Netherlands, the online newspapers from www.ghanaweb.com and the manifestos of the Ghanaian political party NPP.

3.2 The operationalization of loyalty and the three factors that maintain it

3.2.1. Defining loyalty

In this section, loyalty is operationalized in order to get measurable concepts. The research question of this thesis is:

“What explains the loyalty of the NPP Diaspora members in the Netherlands to their homeland Ghana?”

The NPP Diaspora is a wing of a Ghanaian political party called NPP. This department exist of Ghanaians living abroad. While it has branches in more than 21 different countries, in this thesis the focus is on the NPP Diaspora branch in the Netherlands. Loyalty manifests itself in the engagement in transnational political practices such as financially supporting the campaign of a political party in the homeland, voting during the homeland elections or staying updated when it comes to homeland politics.

To answer the research question, I will use transnational political practices as indicator for loyalty of the diaspora members and as the dependent variable. As mentioned in the literature in the previous chapter, there is a strong sense of social obligation within the Ghanaian diaspora members to stay connected to the homeland and support in any way possible, thus to stay loyal (Mohan 2006:867). Engagement in transnational political practices is a mean through which migrants can respond to the (social) obligations that they have in the country of origin (Guarnizo, Portes, and Haller 2003:1239). Therefore, transnational political practices are

operationalized by categorizing them into two main types of practices: ‘electoral activities’ and ‘non-electoral activities’.

First, electoral activities entail being a member of a political party of the homeland while living abroad. In addition, electoral activities may also entail sending money to support a political party of the homeland with their campaign. Furthermore, being actively involved in political campaigns of the homeland is also a way of engaging in electoral activities. One can be actively involved by sending money but also by being active on the ground in the homeland, and participate in a door-to-door campaign. Finally, voting and advocacy are also important electoral activities. However, it is not self-evident for migrants to have the possibility to vote in the sending country. Either dual-citizenship is needed or one must still have the nationality of the homeland in order to vote. Being a member means having the opportunity to bring in ideas or wishes. These activities give migrants a certain agency and a beneficial position to advocate for issues that they find important. Having the possibility to vote increases this power. Thus, these activities are ways to stay engaged in the political process of the homeland and are therefore expressions of loyalty.

Similar to electoral activities, non-electoral activities can take on different forms including being a member of a civic association in one’s hometown. Financial contributions to civic projects in a community can also be a way of influencing certain homeland policies. In addition, being a regular member of different charity organizations that sponsor projects in the country of origin can be perceived as non-electoral activities. Because you have the money, you can influence regional and local governments in their decision of which public project should get more priority. Thus, investing in local projects or being a member of a charity organization keeps migrants engaged in the homeland and is therefore also an expression of loyalty.

However, there is a difference between the group of people who engage in transnational political practices continuously, and people who occasionally engage in these practices. While the political practices of the former group are called core political practices or expanded political practices, those of the latter are called sporadic political practices (Ostergaard-Nielsen 2003:762).

3.2.2. Factors that maintain loyalty.

The three independent variables are (1) individual characteristics, (2) context of migration in the country of residence and (3) the role of the sending country. Based on the literature related to these three variables, which is discussed in the previous chapter, I deduced three hypotheses.

According to the literature, one of the reinforcing factors for diaspora members to engage in transnational political practices can be found in individual characteristics of migrants (Guarnizo, Portes, and Haller 2003:1215). Predominant attributes that scholars consider relevant in this respect are being male, being politically educated and having a strong expectation of returning to the country of origin. Based on these assumptions, the first hypothesis is deduced:

H1: Members of the NPP Diaspora who engage in transnational political practices and feel loyal to their home country can be expected to be predominantly politically educated male and to have expectations of returning to their homeland.

With politically educated is meant: A diaspora member who was already active or interested in homeland politics before moving to the country of residence. Thus, political education in this context is equal to previous knowledge and/or engagement in politics prior to migration (Guarnizo, Portes, and Haller 2003:1238). Furthermore, expecting to return home is according to Guarnizo et al. influenced by ‘socially expected duration’ (SED) (2003). This is based on the duration of stay expected by the migrant as well as the family and friends of the migrant. The shorter this SED is, the stronger the expectation of returning home is and thus the more focused a migrant is on investing in the homeland.

Based on the literature and hypothesis 1, we should expect that female members of the NPP Diaspora are less engaged in transnational political practices than male members. This hypothesis is also based on the assumption that members with a weak expectation of returning will not exhibit strong engagement in transnational political practices compared to members who do have a strong expectation of returning to their homeland. Lastly, among the individuals who are strongly engaged in homeland politics, we can expect most of them to be politically educated and thus, to be individuals who were already interested and engaged in the homeland politics before they migrated.

Secondly, the literature discussed in the previous chapter also addresses the context of migration in the country of residence. The receiving state can play an important role in this. It can motivate migrants to engage in transnational political practices in two ways: Either the receiving state has an exclusive political opportunity structure which means that migrants barely have opportunity to obtain political rights such as voting, or the receiving country has a multicultural incorporation regime that allows new citizens to preserve their cultural identities and express these in the public sphere and through political institutions (Koopmans & Statham 2010:15). The latter regime may also include the possibility for migrants to receive dual citizenship. The Netherlands are perceived as having a multicultural incorporation regime. This means that some of the NPP Diaspora members in the Netherlands might have dual citizenship. NPP Diaspora members with dual citizenship enjoy many of the same political rights as Ghanaian citizens who live in Ghana. Therefore, we can expect them to make use of these rights. The next hypothesis is deduced from this literature:

H2: We should expect members of the NPP Diaspora with either a dual citizenship or Ghanaian nationality to be more engaged in transnational political practices than NPP Diaspora members with only a Dutch nationality

We can expect members with dual citizenship or Ghanaian nationality to be more engaged in transnational political practices because they enjoy more political rights than someone with only a Dutch passport, and to have more opportunities, for example, to vote during the elections or engage in advocacy.

In addition, the sending country plays an important role in the reinforcement of transnational political engagement of diaspora members. According to Laguerre (1999), the interaction between the sending state and the members of the diaspora can be categorized in five models that are mentioned in the previous chapter namely: the ethnic model, the economic model, the political opposition model, the reincorporation model, and the transnational model.

The reincorporation model is based on the willingness of the sending state to welcome diaspora members back to the homeland. Within this model, a sending state may take different measures to facilitate the return of diaspora members (Laguerre 1999:637). These measures can vary from paying for their trip to the homeland, to giving them land and supporting them with

reintegration. The reincorporation model can, however, entail that migrants are forced to return to their homeland when their refugee status is denied. Even though the sending state might be less welcoming, the fact that the state is willing to accept the returning migrants does fit in the reincorporation model. This model is in line with what Ostergaard-Nielsen calls homeland policies. With these types of policies, the sending states create institutions that are aimed at preparing migrants for their return to the homeland (Ostergaard-Nielsen 2003:766).

The transnational model reflects an interaction in which the diaspora group is perceived as a community of the homeland. The boundaries between diaspora and the state are blurred and the nation has transformed into a trans-nation (Laguerre 1999:640). It implies that border-crossing practices of diaspora members like practicing a profession, doing business or occupying certain positions inside this trans-nation are normalized (Laguerre 1999: 641). This means that they can live in the country of residence and be involved in certain business in the homeland. Diaspora members circulate and therefore maintain a double allegiance to the country of residence as well as to the sending country (Laguerre 1999: 641). The sending state does not perceive its diaspora as an entity outside its legislative boundaries but encloses it as an integral overseas part of the homeland (ibid.). Thus, diaspora members are perceived as if they are citizens of the homeland.

Based on the past interactions between the formal president candidate of Ghana and the NPP Diaspora members, we can presume that the general interactions are in line with these two models: the reincorporation model and the transnational model. Based on these two models, the following hypothesis is deduced:

H3: We should expect that the reincorporation model and the transnational model of Ghana as a sending country encourage transnational political practices of the diaspora members.

We can expect the NPP government of Ghana to set up institutions such as reintegration programs that will prepare diaspora members to return to Ghana. We can also expect the sending country to invite diaspora members to participate in the labor sector or do business in Ghana. Furthermore, we can expect the sending country to facilitate the engagement in transnational political practices by approaching NPP Diaspora members as Ghanaian citizens regardless of their official national status. We can also expect to find statements of the NPP government in which the diaspora group is perceived as an extended community of Ghana.

3.3 The NPP Diaspora branch in the Netherlands as a typical case

To probe the different hypotheses, I conducted a case study. A case study is an intensive study of one specific case, with the aim to understand a larger group of similar cases (Gerring 2002:37). A case study is representative of a broader phenomenon (Gerring 2008:1). Random case selection does not guarantee causal leverage into the research question of interest (ibid.). Therefore, there should be a nonrandom selection procedure of cases (Gerring 2008:2). Gerring provides nine methods to select cases according to these nonrandom selection procedures. One of these methods is the typical case selection (Gerring 2008: 6). A typical case is selected based on the purpose of the author. If the author wants an explorative research then a case can be selected based on a set of descriptive characteristics and the causal relationships can be examined. This approach of case selection is called a deductive approach. The ‘typical’ method can also be used to select cases with a causal model. In this selection, a particular outcome is identified together with a hypothesis that the author would like to investigate (Gerring 2008:7). This would be more efficient if the aim is to test a hypothesis.

This thesis is based on a theory testing research. It is clear what diaspora members do to engage in transnational political practices. However, I still have to test if the three main arguments, with the help of which transnationalism can be explained, can be applied to the case of the NPP Diaspora members in the Netherlands. Therefore, a typical case is selected through the deductive approach. The typical case that is examined as part of this study is the NPP Diaspora branch in the Netherlands. It is a typical case because it exhibits many of the characteristics of transnational political practices and enables us to obtain a better understanding of this phenomenon. The NPP Diaspora members engage in many of transnational political practices described in more detail above.

The first one is being a member of a political party in the homeland while living abroad. The case of the NPP Diaspora members in the Netherlands meets this characteristic because the migrants in the group are a member of the Ghanaian political party NPP while living in the Netherlands. A second characteristic of transnational political practices is being involved in electoral campaigns and financially supporting these campaigns. During the national elections in Ghana, the president candidate visited the Netherlands to ask the NPP Diaspora members for financial support. This visit is in line with another characteristic of transnational political practices, namely the sending country that is reaching out to the diaspora. Not only did this

occur during this visit, the Homecoming Summit also demonstrates transnational political practices as well. The third characteristic is voting and advocacy. I do not expect that voting is a commonly used activity amongst the NPP Diaspora members, unless many of them have dual citizenship. However, advocacy seems to be an important electoral activity of the Ghanaian diaspora in general. As mentioned before, Ghanaian diaspora members pleaded for dual citizenship before they got it in 1992 (Whitaker 2001:769). Thus, advocacy led to this outcome. Based on these resemblances, we can perceive the NPP Diaspora in the Netherlands as a typical case. This case is representative of a broader set of cases because it has many causal relationships with the characteristics of transnational political practices.

As previously mentioned, the aim of this research is to understand what motivates migrants to engage in transnational political practices. Thus, the focus here is on the causal mechanism. Therefore, doing a case study seems to be the best approach. It enables us to understand the causal mechanism between X and Y (Gerring 2002:44). In addition, case studies are also known for their thick description of an event and holistic analysis (Gerring 2002:49). Therefore, it helps us gain a more detailed understanding of transnational political practices as a social phenomenon. We can observe the behavior of migrants and try to find explanatory answers for it (Gerring 2002: 40).

A weakness of case studies is, however, that the sample being used is very small (Gerring 2008:1). One of the main criticisms on case studies is that the results are not generalizable beyond the case at hand (Van Evera, 1997:53). This also means that the external validity is very weak (Gerring 2002:43). Nonetheless, a case study is still of value. It can provide preliminary and in-depth knowledge that can be subjected to more analysis. Gerring therefore calls it ‘the first line of evidence’ (Gerring 2002:40).

With respect to the case of the NPP Diaspora branch in the Netherlands, the time line used for the analysis is the year 2000 until 2016. As mentioned in the introduction, this time frame is chosen because it is in line with the period that the NPP gained power for the first time. It also reflects the period between 2008 and 2016 in which the NPP was in the opposition. This time frame was needed to analyze how the position of the party influences the engagement of the diaspora member in transnational political practices.

Because I wanted to explain the motives of diaspora members for engaging in transnational political practices as a form of loyalty, I used congruence procedures. This enabled me to test the explanatory hypotheses that I have derived from the theoretical arguments

of Guarnizo et al. (2003). Congruence procedures can be done in two ways. Either one tests a theory by doing comparative observations across cases, or one does observations inside cases (Van Evera 1997:56). The latter was used for this research because the aim was to explore the motives behind transnational political practices within one specific case. This is also called the multiple within-case comparison (Van Evera 1997:61). According to the literature, men are more engaged than women are. I wanted to see if the motives of the women who do engage are the same as the men. Therefore, two cases that were compared within the NPP Diaspora are male and female members. Two other cases that were compared are politically educated members and non- politically educated members. According to literature, the former group should be more engaged than the latter. Finally, I also planned to compare dual-citizens with Dutch citizens because the expectation is that dual-citizens are more engaged because of their voting rights. These comparisons enable us to see if the observation values meet the hypotheses or not.

