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MIGRATION FOR DEVELOPMENT IN AFRICA (MIDA) PROGRAMS

Looking at the Need for Impact Indicators in the Social and Cultural Field for
the MIDA Italy-Ghana Project

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INTRODUCTION

The UNDP's Human Development Report 2009 (HDR09) estimates that as much as 3% of the world's population is made of internal and external migrants. Of this number, the HDR09 estimates that 70 million people are external migrants; individuals living in a country different from the country of their birth (UNDP 2009). The choice of these people to migrate is strongly influenced by economic and social factors. The migrant population is a heterogeneous group consisting of men and women, low skilled laborers seeking better opportunities abroad, as well as the highly skilled striving for higher earning possibilities.

The effect of the departure of this diverse group of people from their country of birth into a wider diaspora can have both positive and negative impacts on the development of their home countries and of the host countries. Negative development effects for the country of origin include the loss of skilled individuals to other countries and social instability, or on the individual level, the abuse of migrants by traffickers (see IOM 2004; 2-3). Positive development effects include the remittance of foreign earnings by migrants back to the home country, the gaining of educational and economic skills from returning expatriates, and a stronger international presence (see de Haas 2008).

In recognizing the strong potential of migrants as agents for development, the International Organization for Migration (IOM) has launched the Migration for Development in Africa (MIDA) strategy in 2001; an initiative that aims at strengthening the positive effects of migration on development, by strongly involving and strengthening the role of the diaspora in these developmental efforts. As the approach of involving migrants abroad for the actual development of their country of origin is a very unique way of developmental efforts, and since this method stands against the criticism of some developmental efforts as being a 'change imposed from outside', I have taken the MIDA projects as topic of research for this paper. A number of projects have already taken place, and are still currently running under the MIDA strategy since 2001.

So what impact did these projects really have? In every project, the evaluation is an essential part that ensures the quality and shows the clear impact that the project really had. For impact evaluations, certain performance indicators are usually developed, that support in clearly measuring outcomes and changes that happen in society due to an intervention. It is in this view that I will be looking at the need for the development of impact indicators in the MIDA projects in

this research paper by asking the overall question: ‘What makes the development of impact indicators for the MIDA projects so necessary?’ To set a framework for this broad topic, I have narrowed the research to looking into one MIDA program, the Ghana-Italy MIDA project, and one of them in particular, namely Ghanacoop, and will be answering the question of ‘what makes the development of social and cultural impact indicators so necessary in the MIDA Ghana-Italy project?’ In past measurements of development, a lot of importance was placed on the economical impacts of projects. For this reason I have chosen to focus on the importance of impact indicators in the social and cultural field instead.

Method of research

Primary research on the nexus of migration and development was performed via a wide ranging review of relevant literature. Additionally, field research was conducted on the MIDA Italy-Ghana project for one month from mid-September to mid-October 2009 in Ghana. Field research included meeting different counterparts involved with the MIDA Italy-Ghana project, as well as with other officials, experts and persons involved with development in Ghana. Further interviews were conducted with expatriates currently living abroad.

This paper will not only focus on the research of changes in society, but will also go in depth on the perceptions of the migrants themselves; exploring how the people of Ghana view migration and how they view the projects in their own country. A portion of interviews with the Ghanaian people will focus primarily on the MIDA initiative; however other projects within Ghana will be examined as well.

Brief overview

This paper is organized in two main parts. Part A will be giving a broad theoretical framework and an overview of relevant current discussions for the topics migration and development, with an emphasis on the view of social and cultural anthropology. In addition, the role of impact indicators, and the MIDA strategy will be discussed in further detail.

In order to allow for the broad background knowledge needed to understand the context of the specific research questions, this paper will explore the topics migration and development separately. In addition, it will review the complicated relationship between migration and development; often called the ‘migration and development nexus’. Based upon this foundation, and after introducing the role of impact indicators in project evaluations, this master thesis will look into the ways in which the effects of migration and development are measured with these impact indicators. Lastly, this master thesis will critically view the MIDA project, which aims at reaping the positive effects of migration for development in Africa.

Part B will then focus more on the empirical part of the research and will be introducing migration and development realities for Ghana, and then examining the importance of impact indicators for the MIDA Italy-Ghana project. This analysis will include references to the data from the literature as well as from the data of the empirical research. The conclusions and further outlook will be presented in the Conclusion chapter of the master thesis.

In the end, this paper will attempt to clarify the importance of impact indicators, and draw a picture of reality of how Ghanaians see the impacts of these projects that these indicators are measuring. To some extent, this thesis will try to show the disparity between these two views; one being impersonal and often tied to economic changes, and the other being personal and tied to how the lives of the people have been changed.

PART A: GENERAL THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND RELEVANT CURRENT DISCUSSIONS

1. INTRODUCTION TO PART A

This first chapter will start by giving a brief introduction and overview of the sometimes overwhelming topics of migration and development as well as their nexus. As the term ‘culture’ will be relevant, especially for the second part of the research and in relation to development, this chapter will include an introduction and definition for this term. On this foundation, the Migration for Development in Africa (MIDA) strategy will be presented. Additionally, this section will provide an introduction to the concept of impact indicators and their use in impact evaluations and in measuring the results of programs and initiatives. This will set the foundation for having an in-depth look at migration and development in the specific context of Ghana and the MIDA Italy-Ghana project in particular.

2. UNDERSTANDING MIGRATION

In order to attain a general overview of the topic of migration, I will first be defining migration, analyzing the causes of migration, and summarizing several theories put forth to explain migration, with an emphasis on the approach towards this topic in social- and cultural anthropology.

2.1. Defining Migration Today

Before any serious discussion can be made in reference to the topics of migration and development, there must first be some agreement as to the definition of the terms. Since various definitions of migration exist, depending on the discipline and context, I will only mention a few below.

The IOM defines migration as “A process of moving, either across an international border, or within a state. It includes migration of refugees, displaced persons and migrants moving for other purposes” (IOM 2008; 496).

The ‘Handbook on Selected Terms and Concepts’ in relation to migration from UNESCO and The Hague Process on Refugees and Migration define migration as “a process of moving, either across an international border, or within a state which results in a temporary or (semi-) permanent change of residence” (THP Foundation/UNESCO; 34).

Using these definitions, it is clear that migration plays a major role in today's global society. These migratory movements can be either *short-term* or *long-term*, and can take place *internal* within a country, or *international* when crossing national borders, as well as *regional*. Further distinctions are made between *permanent* and *temporary* migration as well as *circular migration*, meaning that a person regularly moves from home country to country of destination (see THP

Foundation/UNESCO, Strasser 2009). Other categories that exist are those of *regular* and *irregular*¹ migration, as well as *voluntary* and *forced*.

Currently, the HDR09 estimates that about 200 million people are international migrants, of which roughly two thirds have moved from one developing country to another or from one developed country to another (UNDP 2009). In fact, just over one third of international migrants have moved from a developing to a developed country – this makes up less than 70 million people (see UNDP 2009). Perhaps more surprisingly, the HDR09 states that the majority of people who move do so within their own country. They estimate that about 740 million people are internal migrants; almost four times the number of international migrants.

This paper, however, will focus on the impacts caused by the migration of a small subset of the 70 million people who migrate from developing countries to the developed world.

2.2. Reasons Behind Migration

Throughout history both *regular* and *irregular* migration has been tied to both survival and the hope for increased freedom.

In general, migration happens *voluntarily*, and stems from the rational individual choices in which people decide to move away from undesirable conditions such as conflict, political struggles, intolerance and insecurity, poverty, job dissatisfaction and other reasons, to seek better conditions in a different location. People might be seeking ways out of armed conflict and political repression, or are driven by the desire to attain higher education or to escape traditional roles. A differentiation is generally made between *politically motivated* migration and *economically motivated* migration. Persons that are economically motivated to move and are looking for better employment and job opportunities are often referred to as “labor migrants”. A differentiation here is further made between *low skilled* migration and migration of the *highly skilled* (see Strasser 2009; 19).

¹ Irregular migration is defined as „A process of moving across an international border or within a state without the

Yet in some cases, persons may be *forced* to move due to conflict or persecution as refugees. According to the HDR09, roughly 14 million; or 7 percent of the world migrant population are refugees living outside their country of citizenship (UNDP 2009; 2). Another instance of involuntary migration is people that have fallen victims of human trafficking². Their migration is not of free will and in many cases is accompanied by violence and abuse.

2.3. Brief History of Migration in the Context of Social and Cultural Anthropology

Due to the incredible complexity of the issues and causes surrounding the topic of migration, it is impossible to incorporate the entirety of migration into a single discipline.

In the following section I would like to give a broad overview to some of the theories that attempt to explain migration. Since elaborating on the theories in all disciplines extend beyond the scope of this paper, a bias is given towards explaining the approaches to migration from the perspective of social and cultural anthropology.

Historically speaking, anthropology has seen migration as a topic primarily researched in the context of an examined culture. For instance, some of the earliest works focus on nomad societies, for whom migration is a lifestyle, as they move seasonally or regularly. This migration tends to be based around temporary centers, whose stability depend on the availability of food supply and technology for exploiting it (see Sanjek 2002).

In essence most of this research of migratory societies took place in the framework of the view of what anthropologists of the time called ‘timeless culture’. In this earliest of anthropological views, cultures were seen as being apart and unaffected by one another, and each culture was in effect seen as a homogenous unit bound to a certain group of people (Brettell 2000; 97). This explains

² “The recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation. Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs” (UNODC 2004; 42).

why it is not until the late 1950's to the earlier 1960's that the study of migration in anthropology, as it is seen today, started to take form.

Although it has been argued by some that the study of migration was well established through the works of Marx, Engels and Weber by the end of the 19th century, much of the history of migration theory in the discipline has grown in importance at a much later stage and grew in conjunction with the attention on peasant studies and urban anthropology (Watkins 2002; 370). The reality is that the works of earlier anthropologists examined migration as a peripheral topic in a broader conversation on culture, whereas the peasant studies were the start of seeing migration in a transcultural developmental context. It is upon this foundation that modern anthropology examines migration.

Paul A. Silverstein's research in 2005 on the five historical levels of anthropological study of the "mobile subject", as he calls the migrant, helps to provide an overview of changes in this field of study. He begins by describing the first level as being the colonial-era figure of the "tribal nomad" that was compared to the 'civilized' inhabitant of settlements and in view of the evolution-scheme was viewed as backward and needing to settle in order to progress. According to Silverstein, after 1945, in light of the post-colonial changes, the "migrant laborer" (guest- worker) came to be the focus of attention, and later changed its role into the "uprooted victim" of capitalism (paralleling with the time of the cold war). Following postmodernism, the "hybrid cosmopolitans" of the 90s came into being, and currently there is a dominance of the "trans-migrant" as research subject (see Silverstein 2005/ Armbruster 2009).

In the present day, social and cultural anthropologists tend to focus mainly on social behaviors from the perspective of the local population, and from the perspective of the migrant. Fields of research include the question of change/transformation that are the cause for migratory movements at origin and destination, the question of contact or relationships between different groups, and the link between local action space and bigger trans-local economic and political realities in which migrants find themselves. There have also been a lot of questions raised concerning the appropriate methods in researching migration. Different theories emerged, to which different methods were adapted (Strasser 2009; 26).

2.3.1. Beginnings of Migration Theory in Social and Cultural Anthropology

Other than the research on nomad societies, migration studies in anthropology built up on the basis of research of sociological studies such as those of the *Chicago School*³ in the 1930s, and studies that were done in the framework of the *Manchester School*⁴ in the 1940s and 1950s, which looked at local migration as part of a bigger transformational process and designed concepts of networks. It was also the research within the Manchester School that first emphasized the importance of networks of family and friends in migratory settlements. This ‘network theory’⁵ and the study of social ties have remained very relevant in anthropology since (Watkins 2002; 370).

In the Anglo-American context, ethnological studies on migration started much earlier than in the German-speaking sphere. Here, the origin of the migration studies for social and cultural anthropology start in the 1950s and 1960s with research conducted on rural farmers that migrated to the cities, and more importantly, their adaptation to urban life. Colloquially this research is known as the *Peasant Studies*⁶ and *Urban Anthropology*⁷. These initial studies were definitive for

³ “When the University of Chicago was founded in 1892, it established the nation's first department of sociology (...). During its early history, Chicago sociology was connected with progressive reform programs, including Jane Addams's Hull House project. The department pioneered research on urban studies, poverty, the family, the workplace, immigrants, and ethnic and race relations, and developed important research methods using mapping and survey techniques” (Yu 2004). In connection to this, William Foote Whyte’s famous publication “Street Corner Societies” (Whyte 1943) is to be mentioned, in which he describes his 3 years of research in the Boston district *North End* and the life situation of the Italian immigrant group of the Paesani people.

⁴ The Manchester School studied the impacts of labor migration on urban centers and the resulting socio-cultural transformations thereof in British-Central Africa. Some of its representative are Wilson, Gluckmann, Epstein, Mitchell and Watson (see Markom 2009; 39).

⁵ The network theory is believed to be borne around the ‘Copper Belt’ studies in the 1960s.

⁶ “The study of peasants started in Eastern Europe, the Mediterranean and Latin America. Pioneering work was done by the so-called Chicago School sociologists and anthropologists (the cooperation between William Thomas and Florian Znaniecki on the Polish peasantry took place in the late 1890's and early 1900's). Later, the tradition was carried on by the Chicago anthropologist Robert Redfield, who worked in Latin America, within a Benedictian, culturalist framework. Later, a materialist tradition of peasant studies was initiated by Jul Steward. In the 1960's and 70's, neo-Marxian approaches to peasant studies achieved prominence; and feminists, emphasizing the role of women, particularly in connection with migration studies, also played a major role. Peasant studies also played a major role among Indianists, where they tended to overlap with studies of caste” (<http://www.anthrobase.com/Dic/eng/def/peasants.htm>).

⁷ “Urban anthropology is the study of cultural systems and identities in cities as well as the various political, social, economic, and cultural forces that shape urban forms and processes. Although anthropologists have studied the city since the 1930s, the label *urban anthropology* became common only in the early 1960s. Interest in urban issues was originally an extension of the anthropological interest in peasants and rural areas. Using research methods developed for and through studies of small tribes and “primitive societies,” anthropologists studied spatially bounded communities such as ghettos, ethnic neighborhoods, and “urban villages” (<http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/27505/anthropology/236863/Urban-anthropology#ref=ref839810>).

the anthropological view of migration. For instance, these early studies were the origin of the migratory relationship between ‘local’ and ‘trans-local’, the use of concepts of ‘macro’⁸ and ‘micro’⁹ in regards to migration, and one of the first forums for questions of cultural transformation and intercultural relations (see Armbruster 2009; 52). This early work into the nature of immigrant communities is as relevant today as it was in the 1950’s.

2.3.2. Modernization and Assimilation

As briefly mentioned before, the origins of the dramatic shift in the attentions of anthropology can find its root in the trend away from the notion of timeless culture. Starting in the 1950s, theories of anthropology were influenced by the paradigm of modernization until the 1970s when the focus shifted to approaches used to explain cultural transformation. The modernization theory¹⁰ of development was popular in the 1950s and 1960s and states that capital and industrialization would help “undeveloped countries” climb out of poverty through rapid economic growth. One-dimensional push-pull models emerged trying to explain the reasons and choices behind migration (see Armbruster 2009; 55). As Brettel puts it, one of the main assumptions of modernization theory was that “the movement of people from areas that had abundant labor but scarce capital to areas that were rich in capital but short of labor would ultimately contribute to economic development in both sending and host countries” (Brettel 2000; 102 – 103).

Influences of the modernization theory can be found in the research in anthropology at that time. Robert Redfield¹¹ for example, an American anthropologist, based his research upon the thoughts of the Chicago School and suggested the notion of a “folk-urban continuum” (Watkins 2002; 370), arguing that the differences between the city and the countryside were comparable to differences

⁸ Macro can be seen as the regional or national perspective (see IOM 2001).

⁹ The micro level would be the individual level (see IOM 2001).

¹⁰ In general, the idea behind this theory is that ‘traditional’ societies are a pre-stage of modern societies, and their goal is to reach the stage of these modern societies. Rostow, as quoted by Hein de Haas’s overview of development, describes five “Stages of Economic Growth”, which a developing country has to go through to achieve the stadium of mass consummation; a modern society. In this theory, migration is seen as very positive, as the capital transfers and transfers in knowledge would contribute to the economical growth of the country of origin (de Haas 2008).

¹¹ Two influential writings by Redfield are include *The Folk Culture of the Yucatan* (1941) and *Peasant Society and Culture* (1956).

between the developed and the developing world, where those living in the city were modern and developed, while those living in the country were traditional and underdeveloped.

This theory describes migrants as agents of development, as they originated from ‘less developed’ poor and rural areas, and move to the urban modern centers. Through the process of integration these less developed poor would inherit the more ‘civilized’ culture of the industrialized West. They would then re-socialize themselves when they return home, bringing with them the modernity of the urban centers to their areas of origin (Watkins 2002; 370). Adaptation, assimilation, and adjustment became central terms in anthropological research.

2.3.3. Migration Studies in Anthropology during the Time of Dependency Theory

The 1970s were accompanied by dependency theories, or “historical structural” approaches, and was especially emphasized in sociology and used to try and explain ‘underdevelopment’ as the cost of development in other regions. The dependence theory¹² is based on the Marxist criticism of modernization; taking the attention away from the migrant as an individual and focusing instead on the bigger macro-economic processes that link countries of destination and of origin. For example, dependence theory, from the policy perspective, views migration in the context of brain drain and the consumption of cash transfers rather than measuring individual life quality and the life enhancements remittances allow (de Haas, 2008).

Migration in the time of dependence and world-systems theory was embedded in the critique on capitalism. Attention in anthropological research was shifted to the role of labor migration and to historical and economical meso-and macro structures in general (see Armbruster 2009; 57). Previous theories that stated that migration from periphery to center would regulate socio-economic development in agricultural areas were rejected. Oscar Lewis for example, found

¹² The dependence is continued through unbalanced terms of trade, and unfair conditions on the world market. This dichotomy is described as unequal conditions in terms of a center and a periphery. Proponents of this theory include Andre Gunder Frank’s “Development of Underdevelopment” (1966) perspective. Frank was the first to theorize a global unbalance in which different levels of development result from a dependence of areas in the peripheries (also referred to as satellites) who carry the burden of supporting the development in the capitalistic centers (metropolis). Immanuel Wallerstein in 1974 builds upon this theory and publishes his work on the “Capitalist World- System”, in which dependency and underdevelopment are analyzed globally and are explained to be a result of the international division of labor.

inconsistencies in the view of Redfield's folk-urban continuum, as development did not necessarily happen as a result of urban migration (Watkins 2002; 370).

During this time, anthropologists such as Althusser¹³ and Meillassoux¹⁴ studied small-scale societies. Meillassoux analyzed the different modes of production in pre-colonial times and their reaction to the colonial impact. He further researched the integration of the household economy in global capitalism, with a focus on "free" production and reproduction of workforce in the family and household, which was transferred to the capitalist industrial centers via migration (see Armbruster 2009; 59). This focus on the household level became meaningful for the further research in migration. In addition, Meillassoux's attention to the role of women laborers was a basis for the development of the category "women" in migration studies. The concrete concept of "gender" though, only became established as a topic in migration studies in the 1980s, and even then primarily with a focus on migrating women.

Michael Kearney¹⁵, who was influenced by Claude Meillassoux, criticized the dependency approaches for the de-emphasis of the individual as subject of migration, and an over dependence on global political economic factors. The result of this is that it gives an inaccurate understanding of the realities of migration as migration is cut off from cultural everyday practice. For Kearney, the family unit is used as an economical unit of measurement, as it is in the household that workforce is produced for the capitalist market. This focus on the family level connects the areas of countries of destination and of origin as families would be spread in different areas or countries. Kearney's approach also became relevant for further developments within the research in relation to the earlier mentioned network theory¹⁶ (Armbruster 2009; 58).

¹³ Famous publication in 1970 by Louis Althusser and Etienne Balibar: *Reading Capital*.

¹⁴ Famous publication by Meillassoux in 1975: *Maidens, Meal, and Money* (English translation, 1981).

¹⁵ Kearney's work includes the publication *Fields of Anthropology - From Local to Global* (2004).

¹⁶ The theory of migratory networks tries to take into account the relationships that drive migration. In this theory migration is often seen as a natural occurrence based upon one's social network. For instance, a person may migrate to support their family, to be closer to their relatives, to keep their family safe, or because a friend has given them a better employment opportunity. In each of these cases, the migration was driven by the social network of the migrant.

Ethnicity

Another debate directed against theories such as modernization and assimilation that appeared at the time of the dependence theory, and remained highly discussed until today are the debates on ethnicity and identity.

Ethnicity itself became an important topic that could link macro processes with micro strategies. Kearny (1995) describes the growing interest in identity and ethnicity as the “implosion” of the concept of cultures (Brettel 2000; 114), because the anthropological focus on ethnicity grew in relevance, and outshone the concept of culture.

The origins of ethnicity as an anthropological concept started with researchers such as J. Clyde Mitchell (1957), Epstein (1958) and Abner Cohen (1969) in Africa. This early research dealt with the differences in the concepts of the “tribe” versus the “ethnic group”.

Today, anthropologists see the act of migration, which brings populations of different backgrounds into contact, as a mixer of social customs. As Brettell puts it: “It is the negotiation across such boundaries, themselves shifting, that is at the heart of ethnicity” (Brettel 2000; 114).

Lyman and Douglass (1973) described ethnicity as a group phenomenon, in which cultural heritage is used by individuals in a group. For example migrants abroad may only become conscious of their ethnic identity when this identity is contrasted by the culture of their society of destination.

In such cases, it is social context that greatly influences the expression of said ethnic identity. As Brettel (2000; 117) notes, “within the migrant spaces [...] immigrants engage in a host of community activities that become expressions of their ethnic identity”.

As migrants reach out to others with similar ethnic identities, it fosters the creation of what anthropologists call an ‘ethnic enclave’. These enclaves act as social regions of institution building, community formation, and the creation of an ethnic space or neighborhood for an immigrant population (Brettel 2000; 112).

According to Brettell, studies on ethnicity brought a great new direction in research, one that reunited the theories of migration and the theories of urbanization (Brettel 2000; 113).

This newer view directly challenges the notion that the world was divided into distinct cultures, societies, and tribes. This work on the nature of ethnicity was further strengthened by research on intercultural relations, transformation of migratory identities and relations between 1st and 2nd

generation migrants through their expression via ethnic identification, manipulation and mobilization.

In short, ethnicity in the 1970s and 1980s represented a central area of focus in migration studies (Armbruster 2009; 60).

2.3.4. Postmodernism and the Current Debates

Through the arrival of postmodernism in the late 1980s and 1990s, the focus in social and cultural anthropology as well as in migration studies changed. Changes came through the theory of 'Discourse' from Foucault; deconstructive- and post-structural approaches, postcolonial critics, feministic interventions, and criticism of ethnographic representation in Clifford and Marcus' 'Writing Culture' (1986). These ideas were reasons for uncertainty and re-orientation, leading to a change in focus on topics. There was a turn away from theory and onto experience, expectations and identity of migrants. Globalization became important, though it is not based on any uniform theory. Instead it is more of an idea that permeates the times (see Armbruster 2009; 62).

Globalization became as much a catch-word as anything else, used to express the shrinking nature of distance, and the dissolving of barriers between regions and cultures. Globalization became an umbrella term that embedded not only people and populations, but also culture into a paradigm of mobility and transformation.

New topics started becoming important such as "identity" in the framework of studies on ethnicity. With the shrinking importance of distance, migration became easier, and global migration began to take on more meaning. Anthropologists began looking into the movement of workers, the social and economic context of migrants, their families, and the communities they created (Watkins 2002; 371).