3.4 Data collection

To understand the causal mechanisms by which diaspora members engage in transnational political practices, I conducted in-depth interviews with a small group of members. In-depth interviews enable us to observe how informants form their opinions by listening at their way of formulating the answer (Gerring 2002:45). In addition, Rathbun (2008) emphasizes the importance of interviewing when stating: *“Desires and beliefs must be measured independent of action”* (Rathbun 2008:7). This means that reading and hearing about what the NPP Diaspora members do, is not enough to understand the phenomenon. Interviews elucidate the personal motives of the respondents. Furthermore, in-depth interviews can provide us with information that cannot be found in other resources because respondents have a unique perspective on a social phenomenon (Rathbun 2008:4).

Conducting interviews does have its drawbacks. The data that is gathered during interviews is sensitive to the interpretation of the researcher. A wrong interpretation can make an interview less reliable (Rathbun 2008:7). Therefore, I tried to record, if possible, to resolve interpretation problems. Aside from that, it might be difficult to gain access to the interview subject (Rathbun 2008:1). Because I already had contact with one member of the NPP Diaspora, I hoped to get in touch with others through the snowball effect. There was however the risk that

my interview partners might not have the right profile. If this was the case, then I would have at least tried to interview a key figure of the group whom I could ask as much as possible.

Another drawback is that the answers that are given in interviews are not only based on facts. They are mostly based on opinions (Rathbun 2008:5). These opinions do, however, help us understand the personal interest of the informant to engage in transnational political practices and the role they play. It is also not always certain if the respondent will reveal enough information during the interview (ibid.). A final general drawback of conducting interviews can be the costs for the travel that you have to make (Rathbun 2008:1). In this case I had to travel to The Hague and Amsterdam to meet members of the NPP Diaspora. However, these drawbacks do not outweigh the benefits of interviewing mentioned before.

The interview questions are categorized in four sections. The first two sections contain questions that are related to electoral- and non-electoral practices in order to see in what way the respondents are engaged in transnational political practices. This also includes a question about their voting rights. The questions of the third sections are meant to delineate the individual characteristics of the respondents to see if they are in line with our expectations as mentioned in the first hypothesis. Finally, the last section contains questions related to the interaction with the sending country, to see if the way of interaction influences the engagement in transnational political practices. These categories enable us to test the hypotheses.

In addition to conducting interviews, I also did a document analysis. According to O'Leary, analysing a text that is produced by the group or institutions that you are researching is a good way to understand their reality (O'Leary 2014:121). A document analysis enables us to interpret a text and give meaning to the content (Bowen, 2009). Even though the focus is on finding data related to the role of the sending state, there is a possibility that document analysis can provide us with insight on more levels such as electoral practices of diaspora members. By using document analysis in combination with another method, in this case conducting interviews, one can gain corroboration findings across data, which is beneficial for the credibility of the research (Bowen, 2009). However, document analysis does have two main drawbacks. First, there is the problem of bias. The author of the analysed text might be biased; therefore, we cannot expect the content to be the truth. Besides that, researchers are also biased because we read and interpret the document in our own way (O'Leary 2014:178).

The first document type that is used for this research is 'multimedia' in character (O'Leary 2014:178), which refers to documents like news reports, magazines and newspapers.

This type is often used to examine how certain units of analysis are portrayed in the text (ibid). In this case, I made use of the online news portal Ghanaweb.com. This portal is maintained by Ghanaians who operate under the law of the Netherlands. Their audience mainly exist of Ghanaian migrants living in many different countries including the Netherlands. Their aim is to publish news from Ghana in a neutral and independent way (ghanaweb.com 22-12-2017).

The second document type that is used for this research is the party line (O’Leary 2014:178). This refers to documents that authors use in order to convince the reader of something. Examples are promotional materials or political campaign brochures (ibid). The party line documents that are used for this research are the NPP manifestos of 2000, 2008 and 2016. 2000 and 2016 represent the years in which the NPP party came to power in Ghana. In the year 2008 they also ran for elections and therefore created a manifesto as well. These manifestos provide us with the general goals of the NPP including their plans with the NPP Diaspora members. The manifestos also delineate if the NPP’s way of interaction can motivate NPP Diaspora members to engage in transnational political practices.

Furthermore, I also analyzed the actions of the sending country. The focus was on measures that the NPP government might have taken to facilitate the return of diaspora members. I looked for things like reintegration programs or housing and land offers for diaspora members. Besides that, I also looked for activities or words that are in line with the transnational model. I did this by analyzing how the NPP Diaspora is perceived by the sending state. I also focused on business or job possibilities for NPP Diaspora members in Ghana. This enables us to determine if the interaction between the sending country and the NPP Diaspora members contributes to the engagement in transnational political practices, based on the reincorporation model and the transnational model.

The document analysis involved several steps. First, I collected news articles with topics about Ghanaian diaspora. This was done by filtering the words: “Diaspora”, “NPP Diaspora” and “Ghanaians living abroad” on the online newspaper ‘www.ghanaweb.com’ starting from 2000-2008 and 2016-2017. These timeframes are in line with the years of the manifestos that I analyzed. Because they have a great focus on the Ghanaian diaspora, they might have done things that have strengthened the loyalty of the members.

Passages of these documents that are of particular interest are those that, in line with the hypotheses, pertain to the following categories: (1) electoral practices, (2) non-electoral practices, (3) reincorporation model interactions (4) transnational model interactions. In order

to pick out the relevant passages for this research I ‘interviewed’ the documents. This means, treating the document as a respondent by ‘asking’ questions and highlighting the passages that give answer to the question (O’Leary 2014:180).

4. The relation between the NPP Diaspora and Ghana

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, data collected from interviews, document analysis and online news articles are presented. I start with the presentation of data related to the dependent variable: transnational political practices. With respect to the dependent variable, I distinguish between electoral and non-electoral practices and discuss in what way the NPP Diaspora members in the Netherlands engage in both of these types of practices.

In the second part of this chapter, I present the data related to the independent variables. This consists of three factors that can reinforce the engagement of transnational political practices. The first concerns the (1) individual characteristic, which is based on the idea that certain individuals can be expected to be more engaged in transnational political practices than others, based on certain characteristic. The second factor is the (2) context of migration, in which case it is expected that the country of residence might influence the intensity of transnational political practices. And finally, (3) the sending state can play an important role in encouraging transnational political practices. I present the findings for each of these factors.

4.2 Transnational political practices

As discussed in the theoretical chapter, transnational political practices manifest themselves in different forms. According to Guarnizo et al., they can be categorized in two types (2003): ‘electoral activities’ and ‘non-electoral activities’. While electoral activities include being a member of a political party in the country of origin, sending money to this party, and being actively involved in the political campaigns of the homeland (Guarnizo et al. 2003:1223), non-electoral activities entail being a member of a civic association in the hometown, contributing to civic projects in a community of the homeland by sending money, and/or being a regular member of different charity organizations that sponsors projects in the country of origin (ibid.). Non-electoral activities are seen as political because of the influence they have on regional and local governments in the country of origin. Particularly with respect to decisions as to which public project will receive the financial support of migrants (Guarnizo et al. 2003:1223). In this way, they force authorities to take the priorities and wishes of the migrants into account. I first present the data related to the electoral activities before I turn to the non-electoral activities in which diaspora members engage.

4.2.1. The electoral practices of the NPP Diaspora members

According to Burgess (2014), migrants can influence political processes in the country of origin in many ways, even if they do not have as many political rights as the locals (Burgess 2014:15). Based on the collected data, two types of electoral activities are distinguished in table 1. The first type entails the activities that the members frequently participate in, and the second type entails the activities that the members participated in during the previous elections. Furthermore, the table also presents the financial investments that are made by the NPP Diaspora members which is also an electoral practice. Burgess (2014), also mentions that shaping the political behavior of family and friends in the homeland is a way to influence the political process in the country of origin (Burgess 2014:15).

(..) "At this moment we cannot vote but we have a lot of influence on people in Ghana"
(Prempe National Chairman NPP Diaspora the Netherlands)

(...) Most of the diaspora have big influence in Ghana. We call back home, talking to people I know, people I take care of, people that know me and saying that they should vote for my party (Janet, Women Organizer NPP Diaspora the Netherlands).

Thus, the transnational political practices that the NPP Diaspora members in the Netherlands engage in, do not involve directly voting, but rather are characterized by indirect ways of participation. We can find an example of this in the second quote. Instead of voting, the respondent uses her network in Ghana to make sure that the people she knows there will vote for the NPP party.

Electoral activities		
Frequently	During elections	Financial investment
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Executive meetings every first week of the month 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> International Diaspora conferences 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Membership Fee <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - General member €50,- - Executive member €100,-
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> General meetings every second week of the month 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Meeting and reception with the president candidate 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Contribution for campaigning <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Executives €1000,-
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Fundraising events 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Personal expenses <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Telephone calls to Ghana - Travel costs
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Calling to Ghana and convincing family and friends to vote for NPP 	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Visiting other Diaspora branches in Europe 	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Adopt a constituency in Ghana and invest in campaigning there 	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Door – to – door campaign in Ghana and helping with 	

	registration of the votes	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Brainstorming and giving input on campaign strategies 	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Voting for national executive's elections of the NPP 	

Table 2: Electoral activities

4.2.2. The NPP Membership

Being a member of a political party in the homeland seems to be the first step in practicing electoral activities. To understand why the respondents became a member at a certain time, I asked them questions about the length of their membership. Most of the interviewed NPP Diaspora members have been part of the NPP Diaspora branch for about 8 to 10 years. The longest membership is more than 15 years and the shortest membership is 2 years. Based on the data, we can conclude that this has to do with the fact that most of diaspora members become active when the NPP party in Ghana is in the opposition. Being in opposition gives the diaspora members a main goal to achieve: regain power.

(..)After we went in opposition 8 years ago, I became more active in the opposition. When Kufuor was there we had our government, I was less active but when we lost power which is 8 years ago, I became more active to regain power. We were stronger when we were in the opposition (Vincent, Organizer NPP Diaspora the Netherlands)

The reason for members to join then, was the desire to campaign and work hard to make sure that NPP will be in power again. This also explains why most of the members that were interviewed became a member approximately 10 years ago in 2008. That was the year that the NPP lost the elections and became the opposition. Thus, most of the members became member in the period of 2008 until the previous elections in 2015. This is the same for the members who joined the NPP Diaspora branch more than 15 years ago. 2000 was the first time that the NPP

ran for elections. These findings warrant the conclusion that the position of the NPP in Ghana directly influences the actions of the NPP Diaspora members. When the party loses power, the members of the NPP Diaspora become more active and engage more in electoral practices than when the NPP party comes to power.

4.2.3. The non-electoral practices of the NPP Diaspora members

The second form of transnational political practices introduced by Guarnizo et al. (2003), are non-electoral activities. These activities entail being a member of a civic association in the hometown, contributing to civic projects in a community of the homeland by sending money, and/or being a regular member of different charity organizations that sponsors projects in the country of origin (Guarnizo et al. 2003:1223). Non-electoral activities are seen as political because of the influence they have on regional and local governments in their decision of which public projects will receive the financial support of migrants (ibid.). During the interviews, two of the respondents mentioned that they were involved in the following practices:

“I support girls to go to sewing school” (Alice, Council of the Elder NPP Diaspora the Netherlands)

“In my village. I have adopted 4 children that I take care of. I support them with books and things for school” (Janet, Women Organizer NPP Diaspora the Netherlands).

These quotes show that some of the NPP Diaspora members do engage in activities related to civic issues in their homeland. However, these two respondents are not involved in a charity organization or an official civic project as is prescribed for non-electoral activities. Instead, they support a certain group of individuals on their own: adopted children and young girls. Therefore, the contribution of these respondents might not directly give them power to influence regional or local governments as with official non-electoral activities. However, taking care of these adopted children and young girls can become beneficial in the long term. The children and young girls are part of the respondents' social network in Ghana and therefore, the respondents can ask them to vote for NPP during the national elections. In this way, supporting people back home can sometimes become political leverage for the NPP Diaspora members.

4.3 Individual characteristics, migration context and the sending country

The theoretical chapter discusses three factors that could reinforce engagement in transnational political practices: individual characteristics, migration context and the sending country. In this part I first present the individual characteristics found through interviews. After that I move on to the findings related to context of migration. Finally, I present data concerning the interaction between the NPP government and the NPP Diaspora members.

Ghanaian population	Unemployed	Minimum income	NPP Members	NPP respondents	Total
Amsterdam	2662	4839	N/A	4	12098
The Hague	N/A	N/A	N/A	6	6
Other Dutch Municipalities	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Total	2662	4839	N/A	10	23000

Table 3: Available statistics of the Ghanaian population in the Netherlands 2017 (Abbink 2017)

4.3.1. The individual characteristics of the NPP Diaspora members

According to Guarnizo et al, there are certain personal characteristics of diaspora members that might influence their continued engagement in transnational political practices (Guarnizo et al. 2003:1215). An important characteristic is gender. Men are expected to be more engaged in transnational political practices than women. Also, people who are already politically educated before migration are expected to be more engaged in transnational political practices than people who are not. Furthermore, when there is a strong expectation of returning to the homeland, migrants are expected to be more focused on investing in the homeland and therefore, will engage more in transnational political practices. In line with these theoretical assumptions, the respondents were asked if they were politically active in Ghana before coming here. I also asked them if they had concrete plans of returning to Ghana. The results are presented in table 2.

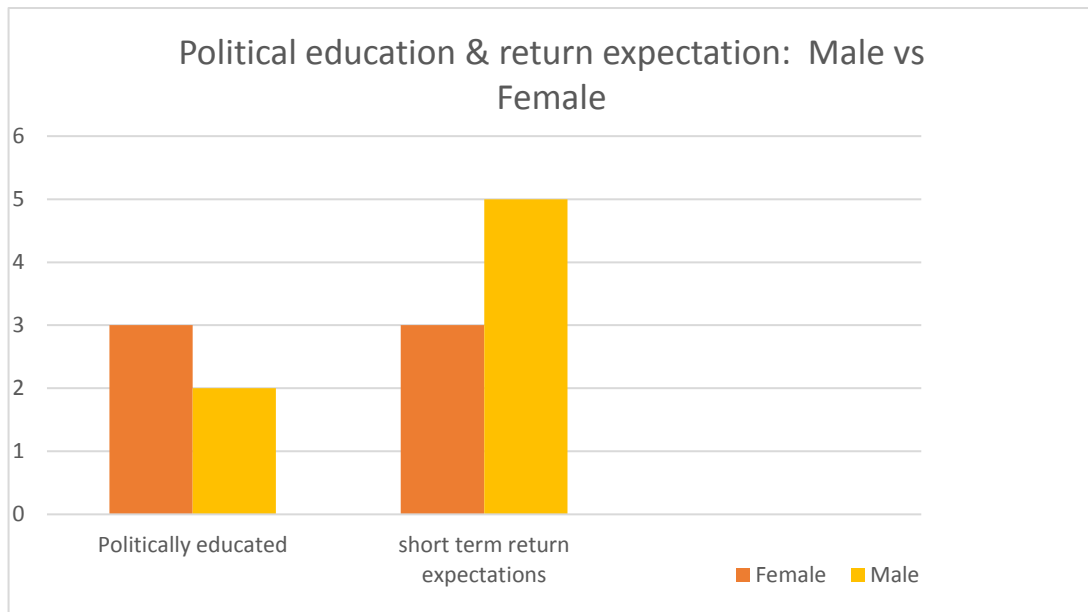


Table 4: Political education and return expectation

From the 10 NPP Diaspora members that were interviewed, more women were politically educated before migrating than men. There is not enough evidence to explain this difference. More members should be interviewed to determine if this is a pattern rather than a coincidence. However, more men expressed having concrete plans and a time frame for when they want to return to Ghana than women. Guarnizo et al. (2003) explain the fact that men are more focused on their return than women, with the idea that migration seems to improve the status of women more than men. Therefore, women are less likely to engage in transnational political practices than men. They gain more status in the country of residence than they had in their country of origin. Men, however, tend to lose more in status when migrating and, therefore, are assumed to compensate this by engaging more in ethnic organizations that are focused on the homeland (ibid.). In this case, both the men and women that were interviewed are members of the NPP Diaspora and are both engaged in transnational political practices. The difference, however, in the return expectation might be explained with the answers that I received when I asked if the respondents are planning to return to Ghana:

“Yes, but I have 2 children so I want to wait until they are grown and have their own jobs. So, I am not in a hurry and don’t know when I will return to Ghana” (Mabel, General Member NPP Diaspora the Netherlands)

Of course, yes. Even now, I am preparing to go, because my party is in power. So, I have to go and help. I will go in less than one year (Kwabena NPP Diaspora Chairman The Hague).

I returned back immediately after the elections, actually I wanted to go, so after they won, I was satisfied. I went back because I was appointed. So, I had to go there and work (Prempe National Chairman NPP Diaspora the Netherlands).

All the respondents answered with yes when I asked them if they were planning to return to Ghana. The three quotes, however, show some variation. While some of the respondents are yet not ready to return to Ghana because they still have children in the Netherlands, others have a short-term plan of going back to Ghana or even have already returned. The two respondents that have already returned were (during the time of interview), temporarily in Amsterdam for an NPP board meeting.

It seems that returning to the homeland is something that all the diaspora members are planning to do sooner or later. Because of their children, the women are less likely to return soon. According to Mohan (2006) this general idea of returning home one day, does reinforce the social obligation and strong moral to remain connected to the homeland and support in any way possible (Mohan 2006:867). Because there are more ways to stay connected, I asked the respondents how being an active member in the NPP Diaspora benefitted them personally. Most of the respondents answered that aside from the network they gained in Ghana, they did not personally benefit from it. They were just happy that the party that they supported is leading the country.

“It just brings me joy to see my party in power that will help a lot of Ghanaians. Like for example free education, it is through my campaign that has led to this free education. And school feeding programs. So those are the benefits I see” (Solomon, National Organizer NPP Diaspora the Netherlands).

The word ‘indirectly benefit’ was used by quite a few of the respondents. Therefore, during the last interview with the NPP Diaspora Chairman of The Hague, who also said that he benefits indirectly, I asked what was meant with ‘indirectly benefit’. He responded:

“Let’s say about 90 percent of the diaspora are the people who sponsor Ghana. Their food, their education, we take care of them. So, if they have everything and are satisfied, we will also be satisfied. Because the salary that we get here, is what we share with them. So, if in the future they can support themselves, then we here will have peace and we can keep our money to ourselves” (Kwabena NPP Diaspora Chairman The Hague).

Thus, besides gaining from a network, members of the NPP Diaspora do seek personal benefits in the first place, however, in a different manner than perhaps expected. According to Parekh (1996), obligations that migrants have are based on social actions that they have to undertake, and by which failure will lead to social disapproval of their family and friends (Parekh 1996:264). In this case, the social actions involve sponsoring Ghana and taking care of the people there. Obligation can sometimes be a form of repaying the people who made it possible for a migrant to move to another country (Mohan, 2006:871). The members believe that the NPP government will help their family and friends living in Ghana. Therefore, being a member of the NPP Diaspora and thus engaging in transnational political practices is perceived by the members as a way to meet these obligations.

Furthermore, because almost all the respondents indicated that sooner or later they would return back to Ghana, being a member could also be motivated by calculative obligation. This means that they support home in many ways as possible so that when they return at an old age, they are ensured that someone will take care of them (Mohan 2006:871). Thus, based on this quote, we can perceive membership of the NPP Diaspora as a tool to meet the social obligations that the NPP Diaspora members experience towards their homeland Ghana.

4.3.2 The migration context of the NPP Diaspora members

According to the literature, the Netherlands are known for their multicultural incorporation regime. This regime entails multicultural rights, and allows new citizens to preserve their cultural identities and express these in the public sphere and through institutions like school systems. Dual citizenship is one of these multicultural rights. It enables Ghanaian diaspora members to enjoy many of the same political rights as Ghanaian citizens who live in Ghana (Whitaker 2011).

During the interviews, however, it became clear that even though the Netherlands have a multicultural incorporation regime, they do not allow dual citizenship to Ghanaian migrants.

The NPP Diaspora members only have the right to vote during intraparty elections of the NPP party in Ghana. Therefore, the agenda of the NPP to enable diaspora members to vote during the Ghanaian national elections in their country of residence is very important for the NPP Diaspora members in the Netherlands. Achieving this might even lead to more engagement in transnational political practices.

“The Ghanaian Diasporas we have every right to be in our country. It was since Kufuor was there. Because our recourse that we bring back home is very high. And even if you go for the money that Ghana generate, the diaspora has about 25 %. So, they think it is time for us to vote. And it is now in court and it has been in court. And the judges have given the commission time to come with a solution. We are working towards this” (Janet, Women Organizer NPP Diaspora the Netherlands).

Also, the possibility to express their (political) culture in the public sphere in the Netherlands, does not seem to be the case for the NPP Diaspora members.

“We just meet each other somewhere inside. Because if we go outside to campaign you never know, you might get arrested. So, it is a low-key campaign, where we talk and share ideas and strategies” (Beatrix, Assistant Woman Organizer NPP Diaspora the Netherlands).

Thus, it seems as if they do not feel comfortable or safe to publicly engage in transnational political practices in the Netherlands, regardless of the multicultural rights. More empirical research is, needed to confirm this finding.

4.3.3. The NPP government in Ghana

The sending state is the third factor that can reinforce transnational political practices. The sending country is, according to Itzigsohn (2000), the main institution that shapes the transnational field (Itzigsohn 2000: 1143). The data presented here reflects the interaction between the NPP government of Ghana and the NPP Diaspora members. This section is categorized in different forms of action that the sending state has undertaken. Every action can reinforce the engagement in transnational political practices by the NPP Diaspora members.

4.3.4. Mobilizing financial and political support among diaspora

As mentioned in the theoretical chapter, governments as well as political parties rely on political and economic support from migrants (Ostergaard-Nielsen 2003:767). The NPP government has therefore undertaken different actions to get this support from the diaspora members. Especially during national elections.

During the national elections of 2015, the NPP party frequently contacted NPP Diaspora board members in the Netherlands for support.

“During elections, transportation was needed to reach the remoted areas in Ghana. So, we collected money and sent it back home. We gave money to headquarters. They sent us a note that everybody had to adopt a constituency. So, I personally adopted two constituencies and invested in the campaign for these two” (Janet, Women organizer NPP Diaspora the Netherlands)

This shows us how the sending country is able to involve the NPP Diaspora members in the national campaign. The NPP headquarters directly sent messages to the NPP Diaspora members in the Netherlands, to update them on what is lacking in Ghana for the campaign and how the NPP Diaspora members could support. Furthermore, the formal president candidate Nana Kufuor Addo visited the NPP Diaspora branch in the Netherlands during the formal national elections of Ghana.

“He wanted help for his campaign and promised that if he would win the elections, he would meet the NPP Diaspora in their needs” (Beatrix, Assistant Woman Organizer NPP Diaspora the Netherlands).

Thus, to gain financial and political support from the diaspora members, the NPP party promised to reward them in different ways.

One of these promises was related to the national issues in Ghana. During his visit in Amsterdam, Nana Kufuor Addo, told the NPP Diaspora members about the national issues the NPP government was planning to target in Ghana. Table 3 shows the issue that members find most important and what they expect the NPP government to solve. These issues are indirectly part of their reasons to be a member of the NPP Diaspora.

Corruption and infrastructure were the major issues that they found important and of which they believe that NPP can and should fix.

“I think the problem with our development is that we don’t have proper infrastructure. And if I say infrastructure it is not only roads and railways. Also, the healthcare and IT site. You should have proper network cables and everything. (...) That is something that this government is really trying to work on” (Prempe National Chairman NPP Diaspora the Netherlands).

“Reducing tax on shipping. So that you don’t have to pay a lot when you want to ship things to Ghana. The president promised us this” (Alice, Council of the Elder NPP Diaspora the Netherlands).

“There is an increase of unemployment. The previous government did not handle this well. So, the new government will create jobs for Ghanaians” (Kwabena NPP Diaspora Chairman The Hague).

Port duty is an issue that diaspora members themselves can relate to, because they all ship things to family and friends. Therefore, the promise to reduce tax on shipping, might have led to more support during the national elections. Unemployment on the other hand can be an issue for the indirect benefit mentioned earlier. If the people in Ghana live in peace, then the diaspora members will also have peace. The last quote shows that the diaspora members believe that the NPP government will fix the things that the opposition failed to do in their term. Other points that were mentioned were the agriculture sector and education.

“I believe in agriculture sector. We can develop the agriculture sector. And people are ready to support that. Many of us will join and support in that sector. Helping farmers and other things. We can help with modernizing the sector. It is about time that we put things into practice” (Vincent, Organizer NPP Diaspora the Netherlands).

“I find education important. And NPP has led to free education so parents have less trouble” (Beatrix, Assistant Woman Organizer NPP Diaspora the Netherlands).

The NPP has already fulfilled one promise, and that is creating a new policy which enables free education for everyone. Most respondents mentioned this achievement. Therefore, this might have given them even more trust that the NPP party is able to improve Ghana.

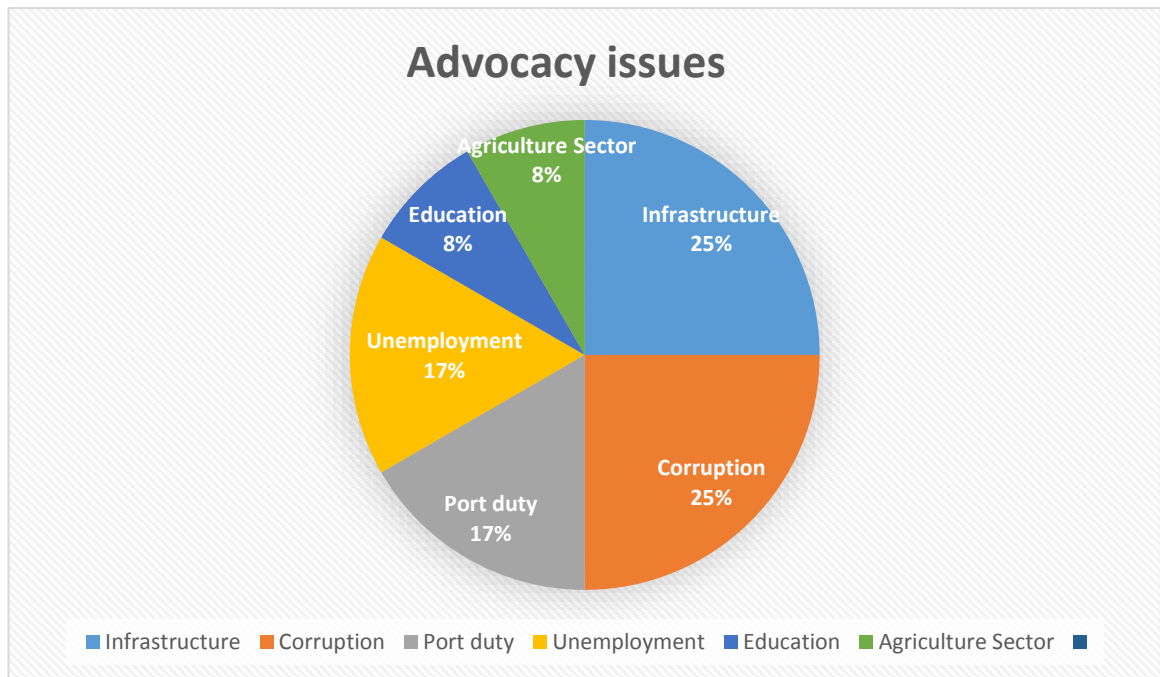


Table 5: Advocacy issues

4.3.5. Integrating the diaspora members into the national system.

According to Laguerre, the sending country can also perceive the diaspora as an extended community that is still part of the homeland (1999: 641). For the diaspora members this entails maintaining a double allegiance to the country of residence as well as to the homeland.