Due to globalization, the once nearly insurmountable obstacle of distance lessened, and migrants found it easier and easier to become mobile. In short, for an increasing subset of the population being mobile seemed to be becoming more significant than being settled.

Transnationalism, Diaspora, and Imagined Communities

Transnationalism, circular migration, and return migration are terms that have become relevant in the recent discussions on migration in the 21st century. These terms come about from research conceptualizing the forms of mobility that are characterized by a constant movement between regions and cultures.

The term Transnationalism rose to prominence in the 1990s, as a central thought in migration studies. In this concept, the individual is seen as an operating subject in a series of relationship networks, and hence these relationships are the main emphasis. Brettel (2000; 104) explains that “transnationalism (...) is defined as a social process whereby migrants operate in social fields that transgress geographic, political, and cultural borders”.

The transnational model hinges upon the idea that there exist strong ties between migrants abroad, and their countries of origin. In this perspective, migrants are not seen as uprooted, but rather as people who move freely from place of origin to destination, across international borders and between different cultures and social settings (Brettel 2000; 104).

The concepts professed by transnationalism brought about a dramatic shift to the way social scientists looked at migration. Instead of a one -way transference, migration was now seen as a relationship, where the primary actors go to and from their countries of origin, both bringing and taking traditions, goods, and culture.

With the emergence of transnationalism as a topic of research, the more traditional anthropological study of bounded, localized communities decreased. Brettel notes that: “transnationalism is closely linked to broader interests emerging from postmodern and feminist theory to theorize space and place in new ways” (Brettel 2000; 104). This “multi-sited ethnography¹⁷” emerged from the research attempting to understand border-crossing relationships that seemingly went against earlier models (see Armbruster 2009; 64).

The term ‘diaspora’, commonly used today, also evolved in the 1990s. In the current terminology, this is used to summarize the mobility, identity and collective relations of the world’s migrant population. The term diaspora can be understood as all the groups that are organized in more than one territory away from their nation states, and which maintain transnational or translocal economic or political networks (Davis-Sulikowski/Khittel/Slama 2009; 95).

¹⁷ George E. Marcus explains this multi-sited ethnography as. “Ethnography moves from its conventional single-sited location, contextualized by macro-constructions of a larger social order, such as the capitalist world system, to multiple sites of observation and participation that cross-cut dichotomies such as the ‘local’ and the ‘global’, the ‘lifeworld’ and the ‘system’” (Marcus 1995; 95).

In its most recent form, diaspora can also be tied to a regional community, such as the Ghanaian diaspora. In this newest incarnation, diaspora is as much interested in the identity of the mobile, as it is in the changes of ideas and values due to migration (Watkins 2002; 371).

The ideas brought forth by transnationalism triggered the formulation of other relevant concepts, such as ‘border cultures,’ and ‘imagined communities’ (Anderson 1983), which have since become a part of the research on global space.

The concept of ‘imagined communities’ was taken up by Chavez (1991) and later by Cole (1997) who attempted to understand the concept by studying it from both the point of view of immigrants, and from the point of view of the host society. This made their research relevant for fields such as reception and representation of the “immigrant other” in relation to institutional and structural racism as well as class and regional identities (Brettel 2000; 105).

In summary, it can be said that Transnationalism brought to the forefront new ideas of representation and integration for immigrants, and within anthropology brought about the de-territorialization of migration as a research topic (Brettel 2000; 106). The concepts taught by Transnationalism also paved the way for the current vernacular of modern migration studies, giving birth to ideas such as the imagined community. In this sense, migration studies have merged with diaspora studies, as questions of citizenship and the changes in identity are no longer seen as tied to a single country.

Migration and Social Organization: Kinship and Social Networks

The concepts of kinship and social organization are central to anthropology, and lie at the core of migration studies. This being the case, social networks, in the frame of the study of complex societies and urban populations, lie at the heart of understanding migration, and serve as connection between countries of origin and countries of destination.

Very similar to the transnational perspective, these networks are researched in regards to ties of kinship and friendship, and how they facilitate a chain of migration; or the notion that one migrant paves the way for other migrants of the same community to migrate as well. This concept is referred to as ‘Chain Migration.’

Wilson (1994) called this phenomena “network-mediated migration” (Brettel 2000; 107), and conceived these networks as facilitating a fluid structure of networks (Brettell 2000; 107). The theory of network-mediated migration fills a void left by theories that consider migration as the

sole result of a rational choice and decision-making models, theories primarily used by economists and political scientists.

Brettel describes the shift in research due to transnationalism and network theory when he states that: “Both transnationalism and the study of social networks have shifted the unit of analysis from the individual migrant to the migrant household.” (Brettel 2000, 107).

In connection to this, the transfer of social capital, understood to be emotional, physical, and social support to the migrant coming from family and friends, irrespective of location, can be properly understood.

Interestingly enough, immigrant women are often seen at the center of these migrant networks, and it is often they who initiate and maintain the social ties.

Women and Transnational Migration

This brings us to the reality that historically speaking it was only recently that women have played a role in migration research. From the historic point of view, anthropology has incorrectly seen women as the passive followers of male migrants (Brettel 2000; 109). Today it is clear that women are often the ones who initiate migration, and take the lead in migratory streams.

As noted by Brettel (2000; 110), “the new sense of control that women gain as immigrants has raised questions for some anthropologists about the varying attitudes of men and women toward both life abroad and return migration”. Topics of current research have included how social, economic and political policies of states affect the social positions of women (Brettel 2000; 111).

2.3.5. Summary

In summary, it can be said that historically speaking, anthropology has had a very different focus from the topics being examined today. In its most current iteration migration is seen as being fundamentally connected to ‘social change’ and ‘applied anthropology’ (Watkins 2002; 371). Migration studies in its current form did not gain relevance until around the 1980’s, mostly as a postmodern movement. The areas of relevant research in connection to migration research have blossomed since. More recently there is a rising interest in the cultural context of migration, with the examination of ideas and values behind migration and those that change due to migration. With the popularization of transnationalism, and the concepts it allowed to flourish, migration has become a primary topic of research in the anthropological field.

As noted by Watkins: “migration studies today have become a valuable source of innovation” (Watkins 2002; 371).

3. UNDERSTANDING DEVELOPMENT

The topic of development is in many ways as complex as the topic of migration. As a framework for the points later made in this paper, the following section will touch upon the meaning and role of development in social and cultural anthropology, and then summarize several theories put forth to explain what is meant by the term, and how I will be using the term further in this thesis.

3.1. Development in Social and Cultural Anthropology

The term development itself refers to growth or maturation. This term, in the context of social and cultural anthropology refers to the ways in which societies and cultures change and adapt over time. Various theories to explain how societies and later countries develop have been proffered throughout the years. In this section, I will be focusing on the meaning of development in social and cultural anthropology. This will be followed by an overview of different approaches towards the understanding of development as used by international organizations and stakeholders involved with developmental cooperation.

3.1.1. Early Discussions about Development in Social and Cultural Anthropology

The concept of development as a part of the anthropological discipline started late in the 19th century. Its origins lie in the attempts of social scientists to explain the differences between cultures, and how these differences came about (Ferguson 2002; 154). Adolf Bastian (late 19th century) is known to have had one of the major influences in terms of theories on development for the German-speaking sphere with his “Elementar- und Völkergedanken”, or the theory of the ‘psychic unity of mankind.’ In this theory, all people are thought to share the same ‘elementary ideas,’ and differences in culture come about as the result of adapting to environmental influences (Chevron 2003; 6). Bastian assumed certain universal principles of development and suggested that development was an evolutionary and historical process. To him, human advancement was constantly occurring (Chevron 2003; 52).

Friedrich Ratzel by contrast openly opposes the ideas theorized by Bastian in the late 19th century, though they both agree that environment is an important factor determining development. However, where they differentiate is that Ratzel stipulates that migration is a pre-requisite for development. Ratzel’s work contributed greatly to the theories of diffusionism, which itself

opposes the idea of development as evolutionism. Instead, diffusionists believe that the development of ideas start from distinct cultures, then spread to different cultures through interaction. Therefore, in this model, migration plays an essential role.

Ratzel further divided societies into different groups, depending on their relationship towards nature. In fact, the distinction between the terms 'nature' and 'culture' was made a topic of scientific research by Ratzel's theories.

Another key differentiating point was that Ratzel saw the 'cultural peek' as being historically induced, rather than evolutionarily induced. Therefore, Ratzel saw the differences between cultures being the result of external circumstances, and not evolution towards an ideal culture. Furthermore, this more natural view of cultural growth predicts that the larger the population base, the greater the number of talented persons it contains. Inventions and other cultural advancements are brought about by these talented individuals that are then spread through the masses, enticing development (Chevron 2003; 89-90). As these cultural advancements become adopted by their host cultures, they can then be spread through diffusion (Chevron 2003; 198).

Therefore it can be said that migration is one of the pre-requisites for the spread of culture, as in this model culture is spread through the relationships between groups and individuals, and is key for cultural development. Ratzel distinguishes between 'cultural circles' and 'idea circles'. A cultural circle is made up of a stable cultural area that is characterized through the connection of spiritual and material power. 'Idea circles' on the other hand are missing the powerful center of the cultural circles, but therefore appear much more frequently and spread much faster. This is the basis for the later established 'Kulturkreislehre' or school of culture- circles (Chevron 2003; 114).

3.1.2. Development and Evolution

Edward B. Tylor was one of the scientists that was influenced by Bastian, and further developed upon his theories explaining culture. To Tylor, the universal oneness of humankind is a basis for the development of culture. Yet in contrast to Bastian, Tylor's theory of development of cultures and humanity entails a more evolutionist influence (Chevron 2003; 121). Henry Morgan was another representative of this theory.

In social evolutionism, all humans were understood to be of the same species, all developing in a linear way towards the same goal. Differences in cultures were explained to be a result of different development stages in which a society found itself. As such, some anthropologists in the late 19th century were occupied with determining and tracing the different stages that a society iterates through.

Unfortunately, this led to societies being ranked according to their current stage of evolutionary development, with the term ‘development’ used to describe the maturation of a society by using a scale from ‘primitive’ to ‘civilized’. These ideas played a key role in ideologies of colonialism.

The three main ideas of 19th century evolutionism can be summarized as:

- Each society is independently making its way through evolutionism
- All societies are in the end heading towards the same destination
- Differences in human societies reflected the differences in the each evolutionary level (the West being in the lead) (Ferguson 2002; 155).

3.1.3. Anti-Evolutionism and Relativism

In the early twentieth century, Boas brought attention to the short comings of the evolutionary views of Morgan and Tylor with his historically-oriented school in American anthropology.

Boas, who was strongly influenced by the German speaking sphere of anthropology, is counted as one of the founding fathers of North American anthropology.

He criticized the idea of parallel cultural development and the ‘Völkergedanken’, arguing that simple comparisons between cultures were inaccurate due to the difference in the nature of the cultures, and the forces that cause those cultures to form.

In his view development does not happen in a linear way; similarities were explained as the effect of convergence, or as the results of adaptations due to similar environmental influences.

Other criticism of social evolutionism came from the functionalist school in British anthropology, led by Malinowski. This strong criticism led to the elimination of evolutionary development out of anthropology in the first half of the twentieth century.

By the end of the twentieth century the anthropological trend towards social evolutionism was replaced by relativism. Social relativism is the idea that all social constructs are relative, and as such cannot be judged outside of the system in which they are formed. More importantly, social relativism promotes the idea that each society has equally valid ways in which to fulfill the emotional and social needs of their constituents (Ferguson 2002; 155).

3.1.4. Applied Anthropology and Postwar Modernization

The next major shift in the views on development took place after the major events surrounding World War II, and allowed development and anthropology to come together in a completely new

and different way. “Development” suddenly became a term that received a lot of attention, and which described nations and societies as ‘backward’ or lagging behind, needing to catch up with the ‘modern’ West (Ferguson 2002; 156). This view reveals surprising similarities with strongly criticized social evolution and was manifested in the earlier mentioned modernization theory.

The attention given towards the need for countries to develop had one effect for the research community: “Funding and institutional positions became increasingly available for those with the sorts of expertise presumed necessary to bring about the great transformation” (Ferguson 2002; 156). With the new project of official modernization and development agendas, issues of development became increasingly relevant not as in the past only to the theoretical field, but to ‘applied’ work of social and cultural anthropologists. These often focused on works of social change, culture contact, and acculturation, becoming part of the greater view of what was seen as development at that time.

The trend in anthropology in the 20th century during the period of modernization went towards less theoretical speculation, to more explicit programs directing social change (Ferguson 2002; 157), a fact that was nurtured by the available funding for such projects. For example in the US, Margaret Mead led the forerun describing the potential contribution of anthropology to a wide variety of development issues, especially the easing of the transition of ‘primitive’ peoples into the modern world.

In the postwar period, the focus became how to help ‘primitives’ to ‘develop’, to become ‘modern’, once again harkening back to social evolutionist approaches. As the Ferguson (2002; 157) points out: “ideas of linear development stages that would have been quite familiar to Morgan began to reappear in surprisingly explicit ways (e.g. Rostow 1960)”.

In some sense it could be said that the ideas of social evolution had won back some respect in American anthropology through the works of Leslie White in the 1940s and Service, Sahlins and Harris in the 1950s and 1960s.

3.1.5. Neo-Marxist Critique

The rise of the dependency theory, which has been mentioned in the earlier chapter, also had its effects on views in development in anthropology with the Neo-Marxist critique of modernization theory and traditional anthropology in the 1970s. This Neo-Marxist approach challenged the view of the world being divided into independent societies. Anthropologists began to describe the differences in societies based upon a common history of conquest, imperialism and economic exploitation that systematically linked them (Ferguson 2002; 157-158).

At the same time, the direction of the dialogue of development began paying attention to poverty, which itself was a result of the process of being incorporated into a world system. The ‘Third World’ now appeared as being actively ‘underdeveloped’ by a first world.

3.1.6. ‘Development Anthropology’

From the mid-1970s on, development agencies, in acknowledging the failure in achieving development when focusing purely on economic features, started focusing their attention more on the social side of development, or as they called it, ‘real development’ (Ferguson 2002; 158).

‘Real development’ was said to be measured in areas such as human welfare, child mortality rates, nutrition, and literacy. This broader view of development has had the positive effect of encouraging leading agencies to focus more attention towards the social sciences when dealing with development. The result of this re-focus is an explosion of anthropological interest in developmental topics.

Point in fact, ‘development anthropology’ is now a legitimate sub-field in anthropology studies.

Anthropological works in this field came to be largely applied and very lowly connected to the academic anthropological theory. Meanwhile, academic anthropologists today mostly have kept their distance from ‘development’, even though a few have made the ‘development apparatus’ itself an ethnographic object.

In short, the time since the Second World War was marked by the coming into existence of several ‘development agencies’ dealing with projects inducing ‘social change’, ‘development projects’, ‘development studies’, as well as ‘development anthropology.’ It has also been marked by the economic processes of expansion of production and consumption and an increase in the life standard for the poor ‘Third World’ (Ferguson 2002; 154).

3.2. Different Approaches as regards Development

Having introduced theories and concepts surrounding the term ‘development’ in social and cultural anthropology, I would like to focus on the applied side of development and elaborate on different approaches towards the term as understood and discussed in the areas of official ‘development cooperation’ and from the viewpoint of development studies and on how development is to be measured.

The 1960s brought with it a radical change towards the view of development. Instead of the traditional sense of development being a state of cultural pedigree, it became an issue of capitalism, where development was seen in terms of economic growth, GDP, and a high standard of living. Critiques from authors such as Dudley Seers, Gunnar Myrdal, Paul Streeton, Hollis Chenery, Mahbub al Haq and others (see Szirmai 2005; 7) pointed out that this view of development was very shallow, as development is not the same thing as wealth.

In response, Seers formulated three further requirements for measuring development, which can be listed as decrease in poverty and malnutrition, and a decline in income inequality and improvement in employment situation. However, this update did little to broaden the topic of development, as it still remained tied to economic facts.

Aiming at an even broader view on development, social scientists created a set of ‘social indicators’ to better gauge true development. These include areas such as life expectancy, literacy, levels of education, infant mortality, and availability of calories amongst others (see *ibid*; 7). Some social scientists even went as far as to conclude that additional factors should also be considered such as changes in family structure, attitudes and mentalities, cultural change, demographic developments, political changes and nation-building, the transformation of rural societies and processes of urbanization (see *ibid*; 7).

More recently, international organizations such as the International Labor Organization and the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) have adopted a basic needs theory of development, meaning that human beings have a wide variety of needs, both physical and emotional, that should be considered when looking at the development of a society.

A conceptual difficulty relates to the word “development”. An international consensus emerged around the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs see table 1) in 2000, as a “compact among nations to end human poverty” (UNDP 2003). Here, the reduction, and ideally the elimination, of poverty is seen as the fundamental measure of development (see Skeldon 2008; 3).

Table 1: Millenium Development Goals

Goal 1: Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger

Goal 2: Achieve universal primary education

Goal 3: Promote Gender equality and empower women

Goal 4: Reduce child mortality

Goal 5: Improve maternal health

Goal 6: Combat HIV/AIDS, malaria, and other diseases

Goal 7: Ensure environmental sustainability

Goal 8: Develop a global partnership for development

(see UNDP 2005)

The work of organizations such as the United Nations has brought greater humanity to the concept of development. In its current form, development is as much about human dignity as it is about human wealth. Human Rights have further become a major topic in the discussion of development (UNDP 2007; 5).

UNDP in 2007 defines human rights as “the rights possessed by all persons, by virtue of their common humanity, to live a life of freedom and dignity. Human rights are universal – they are the same for everyone, everywhere. They are inalienable – they can neither be taken away, nor given up. And they are indivisible – there is no hierarchy among rights, and no right can be suppressed in order to promote another right” (UNDP 2007; 8).

Amartya Sen (1999; xii) approaches an even broader definition of development based on the concept of freedom: “Expansion of freedom is viewed, in this approach, both as the primary end and as the principal means of development. Development consists of the removal of various types of unfreedoms that leave people with little choice and little opportunity of exercising their reasoned agency”. To Sen, freedoms are both ends and means. Political freedom, for example, contributes to economic dynamism, but is also a goal in itself. According to Sen, these freedoms include economic opportunities, political freedoms, access to social facilities, transparency guarantees, and protective security. All aspects are interconnected and reinforce each other. The individual is viewed as an active agent of change, rather than a passive recipient of dispensed benefits (Sen 1999; xii-xiii). The critique to this view is that clashes between freedoms of different groups of people are underemphasized and that the goal of freedom might not be the ultimate goal from various religious perspectives (see Szirmai 2005; 8-9).

3.3. The Capabilities Approach

There still is clear definition of development that is commonly agreed upon by those agencies involved with development cooperation. This text focuses on the THP Foundation/UNESCO definition of development which is taken over from Sen in his work 'Development as Freedom' in which he describes development as being: "A process of expanding the freedoms that people enjoy, [these being] not only the primary ends of development (...) but also among its principal means" (Sen 1999, THP Foundation/UNESCO; 50). A similar definition has also been adopted and cited in the United Nations Human Development Report 2009 which sees "development as expansion of people's freedoms to live their lives as they chose" (UNDP 2009; 14) or as worded in the HDR 2006: "creating an environment in which people can develop their full potential and lead productive, creative lives in accord with their needs and interests (...). Development is thus about expanding choices people have to lead lives that they value" (UNDP 2006). This approach is known as the 'capabilities approach'. This human capabilities approach focuses on improvement of the situation of the individual; the micro level. In this case all means that contribute to the expansion of people's choices are seen as development. In this text, the capabilities approach will be used as basis of understanding for further discussing development.

3.4. Culture and Development

Within the developmental context, the ideas surrounding culture are many and complex, evolving and digressing over time, only to be iterated upon once again at some later date. To be able to discuss about culture and development in more detail, a basic introduction to the understanding of how the term culture is used and evolved is necessary. This introduction is given below from the viewpoint of social and cultural anthropology and should point out the difficulty of grasping culture in words by giving an overview of the debates around the term culture in social and cultural anthropology.

3.4.1. Introduction to Culture

The word 'culture' itself comes from Latin, and refers to the idea of cultivation or nurturing (Kroeber/ Kluckhohn 1963; 283). However, it was not until the 17th century that the meaning of culture was commonly applied to human development in the English-speaking sphere. The roots of the term "culture" in the German language lies in the German Romanticism and Herder's idea of

the Volksgeist (the "spirit" of a people), a term which was adapted for anthropological use by Adolf Bastian.

In the 19th century, Edward Tylor borrowed the term from Bastian and brought the term into British anthropology's vernacular. Franz Boas brought the term into American anthropology in the beginning of the 20th century, where it became important for the definition of the subject of anthropology (Kroeber/ Kluckhohn 1963).

According to Kroeber and Kluckhohn, the anthropological sense of the word culture was marked by E. Tylor with his work '*Primitive Culture*' in 1871 (Kroeber/Kluckhohn 1963/ Barnard/ Spencer 2002; 136 – 137).

In the 1960's, Stockinger challenged this view and argued that the real root of the term 'culture' for anthropology rather lie in the writings of Boas, who spoke of cultures in plural. Insisting on culture as plural (cultures and not culture) has its roots in the readings of Herder and according to Stockinger, marks the key to the modern anthropological discussions on culture and not in Tylor's views that lean on social evolutionism. To Stockinger the view of culture by Boas was offered as a "pluralistic and relativistic alternative to scientific racism and ethnocentric evolutionism" (Barnard/ Spencer 2002; 138).

Ruth Benedict (1932), an anthropologist in the same school of thought as Boas, referred to culture as human behavior. "Benedict emphasizes both the diversity of culture and the internal integration of specific psychological types, which she called 'cultural configurations'" (Barnard/ Spencer 2002; 139).

By contrast, anthropologists, such as Edward Sapir (1963), put more of an emphasis on the individual personality when talking of culture. To Sapir, the concept of culture could be found in the interactions of specific individuals. He describes every individual to be a representative of at least one subculture of the general group-culture.

Upon a similar thread, anthropologists such as Robert Lowie, saw the expression of culture as a product of complex and disparate histories, and Clark Wissler (1923) who looked at culture through several separate cultural traits, looking at the collectivity of these elements, rather than their interconnection (Barnard/ Spencer 2002; 139).

A.L. Kroeber (1917) referred to culture as 'super-organic', culture not being the product of the individual, but more that which directs the actions of human beings.

Radcliffe-Brown, and other British anthropologists, dismissed this view of culture in American anthropology as being too vague a concept. Instead, they studied social relations, as these were real and observable. The position of Radcliffe-Brown was strongly challenged by Leslie White, as White describes anthropology as the ‘science of culture’ (Barnard/ Spencer 2002; 141). Barnard and Spencer (2002; 141) describe White’s (1949) position in culture as “cumulative both for individuals and for humanity as a whole, and as inclusive of social structure”.

In French anthropology too, a certain suspicion towards the term culture prevailed, with the exception of Levi-Strauss. His view on culture was influenced by Boas, and he too saw culture as the natural derivative of human interaction based upon universal principles, with recognition to the details that distinguish one culture from the other (Barnard/ Spencer 2002; 140).

During this time of disagreement between American and British anthropology in the 1950s, Halcott Parsons tried a different approach to culture. His theory of social actions could be analyzed on three different levels: (1) social structure, (2) culture, and (3) personality. Culture in his view was the domain of symbols and meanings. Clifford Geertz and David Schneider advanced this position in the 1960s (Geertz influential work: *Interpretation of Cultures*).

To put this in the proper context, in Britain during the 1970s anthropology was dominated by the symbolic or interpretative approach to culture, with talks about the ‘translation of culture’ (Barnard/ Spencer 2002; 141). The result of Parsons new theories was a positive shift in the discussion about culture in Britain by the 1980s.