In the past the NPP government has approached the diaspora members as if they are still a part of Ghana. First of all, the formal president Kufuor appealed to the Ghanaian diaspora members living abroad that they should incorporate the national values in the upbringing of their children to prevent them growing up alienated from Ghana:

"Obviously, the children you are bringing up in your new homes do not and will not have the same attachment or pull to Ghana. Unless you make a definite effort, they would probably see themselves as Americans or Black British" (GNA, 2001).

The president also asked the diaspora to not engage in activities that will harm the name and reputation of Ghana (Graphic 2006). This shows how the government of Ghana tries to influence the personal and transnational political behavior of the diaspora members and control how they should raise their children. In addition, the formal president also requested that the Ghanaians in diaspora should perceive the NPP government as their own government and should contribute to national success of the homeland (GNA 2001).

“There is no need to disenfranchise Ghanaians simply because they live outside the country” (Kufuor 2001).

This quote tells us that the NPP government does not perceive borders as obstacles. Diaspora members are part of Ghana, no matter where they live. Therefore, the NPP have set up different policies in order to involve the diaspora members more in the homeland issues. Since the current president Nana Akufo Addo came to power, he has organized a Homecoming Summit in which he invited the NPP Diaspora members to come back home and invest in Ghana. Furthermore, he has appointed a director of Diaspora at the presidency, who passes issues that the diaspora members have in Ghana, directly to the president.

Besides that, the Ghanaian court has even ordered to implement a law which will enable diaspora members to vote. Voting rights for Ghanaians living abroad has been high on the agenda of the NPP government for years. The goal is to enable diaspora members to vote in their country of residence, during the Ghanaian national elections (Ghana Web 2001). This is a form of empowering the Ghanaian diaspora members to engage in the homeland politics.

Also, with the legalization of dual citizenship by the Ghanaian minister of Defense, some Ghanaians with foreign nationality can become Ghanaian citizens without losing their foreign nationality (Ghana Web 2002). With this step, the NPP government has made it possible for diaspora members to not only vote, but also to enjoy all the benefits of having a Ghanaian nationality while living abroad. Dual citizenship makes it even easier for diaspora members to participate in transnational political practices as the following quote suggests:

“He wants the diaspora to get more involved in the development of Ghana. He doesn’t want us to become spectators” (Vincent NPP organizer).

Thus, the NPP government is adopting different measures to enable diaspora members to get involved. They are treated as a community that is part of Ghana and get to enjoy the same privileges as Ghanaian citizens who live in Ghana. Being an actual member of the NPP Diaspora department has its benefits:

“You have the right to vote in intra party elections (...) and of course when your party is in power, you also have access to the government. And there is a potential that you

can be appointed to a public position through your association with the party. Other Ghanaians don't have this privilege” (Prempe National Chairman NPP Diaspora the Netherlands).

In fact, NPP Diaspora members have their own office based in Ghana which they can turn to if they have any problems or need help. Furthermore, two respondents have moved to Ghana to work for the presidency while on paper they are citizens of the Netherlands. The NPP government has taken several actions, and is planning to do more, to meet and benefit the diaspora members in this way.

“(..) Rather than treating Ghanaians in the diaspora as second-class citizens (...) We shall expand further the opportunities that will allow Ghanaians living abroad to participate fully in our national discourse and benefit fully from the opportunities this nation has to offer (...) The Diaspora Affairs Bureau will also be moved from the Foreign Ministry to the Office of the President to coordinate more effectively all matters affecting Ghanaians in the diaspora.” (NPP Manifesto 2016).

This quote suggests, that no distinction is made between NPP members who are citizens of Ghana and NPP Diaspora members who have acquired another citizenship. Thus, members of the diaspora are all perceived as a community of the homeland. This is enforced by the using the words ‘back home’ which indicates that the residence abroad does not change the fact that Ghana will always be the home of the diaspora member.

Furthermore, the NPP government offers diaspora members the opportunity to participate in the national discourse; in other words, to occupy a certain position in Ghana, such as an appointee in the current NPP government, while officially living abroad. Therefore, we can conclude here that border-crossing practices appear to be normalized. Finally, the fact that they have established a Diaspora Affairs Bureau that will get an even higher priority by placing it at the office of the President, shows the intention to meet the diaspora in their needs. In return, the NPP government asks the diaspora members to return home, and assist in the development of Ghana. Thus, the government expects allegiance of the diaspora members.

4.3.6. *Homeland policies*

Smith talks about homeland policies when sending countries ask diaspora members to return. This means that the sending states implement policies to create institutions aimed at preparing migrants for return (Ostergaard-Nielsen 2003:766).

Aside from promoting the idea that the diaspora members are part of Ghana and should therefore perceive the NPP government as their own, the sending state has also tried to attract diaspora members back home. One of the main goals of the NPP government in 2008 was to attract diaspora members who have certain skills (NPP Manifesto 2008 3.3.10 Investment in Manpower for industries).

“The NPP shall continue to welcome to Ghana, people of African descent and make them feel at home. (...) Our next government will reserve a special welcome to those endowed with special skills and resources (...)” (NPP Manifesto 2008).

Different actions of the sending state reflect this interest of the NPP government to especially mobilize diaspora members, with skills that they acquired abroad, to engage in transnational political practices.

The NPP government set up a “Brain-Gain” program, which would facilitate the return of the professionals among the diaspora members (NPP Manifesto 2008). Also, the Non-Resident Ghanaians Secretariat (NRGS) was established, with the main task to attract skilled Ghanaians back to Ghana (GNA 2003). Thus, this data shows that certain diaspora members are more directly addressed by the NPP governments, based on their skills of profession.

4.3.7. *Promote investment in the homeland by diaspora members*

There are many ways in which the NPP government has tried to motivate Ghanaian diaspora members to invest in the homeland. In 2003, a new health care delivery service was introduced by the former executive vice president Mr. John Pokryfki, called ‘GhanaCare’. This encouraged diaspora members to aid with financing health care in Ghana by sponsoring their family and friends through annual fees (Osei-Kwabena 2003). Aside from the call to come and support national health care, the diaspora members were also called up to return to their towns and villages and restore them instead of building private houses in the big cities (GNA 2002).

Motivating and encouraging diaspora members is not only achieved through the establishment of institutions in the homeland. Ghanaian ministers travel to countries where

diaspora members reside. To get investments for different civic issues, the formal deputy information minister travelled to the USA to mobilize diaspora members to contribute to the national economic development of Ghana. Their money would be invested in rural infrastructure of projects, healthcare, education and the promotion of private business. As a reaction to this, diaspora members set up investment clubs to engage and invest in the different civic projects (Ghana Web 2003).

5. Conclusion

Ghanaians who live in the Netherlands but are also citizens of the Netherlands remain loyal to their homeland. In addition to sending remittances, a group of Ghanaians have organized themselves as members of the Ghanaian political party called NPP. Through this membership, they engage in transnational political practices and maintain loyalty to their homeland. These practices are categorized in electoral and non-electoral practices. Their electoral practices in general include: being a member of the NPP, financially supporting the political campaigns of the NPP in Ghana, voting if possible and using their network to generate votes for the NPP during elections. Aside from that, a few of them also engage in non-electoral practices by adopting and financially supporting children in Ghana. The aim of this thesis was to investigate different factors that explain this engagement in transnational political practices of the NPP Diaspora in the Netherlands. According to the theoretical literature presented by Guarnizo et al. (2003), there are three main factors that reinforces engagement in transnational political practices: individual characteristics, the migration context and the sending state. In this chapter I discuss to what extent these three factors also apply in the Ghanaian case. Also, the hypotheses are presented and I indicate whether they hold true. Based on these outcomes, I answer the main question of this thesis which is:

“What explains the loyalty of the NPP Diaspora members in the Netherlands to their homeland Ghana?”

In the second part of this chapter I discuss the scientific and societal relevance of this research, followed by the methodological reflection. Moreover, I evaluate the research methods that were used and the limitations that I experienced. Finally, I provide a discussion and make recommendations for further research.

5.1 Results

5.1.1. *Personal incentives to engage in transnational political practices*

The first hypothesis relates to the individual characteristics. Different personal characteristics of migrants that might influence their engagement in transnational political practices are combined. The characteristics are: the gender of an individual, whether one is politically educated and if one has strong expectations to return back to the homeland. Based on the

literature of Guarnizo et al. (2003), it is expected that men are more likely to engage in transnational political practices than women. By politically educated is meant: A diaspora member who was already active or interested in homeland politics before moving to the country of residence. Politically educated migrants are expected to be more engaged in transnational political practices. Furthermore, it is also expected that migrants with a stronger expectation to return to the homeland will engage in homeland policies more often than migrants who do not have an expectation of going back.

H1: Members of the NPP Diaspora who engage in transnational political practices and feel loyal to their home country can be expected to be predominantly politically educated male and to have expectations of returning to their homeland.

According to the evidence, the NPP Diaspora members are not predominantly male. Furthermore, not all the members are politically educated. Among those who are, there are more women than men. While there is indeed an expectation among diaspora members of returning home, few have an actual plan to return. Most of them are predominantly male. Nonetheless, the expectation to go someday seems enough of a motivating factor to engage in transnational political practices. As far as the intensity of engaging in transnational practices is concerned, the analysis suggests little variation. Both men as well as women are actively engaged in transnational political practices.

Thus, the evidence suggests that the expectations to return to the homeland is positively related to NPP Diaspora membership. Moreover, returning to the homeland is deemed to be more attractive and easier if the NPP party is in power. Thus, given the wish to eventually return home, supporting the NPP party and keeping it in power, appears a logical choice for the NPP Diaspora members. Even though the hypothesis does not fully hold, it can also not be rejected because the evidence does not entirely contradict the hypothesis. The individuals that were interviewed all are potentially driven by at least one individual characteristic.

Another factor which can explain the continuous loyalty is the sense of social obligation among diaspora members. Those whom I interviewed, felt an obligation to send money back to the homeland to support family and friends. Sending money is associated with the hope among diaspora members that societal conditions in the homeland will improve and that the people there will eventually have a better life, and no longer depend on the remittances of the NPP

Diaspora members. Thus, loyalty is maintained because the members have certain obligations that they have to fulfill. Being member of the NPP party is perceived as an alternative way to fulfill these obligations. The NPP Diaspora members believe that if the NPP is in power, the social conditions of Ghana will improve and will lead to a better life for family and friends. Thus, the evidence suggest that social obligation is also enough motivation to become a member of the NPP Diaspora department.

In addition to the sense of obligation, loyalty towards the NPP party in Ghana is also a result of political socialization. Some of the respondents were born into a family in which everybody supported the NPP party when they were younger. This background motivates them to follow their parents' footsteps and to continue to support the NPP party in Ghana, no matter where they live.

I expected that the personal characteristics of the members would be the main explanatory factors for the engagement in transnational political practices, especially when the members would have a strong expectation of returning home. It seemed obvious that the members would put effort in the development of the homeland in order to have a good life there when they would return. This has not really been the case. Even though all the members were somehow willing to go back to Ghana one day, it was not their main reason to engage. Social obligation turned out to be the most important stimulation to maintain the loyalty to the homeland. Thus, through the NPP party, they hoped to improve the lives of their family and friends in Ghana.

5.1.2. Reflection on the Dutch multicultural incorporation regime

The second hypothesis was derived based on the idea that the national system of migrant incorporation in the country of residence can influence the engagement in transnational political practices. In this domain, Koopmans & Statham (2010) argue that the Netherlands have a multicultural incorporation regime, which entails multicultural rights. In line with this assumption, the following hypothesis was formulated with respect to NPP Diaspora members.

H2: We should expect members of the NPP Diaspora with either a dual citizenship or Ghanaian nationality, to be more engaged in transnational political practices than NPP Diaspora members with only a Dutch nationality

This hypothesis could, however, not be tested because none of the NPP Diaspora members in the Netherlands have dual citizenship. Therefore, there is not enough evidence to conclude that members with dual citizenship rights or other additional rights can reinforce the engagement in transnational political practices.

Because it is not possible for the diaspora members to gain dual citizenship, the members seek alternative ways to engage in homeland policies. For example, the NPP party has promised to get voting rights for NPP Diaspora members abroad. So, keeping the party in power can in the long term entail them to voting rights in Ghana which they cannot get from the Dutch government. Thus, the analysis suggests that the Dutch multicultural incorporation regime has not reinforced the engagement in transnational political practices of the Ghanaian Diaspora members because of multicultural rights. Rather, the lack of these multicultural rights, and not having dual citizenship rights, have motivated the NPP Diaspora members to engage in transnational political practices.