New theories about language and meaning were emerging in the generation after Geertz in the late 1960s and early 1970s that were undermining the stability of any particular cultural meaning. This postmodernism in anthropology led to a broader change taking place in the field of humanities and social sciences (Barnard/ Spencer 2002; 141).

Some anthropologists went back to the view of culture being a “site of contestation” (Barnard/ Spencer 2002; 141), whereas others abandoned the term altogether. The *Encyclopedia of Anthropology* refers to this time as “the crisis of anthropological confidence” (Barnard/ Spencer 2002; 141).

In short, there is no complete consensus on the use of the term culture. Similarly, it is impossible to state how the term culture should be used or viewed, as even the meaning of the word is up to interpretation. Even with these shortcomings, the popularity of the term in the public sphere has made it impossible to abandon the term ‘culture’ all together.

As this is a document that deals extensively with culture, some basic definition must be made as to the meaning of the term in the context of this thesis. Perhaps the best way to do this is to share a definition from A.L. Kroeber and Clyde Kluckhohn's "Culture- a critical review of concepts and definitions". In the book, Kroeber (1948) describes culture to be "...the mass of learned and transmitted motor reactions, habits, techniques, ideas, and values- and the behavior they induce-is what constitutes *culture*. Culture is the special and exclusive product of men, and is their distinctive quality in the cosmos. ... Culture ... is at one and the same time the totality of products of social men, and a tremendous force affecting all human beings, socially and individually" (Kroeber/ Kluckhohn 1963; 84).

For the purposes of this paper, culture can be seen as encompassing the entirety of the social constructs of human effort including, but not limited to, law, morality, religion, habits, taboos, marriage, family structure, politics, and teaching methods.

3.4.2. The Role of Culture in Debates on Development

Cultural change and development remains an important point, one that is very little discussed in most disciplines and in the debates on development in general. By using the example of West Africa, Chevron criticizes the notion of development, which the International Organizations use to justify their projects; in that 'development' is something that will happen through the influence of others from outside, and is so-to say forced in. This ideology of progress is very much the idea that is used in the West. Main ideas of these thoughts are that countries need to be 'modernized' or economically 'liberalized'. Chevron compares the developmental ideas (those stating that there is a general developmental backlog in developing countries) to ideas of evolutionists in the 19th century, in which the West is also seen as exemplary model of how countries should develop. Chevron describes the main problem in being the ideal that development is supposed to lead to a wealthy, modern future. The perspective of cultural transformation that take place in a society are often not regarded at all (Chevron 2001; 358). This vast cultural transformation is increased due to the efforts and undertakings of developmental projects. Chevron criticizes, that there are hardly any efforts made that try to adapt and build upon existing cultural patterns and knowledge systems. This creates a problem for sustainability and continuity. There is no reflection on how local culture and need for development can be connected to the well-being of a person.

Since a few years, some debates have started taking place on how to integrate local and global knowledge, but these are lead with no link to the question of sustainability. So it happens often, that some projects, which lead to a short-term improvement of life quality in the framework of

“modernization”, prevent sustainable improvement, as they lead to a disruption with established survival strategies and culturally valuable behavior patterns (see Chevron 2001; 344). To Chevron, sustainable development can only be a given if there is continuity between existing knowledge and new acquired knowledge. Adaption needs to take place with the already existing knowledge (see Chevron 2001; 346 and Chevron 2004).

4. THE MIGRATION AND DEVELOPMENT NEXUS

The above sections of this master thesis discussed definitions and theories behind both migration and development from the viewpoint of social and cultural anthropology. Next, and in contrast to the scientific research, we will discuss current trends and thoughts as to how migration and development are seen in the official ‘development cooperation’ context. This will include theories and policies developed and used by international development organizations, and a brief survey of the ways that migration affects development.

Since migration and development are interrelated in such complex ways, and on so many different levels and dimensions, recent literature prefers to describe their link as a ‘nexus’ (see Skeldon 2008; 3). This section will first summarize the various perspectives held on the migration-development nexus, and will then highlight the key factors by which migration affects development.

4.1. Different Perspectives in viewing the Migration and Development Nexus

Over the past few decades popular and policy views towards migration’s developmental effects have drastically changed several times. In this section I would like briefly go over some of these views, and summarize some of the policy implications that these views created.

Hein de Haas, in his paper “Migration and Development: A Theoretical Perspective” (see de Haas 2008; 23-34) breaks down these thoughts regarding the migration-development nexus into three general views; optimists, pessimists, and pluralists. In his text, he gives an overview on how these viewpoints have changed over time.

‘Developmentalist’ views were dominating development policies in the 1950s and 1960s. The period until 1973 was characterized by optimism¹⁸ towards the effects resulting from migration, with a belief that knowledge and monetary transfers by migrants would enable countries in development to grow and prosper, by diffusing modernization to these “backward” areas.

De Haas describes this as follows: “According to ‘developmentalist’ views dominating development policies in the 1950s and 1960s, migrants, and in particular return migrants, were seen as important agents of change and innovation, investing remittances in economic enterprises back home” (de Haas 2008; 25). In this view, labor migration was seen as crucial part in this process of modernization, and policies were adapted accordingly to encourage loans, development aid, and remittances for migrants (de Haas 2008; 25).

After a decade of optimism towards migration, the realization that official developmental efforts had not brought the promised change tempered and subsequently reversed the optimistic view. This period was followed by a migration-and-development pessimism¹⁹ from 1973-1990, as topics such as dependency and brain drain were critically viewed in the research community. Migration was seen as depriving developing countries of their valuable human and material capital resources, which are exploited for the benefit of industrialized countries (de Haas 2008; 28). This view coincided with a renaissance in historical-structuralist Marxist thinking in social sciences, and dependency thinking in development theory and practice.

During this period, the policy field was characterized by a growing skepticism concerning the benefits of migration, and migration was mainly not included in development strategies. During this period of skepticism towards the effects of migration on development, as de Haas puts it, in the 1980s “migration is essentially interpreted as a negative “flight from misery” which

¹⁸ Optimists are those who view migration as having a positive effect on development. They argue that migration leads to modernization, brain gain, greater equality, economic development, investment of remittances, and eventually, decreased migration. This view was very much advocated in the post World War II period.

¹⁹ Pessimists are those who view migration as having a negative effect on development. They argue that migration can cause home country poverty, socio-economic instability, brain drain, depletion of the national labor force, and a rural exodus (see IOM 2004; 3).

contributes little to development. Worse, many migration researchers have argued that migration has even contributed to aggravating problems of underdevelopment” (de Haas 2008; 26).

From 1990 to 2001, this persistent skepticism and neglect led to tightened immigration policies. Increased studies started taking place after 2001, in which the views changed again towards being more positive concerning the link between migration and development. Topics such as brain gain, remittances, and diaspora involvement in home-country economies came to receive more attention from policy makers.

Even though this did not prevent the further tightening of immigration policies, a greater tolerance started to develop for highly-skilled immigration. In more recent times, the trend has become a more pluralist²⁰ viewpoint, with the debate trying to find a balance between the optimistic and pessimistic views (see de Haas 2008; 10).

In sum it can be said that findings from different studies relating to the effects of migration on development are clearly diverse and can be contradictory, depending on the viewpoints of those doing the research, and level of measurement taken. In some cases, migration seems to have a positive effect on the different dimensions of social and economic development, while in other cases it seems to have no effect or even negative effects.

Regardless of which side of the argument one belongs, it is beyond doubt that migration has a very real effect on development, especially when one looks at development as an increase of freedom and choice. When taking the perspective of development as freedom, then migration has to be seen as one of the key factors of development. The HDR09 emphasizes this point very clearly: “Using the expansion of human freedoms and capabilities as a lens has significant implications for how we think about human movement [...] we recognize that movement is one of the basic actions that individuals can choose to take in order to realize their life plans. In other words, the ability to move is a dimension of freedom that is part of development—with intrinsic as well as potential instrumental value” (UNDP 2009; 14-15).

²⁰ Pluralists are those who think that migration is generally a good thing, but temper their optimism by affirming that migration can have various negative impacts on development (de Haas, 2008). For instance they may see that migration leads to modernization, but at the same time they may see it as leading to a loss of tradition.

4.2 Some Key Factors within the Migration and Development Nexus

In large part, what one believes about how migration impacts a home country development centers around which key development factors one believes are impacted by migration and which of these factors are the most influential. This section will summarize what are widely held as the largest development factors affected by migration, both monetary and social remittances, skill transfers (“brain drain/brain gain”), socio-economic skills, and the role of women.

These areas will be key in understanding the context of the MIDA projects introduced later in the paper.

4.2.1. Monetary Remittances

As individuals migrate in search of better economic opportunities, these migrants often send a portion of their foreign earnings back to support family members in their home country. These money transfers are known as remittances. Today, remittances are one of the most discussed topics connected to the migration and development nexus, and one which is attaining higher attention among international groups. One of the reasons for this is that remittances sent home are the easiest to measure when it comes to the effects of migration on development. For example, Addison states that: “Remittances reflect the local labor working in the global economy and have been shown to explain partly the connection between growth and integration with the world economy” (Addison 2005; 118)

De Haas describes remittances to play a key role in the increasing interest on the topic migration and development: “This interest has undoubtedly been triggered by a striking increase in remittance flows. Remittances sent back to developing countries rose from \$31.1 billion in 1990 to \$76.8 billion in 2000 to \$167.0 billion in 2005. There is even a growing belief that remittances are a more effective instrument for income redistribution, poverty reduction, and economic growth than large bureaucratic development programs or development aid (Kapur 2003)” (de Haas 2008; 1).

These remittances often become a dominant source of income, and the sustenance, education, and freedom that the income offers for non-migrant family members. With these remittances families are able to pay for school fees, medical expenses, and other communal commitments that may otherwise be out of their reach. In Ghana for example, remittance money is vitally important because in poor communities the basic services normally provided by the governments are absent.

In addition to covering basic economic needs, many migrants send money back home in order to build up small scale businesses on their behalf. These remittance funds are mainly invested in real estate or are used to set up micro-enterprises and build clinics or schools. Therefore, remittances create income and employment opportunities and contribute to poverty alleviation, at least in the short-term (see Addison 2005; 133).

Remittances also can have a local multiplier effect. This means that the money brought in through remittances tends to stay within the community, and as it changes hands again and again it increases the overall wealth of that community.

The negative side of these remittance transfers is that they can engender a dependence on these monetary transfers in the home country. One could view individuals who survive due to remittances as essentially living on foreign charity, thus creating a certain “culture of dependence” which may lock certain populations into focusing on further migration as a source of income instead of local investment and development. This can lead to lessened efforts to get out of poverty through education and work by the recipient family, in essence creating an odd sort of welfare state (IOM 2006a; 8).

This of course is not to say that everyone agrees that there is a deep understanding of the effects of remittances. According to Mahler and Pessar (2009; 218), even though there has been some research on the reasons behind remitting, there is a need for further research to be done on why migrants send remittances and deprive themselves and their families of the income, why they send remittances to some individuals and not to others, and if and how gender influences these decisions: “Unfortunately, these questions remain to be studied systematically” (Mahler 2009; 218).

4.2.2. Social Remittances, Brain Drain and Brain Gain

Social remittances can be seen as the transfer of knowledge, skills, practices and ideas from a migrant to his or her country of origin (see THP Foundation / UNESCO 2008; 45).

Peggy Levitt (1998; 925) defines social remittances as: “the ideas, behaviors, identities, and social capital that flow from receiving- to sending-country communities”. She goes on to state that “the role that these resources play in promoting immigrant entrepreneurship, community and family formation, and political integration is widely acknowledged”.

As people move from their home countries to foreign countries, they absorb new experiences, and these experiences become a part of their mindset. When these migrants return home with this

plethora of new experiences, they bring these mindset changes with them. Their views on issues such as the woman's role in society may have changed, and when they return home they can in some cases become ambassadors bringing this change to their rural communities.

Even if migrants do not return home, their social views can have a significant effect on their home country. Diaspora²¹ organizations and associations are playing an increasingly visible role and have an influence in the social, economic and political life of their home countries. They are most often involved in organizing political advocacy, charity and cultural exchange.

Transfer of skills (Brain Drain/ Brain Gain)

When a migrant leaves his or her country of origin, they take with them all the potential skills which they could have used for the benefit of their home country. This is especially true of professional workers who seek out better opportunities abroad and cannot be immediately replaced. This loss of skilled labor to foreign countries due to migration is known colloquially as "brain drain", and is one of the major negative effects of migration for the country of origin.

As Skeldon puts it: "The emigration of the highly skilled was, and (...) to a large extent still is, seen as negative for the countries of origin as they lose the people most likely to be able to generate development" (Skeldon 2008; 5).

To balance this out, when these persons do return, they tend to have a higher opportunity of contributing more professionally and financially to development than they had at their departure. This gaining of skills from migrants who left their home country in search of better opportunities and then return is known colloquially as "brain gain". Migrants might also come and go several times, bringing with them knowledge and ideas, which is referred to as "brain circulation" (IOM 2006a; 12).

²¹ It needs to be noted that there are different definitions of diaspora, but the term is usually referred to a group of people living outside of their country, who are willing to contribute to the development of this country. The definition in found in the THP Foundation/ UNESCO Handbook on Migration (2008;9) describes diaspora as: "Populations outside their country of origin usually sustaining ties and developing links both with that country of origin and across countries of settlement/residence".

Brain drain and brain gain not only affect the countries of origin, but also affect those who are migrating, as there is no guarantee that a migrant will be able to find work abroad in his field of training. There is a risk that these persons might end up in menial jobs in a foreign country whereas their skills are lacking in their home country.

To the debates on researching brain drain and brain gain, Skeldon (2008) has an interesting point to add which he thinks is missing in current debates. To Skeldon, the question needs to be asked if the highly skilled professionals are really the most appropriate personnel for areas in which development needs are greatest (basic health personnel might be needed more than those trained for international standard for modern hospitals) (Skeldon 2008; 6-7).

Concerning the gaining of Skills, in the view of Skeldon, the training location is often not considered in research on brain drain: “(...) the place of training of the skilled is rarely considered, mainly because of problems of available data” (Skeldon 2008; 7). He continues with the observation that “some anthropologists argue that many of the brains are refined, if not created, in countries of destination. It is also clear that, at the local level too, the children of villages in poor areas have to move to larger settlements in order to pursue their education to secondary level and beyond” (Skeldon 2008; 7). This is a valuable contribution to the discussions on brain drain and brain gain. It is important to consider the fact that migration is a fact that in some cases might facilitate the gaining of higher skills, and without migration, some of the skills that are the very perquisite of brain drain and brain gain possibly would not exist in the country of origin.

4.2.3. Return Migration

Today, return migration is seen as very relevant in migration studies (see Strasser 2009; 26). However, this was not always the case. Return migration was originally not seen as relevant in research until the 1990s (Krist/Wolfsberger 2009; 176). It was not until the evolving of studies in transnationalism that return migration garnered any major attention. However, with the rise of transnationalism, migration research was no longer tied to one specific location. This helped researchers recognize that emigration, integration, and return migration are no longer tied to one time frame, but are rather part of a complicated stream of choices that can possibly span across decades (ibid; 177).

This is true because many migrants that emigrate do so with the idea of returning home. Migrants who have managed to acquire wealth abroad may return to invest in the home country for example by setting up small businesses. These in return have positive impacts on taxes, and on the

generation of employment. These migrants have several advantages compared to foreign investors. As they originate from that country, they possess the inside knowledge necessary for the business environment and can more easily foresee obstacles. Further, they can benefit from the social capital and the networks they have kept contact with or have built while away. These networks prove to be crucial in the interpersonal and less formal African business environment. Another huge advantage returning migrants have is their accumulated savings. These savings are a major asset in countries such as Ghana where the possibilities of receiving loans are very limited (see Tiemoko 2005; 192).

While going into detail on the topic of return migration is beyond the scope of this thesis, it can be said that return migration is an important aspect of migration and development considering the possible social and monetary remittances and/ or investments that migrants bring with them. This fact has meanwhile also been acknowledged by the research community, for whom return migration has increased in interest especially in parallel with transnationalism.

4.2.4. Impact on the Role of Women

Throughout history, migration has been prominently male-dominated. However, in recent years more and more women are beginning to participate in short- to long-distance migratory streams as in West Africa. Adepoju states that “the traditional pattern whereby males migrate, leaving their wives and children at home has changed in recent years; women are migrating independently in search of secure jobs in developed countries” (Adepoju 2005; 48).

Also in the field of scientific research, the focus for a long time was on the male aspect of migration; leaving out areas that concern women as observed by Brettel (2000; 109): “despite Revenstein’s (1885) claim more than a century ago that women dominated short-distance population movements, women were generally ignored in the study of migration until quite recently”. In recent times though, scientists are increasingly engaging with female migration.

What they have learned is that migration has become a major survival strategy for independent females. The case of Ghana shows that “the proportionate share of female migrants increased from 41 percent in 1960 to 47 percent in 1990 as a result of higher levels of education for women and changing social norms which have increased opportunities for women to migrate for overseas employment in their own right” (Twum-Baah 2005; 70).

Migration can also potentially empower women, as women who migrate become independent economic actors. In very traditional societies, the income of women can have a very large impact on her role and status in society. Mahler and Pessar in their article on Gender Matters in Migration

Studies (2009; 211) take note of the fact that “ethnographers using households, families, and networks as units of analysis have revealed a pattern wherein immigrant women introduced to wage-earning employment often experience gains in personal autonomy”.

At the same time, traditional areas of male labor have opened up new roles for the women who do not migrate. For example, in the 1980s and 1990s, as jobs became more and more scarce in Ghana and the amount of remittances declined, many families depended on women and their farming activities in order to survive. This helped to change the role of women in these communities as these women became resource managers and decision makers, especially in the agricultural sector. Many men have also been responding to the increasing urban job opportunities and urban structural adjustments, forcing women to seek additional income generating activities to feed the family. So the patterns have changed from migrating due to family reunification with their husbands to migrating to enable females to fulfill their economic needs. More and more professional women in West Africa are emigrating and leaving their husbands behind to look after the children (Anarfi/Kwankye/Ahiadeke 2005; 223).

These increases on the research of women and migration include such topics as wage-labor effects values and traditional roles of women and men, the political engagement of women, female leadership, and the effects of immigrant policies on social position of women (see Brettel 2000).

5. THE MIDA CONCEPT

As was noted earlier, the trend towards a pluralistic view of migration has led many international organizations to re-emphasize the many positive effects of well managed migration. For instance, the United Nations High Level Dialogue on Migration and Development, which was held in September 2006, recognized the important link between migration and the role of migrants for development. Through this dialogue, participating states have recognized the need for incorporating international migration into the development agenda and for integrating migration into national development and poverty reduction strategies

It is in this view that in 2001 the International Organization for Migration (IOM) officially launched the Migration for Development in Africa (MIDA) initiative. This initiative involves the mobilizing of African migrants, utilizing both their countries of origin and of residence for the strengthening of institutional capacities of the African continent to contribute towards development. It aims to do this by reaping and channeling the untapped potential of Africa's expatriate community to benefit development.

The MIDA program started by promoting and assisting sub-Saharan immigrants to help support their country of origin in technical, financial and political arenas, through training and capacity building, called the Return of Qualified Nationals (RQN) programs.

By upholding the principle that great progress can be made through partnership between host and origin countries, MIDA has reached out to those migrants that kept close ties to both their societies of origin, and their societies of residence. By leveraging these migrants with close ties to both ends of the migration stream, MIDA creates and promotes projects that help the needs of the people of Africa.

In MIDA's own words: "MIDA targets African professionals, entrepreneurs and experts in the diaspora, willing and able to contribute their skills as well as financial and other resources to the development efforts of their countries of origin" (IOM 2004b; 3).

In May 2006, the African Union adopted an African Common Position on Migration and Development in its Executive Council Decision 305 that reflected the programs initiated by IOM. As human resources shortages due to the emigration of needed skilled workers remain one of the main challenges for Africa, this Council Decision urged all member states to mainstream

migration into their development plans and to allocate the needed resources for this implementation (see IOM 2009; 35).

5.1. The Goals of MIDA

According to the “MIDA and Beyond” report, the five main strategic areas of work of the MIDA are:

1. “Assessing country-specific needs in identified priority sectors with a view to matching them with diaspora resources;
2. Building capacity by transferring human and physical resources of diaspora communities to countries of origin, also temporarily, or virtually, as the case may be;
3. Enhancing dialogue between the diaspora community and national authorities in countries of residence (“Diaspora Dialogues”);
4. Forging partnerships between private sector and the diaspora to promote investments and optimize the development of impact of remittance;
5. Promoting policy coherence for migration and development and integration of migration into the development goals of developing countries” (IOM 2009; 31-32).

To reach these ends, MIDA utilizes financial transfers, decentralized cooperation and both physical and virtual technical knowledge transfers. The ideal approach is to match the skills of existing expatriate professionals with the needs of a host country. If possible, the professional migrant returns for a short period of time to his or her host country to provide training, but if that is not possible, then e-learning is utilized. This use of co-development²² is vital to MIDA because

²² As stated in the THP Foundation/ UNESCO Handbook of selected terms and concepts in relation to Migration, “Co-development refers to a development approach and strategy which considers migrants to be a central partner and actor for the development process in their countries of origin. Co-development projects with countries of origin can be set up in any sector but their key characteristic is to involve migrants at one or several stages, from conception, feasibility study to funding, implementation and evaluation. Individual states and governments have put forward their approach, but no consensus has emerged on a definition. The term is increasingly used in policy discourse, but with widely variable and disputed understandings” (THP Foundation/ UNESCO; 51).

migrants bring with them a unique mix of local background, foreign work experience, and a vision for change (IOM 2004b; 2).

5.2. Phases of a MIDA Project

MIDA projects normally go through three phases:

1. Discovery,
2. Promotion,
3. Execution.

In the first phase, it is necessary to assess and link the needs, resources, priorities and expectations of all stakeholders. For this, each project needs to identify the key sector and skill levels required in target countries, map the target groups from within the diaspora and migrant communities abroad and match supply and demand.

The second phase then entails promotional activities to mobilize resources and build trust. This involves outreach activities to mobilize diaspora and migrant resources to build trust, and gain support from the expatriate community.

The third phase begins the execution of the project, where the actual project is started and completed in both the country of destination and the country of origin. This is then followed by project evaluation, and sustainability studies.

There are several projects currently running under the MIDA strategy. Even though the MIDA approach taken by IOM sound like one that responds the real needs of such as the lack of human resources, the real impact of such projects can only be proven when the impact is evaluated.

5.3 The Importance of Projects like MIDA

As noted by Sen (1999; 53): “The ends and means of development call for placing the perspective of freedom to the center of the stage. The people have to be seen, in this perspective, as being actively involved- given the opportunity- in shaping their own destiny, and not just as passive recipients of the fruits of cunning development programs. The state and the society have extensive roles in strengthening and safeguarding human capabilities”.

Bearing this in mind, the strength of projects such as MIDA is that the efforts and changes that are being tried are coming from expatriates, or transnational migrants; people who have a vested interest in the results.

Furthermore, these are persons who are informed about local and cultural as well as political contexts in which the projects exist, and these are people who have firsthand experience about what is needed in their country of origin. In this sense, and especially in the case of the MIDA-Italy project, the initiative can be greatly applauded, as the ideas and suggestions for projects to take place come from the diaspora abroad, whose strength is the knowledge of their country of origin, as well as the relationships that might already exist.

Furthermore, responding to the criticism by Chevron (2001; 2004) in the section on the role of culture in the debates on development, here a closer step is being made in building on already existing patterns; existing efforts that are being made to work with existing institutions and infrastructure, that are not imposed from outside. Especially in Italy itself, the fact that the Ghanaian diaspora has been chosen according to their already existing organizational and co-operational efforts in Italy, have proven to be valuable.

In this view; one should not only consider the flow of ideas from Italy to Ghana, but also the flow of ideas and cultural enrichment from Ghana (through the diaspora) to Italy. In other cases, this flow has been found to be 'minimal', as the Ghanaian diaspora tend to stay among themselves.

Going back to the idea of participation, a key benefit of programs like MIDA is that they involve Ghanaians in every stage of the program. Project proposals are created by the diaspora, a portion of the funding is given by the diaspora, and a lot of the training that goes on is done by members of the diaspora.

The initiatives organized by locals such as DIDO and CPYWD, which will be presented in the empirical part in my view are successful in that they are initiatives organized by locals, who are trying to improve the situation around them by building on participation from the grass-roots. In this way, people from the local area are taking initiative to work for improvement, and they are not timely-limited through a budget and project end. The danger with initiatives coming from outside is that they create a certain dependence on initiatives coming, and might actually halt people from taking initiatives themselves.

In this view, migration and the support coming from migrants abroad might be seen as sustainable way for assistance in development. Encouraging these efforts by the MIDA projects can be very

valuable; as it gives those migrants willing to contribute, a constructive and effective way to contribute.

When this insider knowledge is matched with the years of information catalogued by the impact indicators retained from previous projects, the results may lead to relevant projects that address the real issues people are dealing with.

Beyond this, initiatives such a MIDA work by building upon already existing connections and institutions; such as the Ghanaian expatriate community of Italy, and farming coops already working in Ghana. This ensures participation and co-funding. In the specific case of Ghanacoop, the research of CeSPI has shown the effectiveness of this model. From the added value for migrant communities in Italy, to the way the project proposals have enhanced the communication and the integration of these migrant communities.

This leads us to the next chapter, in which an introduction will be given to the importance of impact evaluations and the role that impact indicators play in these.

6. INTRODUCTION TO THE NEED AND USE OF IMPACT INDICATORS

For all development projects or programs, the systematic and objective assessment of program results is of high importance. This is because knowing how well, or poorly, a project achieved its aims helps both in ensuring that project goals are achieved, and assists in designing effective future projects.

The following section will give a brief overview about the relevance and use of such indicators, and their use in the evaluation process. These will later be utilized in the framework of the MIDA projects, specifically in the case of the MIDA Ghana-Italy project.

6.1. Overview of Impact Areas in the Field of Migration and Development

As mentioned earlier, development has often been measured primarily in economic terms. So too, measurement of the economical effects of migration on development have been a strong focus in the past, with a lot of attention to the impact of remittances from migrants on the national level. These measurements are done in accordance with the understanding of what development is. Other impacts of migration on development other than remittances are not easy to measure. It is difficult to attribute changes that happen in society solely to migration, as many other factors could be involved, inducing these changes. As elaborated, migration impacts development on so many different levels and in a tremendous variety of areas. The impact of some of the factors such as those inducing brain drain/brain gain are difficult to measure since the visible impact might stretch over decades.

As regards development, the human capabilities approach looks more at the personal, individual and family level of development, and includes a variety of contexts as opposed to considering only economical facts. A political refugee for example, might be worse off financially in his country of destination; but still be happier due to the won political freedom in his new home. Having to consider such a variety of areas of impact though, makes impact evaluations rather complicated and complex.

The HDR09 focuses on the issue of Human Mobility and Development. In their analysis of the topic, they look into several key areas dealing with migration and development. They specify two areas of specific interest also for this paper, those being the sections on how migrants who move

fare, and how those who are left behind fare due to this migration. Below, an overview over these two areas that were taken into consideration in the field of migration and development by the HDR09 is presented. It has to be noted here, that both negative and positive indicators are included, so as to achieve a general overview of effects on development.

The areas that were taken into consideration for measuring the effects of migration for the migrants specifically are:

- Differences in wages between countries of origin and countries of destination. This was compared to the GDP of each country (UNDP 2009; 50),
- Wealth of migrant families compared to the wealth of local families in Europe (ibid; 51),
- Financial cost of moving, and barriers to entrance and legal working conditions (ibid; 50-53),
- Increased child survival rates due to migration (the chance a child of a migrant family would have died if not for the improved medical infrastructure of their country of destination) (ibid; 55),
- Increased education gained for children due to the migration of a family (ibid; 57),
- Conflicts and resultant migrations due to the escape of conflict, both internal and external displacements (ibid; 62-64),
- Migration of skilled migrants by gender (ibid; 77).

The areas that were considered in terms of measuring effects of migration on countries of origin can be summarized as:

- Emotional and Physical costs of sending family members overseas to gain remittances (ibid; 72),
- Poverty rates for families with and without migrant members (ibid; 73),
- School attendance of children of families with and without migrants in the family (ibid; 74),
- Labor shortages due to able bodied men migrating (ibid; 75).

This list gives a good insight into the variety of areas that have to be considered in the migration and development nexus, when taking the human capabilities approach for development. Measuring the effects of migration on development as well as measuring impacts of projects on development, call for the creation of clear impact indicators. The next section will be giving a

clearer understanding of what we mean when speaking of impact indicators and why these are essential.

6.2. Impact Indicator Definition

The OECD/DAC defines impact as:

“Positive and negative, primary and secondary long-term effects produced by a development intervention, directly or indirectly, intended or unintended” (OECD/DAC 2009; 31).

The OECD/DAC goes on to define an indicator as:

“A quantitative or qualitative factor or variable that provides a simple and reliable means to measure achievement, to reflect changes connected to an intervention, or to help assess the performance of a development actor” (OECD/DAC 2009; 32).

Keeping both of these definitions in mind, impact indicators can be defined as groupings of quantitative and qualitative information that measures the positive and negative impacts of a project.

These impact indicators work by comparing the goals a project sets out to complete with the reality of the completed project. For instance, if a project’s goal is to encourage economic growth through the use of micro-loans and business education, one way to measure the effectiveness of this program is to follow the revenue growth or profit margin of the companies that received these micro-loans and education.

6.3. The Importance of Impact Indicators

There exist many reasons why impact indicators are important. For the sake of this document we will look at three. There are:

1. Project evaluation,
2. Proper allocation of resources,
3. Project improvement.

6.3.1. Project Evaluation

Evaluation is a vital part of a program and generally takes place after its completion, enabling the overall assessment of performance and an accurate measuring of success. These evaluations play different roles for different stake holders that a project or program has.

For those within the project and those managing the project, the purpose of such evaluations is as a learning tool. Through the use of impact indicators, organizations can learn valuable lessons about such things as the sustainability, feasibility, efficiency, and actual affect a project or program has. Based upon the information elucidated by these indicators, organizations can then adjust future projects or realign current projects for optimal effect.

For governments and donors, evaluations are seen as an important accountability tool (IOM 2009; 81). The formulation of appropriate impact indicators is essential for the development of a sound approach to project evaluation because these indicators provide clear benchmarks by which to determine project success or failure (IOM 2009; 82).

6.3.2. Proper Allocation of Resources

Every project has a finite amount of time, money, and manpower available to complete the goals set out at a projects origination. For this reason, it is essential that these limited resources be allocated and directed into projects that meet the goals of those giving the resources. According to the Network of Networks for Impact Evaluation (NONIE 2008; 4), the emphasis in impact evaluation and an ‘evidence based approach’ has grown immensely in the last few years: “Impact evaluation has received an enormous amount of attention over the past three years. This trend has been driven by several factors such as the focus on managing and being accountable for results, propagation of the concept of ‘evidence-based policy’ and an increasingly urgent search for ‘what works’ – especially given the uneven performance of development initiatives across the world and diminishing global resources amidst competing national and global priorities that since so many development efforts exist, recent policies are shifting to the evidence-based policy and practice approach”.

By knowing which projects are the most effective, it is easier to have the most effect with the amount of goods and resources available. Equally important, it gives a greater guarantee that the desires of those who invest in the projects are met.

6.3.3. Project Improvement

No project can know its outcomes from the very beginning. Be it due to inexperience, misunderstanding, or incompetence, there are always areas within a project that have room for improvement. As is often the case, finding the areas where improvement is most needed is a very difficult task.

The larger and more complicated the project becomes, the more challenging it becomes to get a firm grip on what is working and what is not. An increase in complexity drives up the cost of evaluation, both in terms of time and resources. However, this is no excuse for proper evaluation, as fundamental reality of the importance of impact indicators does not change. As NONIE reminds us, “Impact evaluation needs to gather evidence of (or assess the likelihood of) success in, and/or potential for sustaining positive action or effects in the long term. Issues of sustainability should not be neglected in spite of the significant difficulties in its credible evaluation” (NONIE 2008; 3).

In short, by establishing impact indicators for projects and obtaining the required data to measure these indicators, it becomes possible to make clearer the areas in which the project is doing well, and the areas in which it is struggling. This information can then be used to strengthen the core competencies of a project, and resolve issues or shortcomings that the project may have.

6.4. Developing Impact Indicators

As elaborated previously, development is a complex and multi-dimensional concept. So too is its evaluation. According to de Haas, “development is not only a complex multi-dimensional concept but can also be assessed at different levels of analysis and has different meanings within different normative, cultural and historical contexts” (de Haas 2009; 5). This inclines that also the development of impact indicators is a complex task because the data being looked at can be seen on so many different levels, dimensions, and contextual viewpoints.

Since development, as understood within the general development cooperation context, can be evaluated on different analytical levels it holds to reason that impact indicators can also be viewed from many levels, and depend largely on the specific aim of each project. This inherent complexity makes discovering good impact indicators hard, especially impact indicators that cannot be directly tied to easily measurable statistics. For instance, measure economic impact is much easier than measuring quality of life.

It is also important to note that there are three levels on which impact can be measured:

1. The macro level (regional or national interests), usually in accordance with large socio-economic and political goals,
2. The meso level (community level), including individuals as members of a group and participants in broader social processes,
3. The micro level, for example in measuring the impacts on the well-being of the individual, or family (see IOM 2001).

Furthermore, as the impacts of a project tend to become clear after a suitable period of time, it is the established best practice for impact indicators to measure the short term and the long-term impacts (IOM 2009; 84) and outcomes a project has.

The long-term impact especially plays a tremendous role in discussions on the sustainability of the work done by a project. As such, they are becoming increasingly important in the discussions about development. This is because in some cases the true impact of a project can only be seen in the long term, such as the effects of an increase in the quality of education. NONIE's Impact Evaluation Guidelines (2008; 2) point out this fact when it says that: "The effects that are evident in the short-term may continue to be evident in the long term, they may increase or lead to other impacts or they may decrease or even vanish over time".

It is the view of the author, that the long-term impacts of a project show the real quality of a project or program.

Finally, an important factor in impact evaluation, and creation of impact indicators, is to pay attention to both the intended impact (in accordance with the goal of a project), and the unintended impacts/outcomes of a project, whether they be positive or negative. One example of unintended impact in the MIDA context was that: "The MIDA Italy project (...) resulted in a co-development initiative, which had the unintended positive outcome of social recognition of the Ghanaian diaspora's contribution to the region's economy and it's members' integration into Italy" (IOM 2009; 84).

6.4.1. Baselines for Comparison

In essence, the core to developing impact indicators becomes finding which questions to ask. Once one knows which questions are the truly important ones, then one can begin searching for the indicators that help answer those questions. The OECD notes that, when evaluating the impact of a program or a project, it is useful to consider the following questions:

- “What has happened as a result of the program or project?
- What real difference has the activity made to the beneficiaries?
- How many people have been affected?” (see OECD).

In order to help answer these questions there first needs to exist a baseline, meaning that there needs to be a set of data explaining the way things were before the project began. If this baseline is not in place, then it becomes nearly impossible to decipher what effects a project has had. It is very much like trying to draw a line with only one point of data.

Having a control group allows the organizers of a project to compare the impact of a project or program against a community that has not had that project or program. This allows organizers to say with more certainty that the impacts in a community come about because of the projects in question. Only then can the progress towards a result or goal be measured.

6.4.2. Contribution vs. Attribution

When it comes to measuring the effects of a project, one must decide if the changes reaped are a contribution or an attribution. The difference between a contribution and an attribution is one of degree: a contribution means that the project was one of several factors which led to the change, while an attribution means that the project was 100% responsible for the change. By and large, most impacts tend to be contributions and not attributions.

As to not confuse the two, it is important to state how an impact contributed to a measured change. As explained by Dr. Howard White of the International Initiative for Impact Evaluation, “A common finding in an impact evaluation would be that intervention X caused outcome Y to change by P%. A good study would dig a bit deeper, and say that since Y changed by P% over the period of the intervention, say, a quarter of the overall change can be [contributed] to the intervention” (White 2009; 12).

6.5. Using Impact Indicators

There exist two basic theories in regards to using impact indicators to evaluate the effectiveness of a project or program, Counterfactual Impact Evaluation, and Theory-Based Impact Evaluation.

6.5.1 Counterfactual Impact Evaluation (CIE)

Rick Cummings, in an article in the *Evaluation Journal of Australasia*, defines Counterfactual Impact Evaluation as follows: “In its broadest sense, the counterfactual is an estimate (either quantitatively or qualitatively) of the circumstances that would have prevailed had a policy or program not been introduced” (Cummings 2006; 2). In this theory, one compares the actual outcomes to the proposed outcomes that would have existed without the project or program, and measures attribution or contribution accordingly.

For instance, if a project intervenes in a rural community by digging irrigation, one could measure the results of the impact by comparing the crop yields before and after the project. Let us take the fictitious example of a small farm before and after irrigation. One starts by measuring the yield in previous years, to create a baseline for comparison. In this case, the average yield from 2006-2009 was 100 bushels. In 2010, after the irrigation was in place, the productivity of the farm was measured to be 160 bushels.

2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
100 bushels	120 bushels	90 bushels	90 bushels	160 bushels

All other factors being equal, one can conclude that the projects’ impact lead to an increase in production for that farm.

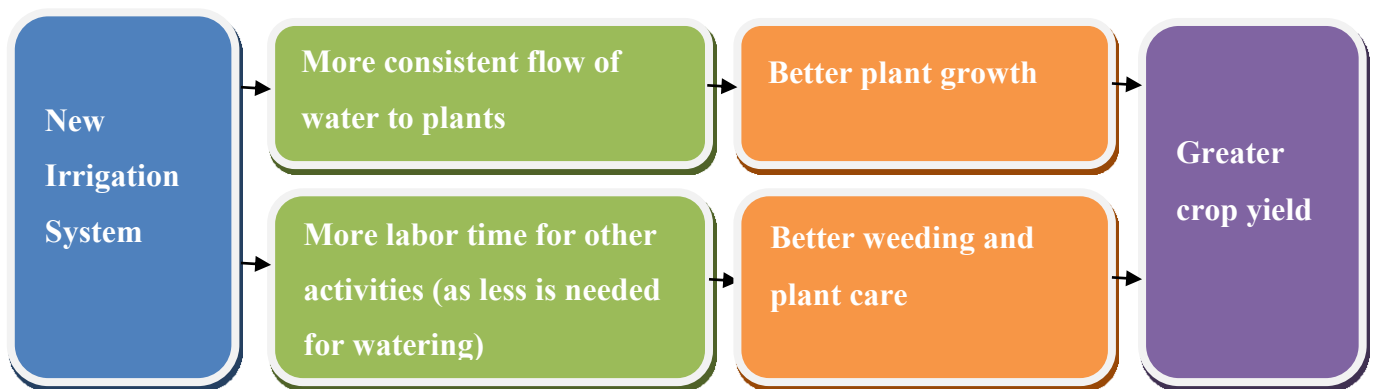
Using the previous years as a baseline, one would then attempt to calculate how the farm would have produced this year without the irrigation. This process would have to take into account any changes from previous years, factors such as rainfall changes, changes in grain type, changes in pesticides used, and the number of laborers. The process would then compare the expected yield without the irrigation to the actual yield with the irrigation. For our example, let us suppose that the yield without irrigation would have been 120 bushels.

With this in mind, the impact could be measured as an increase of sixty bushels, with forty of those bushels being contributed to the new irrigation system. This very simple example serves to give a concrete picture of the idea behind Counterfactual Impact Evaluation. For actual evaluations, more aspects would need to be considered such as the improvement of quality of life and effects on the social life of the villagers, etc.

6.5.2. Theory-Based Impact Evaluation (TBIE)

Theory based impact evaluation looks at the state before a project and the end results of a project, and attempts to map possible theories for how one leads to the other. This ‘causal chain’ is then used to explain why a project or program was effective (see White, 2009b). This approach is very effective in ascertaining social impacts, as it looks into the why as much as the what.

To go back to our earlier factitious example from above, a causal chain might look something like this:



In this method, one looks at the new irrigation and the resultant greater crop yield, and then one tries to discover all the possible reasons for this change. For example, the new irrigation system may have opened up more man hours that could then be used to better weed and care for plants. The new irrigation system may also have increased the flow of water to the plants, and thus facilitated better plant growth. Here again, a simple example is used for illustration. For actual evaluations, more aspects would be involved in the evaluation process.

6.5.3. Mixed Methods Approach

Most projects settle on a mixed methods approach when measuring the level and number of their impacts (see White 2009b). This mixed methods approach tends to first create causal chains to try and explain why an intervention had the impacts it did, and then use counterfactual information to report results and support the conclusions of the causal chain.

6.6. Examples of Impact Indicators used in the Migration and Development Analysis

In the specific case of impact indicators, the types of indicators used differ greatly based upon the area of interest. Below are some examples of impact indicators for the different areas that should give a clear picture and understanding of what impact indicators could be for each field.

Business indicators

- ROI (Return on Investment),
- Number of expatriate investors,
- Turnover (How quickly inventory is moved),
- Capital Growth,
- Layoffs and new hires,
- Women in business.

Economic indicators

- GDP,
- Growth of industry sectors,
- Increased purchases,
- Use of disposable income,
- Percentage of income saved.

Social indicators

- Literacy level,
- Students enrollment,
- Participation of women in politics,
- Changes in traditional roles,
- Changes in political structure.

Environmental indicators

- Amounts of clean water,
- Use of new technologies,
- Impact on a local ecology,
- Effects on indigenous wildlife/fauna.

Health indicators

- Infant mortality rate,
- Patient to Doctor ratio,

- Disease,
- Amount of Female Genital Mutilation.

7. THE NEED FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF IMPACT INDICATORS FOR MIDA PROJECTS

7.1. Examples of Impact Indicators from previous MIDA Projects

In order to better understand the current use of impact indicators in the migration and development field, I have included a small subset of impact indicators taken directly from various MIDA evaluations. I have decided to include research on some of the Return of Qualified Nationals (RQN) project evaluations, due to lack of access to recent MIDA project evaluations and because of their similarity in nature.

The first such example can be found in the RQN program, which used specific impact indicators to evaluate the success of the EU-RQA in its task of meeting initial goals of building capacity in Afghanistan, improving the functioning of Afghan institutions, and fostering private sector growth and expansion.

Here, indicators were divided into indicators for Private Sector Companies, Organizations, and Public Sector Institutions. Some examples of specific impact indicators used to evaluate the transfer of skills and ‘know how’ are:

- The sum of the implemented new initiatives, techniques, methodology, and tools (see Altai Consulting 2005; 27);
- The increased efficiency/capabilities of work caused by the presence of returning skilled workers (see Altai Consulting 2005; 27);
- The amount of improved profitability, efficiency, market share, quality of service, etc. in a relevant department or business (see Altai Consulting 2005; 27);
- Measuring the profitability and growth of businesses started by returning expatriate professionals (see Altai Consulting 2005; 28).

The next set of examples can be found in the evaluation of the ‘Return of Qualified African Nationals Programme’ which used the following specific impact indicators:

- The number of returnees who’s work directly lead to financial growth (IOM 2000; 9),
- The amount of skills, training, and technology transferred from a returnee to locals (IOM 2000; 11),
- The growth or decline of organizations with returning expatriates (IOM 2000; 21).

The final set of impact indicators comes from the Reconstruction, Capacity Building and Development through the Return of Qualified Nationals to Bosnia and Herzegovina program, which IOM ran from 1996 to 2001. According to the project assessment, the goal of the project was to strengthen the administrative and technical capacities within the public and private sectors in the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Republika Srpska in order to facilitate the reconstruction process.

As listed in the project evaluation (IOM 2001; 18-20) some of the specific impact indicators from this project where:

- The percentage of female participants in the project,
- Both countries of destination and regions of origin sorted by attendee population,
- The age and profession of returning qualified nationals,
- Living conditions, employment history, and growth of businesses after migrant return.

7.2. Fields in which further Impact Indicators need to be developed

As may be clear from the subset of included indicators, there is little to no mention about the social changes brought about by these projects. This is not a problem unique to RQN or MIDA, but rather a disparity common in all the project evaluations reviewed for this work.

When social impacts are addressed, the favored topic seems to be the effects of promoting and advancing the role of women. As this is a big issue in this day and age it receives due attention, but unless a topic is specifically targeted towards a social cause the reviewers seem to find little need to include social indicators. There are of course understandable reasons for this, such as the cost of research and the difficulty of measuring social impacts.

However, in order to truly understand the impact a project has, one needs to look deeper than pure economics. Changes in the average family stability, changes in traditional roles, and the creation of new trends all impact society in deep and profound ways. I would argue that true development relies just as much on the positive growth in these areas as in economic expansion.

Another classification of indicator that does not always receive enough attention is that of a cultural impact indicator. These indicators measure the ways in which a project affects the cultural system of a region. What taboos have been altered, which traditional roles have been challenged, and which customs have adapted due to an intervention. This corresponds to the fact that quite

often technological or practical improvements are attempted, without consultations of representatives of experts in the social field.

Many of these indicators are even harder to understand than simple social indicators. One possible reason for this is that it is difficult for an evaluator to discover a baseline by which to compare, as most evaluators are not steeped in the culture their project is taking place in.

However, these indicators have a deep effect on people's lives, as people's lives are inarguably influenced by their culture. For instance, the challenging of the traditional role of women is having a real effect in Ghana. As will be discussed later, women are becoming more independent as economic actors.

7.3. Reality of Impact Indicators in the MIDA Projects

Since most every project or program implemented has a very limited budget; and very often the impact assessment after the implementation of the project is very costly and timely, the proper impact evaluations are not always done.

Most small to mid-sized projects, especially those without backing from an international organization seem to be more worried about getting the project done and measuring the outcome (such as how many people have been trained), rather than the impact (did the training really improve the situation for these people). For these projects any assessment is usually done only after the project is completed, and is not given its due importance.

Adding to this, in the field of migration and development, most impact indicators are not designed or researched by professionals. There are few globally recognized standards, and there is little adoption of these standards in general. By contrast, measuring impact in the field of medicine is a rigorous and standardized process.

For the MIDA programs, few impact indicators exist, as their design is not always affordable in the planned budget. The 'MIDA and Beyond' report explains that, "Nevertheless, their development is strongly recommended on account of their value in determining the real development impact of the project" (IOM 2009; 83).

The report goes on to state that, "changes within the context of Migration for Development program are not always clearly attributable to project interventions and this difficulty of correlating observed effects to a given program activity is one of the more important challenges of

impact evaluations” (IOM 2009; 85). The MIDA Great Lakes project for example is training migrants in project management, and it is being ensured that impact indicators are included in the projects they develop.

7.4. The Need for further development of Impact Indicators for the MIDA Projects

More attention is needed towards the topic of concrete impact indicators in the MIDA-type projects. An impact assessment and the development of impact indicators might not always be cost-effective in the evaluation process, as they can be very costly, and as such should not be taken as pre-condition for the effectiveness of a project. It is important on the other hand to note that, if correctly used “ impact indicators can help to ensure that the project is adapted to the specific context in which it is to be undertaken in order to correctly meet individual needs, correspond to local conditions and respect cultural traditions” (Littell/ Shlonsky 2009; 10).