This evidence contradicts the assumption of Koopmans & Statham (2010) who portray The Netherlands as a multicultural incorporation regime that allows migrants to preserve their cultural identities. Dual citizenship is a form of preserving one's cultural identities. The fact that the Ghanaian NPP Diaspora members who live in the Netherlands cannot have these rights raises the question to what extent this multicultural regime is universal. It rather shows that not all migrant groups get these privileges.

Koopmans & Statham also claim that a multicultural incorporation regime allows migrants to express their cultural identities in the public sphere (2010). One of the interviewed diaspora members states that the members avoid public campaigning and just meet each other inside because they are afraid that they might get arrested. They do not express their cultural identities in the public sphere. This statement alone is, however, not enough evidence to conclude that the Dutch multicultural regime denies NPP Diaspora members in the Netherlands the right to express themselves in public sphere.

Furthermore, the analysis suggests that the diaspora members experience the context of migration within the Dutch multicultural regime in a different way than asserted in the literature. More research is needed to understand why the NPP Diaspora members in the Netherlands choose to organize themselves and campaign behind closed doors. Also, the type of incorporation regime that the Netherlands have should be revised.

5.1.3. The models of Laguerre applied on the sending state Ghana

According to the literature on transnational political practices, the type of interaction between a diaspora and the home state might influence the reinforcement of the diaspora's engagement in transnational political practices. According to Laguerre, there are different ways of interaction. He introduces five models that indicate different forms of interaction between diaspora and state (Laguerre 1999:646). These are: the reincorporation model, the ethnic model, the economic model, the political opposition model and the transnational model.

For this research, the reincorporation model and the transnational model were used. The reincorporation model relates to an interaction which implies the willingness of the sending state to welcome diaspora members back to the homeland. According to this model, the country of origin takes action to enable the diasporic population to return back home (Laguerre 1999:637). The transnational model, by comparison, assumes an interaction in which the boundaries between the diaspora and the state are blurred. This means that the state perceives the diaspora group as a community that is an extended part of the homeland (Laguerre 1999:640).

Based on previous studies on Ghanaians (Mohan 2006), these two models seemed to be the most applicable to this case study. Drawing on these two models of Laguerre (1999), the third hypothesis relates to the sending country and how it potentially reinforces engagement of diaspora members in transnational political practices through these models.

H3: We should expect that the reincorporation model and the transnational model of Ghana as a sending country encourages transnational political practices of the diaspora members.

This hypothesis is confirmed. When it comes to the reincorporation model, evidence shows that the sending state promises and implements different policies that facilitates the return of NPP Diaspora members. Especially the return of skilled diaspora members is a high priority for the Ghanaian government. Different national programs have been established to attract these type of diaspora members and facilitate their return. This is in line with the reincorporation model. In return, the sending country receives the political support of the NPP Diaspora members. The prospects of reincorporation have potentially led to the engagement of the diaspora members in transnational political practices.

Aside from that, the evidence is also in line with the transnational model. Different news articles illustrate how the Ghanaian government addresses the diaspora members as citizens of Ghana. The government makes an effort to engage diaspora members in the national discourse, by integrating them into the national system. This includes, for example, occupying a position in Ghana as a deputy of public authorities while living abroad, like two of the respondents have done. The government also repeatedly emphasizes that Ghana should be perceived as ‘home’ for all the diaspora members abroad. In this way, the diaspora members continue to have a double allegiance to the country of residence as well as to the sending country. This allegiance includes engagement in transnational political practices.

The evidence also seems to fit a third model of interaction which is the economic model of Laguerre (1999). This model is based on an interaction between a diaspora and the home state in which the government of the homeland perceives the diaspora as a source of foreign money which can improve the national economic development of the homeland. In the case of Ghana, the government approaches the diaspora in different ways in order to let them invest in the homeland. This, combined with the sense of social obligation, seems to reinforce the engagement in transnational political practices. Diaspora members are continuously encouraged by the government to invest in their homeland in any way possible.

5.1.4 General conclusions on the loyalty of the NPP Diaspora members

The empirical evidence presented seems to be in line with the literature related to transnational political practices. It can be categorized into inward and outward goals of migrants. Migrants pursue inward goals when they engage in transnational political practices because they want to maintain the memory of their homeland or because they want to help their country of origin in any way that they can (Laguerre 1999: 636). Outward goals, by comparison, have to do with acting in response to requests from the government or family members. These two types of goals are reasons why this engagement with the homeland remains (ibid).

The analysis suggests that in this case, those whom I interviewed pursue both inward and outward goals. The sense of social obligation to improve the societal condition in the homeland can be perceived as an inward goal. Also, the wish to continue supporting the NPP political party because their parents also did so, is a form of maintaining the memory of the homeland and thus an inward goal. Furthermore, the interaction between the sending state and the diaspora members leads to the outward goals. The sending state invites them to come back

home with their knowledge and motivates them to invest. The NPP Diaspora members partly act in response of all these invites of the government in Ghana. Therefore, they pursue outward goals.

Finally, the evidence also presents a new factor that has not been discussed in the theoretical chapter. It seems that the political position of the NPP party in Ghana influences the intensity of NPP Diaspora members' engagement in transnational political practices. The respondents become more engaged in transnational political practices during national elections in Ghana, especially when the NPP party is in the opposition. In that case there is a greater desire to campaign and work hard to make sure that NPP will be in power again.

5.2 Relevance

5.2.1. A reflection on the international system, democracy and citizenship

This study enables us to revise and critically reflect on three important concepts in IR. The first one is our understanding of the international system. The assumption that states have the aim to maximize their own interest as argued by realists, is confirmed in this research. We indeed see how Ghana as a state aims to improve its national economy and knowledge. However, this research also shows us that new tools are used to maximize the state's interest. The diaspora members are not only approached to gain foreign currency, but also to gain knowledge and special skills obtained abroad which can contribute to the social and economic development of Ghana (NPP Manifesto 2008 5.4). Diaspora members are expected to serve the interest of a state in which they do not reside. The NPP Diaspora members are a tool to improve the position of Ghana in the international system.

The second concept is democracy. Within the current nation-state, democracy is the idea that through representatives, people indirectly govern themselves (Mulgan 1968:3). Many political theorists perceive democracy as a community within territorial boundaries that is self-governing (Dryzek 1999:44). This research, however, shows that democracy is no longer territorially bounded but rather fluid and spanning across different states. In this case, the Ghanaians living abroad even seem to have more power than the actual community of Ghana. Transnational political practices enable diaspora members to influence the homeland policies without having the rights to vote directly. Therefore, the definition of democracy should be revised.

This finding also ties into the concept of citizenship. Being a citizen of a democratic state includes having certain rights such as voting rights and the right to run for public office. (Safran 1997:314). In addition, being a citizen also means having certain obligations and maintaining allegiance with the state (ibid.). This analysis suggests that even without being an official citizen, one can enjoy the rights of one's home state while living elsewhere. Even though many members of the NPP Diaspora branch in the Netherlands are Dutch citizens on paper, in practice they also maintain allegiance with Ghana. Thus, beyond their official status, the diaspora members are able to mobilize between the political sites of the homeland and the country of residence. They have voting rights in the Netherlands, but they also have alternative ways to influence the homeland policies at the same time.

5.2.2. Integration processes and migrant networks

With regard to societal relevance, this research offers insights in two societal issues. First of all, it gives answers to the question why integration processes do not always succeed. In this case, the Ghanaian migrant group is strongly attached to the homeland through politics. Transnational political practices keep the diaspora members linked to their country of origin. This can delay or disturb the integration process within the country of residence because there is this idea that their stay abroad is just temporary. Thus, when analyzing integration patterns, it is important to also consider the relationship that migrants have with their homeland.

Furthermore, this research also illustrates one of the ways in which migrants can organize themselves outside of the public sphere. Within a state, different groups can organize themselves and form networks across the borders to pursue interests that might not be in line with the national interest of the country of residence. This research shows that there are invisible networks and multiple political sites in which migrants can mobilize.

5.3 Reflection on the methodological choices

The aim of a case study is to focus on one specific case intensively in order to understand a larger group of similar cases. Conducting a case study to do research has its pitfalls. The outcome is not generalizable. By focusing on the NPP Diaspora branch in the Netherlands, I hoped to understand other transnational political groups in Europe. However, in this case it is a bit difficult to generalize personal motives. Especially with the limited number of interviews. Ten interviews do not cover the intentions of all the other members of the NPP Diaspora branch.

However, the interview results do provide interesting insights of why these ten individuals are so engaged in transnational political practices. Thus, it does not mean that the evidence is useless.

Most of the individuals who were interviewed are board members of the NPP Diaspora branch. They are the most engaged members of the branch because they organize all the meetings and other electoral activities. Therefore, the evidence collected from the interviews still helps to get an understanding of which incentives reinforce the strong engagement in transnational political practices. The evidence can be used as a starting point for more research.

When it comes to conducting interviews, it can be a challenge to ask the right questions in order to get the answers that one is actually looking for. It took me nine interviews to see that there was a pattern in the answers that they gave, especially when I asked about the personal benefits of being a member. They all argued that the main benefit was that the NPP would improve Ghana in different ways. This was not exactly the answer that I was looking for. Eventually, by asking the question about how the improvement of Ghana was beneficial for the members, I got clarifying answers. Thus, during interviews, miscommunication can lead to misunderstanding and eventually influence the data.

In addition, language can be another limitation during the interviews. Most of the respondents agreed on doing the interview in English. The English used in Ghana, however, is British slang. Therefore, during the interviews, it was not always clear to me what respondents meant with certain words. Recording the interviews is a good solution. It enabled me to enter certain words in Google during the transcriptions, and in that way, find out what the actual word is.

Furthermore, to improve the credibility of this research, a document analysis was conducted. Using newspapers and party manifestos to collect data about the actions of the sending state has provided conducive results. In combination with the interviews, it increased the validity of this research. I did have some problems with the website of ghanaweb.com during the document analysis. Even though a lot of articles have been very useful for this research, collecting these articles is very time consuming. This has to do with the fact that ghanaweb.com does not only publish newspapers, but also opinion articles and advertisement for events. Aside from that, the website does not really allow for filtering the essential newspapers and provides over and over again the same articles, irrespectively of the filters that one selects. Also, I could not get full access to all the articles because there was a certain error

on the website, which made it impossible to go to the second page or further. The articles that I did have access to were very useful for this research.

Finally, as a researcher it is very important to be as objective as possible during interviews and document analysis. In the beginning, this was a challenge for me because of my Ghanaian background. The risk of home blindness and being biased was very high. Especially during interviews. I noticed that some things were not fully explained to me because the members presumed that as a Ghanaian, I would understand. Sometimes I did, but to preserve the objectivity I still asked for more explanation. This eventually led to new information that I did not expect or knew about. My lack of knowledge about the NPP party was also really helpful in order for me to be a researcher and to approach things that are self-evident from a different perspective.

5.4 Discussion

Overall, I think that transnational political practices is a concept that should be explored more often by scholars. Especially in light of globalization, borders have become blurred and it has become easier for individuals to move around the globe. This has enabled migrants to have a voice in political developments in their homeland. Aside from that, this research has shown that developing states have found new ways to reposition themselves in the international system. Political leaders see diasporas as a valuable tool to get the (financial) support they need, to gain power in the homeland as well as in the international system, and to stay in power. This leads to societal questions like: What does this mean for the actual citizens of the homeland? And: Does this degrade the value of citizenship? What can be said in the long-term about the development of transnational political practices? Is it a new solution for developing countries to improve their positions in the world order or is it a threat to sovereignty?

A follow-up study in response to this research could be a comparative study between the different NPP Diaspora branches in the EU. This research did focus marginally on the context of migration, but perhaps with a comparative large-N study, the role of the receiving country in transnational political practices can be better elucidated.

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Appendix

Interview Transcripts

Interview 1 Transcription Vincent Gambrah: organizer 5-01-2018

(recorded)

Pre-general questions

I: Could you tell me about the NPP Diaspora group in General? How long does it exist, who created it, and how many members do you have?

R: Since Kufor time (formal president) which is 2000. It could have been before, but during Rawlings time we were also operating on the ground quietly. I don't know who created it. We just started with a couple of people coming together. We have three groups. Very committed due pay members, and members who join us but are not registered with a card, and we have members who are supporting us when we are outside. So, the core with the card and then you have members without card and then you have members who are outside a lot.

I: What does the card means?

R: The card means that you are really a member. You can go to Ghana and show your card to the main office that you are member because the card is made from Ghana.

I: And what can you do with the card?

R: You can vote as a NPP member when you go to NPP elections, when NPP is electing executives you can vote. I have one myself.

I: Even if you don't have a Ghana passport you can take the card and?

R: You can vote to elect NPP executive, but you cannot vote for national elections. But within NPP either you have a passport or not, you can vote.

I: What have they organized so far in the Netherlands?

R: We have executive meetings every month. And then after the executive meeting we go for general meeting also every month.

I: What is the difference?

R: Because the executive meeting prepares the agenda for the general meeting. We need for have agenda for the general meeting.

I: So many executives are there

R: We are with about 10 people.

I: And only these people have the card?

R: No these are just the executives, but when it comes to people with a card there are about 50 people who are core members. We have a long list of members, more than 70

I: So, the executives exist out of chairman and?