Impact indicators need to be adapted to the specific regional situation and the needs of the migrants involved, taking the specific circumstances such as forced or voluntary migration into consideration. It is recommended that if possible, impact indicators be at the macro, meso and micro levels, in order to gain a broad and balanced understanding of the resultant effects of a project or program. IOM (2009; 86) observes correctly that “a strong framework of balanced indicators can support decision makers to shift budgets away from ineffective projects and direct them towards more effective ones that benefit the individual, community, the region and the nation as a whole”.

In relatively short interventions; the longer term impact might be difficult to measure. An option here would be to create indicators of change, to measure the change resulting from a developmental intervention (see IOM 2009; 86 footnotes).

Part B: MIGRATION AND DEVELOPMENT; THE SPECIFIC CASE OF GHANACOOP AND RESULTS FROM THE EMPIRICAL RESEARCH

1. INTRODUCTION TO PART B

Equipped with a broad understanding of the theoretical framework and relevant current discussions on the topics of the migration and development nexus and the understanding of the importance for the development of impact indicators, I will now be turning to a closer look at the specific case of Ghana, as well as the need for development of impact indicators for one specific MIDA project that took place between Italy and Ghana (MIDA Italy-Ghana project), and the Ghanacoop project in specific. This part B includes looking closely into the reality of migration and development in Ghana, presentation of the Ghanacoop project and then will turn to the results of the empirical research, which were won mostly during a one month field trip to Ghana in the end of 2009. The information from the empirical research includes views of Ghanaian nationals on the migration and development nexus, the Ghanacoop project, and the importance of impact evaluations.

2. MIGRATION AND DEVELOPMENT; THE SPECIFIC CASE OF GHANA

2.1. An Introduction to Ghana

The Republic of Ghana is located in West Africa, among the countries along the Gulf of Guinea, with a coastal line along the Atlantic Ocean on the South. On the West, East and North, Ghana is bordered by the Republic of Togo, Côte d'Ivoire and Burkina Faso. The population in Ghana (2008) is counted as more than 22, 9 million (IOM Ghana Profile 2009).

In the time before colonization, Ghana used to be part of the African Kingdom that included present day Mali, and was named after the Kingdom Ghana (different geographical coverage than the Ghana of today). After colonization, Ghana was referred to as “the Gold Coast”. A number of Europeans settled there in search of gold, ivory and slaves. In the 19th century, Ghana was a crown colony of Britain, until after World War II. Ghana gained its independence in 1957, and became the first sub-Saharan African country to achieve independence with Kwame Nkrumah being the first national president (Levinson 1998; 136).

The major languages in Ghana are English, Twi, Mossi-Dagomba, Ewe and Ga. The main religions of Ghana are Christianity, Islam and various traditional religions.

Ethnic Composition

The country of Ghana consists of a number of different ethnic groups making up over one hundred in number. There are five ethno-linguistic groups, in which these one hundred ethnic groups fall into. These are: the Akan, Ewe, MoleDagbane, Guan and the Ga-Adangbe.

The Akan are usually seen as being spread over the southern and central part of Ghana. Around 6 million Akan share the same main language; Twi. Most of them are forest dwellers and farmers. Their history includes the glorious Ashante and Fante Kingdoms. Most of the Akan are Christians, even though most of their rulers have kept their religious traditions.

The Ewe are an ethnic group that does not have a unifying language. They can be found in the Southeastern parts of Ghana, and are made up of various sub-groups. There are many Christians amongst the Ewe, who are believed to have been the first Christian converters in Ghana.

In the West-central part of Ghana, the Guan are the primary ethnic, they too are comprised of various sub-groups. Many of the Guan have mixed and assimilated with other ethnic groups such as the Akan, Ewe and Ga-Adangbe.

The MoleDagbane make up the largest ethnic group in the North of Ghana. The MoleDagbane is a sub-family language of the Gur language group, and forms up to 15 % of the national population in Ghana. Major sub-groups of the MoleDagbane are the Mamumba, Dagomba, Talensi and Kusase.

Gurma and Grusi are further languages spoken in the North. Primarily used by farmers, especially those with strong ties to traditional religions.

The Ga-Adangbe are comprised of clusters of related peoples in the South of Ghana, in the capital, Accra, along the coastal line, and in the surrounding plains. This ethnic group is comprised of two sub-groups, the Ga and the Adangbe. The Ga live to the West, and the Adangbe to the East of Accra. Along various sub-groups, the major Ga sub-group are the Ga-Mashpie, who live in their own neighborhoods in Accra (Levinson 1998; 136).

Due to its liberal refugee acceptance policies, Ghana has a large population of refugees from other West African countries. This number has drastically increased from 11,721 in 2001 to 34,950 in 2007 (IOM Migration Profile; 14).

The main agricultural produce in Ghana today are Cocoa, Cassava, Maize, Coarse Grains, Yams, Plantains, Pineapples, Forest Produce, Coffee, Cotton, Live Stock, Fishery and Rubber. The main industries are Mining, Textiles, Producing Cement, Aluminum, Steel, Refining Oil, Making Cigarettes, Timber Production, Beverage Production, Flour, Mining Gold, Diamonds and Bauxite (see Ghana - Fact Sheet 2009).

Ethnic relations

Ethnic conflict is an issue in Ghana. Relations are especially tense between the Konkomba and the Dagomba in the northern part of Ghana. Ethnic conflict between these two groups reached a peak from 1994 to 1996, costing the lives of 20,000 people and leaving 100,000 more injured. The Konkomba are a traditional society, living in scattered communities and lacking central political control. The Dagomba on the other hand are mostly centralized Muslim farmers. Conflicts were sparked over the control of land (Levinson 1998; 137). Another area of conflict is the role of the Ewe in controlling senior governmental positions. Political opponents from other groups often make Ewe ethnicity a political issue. Other conflicts have appeared between religious groups,

especially between Christians and Muslims close to the northern city of Tamale (Levinson 1998; 137).

2.2. Migration Patterns in Ghana

The total number of Ghanaian migrants abroad is estimated to be between 1.5 million and 3 million, which makes up about 15% of the country's population. It is estimated that about 71% of Ghanaian migrants remain in the region of West Africa, even though the number of migrants moving outside of the region has been increasing. Outside of West Africa, the most important destination countries for Ghanaian migrants are the United States with 7.3%, and the United Kingdom, with 5.9% (see Quartey 2009; 13).

2.3. Causes of Migration from Ghana

While there are many factors which contribute to migration in Ghana, the most salient is the presence of a relatively educated workforce faced with a lack of economic opportunity.

In Ghana, university education is highly promoted, with primary school enrolments increasing for the past decade. However the economy of Ghana has not provided this relatively educated population with equivalent economic opportunity. The size of the population and economy of West African countries (except for Nigeria and La Côte d'Ivoire) are rather small. The GDP per capita income per person for Ghana in 2005 for example was USD 2,480 (Quartey 2009; 11). The private sector has limited opportunities and so its ability as an engine of growth and employment is limited. As the skilled work force is growing rapidly, this creates a limited area for employment and a large number of youth and adults remain unemployed. Furthermore, the Ghanaian labor market simply cannot compete in means of base salary with the developed world.

As a recent profile of the country stated, "lack of career development and poor working conditions seem to be important motivations for the highly skilled to migrate, especially for those in the medical professions. As more and more young people enter Ghana's labour market than ever before, the pressure to migrate may increase unless employment opportunities for young labour market entrants improve. Ghana's labour force is expected to grow faster than its population over the next decade" (Quartey 2009; 15).

As a result of this combination of education with few economic opportunities, according to the OECD, Ghana has the highest emigration rate of highly skilled professionals (46%) in Western Africa (see Quartey 2009; 13). Especially in regards to medical professionals, “it is estimated that more than 56 per cent of doctors and 24 per cent of nurses trained in Ghana are working abroad” (Quartey 2009; 13). It is estimated that up to 68% of the country's trained medical staff left the country between 1993 and 2000 (Price 2004). In OECD countries, 27.6% of the migrants from Ghana are highly skilled, with 33.8% being medium skilled. Many of these skills are acquired at foreign universities, as the number of Ghanaians enrolled in foreign universities is substantial.

In 2003, over 2.5 billion dollars entered the country from the Ghanaian diaspora as remittances (Takyiwaah 2005; 45). Reported figures are believed to be representing only 65% of the actual amount of remittances, as it is impossible to measure the amounts transmitted undocumented through hand carriage, families, money couriers or networks of informal transfer agents (Takyiwaah 2005; 139).

The result of higher emigration numbers are an increase in the remittances sent home by these migrants. The Bank of Ghana estimates state that remittances increased from USD 476 million in 1999 to USD 1.5 billion in 2005 (Quartey 2009; 14). Considering the amount of immigrants from Ghana, there is a clear macro-economic impact from the remittances sent home. The level of these remittances also shows that Ghanaians abroad have trust and confidence in the economy, and even have become the country's single most important source of income, and therefore play a big role in the development of the country (Takyiwaah 2005; 9).

2.4. Return Migration

The number of migrants who return either temporarily or permanently to Ghana has grown from 18.6% in 2000 to 34.6 per cent in 2007 (Quartey 2009; 13). The majority does so for commercial activities and spouse/child dependents (Quartey 2009; 14). A survey released before 2005 stated that as many as 44 % of the Ghanaian elite returned home due to employment opportunities, while 29% of the lesser skilled expatriates returned home for employment opportunities as well as for business opportunities (Tiemoko 2005; 192). Others return to be with their families and community, or simply to be home.

These returnees represent an incredible means for development within Ghana. Those that receive job postings within the country bring with them technical experience and training. Those who come back as investors often do so with a sizable savings account. As credit is very hard to attain

in Ghana, these savings are one of the main sources of capital for expanding already existing businesses and creating new ones. Furthermore, these returnee investors often bring with them knowledge in western business acumen and practices, which can make a strong compliment to traditional Ghanaian business practices.

2.5. Conclusions

It can be concluded, that migration contributes to a much-needed resources for socio-economic development in the country of origin. In the specific case of Ghana, migration provides economic and development opportunities. These are improved by the development, transfer and use of financial, social and human capital. Migration also contributes to development as returning migrants often acquire skills abroad, and contribute positively to the economy on their return. Remittances and savings help alleviate poverty and help create employment opportunities, as well as act as substitute for hard to attain credits.

3. MIDA ITALY-GHANA AND THE COMING OF GHANACOOOP

By having this background knowledge about migration and development in the specific case of Ghana, this leads us to looking closer at one of the MIDA Italy-Ghana projects, namely Ghanacoop. I will be introducing the backgrounds of Ghanacoop, how this specific project came into existence, its main aims and working method. The strengths and weaknesses of the Ghanacoop project will also be mentioned.

3.1. MIDA Italy-Ghana

3.1.1. Inception (Phase I)

As with all MIDA projects, the starting point for Ghanacoop was a series of meetings with the diaspora. The International Organization for Migration (IOM), worked with the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs to find migrant communities within Italy that were willing and able to help their countries of origin.

As a sizable portion of Italy's immigrant population originates from the countries of Ghana and Senegal (34,499 residents from Senegal and 57,101 residents from Ghanaians), it was a conscious decision to work with the migrant community from these two countries for the project selection and implementation. This was possible since the Ghanaian and Senegalese diaspora are well-settled in Italy, and are accustomed to the local and economic and social contexts (Ceschi/Stocchieri 2006). For this text, I will be focusing on the collaboration with the Ghanaian diaspora.

An important fact for deciding positively towards these two immigrant groups was that they already possessed organizational, associative, financial, entrepreneurial and project-design skills. Beyond this, the migrant communities from Ghana and Senegal have a strong transnational character, meaning that they maintain strong ties with their countries of origin.

These connections and ties are essential for creating effective projects that benefit the country of origin.

This project was called the MIDA Italy-Ghana project (often also referred to as the MIDA Ghana-Senegal) project. The overall objective of the MIDA Italy-Ghana project was the identification of

skills, financial, social and professional resources of the expatriates living in Italy. The program took place in two phases starting in September 2006 and concluded in December 2007.

3.1.2. Phase II

The second phase of the project was to work together with the key actors found during the first phase to design possible projects. This utilization of expatriates in the design of projects is what MIDA refers to as co-development.

These expatriates were involved in:

- Co-development of projects within the context of decentralized cooperation,
- Business Development Services (BDS) to support the startup of small-to-medium enterprises (SMEs) in their countries of origin,
- Design and Implementation of innovative mechanisms for remittance transfer and microfinance (see IOM 2007).

3.1.3. Results of Phase II

The result of the planning phase of the project was that more than 200 participants took part in 11 territorial workshops in 10 Italian cities. These workshops assessed and registered the interests and investment / development plans of the submitted ideas. This was followed by a technical workshop in November of 2006. Here the strategy papers were produced in cooperation with the Centre for International Political Studies (CeSPI) (see Ceschi/ Stocchieri 2006).

The technical workshop was also an opportunity to launch two calls for proposals targeted at Senegalese and Ghanaian migrants in Italy willing to invest in income-generating activities in their relative countries of origin. The two calls were intended respectively to support and help finance co-development entrepreneurial projects, as well as to provide non-financial services, for enterprise creation in Ghana and Senegal.

Projects were prioritized by a point system. According to the evaluation, funding for projects was decided based upon:

- How the revenues raised from the enterprise in social activities were reinvested,
- How well the proposals displayed a strong gender component,
- How well the proposals showed a social impact or entrepreneurial activity,
- How much co-funding a project could find from the private sector,

- How well the project worked with pre-existing industries (see IOM 2005).

In the end, 82 project proposals were submitted and 12 were chosen. The total budget available for the projects was 300,000 Euros. The selected projects received a co-funding in form of a donation from the Cooperazione Italiana through IOM. The total financing amounted to approximately 100,000 Euro and included the investment of collective remittances in local community development; which had to make one third of the total budget of the individual micro-project. The Ghanacoop submission was one of the chosen projects.

3.1.4. Phase III

The third and final phase of a MIDA project was the execution of the proposed initiatives. Instead of looking into all twelve, we will turn out focus to one project in particular, Ghanacoop.

3.2. Ghanacoop

The strategic focus of Ghanacoop was to support local development initiatives linked to migration, while focusing on decentralized cooperation. Describing the project in brief, it can be said that the members of the Ghanaian diaspora living in Modena established a cooperative which linked the municipality of Modena to the specific village Gomoa Simbrofo in Ghana, a small village in the southern region of Ghana in the ethnic region of the Akan, where a 250 acre pineapple farm was created. Through the hard work of all those involved, the project has become a reference model for cooperation at the community level. This project entailed the highly motivated engagement of the diaspora communities in Italy, and their transfer of skills and commitment to create enterprises. This initiative has been of particular benefit and value concerning the social and economic development efforts of the Gomoa Simbrofo community.

3.2.1. Aims of Ghanacoop

The aim of the Ghanacoop project was the creation of a cooperative enterprise that would import exotic fruit grown by small farmers in Ghana to Italy. In the central and eastern region of Ghana, a consortium was established, certified according to the Fair Trade criteria, in order to create the new MIDCO brand (Migrant Initiatives for Development in the Country of Origin).

Ghanacoop entailed the creating an export channel for the benefit of the farmers in Ghana and to invest part of the profits generated in the social development of the village Gomoa Simbrofo, a village in the South of Ghana (Stocchieri 2008; 18). An example of such an initiative was the

installation of a photovoltaic cell plant aimed at producing clean and renewable energy for the local community (see Pandya 2007).

3.2.2. Main Results of the Ghanacoop Project

As I will be going into more detail about Ghanacoop in the interviews covered in the next section I will only summarize the main results here. They were as follows:

- Development of the agric firm “Migrants for Ghan-Africa”,
- Creation of the “Ghanital logistical office” in Accra, Ghana,
- Import from Ghana to Italy and distribution to the large-retailers and ethnic shops, with respect to organic and/or fairtrade exotic fruits,
- Investment of part of the proceeds in social activities at the community level (such as the implementation of community sanitary services in the Central region, Ghana),
- Facilitation of institutional partnerships between Italy and Ghana,
- Replication of Ghanacoop model in Poland and Albania,
- Strengthened position as international producers,
- A global economic result of almost € 1.000.000,00 (see Migration for Development).

3.2.3. Problems of the Ghanacoop Project

Ghanacoop was not free of troubles. As I will be mentioning some of these in the empirical research in the next chapter, I will only touch upon a select few of them here. Some of the problems faced over the course of the project were:

- Ghanaian government has a lot of difficulties in passing from rhetoric to action, since in many cases, excepting for the Ministry of Agriculture, it is not really interested in giving chances to diasporas to participate in development.
- The absence of trustful relationship between migrants and Italian institutions and weak use of formal channels for transferring money or goods into the country of origin by migrant communities.
- In Ghana, insufficient access of the rural population to banking services remains a critical issue, as banking networks rarely extend beyond large cities and in many cases financial institution lack capacity of remittances management, according to the inefficient system of financial intermediation.

- Overcoming the lack of competences, delays in fulfilling actions, traditional functions, too much expectation and no attention to quality in every step of the productive and distributive chain (see Migration for Development).

4. EMPIRICAL RESEARCH

In order to fully understand the effects migration has had on the development of Ghana, one cannot rely entirely upon the impact indicators used for the project evaluations. As mentioned above, these evaluations were focused primarily on the economic aspect of the projects. In order to gain a full understanding of the effects of the Ghanacoop project one needs more information. Furthermore, in order to understand the situation of Ghana, and the effects migration has had upon the country and its peoples, a field trip to Ghana was organized for one month in September/October 2009.

This empirical research should be seen as a complimentary to the theoretical information covered throughout the first half of the paper. Only when these two research methods, empirical and theoretical, come together can the most accurate picture be created.

4.1. Description of the Empirical Research Phase in Ghana

The field trip to Ghana took place from September to October 2009, with the aim of seeing the results of Ghanacoop project directly, as well as to study how it changed the lives of the beneficiaries, and to better understand the cultural contexts in which development projects take place within the country. The main aim was to see the impacts that the Ghanacoop project has had in the village Gomoa Simbrofo, but in order to gain a stronger empirical understanding of migration and development in Ghana and the nature of some other development projects, organizations beyond the Ghanacoop were met.

As the main emphasis of this thesis topic is to examine the Ghanacoop project, and examine it from the standpoint of the need for further impact indicators, a longer stay in the village Gomoa Simbrofo, the main beneficiary of the Ghanacoop project, would have been ideal. Unfortunately though, due to problems in the project (wrong spending of money from one Ghanacoop member), all fund flows for the project had been stopped and the persons still working at the Ghanacoop office were doing so voluntarily, without pay and with the hope of a continuation of the project in the future. This meant that also the work in the fields of the Ghanacoop farms had been halted, and the members of the village Gomoa Simbrofo, who were the main farm workers, were currently not employed. For this reason a longer stay and observation of the work in the village was not

possible. Due to former contacts with some of the Ghanaian community members residing in Vienna, it was possible to stay with Ghanaian families during the whole period of the empirical research part in Ghana. This was a great asset, which allowed a better view into the social and cultural realities of Ghanaian families, and allowed many interesting discussions with the host family members and friends.

Different Steps in the Field Research Phase

The one-month research period in Ghana entailed a stay in the capital city of Accra, at a Moslem family's home in the Darkuman area, an area barely visited by foreigners. This circumstance and the welcoming attitude of the family allowed to get to know some of the attitudes and social realities of this family.²³

Some of the interview partners located in Accra were met during this period. During the stay in Accra, a visit to the village Gomoa Simbrofo was made possible, as well as viewing the Apam Hospital and interviews with various people involved with Ghanacoop, thanks to the help of one very enthusiastic and dedicated Ghanacoop member. The second part of the research period took part in the city Tamale in the North of Ghana; with a stay with the family of the Director of the NGO "Community Partnership for Youth and Women Development" (CPYWD).

The visit to the North, even though short, entailed working closely with CPYWD and accompanying their members in their daily work. This circumstance allowed for visiting and being involved in the work of CPYWD in the most rural parts of the area of Tamale. Even though the interaction with the village members in these rural parts was rather difficult due to the language barrier (English is used only in school), there was a certain access and involvement due to the helpful CPYWD volunteers (all of them being locals of Tamale). It might not be completely

²³ The family was a Muslim polygamous family living together with the extended family. It was interesting to see the clear roles that the women and men play in hosting guests (women more in the background, also due to less ability to speak English and men, the young cousins in their mid-twenties more as the entertainers of guests). Three of the male family members were currently visiting university; one of them, an agricultural student with many bright ideas of ways to help his country in the agricultural area, who also was the main contact person for our visit there was slightly sick. Sadly, his situation deteriorated constantly. It was explained to us that doctors at the hospital prescribed some pain-killing medicine for his painful stomach without doing a check-up to see the problem. Sadly, after a few days his sickness (the question of what the problem was never resolved) was more powerful than his body strength, and he passed away. This example shows a clear and shocking reality of the medical situation for some people in Ghana, and puts the numbers of doctors to patient ratio and quality of treatment into perspective.

correct to call this period a participant observation due to the very short time period. But being actively involved in the programs of the NGO might have come close to a participant observation as this time proved to be extremely helpful in the ability to clearly see the circumstances and problems faced by rural villages. As mentioned in the theoretical part of the paper, the internal migration from the rural villages to the central cities has a very real effect.

4.2. Method

The main data for the empirical research was collected through interviews that took place in Ghana. The one exception to this was one interview that took place in Vienna, after the field research.

Other empirical information was gained through notes taken in a field diary from observations. The interviews were conducted as narrative semi-structured interviews; allowing the interviewee to speak freely. All of the interviewees were somehow involved with developmental projects; with general themes discussing either conducting projects or benefitting from them.

Out of the interviews, 7 were recorded on a voice recorder and later transcribed; and 2 were recorded as a written protocol. These Interviews were later analyzed according to the “Mayring” qualitative interview analysis guidelines (see Mayring 2002). The results were organized into different categories which are presented below.

The primary structural component of the interviews revolved around six main questions aimed at getting information about the experience of each person in their work connected to migration and to development in their specific area. These six main questions were aimed at letting the interviewee speak freely, while keeping a focus on issues such as the changes that their specific project is having in society, including economic, social, and cultural changes and the changes they value, as well as how the projects they were involved in impacted both men and women.

The information that the questions aimed at retrieving evolved around:

- Knowledge and experiences of the interviewee with migration and development,
- Their involvement and experiences in development projects,
- Impacts and changes of their projects in the social and cultural fields (including differences for men and women),
- Cultural influences of migrants,

- View on evaluation and the needed impact,
- Main problems and further wishes (see also Annex I).

4.3. Presentation of the Interview Partners and their Organizations

As the interviews surveyed a broad range of individuals, and not simply those working with the Ghanacoop project, it is important to have some basic understanding of who these people are, and what role they played in the development of their country, as the context might be relevant for understanding their point of view.

1. David Appiah, International Organization for Migration, National Programme Officer, (IOM) Accra

Mr. Appiah is involved with the IOM MIDA projects, especially with the MIDA Ghana- Italy health project and the Ghanacoop project from the side of IOM in Ghana. The IOM in Accra is closely liaising with the government in Ghana, to work on strategies at which the development benefits of migrants can be increased for the country. The interview took place at the IOM mission in Accra.

2. The Sub-Chief of the Village Gomoa Simbrofo

At the time of my visit to the village Gomoa Simbrofo, the chief of the village had emigrated to Italy. Due to this reason, the interview took place with the sub-chief of the village. The interview took place with translation from Sherley, a Ghanacoop member.

The requirement for translation made the communication with the chief rather difficult. For this, and possible other reasons, the answers he gave to the questions were rather short, and it was fairly difficult to try to get him to go into more detail.

When asked about the main chief, he explained that the chief would come and visit the village regularly and bring goods to help the village. In general the Gomoa Simbrofo village is a very poor village; which incidentally was one of the reasons why it was chosen for the project.

As will be shown in the interview, the village has benefitted a lot from the activities of Ghanacoop, which are described in more detail below. The village has about 600 inhabitants and is located in the South of Ghana.

3. Sherley, Ghanacoop Officer

Sherley is a field officer for Ghanacoop, and was instrumental in doing the research. Unfortunately, at the time of my visit, all funds for Ghanacoop had been stopped, and she was working on a voluntary basis. She took a whole day of time to take me to the Gomoa Simbrofo village, the Apam Hospital and to introduce me to some of the Farm Workers and others who had been involved in the project. Sherley was a very helpful source of information for all questions concerning the project and her view on the culture in Ghana. Her work with Ghanacoop would entail her to visit the work on the farms and to visit the villages every day to speak with the workers and ensure that things were running smoothly.

4. An Agriculturalist, Ghanacoop involvement

The agriculturalist interviewed was currently, as with everyone else who worked for Ghanacoop, unemployed, and not working on the farm. The visit took place on the way to the Apam Hospital at his place, where he had a very small shop. He now grows some vegetables on his own small farm, but what he grows is just enough to support himself. He regrets greatly the halt of the project work and wishes the work of Ghanacoop to start again as soon as possible.

5. Mr. Yakubu Iddrisu, Director of the NGO CPYWD

A further interview took place with the Director of the NGO “Community Partnership for Youth and Women Development” (CPAWD), Mr. Yakubu Iddrisu, known to all as Mr. Yakubu. He is a Ghanaian national from the North, with a degree in Education. After working for the government for some years, and having to wait for his pay for over a year (he is still waiting for one year of pay) he decided to start working for something that is more useful in his view and started the NGO. His wife commutes to Kumasi (4 hours away between Tamale and Accra) every week to work there. The income of his wife and some small farmland supports the extended household, and pays for the education of both of the children, as well as the much younger brother and sister of Mr. Iddrisu.

It is a rather unusual household for Ghana, as Mr. Iddrisu’s brother is doing most of the household work; a fact mostly frowned upon by others as housework is clearly a woman’s job; so we were told. Mr. Iddrisu strongly promotes the idea that Ghanaians should take initiative for themselves, rather than waiting for projects to come from outside. His main criticism of the Ghanaian culture is that in the view of education for children. In his culture, a child is not meant to play as this is seen as waste of time. A child should either be in school or helping on the farm. In his view, the time of play is when children develop many social and analytical skills, which allow them to analyze things for themselves later on. He sees a wrong view of education as one of the main problems for development. This is one of the main motivations for him to start the NGO. Mr.

Iddrisu strongly emphasizes that change and ‘development’ can only be successful when coming from the people; from inside.

6. Mr. Jonah Iddrisu

Mr. Jonah was interviewed during the time of visit and work with CPYWD in the North of Ghana. Mr. Jonah is a high school teacher in the mornings and usually comes to volunteer with CPYWD in the afternoons. He is strongly involved in the projects of the NGO and visits the rural areas regularly to teach after-school education. Since I spent a lot of time with him, his answers to the question were insightful and came from the same viewpoint as CPYWD.

7. Mr. Sule, Director of the NGO DIDO

Mr. Sule was met during the festive hand-over of the play material of CPYWD in the village Kpalinyon. He is the Director of the NGO DIDO (Dinkugare, Integrated Development Organization). He is a Ghanaian national and since many years working in the field of development. More detail to DIDO is given below.

8. Stella

Stella, as a migrant living in Austria, is very much involved with projects taking place in Africa. She carries out activities there and tries to raise funds for small projects, such as helping women, especially in the Volta region, where women do not normally get the opportunity to go to school. Stella is a professional working in Vienna, and does some consultancies for Ghana once in a while which really keeps her connected to the country. She does not get paid for the small projects but likes doing it.

Stella’s project aims are to empower women and make them be able to raise money themselves, to be able to better take care of their children. One of the main ways she does this is by sending them sewing machines.

One of her major target areas is the Volta region is the boarder to Togo. Many girls there make money from prostitution, and many of the boys are involved in some form of criminal activity. Her aim is to get some of the girls give them an alternative.

9. Lady Farm Worker of the Kpalinyon village

Mr. Peter, a member of the village Kpalinyon and a regular volunteer at CPYWD was very helpful in introducing me to a female interview partner of the village. Here again, the language was a major barrier, and the interview took place with translation of Mr. Peter.

It must be noted that the circumstances of this interview were not at all ideal, due to the translation needed and given by a male (the answers might not be completely sincere and maybe have been changed through the translator). I decided to include this interview anyway, as it reflects the needs and wishes of a woman farm worker in the most rural part of the northern part of the country. To be noted here is that the village Kpylonyon is surrounded by the farm land and forest, and is very difficult to reach. Due to the small and narrow path leading to the village, it can only be reached by motorbike (which the villagers do not have) or by bicycle.

Due to its relative isolation, and lack of available transportation, the markets where goods are sold are very hard to reach.

Items are brought to market by walking quite some distance to the main road; from where it is would be possible to reach the market in Tamale by taking a shared taxi (the most common means of transportation in the Tamale region).

During the rainy season, also the volunteers of CPYWD, who mainly use motorbikes to reach the villages, cannot pass through the paths as they would be impassable due to the water and mud. Visiting the village many times during the stay in Tamale, it was always observed that the men would be sitting under a tree, peeling peanuts and playing the Ghanaian game Owari, while the women were in the fields. It was therefore rather difficult to find a female person willing to give an interview.

The visit stay with CPYWD coincided with a ceremony held in thanks to the CPYWD in the village Kpalinyon. The festivities were part of a celebration for the donating of playing material to the village school. The celebration was attended by a representative of the ministry of education, and several partner NGOs and the media. Once again, most women were absent as they were harvesting in the fields.

4.4. Organizations doing Development Projects in the North of Ghana:

CPYWD and DIDO

There are many organizations doing work in the North of Ghana, mostly in the arenas of agriculture, education, health, and sanitation. Many of these projects focus on women, especially when it comes to providing credits and loans. Other projects try to provide the farmers with inputs to enhance production. Two such groups are CPYWD, and DIDO.

4.4.1. The NGO CPYWD

The community Partnership for Youth and Women Development (CPYWD) is a multi-purposed community based NGO in northern Ghana.

CPYWD aims at building safe, just and sustainable communities. For them the participation of young people/youth and women is important and they encourage them to take rightful positions in decision making and upholding their dignity. CPYWD is dedicated to building community partnerships to empower children, young people and women through education, training, counseling, outreach networking and partnership initiatives

The working method of CPYWD

CPYWD promotes equality between men and women, and tries to bridge the gap in terms of decision making between men and women. One of the ways they do this is through a micro-credit program. What makes this different to other programs is that they do not only give the women loans, but they integrate the loan program with a training program. They empower women, and encourage women to change their attitude so that these women can be successful in a normally patriarchal society. An example of how the CPYWD accomplish their goal lies in the training of 150 women beekeepers. This training aims for women to be self-sufficient. The CPYWD also provides trainings for young people in vocational practices, to help boost self-confidence and prepare them for their future.

The long-term aims of the organization are summarized very nicely by Mr. Yakubu: “We are looking at the far-end eradication of poverty with the mind, to enable them to eradicate it by themselves. Our core is partnership and by this we mean participation. We provide the right information for you to make an informed decision. We don’t tell you what to do, but we inform you about all options and consequences. We try to teach them to like their community; or at least to see what they can do to make it better. We try to make them themselves see the need of what they need and then if they value it; then people come in. Not to just give things. My main wish is for partnerships between institutions for the distinct roles and responsibilities” (Interview 5; 15; 459- 462).

4.2.2. The NGO DIDO

The aim of the NGO DIDO (Dinkugare, Integrated Development Organization), established in 1997, is to support the alleviation of poverty and eradication of ignorance and disease. Towards this end, they do a lot of work with water, sanitation, and health education. DIDO’s work focuses on education on the local level, especially the education of children, particularly girls, and women,

as an educated person is better able to find jobs and better able to care for a large part of their extended family.

DIDO's field of work includes food security. This means educating the farmers to keep their produce, and to market them well and get something to plough back into the fields. Beyond this, DIDO does some peace-building work. They helped re-established social stability during the time of the Namumba-Konkomba²⁴ conflict, and responded to the devastating effects on sanitation in the Nanumba District.

The working method of DIDO

When possible, DIDO likes to partner with other programs and initiatives, such the GTZ (Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit GmbH)²⁵. When deciding on the sort of support that the organization wants to give, the assembly members of each district are gathered for consultations, aiming at a participatory decision-making on what each electoral area is in need of, called the bottom up approach by Mr. Sule. A development plan would then be made for one year, and a budget decided upon based on the needs of each area. Through this, community ownership is ensured over what is given, as they were the ones requesting it. The community is also responsible for 5 % of the costs of each project.

4.5. Additional Information on the MIDA Italy-Ghana Project **(won from Interview 1, 2, 3 and 4)**

As was mentioned earlier in the master thesis, the Ghana-Italy project was one of the results of the Ghana-Senegal project. To summarize, the result of these projects was that the 20 best project proposals were selected, and persons from the diaspora who had developed the successful project proposals were then given the opportunity to help nominate people from within Ghana to

²⁴ An inter-ethnic conflict between the Konkomba and Nanumba tribe in 1980, 1994 and 1995; see above introduction to Ghana.

²⁵ Development organization based in Germany but operating internationally in the field of development cooperation. More information about GTZ can be found at www.gtz.de.

implement the project. Most of the projects were planned in the field of agricultural businesses. Out of these 20 projects, 5 projects received financial support to the amount of 30,000 Euros.

Ghanacoop was one of these 20 projects. Another selected proposal entailed establishing a farm with 14ha to produce cereals for local beer in the North, and to export this to other countries. This project was chosen as one of the top 5, as it had the aim to export products from Ghana.

Creating institutions is important, as well as partners in monitoring. In the last year, professionals came to monitor at 5 different sites. One of these projects is GK Appam Bongoa, in the West near Dodoa. Another one is in the wood processing factory in Kasua. After processing, the wood is stored up North in the Akwanto district. Another project is in Suma, where the queen mother of the place is the driving force behind the project. This is an agricultural based project, entailing a woman cooperative bakery, which is just starting Cashew production.

For the Ghanacoop project, pineapples are planted. Small holder farms hope to get bought from them. The Ghanacoop project is a model training facility. Farmers have to adapt their pineapples to the tastes of the European market, changing their production towards MD4.

4.6. Additional Information about Ghanacoop **(won from Interview 1, 2, 3 and 4)**

As this might be relevant for the last chapter on results, I will briefly present the additional information won through the interview partners about Ghanacoop. This information can be seen as complementary to the information about Ghanacoop already mentioned above.

In Ghana, the main part of the population relies on agriculture and farming. For the most part, these are small farms that produce for personal consumption, with what little is left over used for selling at the market. Since these are small independent farms they cannot leverage an economy of scale, nor can they afford the expensive machinery that large scale operations routinely use.

The larger conglomerates in Ghana are often called a “Market Queen”, and they dominate the prices on the market, and control most of the transportation systems. Single farmers do not have a chance to compete with the Market Queen as they cannot bring their goods to market cheaply, or efficiently. For this reason, Ghanacoop is making efforts in encouraging farmers to build cooperatives. Cooperatives strengthen farmers and allow them to bargain properly.

Such cooperatives can also include a small factory for crop preparation. These conglomerate owned factories have a long term impact as they enable farmers to split the cost of ownership, and benefit from the processing ability of the factory, allowing them to compete with the “Market Queen”. The main aims of Ghanacoop are to help the development of the agricultural base of villages, rather than the cities, as people in rural areas are more in need of help.

There are other projects related to the Ghanacoop taking place in the Volta region, one in the eastern and one in the western region, and an additional project is planned to be implemented in the North. It is important to mention that no staff member originates from the villages that are chosen as beneficiaries of the Ghanacoop projects. It is important to those involved to separate work from personal interest as to make sure there is no conflict between what is good for a project, and what is good for one’s local family.

4.6.1. Gomoa Simbrofo

The village Gomoa Simbrofo is made up of a small community of 600 inhabitants, most of whom are farmers. Yet with their produce, they can barely manage to feed themselves, and as was stated before, there is little left for selling at the market.

With Ghanacoop in place, the farmers were earning dependable salaries. There were 7 agriculturalists employed for Ghanacoop who were training the workers (about 60 workers were employed). Before Ghanacoop came to the village, there was no electricity, and virtually no social life in the evenings. Ghanacoop established solar panels in the community, and donated a lot of material to the school and the day-care center. Before Ghanacoop came, a big lack was felt by the villagers.

Before the time of my visit, the farming produce was pepper. There is another project that was co-funded by Ghanacoop which is a hospital in Apam (not very far from Gomoa Simbrofo). The main donors for the hospital besides Ghanacoop was an organization called Cordaid²⁶.

The Ghanacoop project had been running for over 4 years since its start on the 5th of May in 2005.

²⁶ Cordaid is an International Organization based in the Netherlands who is involved in efforts in the field of structural poverty eradication internationally. More information can be found on their website: www.cordaid.nl.

4.6.2. Stakeholders involved

As with any suitably complex project, there were a wide variety of stakeholders, ranging from governments to private investors. Some of the stakeholders were:

- The Ministry of trade,
- The Ministry of tourism,
- The Ministry of finance and some banks, as the aim is also to grant people access to credit, and the potential of funding by partner banks,
- The Government, which held training for producing products fit for export (such as the pineapples for the European market),
- Private investors, many of them expatriates, financed the solar panel, which enabled electricity for the Gomoa Simbrofo village (Interview 1; 3-4; 99 – 101),
- The chief of the Gomoa Simbrofo village, who lives in Italy, and visits the village regularly (He supports the village from there. He has helped the village to get a lot of things such as electricity. The chief for example helped with getting the concrete road),
- The Italian Embassy and of course IOM are the main partners, as they organized the project, supported the training, and helped to gain funds,
- The Pepper farm was funded by the Diaspora in Italy,
- The hospital in Apam was funded by Corenut in Italy, and supported by Ghanacoop (meaning the entire Ghanaian migrants living in the Modena province in Italy).

5. CATEGORIES WON FROM THE INTERVIEWS

In this section the results from the interviews will be presented and organized in categories. I have ordered the categories into three main sections in order to keep a better overview. The first section will be dealing with the topic of needs and problems in Ghana in general, as well as with the experiences and views on migration and development from the viewpoint of the interviewees. The second section will focus more on the impacts, attitudes and problems of Ghanacoop and all other projects (projects by CPYWD, DIDO and Stella will be referred to as ‘other projects’). The third section will be dealing more with the topic of evaluation, including problems in development projects, problems with evaluation and views about improvements of these.

5.1. Views on Challenges and Needs in Ghana and Experience with Migration and Development

5.1.1. Needs/Challenges in Ghana

As a developing country, Ghana is faced with many challenges on its path of towards development. Some of the problems identified by the interviewees are mentioned.

In general most of the interviewees are unhappy with the governmental efforts concerning development. In their view, the government needs to take more initiative, and spend more time and effort building infrastructure such as markets, and roads, water and electricity to allow for things to develop more rapidly. Then people will have the means to develop themselves. Especially in the North of the country where there is less water, no irrigation system or any system is being set up by the government. This contributes to the big numbers of persons migrating from the North to the South.

There is further, a need for leaders with vision. The leaders are described as disorganized and all focused on money. There is a need for accountability in the leadership.

Furthermore, in Ghana, there are many barriers that must be overcome for those people who want to help. There are no incentives for people to come back home: “People try to come back home anytime there is a change of government. [...] But when they come, and want to help, there are so many hurdles for them to go through and the authorities get their money but are not doing their work. [...] Ghana could do much better than it is doing now” (Interview 8; 13- 14; 422 – 429). This especially affects returning or visiting migrants who bring with them some goods and ideas and are then stopped by the hurdles in the country. The legal structure is described as being bad:

“There is nobody to report anything to. And when there is misconduct anywhere, there is nobody you can talk to, to redress the situation. So you are left to your own to do whatever you can” (Interview 8; 18; 418 - 419). So many people give up on their efforts and walk away. This is another fact slowing down investments from migrants.

Corruption is mentioned as another big problem within politics and other areas, which is slowing down development. When some people want to bring donations to Ghana, there are so many hurdles to have to go through: “But the leaders, sometimes you want to work but they tell you ‘no’. You go and you just meet hurdles and hurdles and hurdles. They don’t have the institutional framework that will allow people to work. Everything’s just mixed up. [...] The institutional framework is not there. You want to do something, but the legal structure is bad. There is nobody to report anything to” (Interview 8; 13; 413 – 418).

There are so many levels to go through to receive the donations, and many of them need to be bribed. There is no clear standard, which creates frustration for those wanting to help.

5.1.2. Reasons for Migrating

Difficulties to generate Income/ Lack of Amenities

Residents of villages such as Gomoa Simbrofo are almost exclusively farmers. They work the land and bring their products to the local markets. However, since they can just barely produce what they consume, there is meager wealth generated by the little they can sell. For people in these villages, it takes a lot of time (about one year was mentioned) to save up the money needed to pay for clothes, school fees, and other necessities. Due to their rural locations, villages often do not have electricity, or many of the other amenities that their fellows in the cities enjoy. For these reasons, many people migrate from the agricultural villages to more urban areas. One example is the electricity young people need to follow the modern lifestyle such as TV, radio, video, etc. “With the absence of electricity, they find life unbearable at the local level” (Interview 7; 1; 16 – 17).

Healthcare

There are some health facilities in Ghana, but not many. In theory, if one is sick one can go to the hospital, which is supposed to be free, but in reality one often needs funds to get immediate attention, as one interviewee stated: “Other than that, if you don’t have money and you’re sick, you’re dead” (Interview 8; 9; 290 – 291).

Social Reasons for Migrating

Most of the migrants leaving the northern part of the country are young and a number are transferring internally from rural areas to urban areas. Some social reasons for this migration are:

- Search for a better education. Due to a lack of trained teachers, education in rural Ghana is often conducted by teachers with no formal training, and with very limited equipment (as there is no money to buy toys, books, or technology). In addition, higher education might not be provided in the rural area.
- A desire for better and more fulfilling work. The job opportunities in rural areas are limited, and jobs may not be provided for skilled personnel.
- A desire for social status.

Cultural Reasons for Migrating

It is an important aspect of Ghanaian culture for the head of a family to support that family, and in many cases the extended family. This coupled with the difficulties in generating wealth in small villages leads to a great deal of stress. For some Ghanaians, migration is a way of coping with the stress of having too many dependents in the extended family system. Migration in this case releases the direct pressure on the person, and allows them to still support their family through the use of remittances. The desire to escape traditional roles was another reason mentioned for migrating. This concerns especially the traditional role of women.

Economic Reasons for Migrating

Much of the internal migration in Ghana is towards Accra, the capital city. The economic motivators for this rural to urban migration and for international migration were mentioned as being:

- A search for better living conditions,
- A search for a better form of income,
- Job availability (for instance, the youth are not interested in agricultural farming),
- The lure of greater resources found in the South of Ghana,
- Better work conditions: For example, the unreliability of rain in the North of Ghana makes farming much harder,

- A desire to leave the village or country with the hope of returning wealthier than before,
- Money and material wealth: Migrants abroad often end up in menial jobs, but still prefer this to their experiences in their country of origin because of the greater accumulation of money they get and the impact it has on their economic status.

Those who have migrated to the urban areas but still cannot find jobs, then go out of the country in search of more opportunities. These people feel that there is little monetary reward in Ghana, so the same factors that drove them from the North to South, soon push them out of the country.

Migration driven by Status

As there is a lot of poverty in Ghana, there exists a great desire within the populace to get out of their current situation and into a better situation. Talks with interviewees have proven that the economic status of a person very much determines their social status.

This tempts people into “get rich quick” schemes, and hence the search for quick money determines a lot of the decision-making. This is also explained by Sherley in the interview explaining why social projects are not the highest priority for most people:

“Here in Ghana you know, a lot of social projects ... it’s not really a thing of for the people. Everybody is really into business, business, business, so, I mean people are thinking of how to make it, and then you are talking about developing, or going to these rural areas, you know and because they are in need of money, and first of all they need to survive” (Interview 3; 6; 179 – 182). Mr. Sule also explained this point with the words: “Today, every young man wants to own a car, wants to own a good house, he wants to have money, he wants to dress and eat well...” (Interview 7; 2; 43 – 44).

As a result, the Ghanaian people have a very interesting view towards migrants and returning migrants. Some parents would rather have their daughter marry a returning migrant than a richer person who has not migrated. “Parents would rather give their daughter to returnees, as this is a big social status” (Interview 1; p3; 93 – 94).

Therefore, in the end, most migrants are really searching for status; even if they must go through very difficult circumstances, the migrants work, buy goods, buy a vehicle and then return home in an effort to look better than before. They do not mention much about the difficulties they have to go through abroad.

It can be summarized here that social and economical status are interrelated, and that both improvement of social- and economical status play a big role in reasons for migrating.

5.1.3. The Relationship of Migrants Abroad to Ghana

There is a varying degree of maintained relationships between the migrants and their home country. Many of the diaspora abroad still communicate with their relatives at home, while others have lost their connection. Those who are in touch remit money to the farms, to help with school fees, to buy food, and to help support basic living. Many migrants really do want to contribute to the development of their country of origin. There have also been some reported cases of disappointment with the relatives who spent the money sent home on consumption rather than for the building of a house as was originally intended. Another interviewee explained that migrants often want to help, but do not have the means due to limited financial resources on their side.

As can be seen in the case of MIDA programs, the diaspora can play a pivotal role in assisting development in a powerful way. For example, expatriates funded a portion of the building costs for a hospital in Apam: "...a lot of people have benefited from the migrants, the diaspora through Ghanacoop" (Interview 3; 3; 104-105).

Many migrants abroad are very much willing to support their country of origin. This is shown especially through examples such as with the Ghanacoop project. Another example is the MIDA Ghana health project, in which the members of the diaspora were willing to invest their own resources and help raise funds. In this regard, one of the principle benefits of the Ghanacoop has been the encouraging of the diaspora to think about ways in which they can contribute to development.

In general, through all the interviews, there was a broad consensus about the will of migrants abroad to support the home country, yet means are sometimes lacking.

5.1.4. Effects of Internal Migration – Social, Cultural and Economic Effects

Social Effects of Migration

One of the most obvious effects of people leaving a region that was mentioned in the interviews is the depletion of the workforce. As the population shrinks, there are less people to do the same amount of work, and in time no one is left to feed the older people. This impacts the social life and the structure of the communities. For instance, the low level of development in rural areas can be tied to the exodus of a region's brightest minds. This loss of human capital not only affects development, but over time has a clear and marked effect on infrastructure, because when there are not enough people in the villages, then there is no pressure for building better infrastructure. This loss of drive for creating and maintaining infrastructure then has a negative impact on job creation and employment, so the human resource development is affected.

This drift towards urban areas brings a large influx in the local population, which in turn causes slums to develop in the urban areas. As sanitary conditions deteriorate, disease spreads. The squalid reality of the slums forces the government to allocate funds to develop these urban areas, which once again saps funds away from the rural regions of the country.

Another huge problem was mentioned to be the lack of education; not simply formal education in schools, but about the reality of life outside of the village. Mr. Yakubu described this lack of education leaving men and women ill-informed about the harsh realities of city life and leaves them vulnerable to all forms of exploitation.

As also mentioned in the theoretical part, loss of human capital, or brain drain, was confirmed to be another negative aspect of migration in the experience of the interviewees. Doctors for example are not remunerated according to the work they are doing. As the doctor to patient ratio is very low, this forces doctors to work a lot of overtime. So they migrate out of the country to seek better pay, benefits, and hours. The effect is that the health system is dismal in Ghana.