R: Chairman, vice chairman, secretary, organizes, women organizers, youth leader, deputy youth leader and...finance secretary

I: O.K so it is like a board. You are the board and then you have the members

R: yes

I: So, you only have meetings?

R: We have meetings, and then we organize also, for example when NPP won, we had a party. And when you go to a meeting, after every meeting there is a reception. And sometimes there are fundraisings.

I: Do you have examples of fundraising

R: When our party is in the opposition, then we need to support them during campaigning we need to support during the elections for police station agents. People have to sit there to watch over the voting box so they don't have the problem to move up and down to go and take drinks or to go and take food so. The person has to sit there and the other people have to supply him food or drink. So, with this food and drink we take some district, we adopt the district, and then we sponsor the district in Ghana. And generally, we support the parties' activity positively.

Electoral questions

I: How long have you been a member of the NPP Diaspora in the Netherlands?

R: Since 2000. I wasn't much active in 2000, but after we went in opposition 8 years ago, then I became more active in the opposition. When Kufuor was there we had our government, I was less active but when we lost power which is after 8 years I became more active to regain power. We were stronger when we were in the opposition.

I: What activities have you participated in?

R: Since 2000 I have been going to meetings and also our Christmas parties get together, when the president was here during Kufuor's time in 2000 we had a meeting and reception with the president. We had a diaspora conference here in the Netherlands which was 2015 before the elections when the president was here in Amsterdam.

I: Have you made any financial investment as a member?

R: Of course, everybody contributes. Contribute in kind and also in cash. We do money but when I am in Ghana also, I also go and support. We motivate the people, I go to the members and executive and talk to them.

I: So, you have direct contact with the executives there?

R: Of course, I am a member. I talk to the executives about communications and safety, I just give them some tips. We also transfer knowledge not only cash. In Amsterdam for example, Amsterdam bought an ambulance and gave it to one of the district. Clothing, we give also clothing to the poor people from the areas. The idea was to adopt constituency. When you adopt a constituency this is another strategy, then you take care of them throughout. You don't only go in when there is an election. But you support them. We are not buying their vote but we are creating a relationship with them. Than when we are power we will help you like this. We care before we come to power.

I: In what way do you stay involved in the political developments of Ghana? So, you have meetings, sometimes you go to Ghana and talk to the executives. Do they call you or do you listen to the radio?

R: Of course. I am very addicted to Ghanaian news radio. Peace FM, Adom FM, I listen when we were in the opposition. I was listening every morning 6 o'clock news. To be updated. Newspapers, I read from online news. I follow political discussions three times a day through radio. I listen to Kokroko which is a morning program. And in the afternoon, I listen to another political discussion. And then weekends, every Saturday I listen to news farm. Very Professional set up to discuss about the current affairs of Ghana politics and development. So sometimes I am too active. For about 8 years I was very active but now I have relaxed a bit because Akufo Addo I president now.

I: During the former elections, were you able to vote yourself? (Dual citizenship/Ghana passport)

R: No. The national elections I did not register and I was not there so I couldn't vote.

I: Are there many people within the group here that could vote there?

R: yes, but it is about being there or here. You can also arrange to vote proxy that somebody else votes for you. But the whole process takes time so many people don't do it. But in the future, we are going to vote here so it won't be a problem anymore. But the last years we were willing to go and vote but it cost time so people don't go and vote.

I: Because I read the manifest of NPP and I saw that they said, O.K we will give the Ghanaians abroad dual citizenship so that they won't be second citizens and that they can vote like everybody else

R: the dual nationality is not official because the Dutch does not accept it. So officially it is not possible. But we are still going to vote.

Non- electoral questions

I: Besides from NPP, are you member of an association in Ghana or are you supporting any project in Ghana?

R: yes. I am a project coordinator of Afro-Europe foundation. We are involved in the Ghanaian migrants here to support them to get to first class citizen and after that you can transfer your knowledge and your remittances and your resources to support the development of Ghana. And when you are capable of living here, you are able to transfer resources to Ghana. Not only money but also knowledge and other resources.

I: How much time do you spend on this project in a week?

R: I a week, a lot actually. I can spend 4 to 5 hours in a week. Because we have a lot of activities so we need to work around it.

I: have you seen results of people really going back and doing something?

R: Going back is not really the result, because we are looking at people back here as well. We are doing Dutch language. We support children at school, homework support. And so, to be able to transfer something to Ghana, you need to work hard here. People who just go right away without having a basis here, they mostly fail. So, I think we are seeing results whereby we are seeing many young people getting advice to go to good school and having a good job. And think in the near future we will see more young people going to Ghana

I: Are the youth also a way to support NPP?

R: Yes, I think we have a huge wing in the near future that will involve in politics and that will take also positions.

Motivations

I: Can you tell me something about your political activities while living in Ghana?

R: I was not active at all.

I: Are you planning on returning back to Ghana?

R: Of course, home sweet home. So why not

I: Do you know when?

R: I don't know when, but I am always in Ghana. I have been going to Ghana for 15 years. Almost every year. And so, I think, to stay, I haven't decided yet when to go and stay. But I'm there. So.

I: Are you expected by family members or friends in Ghana to return back?

R: Yes of course, my family and friends always say it is good to be in Ghana because I can help, I can contribute in the village in the city.

I: How does being a member and being active in the NPP Diaspora benefits you?

R: I think what I am receiving now is network. And also, being happy that the party that you support and the ideology is leading the country. So direct benefit is not really there, but indirectly I am happy. And I hope and believe that the country will better. And if I want to do something and contribute, I can talk to people through the network.

I: So, in the future you might get something out of it?

R: Something out of it is not the question. I am not waiting to get something but I can contribute direct in to development of the country.

I: What was the reason for formal president candidate Nana Akufo Addo to visit the NPP group in the Netherlands?

R: The reason was to meet the foreign branches. To unite us and also to see how we could support before the elections. Because they have people who have a lot of knowledge living outside of the country. And these people contribute in policy making. So, nana Akufo Addo, came to Amsterdam to meet us and assure us that he is with us, and we have to also be with him. It was about preparation to take over. And I think after the elections, he has also showed that he was with us. He has given some people from the diaspora positions or a job in his government.

I: and you said that you as a diaspora could support him in making policy?

R: the diaspora in general yes. When there is a policy making, personally I don't take part. But indirectly we have a platform in which I take part.

I: What platform? On internet or?

R: NPP Diaspora platform. No, it is a close platform. If you are not a member you cannot take part in it. And we also have a chairman platform. So, when there is a question, the worldwide chairman has their platform. We have several platforms where contribution has been made indirectly towards the policy making.

I: O.K because in how many countries is this NPP Diaspora active?

R: A lot. Germany, Holland, Belgium, England, Switzerland, China,

I: China?

R: Of course, China, there is a powerful NPP group in China. Russia, almost all over the world.

I: And the president went to all of them?

R: No that is why he did an international conference in Amsterdam. So, people from all over came to Amsterdam. It was a three days conference.

I: Can you tell me something about the general plans of president Nana Akufo Addo concerning NPP Diaspora members (or diaspora in general?).

R: He wants the diaspora to get more involved in the development of Ghana. He doesn't want us to become spectators. We have to be participants. So, there is opportunity for the diaspora as well. The diaspora has an office in Ghana. There is an office created for the diaspora to come with their issues. He did the Homecoming Summit. So that means he has something with the diaspora. He expects and believes that the diaspora can make a difference. He was also a diaspora, so he knows what the diaspora can do. But I think it is time that the diaspora also plans what they want to do. But his arms are open for the diaspora.

I: What else has the Ghanaian government done besides from organizing a Homecoming summit, does some of you still have contacts with the current government?

R: I think since Kufor Homecoming there hasn't been another Homecoming. And I think also giving people position in diaspora is something.

I: But is it possible for people living in the Netherlands to work in the Ghanaian government, even with a Dutch passport?

R: There are certain positions you cannot take but there are also other positions that you can take with your passport. But certain top positions you cannot require unless you take a Ghanaian passport.

I: What issue do you find important for Ghana and how do you think that your NPP membership can help with this?

R: Having a developing background and also working on development cooperation for some time, I will think that the government of Ghana needs to get closer to the diaspora, to implement some of his policies. We in the diaspora are committed and we don't need much from the government. So, I think that if the government pays more attention to the diaspora, and give them more opportunity, I believe in agriculture sector. We can develop the agriculture sector. And people are ready to support that. Many of us will join and support in that sector. Helping farmers and other things. We can help with modernizing the sector. It is about time that we put things into practice.

I: How would you act?

R: We have enough policies, but we need to implement them to create more jobs.

Interview 2 Transcript Kwabena Opoku: chairman The Hague 7-01-2018
(recorded)

*Translated from Twi to English

Electoral questions

I: How long have you been a member of the NPP Diaspora in the Netherlands?

R: I was born in NPP, but in the Netherlands, I formed the group in 2008

I: What activities have you participated in?

R: We go to executive meetings the first week of the month and the second week we go to general meeting

I: Have you made any financial investment as a member?

R: NPP The Hague is just a branch of the Ghanaian political party NPP. Until recently this party was in the opposition. In Ghana it is also different than in the Netherlands. When you want to campaign in Ghana, you need money before they can vote for you. So therefore, when we go to meetings and we here about their needs in Ghana, we collect money so that they can use it for their campaign in Ghana.

I: Do you have examples of things they need for their campaign?

R: logistics, food, transportation and stuff.

I: In what other ways besides from financial support, have you been involved in the elections?

R: We give them ideas about how they can win the elections.

I: Nothing about policies?

R: No because at that time we were in the opposition so you can't conduct any policy unless you are in power. But now we can give them ideas for policies. So, before we talked about strategies.

I: In what way do you stay involved in the political developments of Ghana?

R: Through radio, through calling with NPP leaders there or through WhatsApp.

I: During the former elections, were you able to vote yourself? (Dual citizenship/Ghana passport)

R: Yes. According to our constitution, every diaspora branch, so you have the Holland branch, UK branch, US branch, Australia Branch, Germany branch and so on. So, every branch has 12 delegates. So, if NPP Ghana organizes national executive elections, these 12 delegates of every branch can go and vote.

Non- electoral questions

I: Besides from NPP, are you member of an association in Ghana or are you supporting any project in Ghana? Have you done so in the past or are you planning to do so?

R: At this moment no, only NPP

Motivations

I: Can you tell me something about your political activities while living in Ghana? Were you already member of NPP or...

R: I was very young myself but my mother and father were real NPP members. So everywhere NPP activity they went, I joined them. So, through their ideas, I could develop my own interest and passion for NPP.

I: Are you planning on returning back to Ghana? When?

R: Of course, yes. Even now, I am preparing to go, because my party is in power. So, I have to go and help. I will go in less than one year.

I: How does being a member and being active in the NPP Diaspora benefits you?

R: Me personally might not get something out of it. But NPP political ideas and manifest, helps Ghana. At this moment we have implemented three education policies in Ghana. If I have any child in Ghana or a sibling that wants to go to school, that person can go to school for free. So,

in that way I also benefit from it indirectly. So, through the social interventions of NPP, we all benefit from it.

I: What was the reason for formal president candidate Nana Akufo Addo to visit the NPP group in the Netherlands?

R: At that time, he was in opposition, he was an opposition leader. So, he was here for us to help him to gain power. Because of his ideas and we also saw that these ideas were good. So, he asked us to help him so that he could gain power.

I: Can you tell me something about the general plans of president Nana Akufo Addo concerning NPP Diaspora members (or diaspora in general?).

I: What else has the Ghanaian government done besides from organizing a Homecoming Summit, does some of you still have contacts with the current government?

R: The first thing is that he has hired some NPP Diaspora members to work in his government to bring new knowledge.

I: What issue do you find important for Ghana and how do you think that your NPP membership can help with this?

R: The social system. There is an increase of unemployment. The previous government did not handle this well. So, the new government will create jobs for Ghanaians. And secondly, the electricity problem and water problem. And he should also solve the problems of the farmers by increasing the Cacao production

I: What is your main goal as NPP Diaspora group The Hague

R: Well we haven't set this in general but what I think that everybody agrees on is that Ghana as a whole will be in peace. So that everything like social intervention, and jobs and all that kind of problems will be solved. If the Ghanaians are satisfied and are helped in their needs, we here will also be satisfied.

I: Why would you also be satisfied?

R: That is a very good question. Let's say about 90 percent of the diaspora are the people who sponsor Ghana. Their food, their education, we take care of them. So, if they have everything and are satisfied, we will also be satisfied. Because the salary that we get here is what we share with them. So, if in the future they can support themselves, then we here will have peace and we can keep our money to ourselves.

Interview 3: Afua: youth organizer NPP Netherland branch 7-01-2018
(recorded)

Electoral questions

I: How long have you been a member of the NPP Diaspora in the Netherlands?

R: 7 years

I: What activities have you participated in?

R: Executive meeting, general party, and meetings with people from outside, conferences and fundraising events.

I: Have you made any financial investment as a member?

R: Oh yes, apart from paying dues and money we supposed to pay for campaign it is also the personal expenses you're making. Going to Ghana, when you are there, the people you have to give money to. Also, party obligations. As an executive you have certain amounts you have to pay. For example, during the campaign the executives had to pay 1000 euros. That is something you have to pay. The role demand that you pay that

I: And it is all going to campaign?

R: yes.

I: In what other ways besides from financial support, have you been involved in the elections?