Benefits of Migration

There are of course many positive effects from migration that were mentioned. For instance, migrants acquire skills abroad and they gain a different attitude towards life. When people leave to another country, they can see how things can be done and are inspired to invest the knowledge they have gained elsewhere. Then, when they come back and re-integrate with their local communities, some create organizations, start activities, or simply invest in their country of origin:

“That is his thinking. He has gone there, and for that matter because he has got the opportunity to go there, he feels that he is now a different fellow” (Interview 7; 6; 193 – 195).

One example of such a program that was mentioned is a micro-economic empowerment program for women in Ghana. This program, called ‘Tumankavi’ (meaning there is no shyness in working for yourself), was created by a returning migrant. Especially Mr. Yakubu was able to mention many examples of initiatives in the North that were started by returning migrants.

These benefits of migration, in comparison with the theoretical framework can be placed in the category of brain gain and flow of social capital.

Cultural Effects of Migration

The interviews show that the re-integration of a returning migrant is not always that smooth. As a migrant settles in their country or region of destination they start to integrate and become a part of a new community. As this happens, the social and cultural ties of the migrant to his or her home community weaken. In point of fact, people who have gone abroad and come back are called “burger” as they have problems fitting in the culture on both sides.

In general, the interviews have shown that the more a migrant integrates with their country or region of destination, the greater they separate from their community of origin. Other cultural changes may mentioned by the interviewees include the changing of religious belief, clothing, customs, and language.

Furthermore, when a migrant returns to their community of origin they may do so with a mental image of how things were when they left, especially in rural Ghana, where there is not much in the way of infrastructure. Experience of the interviewees shows that practically, this means that cultural norms, such as dialect and dress code, may have changed while the migrant was away; making re-integration more difficult. Some interviewees added to this point though, that some migrants return home and behave in the same way as they have left, meaning their re-integration happens as a very natural process.

Cultural Implications related to Returning Migrants

The social position of returning migrants is an odd coagulation of respect and distrust. On the one hand, since wealth is a large purveyor of social status migrants are treated with respect. On the other hand, since migrants change their social framework through the act of integrating in their host countries, they are seen as outsiders, and as such are mistrusted.

On the one hand, the interviewees explained that returning migrants are seen as heroes, especially since they are believed to have brought back a lot of wealth with them. This perception of increased wealth does a lot to improve their social status, as people greatly respect migrants who bring back a lot of wealth.

On the other hand, as already mentioned earlier, migrants who are in the re-integration process after having returned from abroad are called “burger” as they have problems to fit in on both sides. The cultural and experiential changes that come about due to migrants adapting to western individualism brings friction to their social co-existence. People mistrust returning migrants which brings problems (also in view of religion, the impression of most is that all Europeans do not believe in God). People see returning migrants as a threat to their culture.

Some of the migrants visiting or returning home influence others openly to go to Europe as life is supposedly much better there, but do not tell them what they are doing in Europe or don't tell them about the difficult circumstances they had to go through. This is because when returnees visit home, they want to impress their relatives. “When they go home they buy nice dresses, they buy shoes or maybe they ship a car. Stuff like that. They got money from the bank, because it's easier to get money from the bank here (in Europe)” (Interview 8; 10; 302 – 304).

So people compare and see those who do not even have a university degree apparently have more money than those with a degree. There might even be pressure from the family to emigrate: “If they tell somebody: ‘throw your passport away’, and give them a different name, the people are stupid. They don't think, you went to university, you got a degree and your name is on that degree. Now if you throw your passport away and you get a different name, what are you going to do” (Interview 8; 10-11; 326-330). Then they overstay their ticket and are not able to come back home and stay stuck in the asylum procedure. “Some even get psychologically disturbed” (Interview 8; 11; 332).

Economic Effects of Migration

Within Ghana, as migrants travel from North to South they discover new streams of income. For example, the Kayaye women (head porters) can find work in the cities by carrying loads at the market: “That is in the positive way, people get income” (Interview 5; 2; 39). Internationally, migrants acquire both skills and a different attitude while abroad, which if invested back in Ghana increase productivity. All interviewees saw migration as possibility of enhancing a person's economic situation.

5.1.5. Culture in Ghana

Cultural Pride

Ghanaians take great pride in their cultural practices. Communal events such as marriages and funerals bring whole communities together, and are an important part of the Ghanaian social regulation systems: “We are very proud of our cultures. We are not against cultural practices” (Interview 7; 5; 145 – 155).

Over the course of the research, the cultural aspects in Ghana that were generally positively spoken about all refer to cultural practices such as dances, celebrations and festivals. One Ghanaian went as far as to say: “We invite other people to come and we dance, we drink, we do so many things, and everybody will exhibit his own culture the way he has been brought up this one with this way, diverse cultures, come together and we celebrate our cultural festivals” (Interview 7; 5; 148 – 151).

Another well regarded custom mentioned by the interviewees is how, in marriage, the husband gives the wife an initial dowry; which is supposed to enable her to start a business. Marriage was also mentioned to be seen as a method of resolving dispute.

By contrast, the cultural aspects that garnered some negative comments in the opinion of the interviewees had to do with the parts of the culture in Ghana that mainly refer to how people should behave. For instance, “the traditional way of thinking is that woman carry the heavy load on the field, and the men are the ones that should not burden their head because they are the ones who have to think” (Interview 1; 2; 46-47). One of the interviewees referred to the negative culture of the country meaning the way things are organized and are run: “To tell you the truth, many people don’t really like the culture. But they find themselves in it” (Interview 3; 3; 88-89).

The Role of Religion

In general, despite its many different religions, Ghana is a very peaceful country. The three major religious groups, Islam, Christianity, and traditional African religions co-exist and cooperate.

Interestingly enough, religion in one of the interviews was mentioned to be a major aspect of crime reduction, as nobody wants to spoil the name of their religion, or damage the image of his or her religion: “So everybody is protecting the image of his or her religion. If you commit a crime, the first thing they will ask is if he is a Muslim or a Christian. Is he a Daguma? Or they will ask, is he a Northerner, or a Southerner, so that is a shame, so they try to avoid that” (Interview 6; 6; 187 – 190).

Ghana is a country with very little religious conflict. For instance, in Accra there are Moslem and Christian families living in the same compound, not being disturbed by each other's belief or even different way of clothing. With the many churches found in Ghana, a mosque often stands adjacent to a Christian church, and intermarriage happens.

Where I was informed that Ghanaians do segregate though is with political views. As one reporter I spoke with mentioned "we can live under one roof if someone has a different religion, but are not able to live under one roof with someone who belongs to a different political party²⁷."

This issue has many effects on efforts concerning migration and development. For example, in 2001 the government of Ghana organized a homecoming summit, to encourage the potential of migrants to help develop Ghana. But those people who did not vote for that government were not interested in coming: "This is still a thinking inherited from the colonial past" (Interview 1; 4; 109 – 110).

5.1.6. Culture and Migration

Negative Aspects of the Culture seen as slowing down Development

In the interviews conducted, some of the Ghanaian cultural practices were mentioned as affecting development in a negative way. Some examples of these are the view that girls do not need an education and that young girls are taken out of school at the age of 15 and 16 as they are withdrawn for marriage.

The aspect of the traditional role of women came up quite a few times in the interviews. It was explained that traditionally, women should not speak in the presence of men. Especially in rural areas, whenever there is decisions have to be made (such as political decisions) or when it comes to the hosting of guests, it is the men who stand in the forefront, leaving the women in the background²⁸. One of the interviewees mentioned one example of a seemingly negative tradition that still exists in relation to women being that of the Togoshi. Togoshi refers to those women that

²⁷ Discussion with a reporter at the festive hand-over of some school learning materials from CPYWD in the village of Kpalinyon, on October 23, 2009.

²⁸ From observation; at the festive handover of toys to the schools of 3 communities, the whole village was gathered, except for the women who were harvesting on the fields

are enslaved to the shrines. The fetish priests keep them at the shrine and society considers them as cursed, so their families too reject them.

It was explained that it is custom in Ghana for parents to view playing for children as a waste of time. They prefer children to work on the farm rather than play. And yet, in the view of Mr. Yakubu, through playing it is that children learn a lot of skills such as social and analytical skills, coordination, etc. This point was especially emphasized by CPYWD. Mr. Yakubu sees the problem of so many people emigrating originating in the bad education system. In schools, the teaching method is one of repeating after the teacher. The asking of questions is hardly welcomed and children are not encouraged to think for themselves. Mr. Yakubu sees this as the origin for the problem of failures in developmental efforts. People in the villages are encouraged to wait for when the next help will come instead of taking initiative for themselves in improving their situation. In his opinion, Ghanaians should work together to develop themselves; the change needs to come from within. Another point slowing down development is seen to be the pressure to have wealth now, and not slowly build capital for the future, which drives many people to the cities.

These and other negative cultural practices push some people to leave the country: “To tell you the truth, many people don’t really like the culture. But they find themselves in it. You see, and others, other ways of getting out of the culture is to migrate” (Interview 3; 3, 88 – 90)²⁹. In this context it has to be noted that what the interviewees referred to as ‘culture’ is in the way of their personal understanding of the term.

Influences of Foreign Cultures

Several interview partners explained that returning migrants tend to fall into one of two groups, those that re-integrate and those that stand apart. Many migrants, specifically those in the second group, will have completely adapted to the culture in their country of destination, and will have problems fitting in at home. Some returning migrants completely change their behavior. It was further mentioned by some interviewees that some migrants do not even understand their own mother tongue anymore. They distance themselves, and try to impress. They interact less with the

²⁹ here referring more to behavior of people, disorganisation and other aspects, rather than ceremonies, dances, etc.

community. This is the opposite of the Ghanaian culture, as in Ghana, there is hardly any privacy and people interact a lot.

The interviews further revealed that others come back and don't change at all, and are generous in giving away things they have accumulated. Some have been away for 20 years and return and are still able to speak their tribal tongue, like Dagbani, very well. The chief of the Gomoa Simbrofo village, who is currently living in Italy, is one such man. When the chief of the Gomoa Simbrofo village comes to Ghana to visit, he acts as one of them. He does not bring with him much of the Italian lifestyle or influences.

It was further mentioned by interviewees that migrants that are returning from various countries bring with them the culture to which they have adapted. For Ghanaians, it is easy to adapt to the US and UK culture; as they share the same language. These cultural influences brought by migrants can be found in music. One example given by an interviewee is that people used to listen to "high life" music, but are now through influences listening more to the "hip life". It is a cultural tradition that women groups would rap for their chief in Ghana. This makes the culture in Ghana be very easy adaptable for example to the U.S. rap.

Some areas in Ghana have a lot of migration to one specific area; and in return receive a lot of cultural influences from that area: "In Konongo, there is a lot of out migration to Italy. So the type of cars imported there are the same as in Italy, but the language still creates a barrier. People buy into that. Whoever returns is seen as a hero" (Interview 1; 3, 87- 89).

Loss of Culture due to Migration

One opinion represented by an interviewee is that as people migrate out from the North of Ghana, they lose their culture and are put at the risk of crime. The actions and traditions that make up their culture are no longer observed. Northern traditions, like some of the cultural dances, are going extinct: "Why? Because they move out, import different cultures into our area... and they no longer practice our culture, but they practice other people's culture" (Interview 5; 1; 18 – 20). In this case, migration is seen as definitely affecting culture.

Ghanaian Culture Abroad

According to the experiences of all interviewees, the exportation of the Ghanaian culture to Italy remains mostly within the Ghanaian community. The young migrants and the children of migrants living in Italy tend to not keep the culture alive. They like the European style and adapt to it: "You know because if the culture was so good, why don't they bring your child down here, but they

know the culture is not so good” (Interview 3; 4; 136 – 137). So, while there is some cultural exchange, the influences of the Ghanaian culture out into Europe is explained to be essentially very minimal. Hence, the influence is very small.

Attitude and Change of View due to Migration

It was further explained in the interviews, that some migrants go abroad and come back. These returnees usually have had a very difficult experience. They learn from their hopes, victories, failures, and regrets. Interviewees expressed these experiences to lead to a different way of thinking for the migrant. When that migrant returns this new outlook has the potential to help the locals.

The experiences of the interviewees in this field show that the education of development organizations also influences the attitude of people. The example was mentioned that the constant education that projects such as UNICEF is doing, promoting concepts such as female child education, changes attitudes.

Concretely CPYWD is approaching the mind-sets of people as a conscious strategy: “If we don’t change the mentality of people, we will propound theories upon theories, and it will not work, and that is their mentality” (Interview 7; 4; 126 -127).

5.1.7. View on Development

The view on development was described by Mr. Yakubu as being: “First, development in my experience is person’s or individual’s transformation to a stage of their desire” (Interview 5; 1; 15-16). He adds that, “...into our country context, development is about meeting the basic needs of the people, and also looking at sustainability and increasing the per capita income of the country and providing the social amenities or social services” (Interview 5; 1; 17-19).

Development for some of the interviewees was strongly connected to education. In school, students learn a basic toolset for problem solving, they learn new things, and they grow and expand their minds. There are critical opinions from some of the interviewees towards some of the current development projects: “But this mantra of coming in and giving to the African, to me is not development” (Interview 8; 3; 76). He continues stating that: “Development for me is developing the human capital in order to have the human resources needed to develop a country” (Interview 8; 3; 92 – 93).

5.1.8. Gender

On the Role of Women in Society

In Ghana, especially in the rural areas, there still seems to be a clear role distribution as regards men and women: “Culturally, women carry the role of planting and harvesting” (Interview 1; 2; 43 – 45). The traditional way of thinking is also described: “The traditional way of thinking is that women carry the heavy load on the field, and men are the ones that should not burden their head because they are the ones who have to think” (Interview 1; 2; 46 – 47), and “[...] about 40% of men still think that way: A woman is never intelligent” (Interview 1; 3; 75 – 76).

In most of the families visited, there was a clear role distribution. With the guest family in Accra, it was easier to speak to the men of the family than to the women due to the language barrier, which shows more investment in the education for the male family members. Of course, this was just once family example and cannot be generalized.

When women benefit from a certain project, the impact is described as being good for the whole family: “There are some activities only women carry out, but the thing is, when a woman is able to carry out successfully her project, her children benefit. And that includes the man, her husband benefits. But when it is male dominated areas, like when we’re talking about IT areas and stuff like that, where more men are young men are trained or either benefit from some computer donation or stuff like that, it impacts their lives and only their lives” (Interview 8; 5; 153-158). This of course is not always the case, but is commonly the case in Ghana.

Women carry a lot of pressure in their role: “Cause you see that, at the local level, women suffer a lot. They go farm, they go fetch water, they cook, they do sweeping, they bath the children, they go to the market, they do everything. There is a lot of pressure on them” (Interview 7; 2; 68 -70).

In the view of Stella, the West’s view of Africans women as being oppressed is not always true. A woman in Ghana is usually not outspoken. But to her, it is the women that direct from the back. She is the one who manages the home, and has a lot to say in the development of the family: “...generally the women in Africa are not the submissive type of person that is reflected. Simply because in our culture we don’t walk side by side with a man, either in the front or in the back and there is a reason and it depends on where you’re living” (Interview 8; 6; 177 – 179). She explains this custom coming from life in the village. If there is a wild animal that comes, the husband should defend the family. And this is not because the woman is inferior. Also when there are visitors, the woman is in the kitchen, cooking and does not sit with the guests. But she listens and discusses with her husband later.

This further means that: “When you look at the case of Ghana, it is the women who have more money than the men” (Interview 8; 7; 197). The women are the ones that go to the market, sell, have the cash and come up for the school fees of the children. The man takes care of the rent. In a marriage between man and woman, the man has to give the woman some capital to be able to trade and to start her business. So in Ghana, it is the women who are making the money, not the men. They sell food by the road and go to the market every day. In the Moslem region women are expected not to expose themselves. So the woman should be at home and the man has to provide. Then there might be a problem. But a lot of women sell the Watchi (rice and beans) and make a lot of money that way. It is up to the woman how she manages the initial capital she receives at marriage. It is the management aspect which is essential to look at.

According to Stella, “the men, they are poor, because the guy doesn’t have anything and if there’s a boy in the family who doesn’t want to sell, then he’s out there. He’s a drop-out. So generally the women have better chances than the men in Ghana” (Interview 8; 7; 218 – 221). This view was not shared by everyone, as for example CPYWD and DIDO focus specifically to encourage women; as they see women as having fewer chances than men.

In the North where there is not much rain it is the men that do the heavy harvesting of yams. Many women from the North are coming down to the South to look for jobs. They sleep on the streets and are vulnerable, as they have no idea about what the city is like when they come. Some women from the North come down to carry the loads. They can earn some money that way. Some women migrate to the city, get money and can buy utensils which make them fit for marriage.

The Changing Role of Women in Society

The role of women is clearly described as being changing in current times. Some of these changes are also enhanced through migration. Nowadays women are becoming more and more independent. In polygamous families for example, when economic difficulties come up, the husband might drop the woman, which is easy to do as their marriage is usually not an official one. The result is that the women are forced to become economically active. “There are certain dynamics that are changing. Some women go themselves to China to buy goods and sell these here for example” (Interview 1; 3; 71 – 72). “Still it is a man’s world in Ghana, but certain dynamics are changing” (Interview 1; 3; 72 – 73).

At the moment more and more women liberation movements are coming up, such as campaigns against female genital mutilation (FGM) and witches, or campaigns against cultural practices such as locking up the woman for 30 days with the dead body of her husband after his death.

Traditions are described as being changing too. Women are now encouraged to go into politics, as women need to be part of the decision making: "...now the present government, President Atta Mils, he made promise during his campaign, that he will give 40% of his appointment to women. But where are the women to fill this position?" (Interview 6; 3; 97 – 99).

When women migrate out of the country they often change her behavior to become more outspoken and "...speaking even down on the man sometimes. So changing roles, I don't know in what sense because it is giving them the opportunity to rise up" (Interview 8; 6; 192 -194). Through migration, women also get the opportunity to contribute economically to their family, which gives them a voice in decision making.

5.2. The Projects

5.2.1. Social, Cultural and Economic Impacts of Ghanacoop and ‘Other Projects’

Social and Economic Impacts of Ghanacoop in the village Gomoa Simbrofo

In an attempt to bring sustainability, the Ghanacoop project brought solar panels to the Gomoa Simbrofo community, which allows for the generating of electricity. This has altered the social landscape of Gomoa Simbrofo by enabling children who work on the farms to catch up with school work after dark. The new street lights have also created a night life, since before electricity the streets were empty after dark.

The Ghanacoop project also created jobs within the village. This was the main economic impact because it led to the creation of employment. The farm workers in Gomoa Simbrofo for example, could count on an income at the end of each month. This meant that they could purchase some things for the household. It benefited also the agriculturalist that was interviewed.

Those people working on the farm were the main beneficiaries, and the availability of a dependable salary at the end of the month altered this subset of the community. For instance, the dependable salary allowed workers to employ workers to work on their own farms, creating additional jobs. This also helped employees of the project to learn to plan ahead, as they could count on the salary coming in. Indeed, those working at the farm were considered the richest people in the village.

As the income in the communities improved, the cooperative gained a higher bargaining power. This allowed them to produce more. When they produced more, the employers would be given more money, and when yield shrunk, there was no additional income (Interview 4; 2; 43-44).

Some of the villagers chose to sign their children up for apprenticeships after school, and were able use their income to pay for the apprenticeship. Even in situations where there is no money now, villagers are trying to send their children for apprenticeships as an investment for their child's future.

This economic impact led to a social impact as people were able to make more decisions and, due to their income, afford to do things they could not do before. This increased freedom of choice is a sure sign of positive development.

It would have been interesting to know, if the fact that a part of the Gomoa Simbrofo village was employed, created social instability within the village. There is however, not enough knowledge

that I could acquire on how the project affected the social stability of the village (Interview 3; 2; 60).

Social Impacts of ‘Other Projects’

The norm in Ghana is for women to not continue on to higher education. Through educating parents, the NGO DIDO started to challenge this practice of not letting girls be educated. Through these efforts, a lot of female children have been able to continue their education. Some of them have entered secondary schools, while others have even been able to attend university.

In part, due to these efforts women are becoming more active on the local level, increasing their work at the market, and improving their standard of living. Women receive capital to trade and the income generated at the markets benefits their children by helping to keep them in school. In this way, the drop-out rate of children has been reduced.

The activities of the CPYWD are also starting to bear fruit. Their micro-finance and vocational training programs too are helping women in Ghana become more economically independent. As with the efforts of DIDO, women can use their freedom to work and support their children’s school fees. It also gives them an opportunity to be entrepreneurs, and invest in activities.

CPYWD’s work with the youth is also bearing fruit, as the children are starting to expand their minds and ask questions as a result of the after-school programs. Through the help of some partner organizations, CPYWD has donated play equipments such as swings and slides for the playground of the schools in three communities. Since only schoolchildren were allowed to play with these equipments, the school attendance has been rising.

Cultural Impacts

It is difficult to say what can be seen as ‘cultural impacts’ resulting from the projects researched. Some of these impacts could be described as changes in attitude, mindset, view and behavior. I have therefore categorized these as attitude and change of mind-set.

5.2.2. Attitude towards Ghanacoop

Attitude of those affected by Ghanacoop

Those working and benefiting from Ghanacoop in Ghana know how much they are receiving from the project: “Yes we have benefited a lot from Ghanacoop, so anytime Ghanacoop comes, we know, there’s something good coming” (Interview 2; 1; 34-35).

Especially the village workers in Gomoa Simbrofo express the view that Ghanacoop really changed their lives, and they are hoping to be able to pick up the work again. “All I have to say is that we’re all thinking and praying, that very soon, a submission can be found, so that we can get back to our work. That is all I have to say because for this problem to be over, so we can get back to do our work like we used to” (Interview 2; 4; 107-109). The same view was also expressed as: “Ghanacoop, they need to start it all over again. We can get employment. It has to start all over again” (Interview 4; 2; 51-52), or: “[...] because we all know the benefits we all have had from Ghanacoop one way or the other” (Interview 3; 6; 205 – 106).

For the villagers, their employment has been stopped and currently there are no activities going on. The situation for the Ghanacoop members in the office is slightly different, as some of them are still working on a voluntary basis.

Due to the cessation of financial flows for the project, the members of Ghanacoop office in Accra now are in a difficult period of financial hardship, but still working (those in the Ghanacoop office in Accra). And the hope is there that there will be more funding, because as they work more, they get more experience. So the attitude of the staff of the Ghanacoop project is very hopeful: “Yes. But in all these things, difficulties, we are doing our best, offering the best of our services” (Interview 6; 5; 164).

Change of Mind-set through a Development Intervention

As with most things, the views on how the Ghanacoop project affected the culture of the surrounding region was different from person to person.

The sub-chief of the Gomoa Simbrofo village confirms that the project has changed the mind-set of the people: “In this view, the way that the villagers see things is now different. Especially the fact of having an income at the end of the month has changed people’s mindsets to be able to plan ahead” (Interview 2; 2; 67 – 68).

The agriculturalist on the other hand argued that the project duration was too short for the mind-set of the people to have changed: “For the farming, the pepper farming, the direction was shot, so it could not change the thinking” (Interview 4; 1; 26-27).

The Ghanacoop staff observed another situation with positive influence on the attitude of the farm workers: “For example with the village here, you know ah, one time I was talking to one man, and what he said was, oh, if this person can do it, I can also do it.[...] It has changed, it changes their mind” (Interview 3; 3; 84-87).

5.2.3. Impacts of the Projects on Women

Migration can potentially empower women. The culture and attitude towards women changes as women step to the forefront. For example, within the Ghanacoop projects, women have benefited a lot: “Especially in the agricultural area, it is the women who make up the larger amount of those employed. They do the planting and the harvesting. This is also due to the cultural role that women carry” (Interview 1; 2; 43-45). Men do the weeding sometimes, but 60-80% of the people doing the planting are women, therefore the women get the benefits.

According to the Gomoa-Simbrofo sub-chief, both men and women have benefited equally from the project, as both men and women were employed as farmers. The men through Ghanacoop were able to take care of their house better, and were able to plant. The man is usually considered as the head of the family, and therefore he needs to provide for all the needs. So if a woman is considered the head, she will provide.

CPYWD explained their experience, that even projects that only last a short time encourage women. For instance, micro-loans give women experience in business. It gives them confidence. It may change their way of thinking. “...in terms of education, I will say that they now have the mind that if I do this and that, I will be able to survive economically. So for me they have put into the mind, a business mind. This is a changing their thinking” (Interview 6; 2; 47 -50).

DIDO, for example, is doing exactly this by giving micro-loans to women. Since women are usually the ones caring for the children and paying for schools, the profits these women make are really investments into the future.

5.2.4. Problems

Challenges faced by the Ghanacoop Project

The issue that the funds for the Ghanacoop project were not flowing affected almost everyone involved. In the village Gomoa Simbrofo, the problems with the discontinuation of the project included:

- The lack of jobs. Because the Ghanacoop project has stopped, this has slowed down the strength of the community. Because of no jobs available, there is nothing for the people to do, and it is difficult for village members to help their kids with education because the means are not there. But the community members still send their kids to school despite the stop of Ghanacoop.

Other general problems were mentioned as being:

- The difficulty of getting water for the plants to grow,
- Weather for the farms, as the rains are not coming, which leads to very limited harvest,
- No money for irrigation,
- Cannot rely on the harvest.

At the moment the major problem for Ghanacoop is finance. There is no money to pay the staff and everything is at a standstill: “And here, unlike in Europe, everything... for you to move, you need money. So finance is the major problem. Yes” (Interview 3; 6; 187 – 188).

Problems of ‘Other Projects’

Some of the major problems for CPYWD are:

- Finance, as it is hard to fund projects when there is no money. This makes the supporting of volunteers and their families a major challenge. The linkage to donors is rather difficult and getting funds is not easy.
- Information gets lost on computers due to electricity power outages. These power outages also cause damage to electronic hardware.
- Means of transportation. In the rainy season, the villages are not very accessible for the after-school programs.

- At the beginning there was some resistance to the CPYWD after-school programs by the parents because they had not built up trust yet. A challenge is the parent's inability to contribute to the program's culture.

For DIDO, the main problems are:

- Funding for the women's programs.
- Transportation, as the projects start before the money is released, but motorbikes need to be rented and paid for.

5.3. Development Efforts and Evaluation

5.3.1. Evaluation and the Importance of Impact Indicators

In order to properly know what parts of a project are having the greatest impact it is important to measure the results of a project. By recording the outcomes of a project or initiative it becomes possible to better measure the impact of the recorded activity. Hence, these records are called "Impact Indicators".

To one interviewee, the value of impact evaluation is relative. It takes time to see the impact that a project really has. Some projects are just based on a short period. In such a short time, it's a 50/50 chance that a project will be successful. You cannot rely on it 100%. Such was the result in the Ghanacoop project. They were helping people, making a difference. But the financial aid stopped and the whole project collapsed. People are just at a standstill and it might be even more difficult to start again: "So you cannot emphasize so much on the social and cultural impact. You can't" (Interview 4; 5; 169 – 170).

Even though most interviewees saw the impact evaluation as essential, some of the project implementers admitted their limited resources in measuring these. Taking the example of CPYWD, they hardly have the chance to evaluate. They try to measure their outcomes by looking at the reactions of the people: "We don't have the statistics, but orally, or verbally, the impact is felt" (Interview 6; 4; 139 – 140). Yet due to the fact that the volunteers of CPYWD are working on a permanent level (not projectised) and keep close contact with their beneficiaries, the response from the people might be sufficient for them to see their projects' success and limits.

One example of an impact indicator for the projects of CPYWD could be the attendance at a school that hosted a CPYWD project as school attendance increased due to their program.

This is not to say that the playground is the only reason for increased attendance, since the after-school programs may also be helping to encourage students to remain at school. The support of the local community could also be a factor: “And so I think it is our presence in those communities that are giving them these opportunities. Yes” (Interview 6; 5; 150-151). However, it can be said that the playground has had a positive effect on the school’s attendance, and this statement can be backed up with numbers.

Impact Assessment is important because it gives an unbiased way to say if a project is successful and whether it is benefiting the people. This in turn is important because it lets organizers know that they have not wasted their funds, or the time and money it takes to develop further projects.

The CPYWD and DIDO directors emphasized that for proper evaluation data is needed on the grassroots level: “Yes, the evaluation of the act of culture, the development of people, and the nation in general is very important” (Interview 6; 2-3; 70 – 71). This is because project reports are easily falsified, as people like to say what they think others would like to hear. The sad reality is that the impact of most development projects is relevant but not significant.

Important for evaluation is knowing the local context and culture. It was explained that in Africa (referring to evaluation) people will not tell the truth. They will tell you what they think you want to hear.

DIDO sees it as important to involve the community from the beginning and speak with them. They learn from them. The local people are very intelligent, so you don’t just go there and preach in front of them. Discussions are important. At the end of the day, you improve your understanding towards each other. We sit down and chat with the people. We don’t put pressure on them. Then you can be successful in your program. Partners are important. So the governmental organs are invited, and it is checked that no work is done double.

Concerning the measurements on cultural impact, Mr. Yakubu mentions that “when you are running a program you need to have an indicator, if I phase this program out, can it continue? Like you, we know you cannot keep on supporting somebody. At a point you need to win the person. But when I win the person, will he have the mind to continue with that program? For me, evaluating the impact of culture on the development of people, or on the projects that we run, is very important” (Interview 6; 3; 76 – 80).

5.3.2. Problems and Errors of some Development Projects

Problems of some projects in Ghana

The interviewees mentioned some of the problems they see that other developmental projects have in Ghana, usually in relation to a wrong approach on how to help. This information is interesting; as it might lead to clues on further areas at which the impact evaluation and its indicators are still lacking.

There are some projects that exist, which give people money. But when these people are not trained in how to invest and use the money, the money will be finished and nothing will have changed in their situation. But if people are more trained in business and provided with the business plan, projects can be successful.

Beneficiaries of a project receive training from a development organization, but are then not given the opportunity to use that knowledge to help others in that the training is not adapted to the needs on the market.

There is also a general lack of research done before a project is implemented. The location at which projects are done is a problem as these problems do not tackle the root problems. Programs do not consult on what kind of help is really needed. An example is mentioned that young women coming to the city are trained as hairdressers, so that they can generate an income when they return to their villages. The problem in the villages turns out to be that people go to the hairdresser only very few times a year before festive occasions. Projects that target villages therefore should be located right in the villages (not the cities) and it is needed to make sure there is a market for your project. There is a need to look at appropriate location, appropriate skills and appropriate products. More emphasis on life skills are needed as well as, value management and life planning. Mr. Yakubu adds that people value more than just money.

There needs to be more co-ordination between groups trying to assist in development. There are a lot of NGOs doing a lot of projects, and nothing is coordinated. This is really missing. Many NGOs are also not accountable and use the money for their own private purposes.

Involvement of the Local Chiefs

The involvement of the local chiefs is very important for any kind of undertaking in Ghana (and especially in rural areas) as they have a lot of influence on the people. Politically speaking, nobody can be against something that the chief supports. The local chiefs and the government are in essence two parallel political systems. In the North, it is the local chiefs that have more

influence in regulating the community. If a chief says leave my land, you have to leave it. If you don't, there will be no support for you from the whole community.

Local chiefs have great influence also in opinion building. If the chief supports girl-child education, then this influences the opinion of the rest.

With this in mind, the local chiefs play an important role for any form of development intervention, as they can either support or block it. In the village of Gomoa Simbrofo, the local chief was an expatriate living in Italy, but supported his village while abroad. His support was pivotal to the Ghanacoop project.

Shortcomings of Impact Evaluations and Impact Indicators

There are some shortcomings mentioned by the interviewees to existing impact evaluations: Criticism was given that evaluators want to hear monetary amounts and figures. But some can only be given proxy figures. For the most part, they tie to easily measurable subjects, such as material products. They tend to ignore objects that are hard to quantify, such as people's minds. It is further important to measure social impacts from the migrants'/beneficiaries point of view. One has to adapt the evaluation according to the context of people. The level of contribution of beneficiaries should be measured, as this ensures ownership and is an important fact for sustainability.

Some projects are further criticized to be tied to the politics of those running the program. So a program focused primarily on women's rights may not measure how their program affects men. Similarly, a program about farming may not measure how the farming changes the social framework of a region. Focus should be on the general impact, and not only on the one aimed at from the project.

Many projects, especially those without backing from a larger organization, often times do not have employees with the training to know what to look for, or what to measure in order to discover important impact indicators.

For measuring economic impacts there needs to be better tracking mechanisms in the economy. It is hard to say how much money people live by, because this is all dependent on the informal economy. In the informal sector, there is a lot of money distributed. The government does not know how to tap into this resource to get the taxes. The government is broke because they don't have the money. Further, the information about people living on one dollar a month or on one dollar a day might not be very accurate, according to one interviewee, as research is often carried

out in the official sectors and the ministries where people are officially working, and not including numbers from the informal sector.

One other problem mentioned concerning evaluations is the lack of a tracking system for impact indicators. There are a lot of NGOs and projects going on. But it is a question how much they are really doing, and how much impact they really have, which is in most cases not transparent.

There is a marked lack of standards when it comes to the impact indicators. Each organization or project comes up with their own criteria, which makes evaluation across projects difficult.

CONCLUSION

Throughout the course of this master thesis I have taken both a theoretical and an empirical approach to answering the following two questions:

1. What makes the development of impact indicators in the migration and development context and especially in the MIDA projects so necessary?
2. What makes the development of social and cultural impact indicators so necessary in the MIDA Ghana-Italy project?

However, in order to properly answer these two questions I first needed to construct a basis upon which the results of this work could exist. To do this, this thesis started by giving a broad topical introduction to migration, development, and the nexus of issues formed by their effects upon one another. This first, and primarily theoretical, part of the paper was designed to address foundational questions such as ‘What is an Impact Indicator?’, ‘What drives migration?’, and ‘Why does migration affect development?’

This was followed by a more empirical work, looking at the Migration and Development for Africa (MIDA) initiative, and what it is they are doing. This section looked at what MIDA is, what projects they are doing, and what impacts they are measuring.

Finally this was rounded out by empirical research done while in Ghana. Looking at the reality of Ghana, and comparing it with the impact indicators recorded over the course of the Ghanacoop project.

This final chapter will briefly summarize the findings gathered that are relevant to answering these two initial questions.

The Importance of Impact Indicators in the Migration and Development Context

As people move in and out of a society they bring with them many changes. However, without some grounding in reality this statement cannot be proven. Nor can the changes these migrants bring be shown in any empirical form.

The importance of impact indicators is that they give a way to clearly show the real effect that migration can have on development, both in the country of origin and of destination of a migrant population.

It is only when these impacts are clearly defined, measured, and analyzed that the above statements can be said to be true. More importantly, policies and programs can use these measurements to find out the best and most effective ways to promoting the positive effects of this migratory change, while decreasing or finding ways to circumvent the negative effects of migration.

In the migration and development context, one's understanding of development will greatly effect what changes one looks for when trying to measure this development. For example, if one sees development primarily as a question of economics, one will naturally look to the economics of a situation to understand the developmental changes. Similarly, if one sees development as a matter of increases in social liberties, then one will attempt to measure development by looking at the subsequent increases and decreases of said social liberties that exist due to the completion of a project/intervention.

The definition for development that this paper uses, the capabilities approach referring to Sen, requires a broader view of what needs to be measured in order to attain a balanced picture in the well-being when measuring development. In this approach, development is seen as a growth in freedom, and the ability of people to partake in the increased choices freedom brings. As this view attempts to harmonize the key areas of a person's life, measuring this type of development requires one to look at multiple fields, paying close attention to the intended and unintended changes in both the short and the long term.

This is important because the freedoms a person has are not just economic. They certainly include issues such as religious freedom, the freedom to work, and the freedom from discrimination.

Since these impact indicators measure the effects of projects, it is also important to have a clear grasp of the sustainability of said projects. Not just the cost of a project over time, but more importantly how well a project integrates and uses the pre-existing system within its region.

For instance, the building upon the already existing structures of the diaspora organizations proved to be extremely successful in that the partnership of Ghanacoop with various Italian stakeholders led to increased integration for these migrant groups (see Stocchieri 2008).

As shown earlier in the thesis, the NGO DIDO seems to also have a successful strategy in terms of participation, as it bases its development upon the already existing structure of the electoral areas.

The point that I am trying to get across is that migration has many kinds of impacts on development, and development is a large and multi-faceted topic. Impact indicators give a way to quantify these impacts, and create a simpler to understand abstraction of the development picture.

The changes measured by these indicators can then be used to properly evaluate projects, allocate resources, and leverage emerging trends to bring about the best possible and meaningful changes in the shortest amount of time.

The Importance of Impact Indicators for the MIDA Projects

As mentioned above, the importance of impact indicators is that they allow for the leveraging the available time, effort, and money in the best possible way to facilitate positive development. As the MIDA initiative is comprised of projects, and these projects utilize the time, effort, and money of various stakeholders, the importance of impact indicators should be self-evident.

The Reality of Impact Indicators in the MIDA Projects

The MIDA initiative has successfully completed many projects since its inception. However, the reality is that proper evaluation is both time consuming and expensive. Since almost every project or program implemented by MIDA is run in the field on a very limited budget it is not always feasible to do a professional quality evaluation.

Adding to this, there are few globally recognized standards, and there is limited adoption of these standards for the creation of impact indicators. By contrast, measuring impact in the field of medicine is a rigorous and standardized process.

What this amounts to is improper evaluation, and situations where the impact indicators researched are not the best indicators for reflecting the actual change happening on all areas.

For example, while there was an evaluation of the Ghanacoop project, this evaluation did not deal with the questions of sustainability and long-term impact. A proper evaluation would ask questions such as:

- What is the realistic sustainability of Ghanacoop?
- What is the sustainability without foreign aid?

- What is the long term impact on the village?

Over the course of the field research, the question of sustainability created a rather difficult issue. The Ghanacoop gave the impression of having involving a lot of initiative and ownership from the side of the Ghanaian diaspora in Italy. By contrast, the general impression from the Ghanaian side was that of little initiative from the inhabitants of the Gomoa Simbrofo village. Once all project funds had been halted, the impact on the village was limited³⁰. Here, the long-term impact is of real significance.

In any proper evaluation long term impact is a question that must be answered; because when it comes to development one can really only take the long view. Development takes time, and the best projects are the ones that have positive effects long after the project ends.

Recognizing this weakness, MIDA is stepping up its efforts to improve its evaluations (IOM 2009; 85). The MIDA Great Lakes³¹ Project, for example, is training migrants in project management, and it is being ensured that impact indicators are included in the projects they develop.

What makes the further Development of Social and Cultural Impact Indicators necessary in MIDA for the Ghanacoop project and in general?

As was touched upon in the section about the reality of impact indicators, the range of available assessments tend to focus on the economic aspects of life.

There is no arguing that such information is important. Economic indicators do indeed tell an important part of the picture when one wants to look at development.

³⁰ During my talk with the Ghanacoop officer, the intention was mentioned to separate the business aspect and the social aspect of Ghanacoop in the future, so that both of them do not depend on each other, and that similar problems can be avoided in future.

³¹ The MIDA Great Lakes Project seeks to provide experts from the Democratic Republic of Congo, Burundi and Rwanda, who currently reside in Europe, with an active role in their countries of origin through temporary assignment. The aim is to achieve a transfer of skills, knowledge and tools. This project was initiated in 2005 by IOM Belgium (see also: www.midagrandslacs.org).

The problem occurs when the only indicators one has are economic. It gives a skewed view of reality, as it only focuses on one aspect of development. The research section of this paper should go towards showing that such indicators must be viewed as a part of the whole, indicators that measure the social and cultural impacts of a project/intervention.

This is certainly not easy to do, but as is often the case, doing something right is not always easy. However, doing it right, despite the challenges, is what development is all about.

As measuring social and cultural changes is hard to quantify, the impact indicators are not often measured. It is my view that this should be changed; so that the impact indicators recorded for a project better reflect the reality of the changes caused by the project.

So, it is the opinion of this work that MIDA projects need to focus more on the social and cultural impacts caused by their projects.

Recommendations

The recommendations of this thesis can be summarized as this: impact indicators should be developed on all areas, taking the country-specific context into consideration. This text finds the creation of indicators in all areas that show the improvement in the well-being of an individual as equally important.

Understanding that the creation of impact indicators in the cultural field is a difficult task to do, and these may only be measurable over a long period of time; it is recommended to take the cultural context into consideration when developing these indicators. Further recommendations go into including indicators of participation (in deciding what is needed) and ownership by the beneficiaries of a project, which might hint to the sustainability.

It can be concluded that the most effective aid is not that which is imposed by others from outside, but that which happens from within; out of one's own initiative. In my view, development projects should be focusing on improving the capabilities of encouraging such initiatives, even if the impact can only be measured after time. In my view, migration plays an essential part.

The NGO Community Partnership for Youth and Women Development (CPYWD) also has a good approach in that it tries to help the beneficiaries take an informed decision; rather than imposing assistance or help that might not be needed or might not improve their life situation at all.

Due to the halt in funds to the Ghanacoop project, all the work has halted, and it seems that the farm workers are just waiting for a new project from outside to come. A recommendation here would be to develop sustainability; ensuring that a loss in funds would not stop the whole project.

Data needs to be gathered on the grassroots level. Over the course of the interviews, it was been stated from various persons, that project reports cannot always be trusted in Ghana, due to the lack of ownership and by corruption within some of the leadership, and due to a cultural aspect mentioned, that Ghanaians will not tell you what they think, but what they think the other person wants to hear.

Researchers need to find ways around these kinds of problems. They need to find ways to get around the politeness of an indigenous people in order to find out about actual facts. Here the role of the diaspora could become relevant, as it is their culture. Another example is the importance of the involvement of the local chiefs in Ghana.

Finally, I noticed a lack of coordination between projects, which impact effectiveness of projects. In essence, there are so many people doing so many things, but not many of them are trying to work together to accomplish their individual tasks. This leads to a lot of 're-inventing the wheel' as projects are unable to learn from one another.

Final Thoughts

In conclusion, the migration and development nexus is a complex issue that can be viewed from so many different angles. Due to this daunting complexity, there exists great temptation to try and oversimplify the webs of its interconnectedness, and place an overemphasis on the aspects one understands. This in some cases has led to a fractured view of development, with each discipline championing their field of research.

The importance and need for a more rounded view on development effects, including impacts in the social and cultural field, seems to be attaining some attention within the development cooperation context³².

The picture coming from these most recent efforts have led to an increased acceptance of what is seen as ‘real development’; a holistic approach to measuring all aspects of the effects of migratory streams. In this approach, development is seen as being multi-faceted, taking in aspects such as economic health, governmental stability, gender equality, and social freedom.

This broader and more spherical view of migration based development has promoted the expansion of types of impact indicators that can be used in the field. These new indicators in turn are able to create better abstractions, or models, depicting the effects of developmental efforts. This in turn promotes a positive cycle of iterative improvement, ending in better focused and executed projects that will effectively be coming closer to the goal of sustainably improving the freedom of choices that large population and groups are currently being denied.

³² These developments can be observed such as with the example of a conference in the framework of IOM’s International Dialogue on Migration (IDM) that took place in Geneva on the topic "Societies and Identities: the multifaceted impact of migration" in July 2010, which had a focus on the social and cultural implications of migration (see www.iom.int).

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Annex

Interview Guideline

Introduction: Background of the research/ Introduction of the Interviewee

1) What are your experiences in the field of migration and development?

2) In which ways are you involved in the field of development and what are your main experiences?

- What is your position in the organization/ village?
- How did you get involved?
- What are your main aims?
- Can you tell me about any concrete experiences?

3) What are the concrete ways in which your project /development projects impact the lives of the beneficiaries in Ghana?

- In which way have they benefited people the most?
- What were some of the main outcomes in the social and cultural field?
- Can you name concrete examples?
- What concrete difference did it make in the lives of those people involved in Ghana?
- Is there a difference on the impact for women and for men?

4) Do you have any experiences with how Ghanaian migrants abroad influence their family/community at home?

- Is there a certain export of culture?
- Is the **cultural transfer** (also Ghanaian culture abroad) an important aspect in your opinion, and why?
- Is cultural enrichment important?

5) What would you list as important aspects for measuring a developmental project in Ghana for it to be successful?

- Do you have any other general thoughts on this topic?
- Do you know of any major problems?

6) What were the main problems of your project and what are your wishes for the future?

Anything in addition to add

Abstract

The topic migration and development has received increased international and scientific attention in recent years. However, there exist different views on how the term development should be understood and as to which impacts should be measured. This thesis looks at the role and importance of impact indicators in the social and cultural field which are used for measuring development in the context of migration.

As a basis for this discussion, a theoretical introduction to the topic of migration and development and its main implications from the viewpoint of social and cultural anthropology is given. To allow for further analysis by means of a concrete example, the results of empirical research on the value of impact indicators for the ‘Ghanacoop’ project, a Migration for Development in Africa (MIDA) project between Italy and Ghana, are presented.

Both theoretical and empirical research lead to the conclusion that a broader and more spherical view of migration based development has promoted the expansion of types of impact indicators that can be used in the field. These new indicators in turn are able to create better abstractions, or models, depicting the effects of developmental efforts. This in turn promotes a positive cycle of iterative improvement, ending in better focused and executed projects that will effectively be coming closer to the goal of sustainably improving the freedom of choices that large population and groups are currently being denied.

Abstract

Das Thema ‚Migration und Entwicklung‘ hat in den letzten Jahren sowohl im internationalen Bereich als auch in der Wissenschaft immer mehr Aufmerksamkeit erhalten. In Bezug auf das Verständnis von Entwicklung lassen sich mehrere unterschiedliche Zugangsweisen ausmachen, wobei sich besonders die Bestimmung von bedeutsamen Indikatoren und deren Messung als äußerst schwierig erweist. Die vorliegende Diplomarbeit untersucht die Rolle und Wichtigkeit von sogenannten ‚Impact- Indikatoren‘ speziell im sozialen und kulturellen Bereich für die Evaluierung von Entwicklung in Zusammenhang mit Migration.

Im ersten Teil führt ein theoretischer Überblick einerseits zum Thema Migration und Entwicklung aus der Sicht der Kultur- und Sozialanthropologie, andererseits zum Gebrauch von Impact-Indikatoren in die Thematik ein. Darüber hinaus ermöglicht es die Untersuchung des „Ghanacoop“ Projektes, welches unter der Initiative ‚Migration für Entwicklung in Afrika‘ (MIDA) gestartet wurde und in dessen Rahmen die Feldforschung in Ghana durchgeführt wurde, das Thema nicht nur theoretisch, sondern auch durch Heranziehung konkreter empirischer Daten zu behandeln.

Die Ergebnisse der Forschungen zeigen, dass eine Erweiterung des Verständnisses des Phänomens Migration und Entwicklung zu einer Erweiterung der im Feld verwendeten Impact-Indikatoren geführt hat. Indikatoren, die alle Aspekte des Lebens abdecken, führen wiederum zu einer verbesserten Ausrichtung von Projekten und Initiativen, die dem Ziel der nachhaltigen Erweiterung von Entscheidungsfreiheiten näherkommen, speziell für jene Bevölkerungsgruppen, denen diese derzeit verwehrt werden.

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