R: I think manpower. In 2015 the flag bearer (presidential candidate) visited the country twice. And you can imagine it is a lot of planning, and a lot of creativity thinking. So, I was in the fore front, I was part of the team that organized both events.

I: Why did he visited twice?

R: The first one was basically, he had heard a lot about Holland, and he had been here many years before. And the executive invited him and he came over again. He was doing a tour of a few countries in Europe and he added Holland as one of the countries he wanted to visit. That was in May. And then in October you had the international conference. This is held every 2

years in a different country. This time it was meant to be held in Italy, but the planning didn't go well so within a period of 6 weeks before the due date, it was given to Holland to host the international conference. And that is why in one year he came here twice.

I: But it is not usual that during every international conference a president candidate comes and visit?

R: Oh yes, the International conference is organized every two years and in every two years a different country is selected to host the international conference. The international conference is basically for all external branches as well as executives from Ghana. We all meet in one country. We now have about 21 branches. So, we all come together at one place.

I: In what way do you stay involved in the political developments of Ghana?

R: Before I move there. It was through WhatsApp platforms, print media, social media the television, and all avenues possible. I used all of them. Also, radio stations. There is an app called tune in on which you can choose a radio station in Ghana which ever has a good political program, you tune in use that app and you listen. But now I live in Ghana so I get to hear everything directly.

I: During the former elections, were you able to vote yourself? (Dual citizenship/Ghana passport)

R: No, I did not go to Ghana during the campaign and elections so I could not vote.

Non- electoral questions

I: Besides from NPP, are you member of an association in Ghana or are you supporting any project in Ghana? Have you done so in the past or are you planning to do so?

R: No, only church

Motivations

I: Can you tell me something about your political activities while living in Ghana? Were you already member of NPP or...

R: I came here at the age of 14 so I was not political active at that time

I: How does being a member and being active in the NPP Diaspora benefits you?

R: The exposure I got was because of the role I performed as a youth organizer. As a youth organizer, there were duties to perform. And that is how I got the exposure I have. People in Ghana came over and I communicated with them. And they saw who I was so through that I eventually became an appointee. And the appointee came from the national youth organizer and I'm his branch youth organizer here. So, you can see there is a direct link between my role here and the appointment I got.

I: So, you also work there now? You are one of the 52 appointed diaspora members.

R: Yes, I am. I work at the youth employment agency there as director. It is a government agency and the mandate is to create jobs for the youth in Ghana.

I: Can you tell me something about the general plans of president Nana Akufo Addo concerning NPP Diaspora members (or diaspora in general?).

R: I can tell you the president's plan for the youth because that is where I work. The mandate is that he wants to create 60000 jobs for the year 2017 alone. And if you look at the budget that is giving for this coming year, 600 million GHc has been set aside to create 100000 jobs for graduates. Because the country is facing a lot of unemployment of graduates who have finished school and they cannot find jobs. So, the president and this government has a vision and want to tackle youth unemployment. The mandate of where I work is to help the government execute this.

I: What issue do you find important for Ghana and how do you think that your NPP membership can help with this?

R: Lot of people will talk about corruption. But living there, working there and being with the people, I realize that we tackle the wrong people when it comes to corruption. We look at the leading figures and we forget those who execute and are at the offices. Those people new rules cannot change them. They are social servants they don't go anywhere. And these are people who know the loop holes. So, we try to come up with long process. But if you know the loopholes a long process doesn't change anything. So, I have come to understand that it is a change of mind set we need. Because if your mind is the same thing as the next person, it is easy to find loopholes and it is easy to get money that you are not entitled to. So that is one thing I am realizing and thinking that this government should work on. Focusing on reducing

corruption, you can do all you want you can bring all the system you want. I have a good example for you. We had an issue of theft at the office twice. So, we had to buy cameras and sensors for the windows. The company said that they could give me a discount of 15%. So, and this is what other colleagues of me would easily do. What they will do is, O.K give me the invoice of the full amount 95000 GHc, and then the discount I will get. So, I will pay the 95000 and then you will give me the discount. So, on paper I paid but you will never know that I got the money of the discount. So, there is a change of mind-set you need.

Interview 4 Beatrix Bempomaa assistant woman organizer 6-01-2018
(recorded)

*Translated from Twi to English

Electoral questions

I: How long have you been a member of the NPP Diaspora in the Netherlands?

R: 10 years

I: What activities have you participated in?

R: Executive meetings and general meeting, every month. Visits to other NPP Diaspora branches is Germany and Belgium.

I: Have you made any financial investment as a member?

R: yes. For helping for campaign. And to be an executive you have to pay 100 euro as member.

I: What do they do with the money?

R: To help the campaign for the formal president candidate Nana Akufo Addo so that eventually he will win and people will find peace in Ghana. But in general, the money is also used to sponsor trips of conferences of NPP.

I: In what other ways besides from financial support, have you been involved in the elections?

R: I help by brainstorming with the others during the meeting about strategies for the elections of about other NPP Diaspora issues.

I: In what way do you stay involved in the political developments of Ghana?

R: We as executives get the news directly from the NPP leaders in Ghana, and discuss it during the meetings. I also follow it through the NPP platform on the mobile. This is a WhatsApp group with 65 executives from all over the world including Ghana NPP leaders. So, we stay in touch through this.

I: During the former elections, were you able to vote yourself? (Dual citizenship/Ghana passport)

R: No, not in the Netherlands.

Non- electoral questions

I: Besides from NPP, are you member of an association in Ghana or are you supporting any project in Ghana? Have you done so in the past or are you planning to do so?

R: No. I only support family

Motivations

I: Can you tell me something about your political activities while living in Ghana? Were you already member of NPP or...

R: yes, I was already member of NPP during the time of Rawlings.

I: Are you planning on returning back to Ghana? When?

R: yes, when I am an old woman. And perhaps I will open a school

I: Are you expected by family members or friends in Ghana to return back?

R: I have children in Ghana but they do not ask me to come back, because life is hard there

I: How does being a member and being active in the NPP Diaspora benefits you?

R: Nothing, I just love the party and therefore I support it.

I: What was the reason for formal president candidate Nana Akufo Addo to visit the NPP group in the Netherlands?

R: He wanted help for his campaign and promised that is he would win the elections he would meet the NPP Diaspora in their needs. And we also did everything about it to make him win. We went to campaign in Germany and Belgium

I: How do these campaigns in Europe look like?

R: We just meet each other somewhere inside. Because if we go outside to campaign you never know, you might get arrested. So, it is a low-key campaign, where we talk and share ideas and strategies. We also try to raise money in these different companies for his campaigns.

I: What else has the Ghanaian government done besides from organizing a Homecoming Summit, does some of you still have contacts with the current government?

R: I myself haven't seen anything yet.

I: What issue do you find important for Ghana and how do you think that your NPP membership can help with this?

R: I find education important. And NPP has led to free education so parents have less trouble. Furthermore, I hope that he will be able to improve the infrastructure.

Interview 5 Janet Ansah Women organizer NPP 06-1-2018 (recorded)

Electoral questions

I: How long have you been a member of the NPP Diaspora in the Netherlands?

R: 12 years now

I: What activities have you participated in?

R: As being a women organizer of the NPP for the last 4 years, I have engaged in activities like. When the party needs women to explain somethings, I do organize them. And during the elections I organized somethings that needed for the party.

I: Do you have examples?

R: We are in a third world, and the things that help the party to forward and go on power, we collected. Like old goods, shoes, clothing's. Things that will be needed because it is a third world country, these stuffs can be sent to remoted areas motivate them for NPP.

I: and is this the specific role for the women?

R: The specific role for the women is to empower women that what a man can do, a woman can do to. So, our task is to motivate women to join the NPP and to mobilize them.

I: Have you made any financial investment as a member?

R: yes. During elections, transportation was needed to reach the remoted areas. So, we collected money and send it back home. We gave the money to headquarters. They send us a note that everybody had adopt a constituency. So, I personally adopted 2 constituency and invested in the campaign for these two.

I: In what other ways besides from financial support, have you been involved in the elections?

R: We talked to people. Most of the diaspora have a big influence in Ghana. We call back home, I was not in Ghana back home at the time of election. But I did my campaign here. Calling back home, people I know, people I take care of, people that know me and saying that they should vote for my party. And also with the Ghanaians in the Netherlands.

I: In what way do you stay involved in the political developments of Ghana?

R: I listen to the radio and I have contact with the political leaders of my party. I call them, they call me and they give me information.

I: And is there a specific department?

R: From the women department.

I: During the former elections, were you able to vote yourself? (Dual citizenship/Ghana passport)

R: I wasn't in Ghana, so I did not vote. What a diaspora should do according to the party, I did: motivating the people back home.

Non- electoral questions

I: Besides from NPP, are you member of an association in Ghana or are you supporting any project in Ghana? Have you done so in the past or are you planning to do so?

R: In my village, I have adopted 4 children that I take care of. I support them with books and things for school.

Motivations

I: Can you tell me something about your political activities while living in Ghana?

R: At the time I was so young, so I didn't know anything about politics. I started 12 years ago.

I: Are you planning on returning back to Ghana? When?

R: Yes and no. The yes is, when we came to power, my national women organized called me to give me a job and to help. But because of my son here, I cannot go. He is young, I cannot leave him alone.

I: and in the future?

R: Yes

I: In how many years?

R: I don't know yet.

I: Are you expected by family members or friends in Ghana to return back?

R: yes. I have friends and family, but I need to solve myself here first.

I: How does being a member and being active in the NPP Diaspora benefits you?

R: I think I will gain a lot. Like when I was in Ghana last July, I had the opportunity to meet minister of gender. I had the opportunity to meet the first lady. They were easy with me, and they were asking me about how I am doing my work here and if I can come back home. It gives me a lot of network.

I: What was the reason for formal president candidate Nana Akufo Addo to visit the NPP group in the Netherlands?

R: Because of the international conference. It was for NPP Diaspora worldwide to meet and talk about how we can win the elections. If there are any problems, how we can find a way to solve it. How we can help the people back home. He came to ask for help. He came to mobilize all of us and three, to push the party on power

I: Can you tell me something about the general plans of president Nana Akufo Addo concerning NPP Diaspora members (or diaspora in general?).

R: The Ghanaian diasporas we have every right to be in our country. It was since Kufor was there because our recourse that we bring back home is very high. And even if you go for the money that Ghana generate, the diaspora has about 25 %. So, they think it is time for us to vote. And it is now in court and it has been in court. And the judges have given the commission time to come with a solution. We are working towards this.

I: What else has the Ghanaian government done besides from organizing a Homecoming Summit, does some of you still have contacts with the current government?

R: right now, they have opened a diaspora desk in the presidency, because we need investors. We need people to come back home to invest. So that diaspora desk is there for any diaspora who comes with an idea for the country or to invest.

I: What issue do you find important for Ghana and how do you think that your NPP membership can help with this?

R: Corruption. That is important for me. To tackle it. So, my input for the government is how to find a way to limit it. We cannot say we will wipe it out, but to limit it. Because even here in this country there is corruption. So, to limit it for us to hold a better office. So, I gave that advice.

Interview 6: Amponsah: National Secretary of Netherland branch 7-01-2018
(recorded)

Electoral questions

I: How long have you been a member of the NPP Diaspora in the Netherlands?

R: 10 years

I: What activities have you participated in?

R: all of them, meetings fundraising and so on.

I: Have you made any financial investment as a member?

R: I do make contributions, especially when it is election time. And

I: What is exactly your task as a Secretary?

R: Normally a secretary takes care of every documental thing. But in addition of that, because of my capability I go beyond my secretary job.

I: In what other ways besides from financial support, have you been involved in the elections?

R: I also give ideas for raising money. I also represent the party when it comes to going outside Holland. For example, we have to go to France or Germany, I take care of that, and sometimes I drive people with me. And yes, financial contribution is one and organizational things.

I: In what way do you stay involved in the political developments of Ghana?

R: For example, when there was this diaspora Homecoming, I try to participate.

I: During the former elections, were you able to vote yourself? (Dual citizenship/Ghana passport)

Non- electoral questions

I: Besides from NPP, are you member of an association in Ghana or are you supporting any project in Ghana? Have you done so in the past or are you planning to do so?

I know that in Ghana one of the big problem we have is job creation. I think we need to develop the private sector. I have been in the industry for over 13 years now and I think that we can develop the country. And I am actually for this one district one factory. I am planning to set up a factory that can employ at least about 1000 people in Ghana. I want to base this factory on raw materials that can be produced in Ghana, so that you will not have the issue of importing raw material that will at some point be an issue. I think for the government what is important is to provide some of the things the chairman already said, infrastructure but you also need energy, you need water. IF you look at Europe one of the basic things you get everywhere is energy. And then you don't need people to do things, they have the access to do things so that they can create. But in Ghana unfortunately our industries are not working at all, we have resources that we can add a lot of volume to it. But because of these deficiencies we are not able. Because for example I was thinking about other industries which could be very useful for Ghana. But when you think about it you know that it requires a lot of energy. And we don't have it so, I try to base my idea to have an industry on things that are really necessary in Ghana.

Motivations

I: Can you tell me something about your political activities while living in Ghana? Were you already member of NPP or...

R: During my time there was a lot of instability so it was not very attractive to be politically active because there was a lot of military takeover. But before I came here I was already a university graduate. So, I came here already at the age of 26, after graduation. Even when I was here I was not very active. I just started about 10 years ago. I was always NPP because my father was a member to.

I: Are you planning on returning back to Ghana? When?

R: Definitely, I am planning to at least between now and three years to get this factory plan operational. So once this is in operation, definitely. I have my children here so I am not definitely leaving the country but I will be most of the time staying in Ghana.

I: What issue do you find important for Ghana and how do you think that your NPP membership can help with this?

R: One district one factory, is one of the biggest point on the agenda. But it is difficult as I said before.

Interview 7 Prempe: national chairman NPP branch Holland 7-01-2018
(recorded)

Electoral questions

I: How long have you been a member of the NPP Diaspora branch in the Netherlands?

R: 7 to 8 years,

I: What activities have you participated in?

R: We have our usual general meetings and then you have executive meetings. Besides that we have occasional events like fundraising, rallies, international conference.

I: And for what things do you fundraise?

R: Most of our fundraising is for campaigning in Ghana, so to support the mother party in Ghana.

I: Have you made any financial investment as a member?

R: If I take the last campaign. I invested to support a specific constituency, which we adopted to support. For the election 2016. And what I invest mostly is personal expenses. Traveling, calls, these are things that come from your own pocket.

I: In what other ways besides from financial support, have you been involved in the elections?

R: I was there personally. On the ground doing grassroots campaigning, door to door campaigns. Also, I help to control the registration of the votes. So, I was on the ground campaigning. In Ghana. And here I was organizing meetings, and since I am the chairman, I am responsible for everything that takes place here.

I: In what way do you stay involved in the political developments of Ghana?

R: I live in Ghana at this moment so I get it s. But from here mostly it is radio and internet and through contact in Ghana.

I: Do you have direct contact with the current government?

R: Yes, I am part of the current governments

I: In what way?

R: As an appointee

I: During the former elections, were you able to vote yourself? (Dual citizenship/Ghana passport)

R: Yes, I voted in the last elections in Ghana.

I: So, you are actually a citizen in Ghana right now?

R: yes.

Non- electoral questions

I: Besides from NPP, are you member of an association in Ghana or are you supporting any project in Ghana? Have you done so in the past or are you planning to do so?

R: No, church if that is a part of it. But nothing else yet.

Motivations

I: Can you tell me something about your political activities while living in Ghana? Were you already member of NPP or...

R: No, I was not at the age to become political active in Ghana.

I: When did you decided to go back to Ghana?

R: Immediately after the elections, actually I wanted to go, so after they won I was satisfied. I went back because I was appointed, so I had to go there and work.

I: How does being a member and being active in the NPP Diaspora benefits you?

R: I got a job. It broaden your eyes and you get to know your country more. You get to meet with different kinds of people of the former sector of the country. You have a bigger network within government and within the political hierarchy. Which exposes you to some parts of Ghana which you otherwise would not have access to.

I: Does the Ghanaian government gives you certain rights as a member?

R: When it comes to the political party yes. You have the right to vote in intra party elections and you have access to party hierarchy which other non-members of the party don't have. And of course, if your party is in power you also have access to the government. And there is also a potential that you can be appointed to a public position through your association with the party. Other Ghanaians don't have this privilege.

I: What was the reason for formal president candidate Nana Akufo Addo to visit the NPP group in the Netherlands?

R: Because I ask him to come. Haha. We were working towards the campaign. So, it was part of the campaign to market our candidate. So, to make sure that more people would hear about him as possible. And it was good for him to come to associate with the members here in Holland as well. At this moment we cannot vote but we have a lot of influence on people in Ghana. So, if people associate with him directly. When he was here he was associated with people directly, and talking to people. So, the members get more a feeling of belonging to the party and that he is there for them. So, people who are not members they get a chance to get personal with him and to hear his vision and his ideas not from radio not from newspapers but directly. Which makes better impact. And like I said, people here, although they cannot vote here they have influence in Ghana through their family through their friends and through people they support. And that is why some people actually go from here to there to vote. So, selling the message and making more people to vote.

I: So, the main influence of the Diaspora here is that they can contact their family and friends to vote. Is there another way that they can influence the elections?

R: Money. They can donate to the party

I: What else has the Ghanaian government done besides from organizing a Homecoming Summit, does some of you still have contacts with the current government?

R: At this moment we have about 52 appointees of the Diaspora. So that is the first thing that the current government has done.

I: What is your function as an appointee there if I may ask?

R: deputy of public authorities. I am the deputy. So, we make sure that the process of all the government institutions are according to the law. And what this government has done for the diaspora is taking in 52 appointees of the Diaspora and it might even go up. Second is the appointment of director of Diaspora at the presidency. He takes the worries of the Diaspora directly to the president. It is called the Diaspora relations office. And also through the Homecoming which I was part of the organization as well, there were also resolutions that have been made which are being worked on as we speak now. So, you see that this government is more Diaspora friendly because what we realize is that there is a lot of potentials within the Ghanaians outside of Ghana which we can ask to come and support the country. And it is not only the manpower and the knowledge but also physical cash. There are a lot of rich Ghanaians outside of Ghana. So, if they now more about the investment opportunities in Ghana they will come and invest in Ghana. So, it is opening up to the Ghanaians in the Diaspora to make sure that they also have a fair chance, the same opportunity as somebody in Ghana has to invest. And also, to contribute the nation building. And very soon we can vote as well.

I: I heard about it, are they working on it so that the diaspora can vote?

R: Yes, it is an order from court to be done in the next one year so that is something that will happen. NDC has no choice.

I: What issue do you find important for Ghana and how do you think that your NPP membership can help with this?

R: I think the problem with our development is that we don't have proper infrastructure. And if I say infrastructure it is not only roads and railways. Also, the healthcare and IT site. You should have proper network cables and everything. These are the things that can empower the private sector. Because at the end of the day, the government cannot build a nation by itself. The government will only enable the private sector to create jobs. To actually develop. That is something that this governments I really trying to work on. We want to make sure that we bring everybody on board in terms of taxation. If you look at this moment. Small people are being taxed really high. But you have to go to a place where everybody is being taxed which will reduce the amount of tax. Bringing everybody on board and creating the infrastructure. And

that is something that I can see that this government is doing. It will take some time but we are on the right track.

Interview 8 Mabel Asare: general member 5-01-2018 (recorded)

*Translated script from Twi to English

Electoral questions

I: How long have you been a member of the NPP Diaspora in the Netherlands?

R: 2 years. When the president visited in Amsterdam. I however applied for a membership 5 years ago but I didn't hear anything until 2 years ago.

I: What activities have you participated in?

R: The day that the president candidate came to Amsterdam. I have been to 5 meetings. The first time was before the elections. The meeting was about getting in touch with family and friends and motivating them to vote for NPP by explaining what NPP could do for Ghana. All the meetings were about how to get family and friends on board to vote for NPP. And if even possible, to visit the adopted district and support in campaign.

I: Have you made any financial investment as a member?

R: I paid 50 euro for the membership in order to get the membership card. Besides from that, we did a fundraising during the visit of the formal president candidate. It was for the national campaigns in Ghana, I again gave 50 euro's.

I: In what other ways besides from financial support, have you been involved in the elections?

R: Yes, I called my family and friends to motivate them to vote, but they were already planning to vote for NPP

I: In what way do you stay involved in the political developments of Ghana?

R: I follow it through the radio and online newspapers like Ghana web. But also through WhatsApp I receive videos from family and friends of political developments in Ghana. However, I have been listening less because I am busy with work.

I: During the former elections, were you able to vote yourself? (Dual citizenship/Ghana passport)

R: No, I hadn't received my card yet

Non- electoral questions

I: Besides from NPP, are you member of an association in Ghana or are you supporting any project in Ghana? Have you done so in the past or are you planning to do so?

R: No.

Motivations

I: Where you already political active while living in Ghana?

R: I was very engaged. I listened a lot to the radio. My father raised us with the idea that it is very important to stay updated with what is happening in politics. I however was not political active because I was too young. Also, the government at that time under the ruling of President Rawlings, did not tolerated any opposition voice. So, there was not really the freedom to be political active.

I: Are you planning on returning back to Ghana? When?

R: Yes. I however have 2 children so I want to wait until they are grown and have their own jobs. So, I am not in a hurry and don't know when.

I: Are you expected by family members or friends in Ghana to return back?

R: Yes, a lot. My siblings always tell me to come back. Also, when my mother was still alive. She told me to come back if possible.

I: How does being a member and being active in the NPP Diaspora benefits you?

R: For now, nothing. I have to really be in Ghana to enjoy the benefits. If I am there, I can go to the Diaspora desk and show my card, and the can help me in any way possible with plans that I have or other questions. They will give me advice. But I don't live there now so I cannot make use of these things.

I: What was the reason for formal president candidate Nana Akufo Addo to visit the NPP group in the Netherlands?

R: He was there because of the elections. He needed help for campaign. Especially for the campaign in the remoted villages. They needed transport like cars or motors to reach the people in the villages. So, they needed money for that. So, asked everybody for contribution. A lot of people gave money. After that, he said that everybody of the diaspora is welcome to Ghana to starts a business or any other project in Ghana.

I: What else has the Ghanaian government done besides from organizing a Homecoming Summit, does some of you still have contacts with the current government?

R: Not a summit, but at this moment we are welcome to go to the diaspora desk in Ghana and there will be people who will help us with starting up and settling there.

I: What issue do you find important for Ghana and how do you think that your NPP membership can help with this?

R: A big issue is the infrastructure. The roads are very bad. Even if you want to do business there and you want to post something quick, it will not be possible. Even if you open a school and you want to order food from a different place, it will take too long before it gets there. And the traffic is very dangerous as well.

Interview 9 Solomon: National organizer 7-01-2018 (recorded)

Electoral questions

I: How long have you been a member of the NPP Diaspora in the Netherlands?

R: More than 15 years

I: What activities have you participated in?

R: I am very active, I join every activity because I am also the organizer.

I: Have you made any financial investment as a member?

R: Yes, I have done the 1000 contribution

I: In what other ways besides from financial support, have you been involved in the elections?

R: I try to convince people in Ghana to vote for the party, hand them our manifest.

I: Did you went there?

R: No through telephone and social media, I convinced friends and family to vote. I campaigned a lot, but as an organizer that is also my duty.

I: What is furthermore your duty as an organizer?

R: To organize people and to bring more people into the group.

I: In what way do you stay involved in the political developments of Ghana?

I: During the former elections, were you able to vote yourself? (Dual citizenship/Ghana passport)

R: No because to vote you had to be in Ghana so I did not go. But we hope with the next elections we can vote here.

Non- electoral questions

I: Besides from NPP, are you member of an association in Ghana or are you supporting any project in Ghana? Have you done so in the past or are you planning to do so?

No

Motivations

I: Can you tell me something about your political activities while living in Ghana? Were you already member of NPP or...

R: I was very active. We were campaigning to bring more people in the party. I was present at every rally. I tried to convince people that NPP is a democratic party that will help the development of Ghana. I was in the campaign team.

I: Are you planning on returning back to Ghana? When?

R: Yes, but I have children here so I will come and go. And I have built my house there so in the future I will go and live there.

I: How does being a member and being active in the NPP Diaspora benefits you?

R: It just brings me joy to see my party in power that will help a lot of Ghanaians. Like for example free education, it is through my campaign that has led to this free education. And school feeding programs. So that are the benefits I see.

I: What issue do you find important for Ghana and how do you think that your NPP membership can help with this?

R: The duty of the port. I want to lower the tax so that when diaspora send things to Ghana, they will not have to pay too much tax. So, I am really advocating for that.

Interview 10 Alice Owosu Ansah: council of elder 06-01-2018 (not recorded)

Electoral questions

I: How long have you been a member of the NPP Diaspora in the Netherlands?

R: 10 years

I: What activities have you participated in?

R: Meetings to see how I can help people of NPP and talk about the next steps of the party

I: Have you made any financial investment as a member?

R: Yes, in order to donate for campaigns

I: In what other ways besides from financial support, have you been involved in the elections?

R: I adopted some villages where I donate Clothes and other goods to. I also adopted to invest in the campaign in these villages.

I: In what way do you stay involved in the political developments of Ghana?

R: Radio, Call people in Ghana and by going to Ghana myself.

I: During the former elections, were you able to vote yourself? (Dual citizenship/Ghana passport)

R: no

Non- electoral questions

I: Besides from NPP, are you member of an association in Ghana or are you supporting any project in Ghana? Have you done so in the past or are you planning to do so?

R: I support girls to go to sewing school

Motivations

I: Can you tell me something about your political activities while living in Ghana? Were you already member of NPP or...

R: Yes, I was a member of the NPP in Ghana already.

I: Are you planning on returning back to Ghana? When?

R: Yes, I am 100 percent sure that I will return. I am waiting until the president creates more jobs in Ghana.

I: Are you expected by family members or friends in Ghana to return back?

R: Yes, there are friends who want me to come back.

I: How does being a member and being active in the NPP Diaspora benefits you?

R: I just love the party and hope that NPP will provide jobs for the people.

I: What was the reason for formal president candidate Nana Akufo Addo to visit the NPP group in the Netherlands?

R: He came to talk to the Diaspora, encourage them to keep hope for the elections.

I: Can you tell me something about the general plans of president Nana Akufo Addo concerning NPP Diaspora members (or diaspora in general?).

R: If you want to come and do anything in Ghana, you can come as a diaspora.

I: What issue do you find important for Ghana and how do you think that your NPP membership can help with this?

R: Reducing tax on shipping. So that you don't have to pay a lot when you want to ship things to Ghana. The president promised us this. And a better punishment for criminals who steal money. To reduce corruption