

Introduction

Two Stages of African-American Migration to Ghana

On March 6, 1957, Britain's African colony the Gold Coast became the independent country of Ghana, under the leadership of Prime Minister Kwame Nkrumah, who would later become President. Nkrumah had a vision of a united Africa, which would include the descendants of those who were victims of the Atlantic slave trade. Nkrumah welcomed African Americans to come to the newly independent country where they could lend their expertise and make Ghana a shining example of pan-African unity. Hundreds of African Americans heeded Nkrumah's call and took up residence in Ghana. Nearly all were staunch supporters of Nkrumah and his political party, the Convention People's Party (CPP), and some received government appointments. The African-American expatriate community was one that was very much aware of the political occurrences in their adopted country, and its members were quite concerned with the political developments in Ghana.

The situation for African-American expatriates became very precarious on February 24, 1966, when Nkrumah's government was removed from office in a military coup. The military junta rescinded Nkrumah's welcome toward Black Americans. While it was a military coup that ended Ghana's outreach toward Black Americans, it was also a military coup, occurring nearly 16 years later, which re-opened Ghana's doors to them. On the last day of 1981 a seemingly pro-Nkrumah Air Force Lieutenant, Jerry John Rawlings, seized control of Ghana's government. After Rawlings became firmly in control, he took bold measures that he hoped would improve Ghana's economy. One such measure was inviting foreigners, including African Americans, to come to Ghana to invest

in its economy. Many African Americans accepted that invitation and immigrated to Ghana. Today nearly 3,000 African Americans live in or around Accra, Ghana's capital and largest city,¹ most of whom arrived subsequent to the invitation given by Flight Lieutenant (later President) Rawlings. Today's African-American community in Ghana is much larger than the community that existed during the Nkrumah days. In addition to being larger, another difference is that the new generation of expatriates is not politically active, nor is there the strong political support for Nkrumahism. This book compares the two generations of African-American expatriates, and examines why the current group is non-political, and why there is less support for the political parties that identify with the late Kwame Nkrumah.

Relevant Literature on African-American Migration to West Africa

The topic of African Americans residing in Africa, and Ghana in particular, has been explored by a number of researchers. One of the most comprehensive works on this topic was written by James T. Campbell, and it is entitled *Middle Passages: African American Journeys to Africa, 1787–2005*. Campbell describes the waves of migration of Black people who left the New World to return to their ancestral continent. He looks back to the earliest days of the American Republic, when former slaves who had been emancipated by the British military were compelled to flee the United States. Many went to Canada first, and from there some departed to Sierra Leone to establish a British colony. Similarly, thousands of freed former slaves in the newly established United States went to the West African territory of Liberia, which became the first republic on the African continent. Much of my information on the earliest African-American settlers in Africa comes from *Middle Passages*.

Another wave of migration to Africa began with the independence of Ghana in 1957, which coincided with the Civil Rights Movement in the United States. In his book *American Africans in Ghana*, Kevin Gaines provides information about prominent African Americans who were dissatisfied with the slow pace of social progress in the United States, and who left the U.S. to settle in the first Sub-Saharan African nation to receive its independence in the twentieth century. Gaines looks at several exiles from the U.S. Among those are writer Richard Wright (who resided

in France), civil rights attorney Pauli Murray,² and novelist, actor and playwright Julian Mayfield.³ Gaines describes their efforts to negotiate the often volatile political environment in Ghana during the days of its First Republic. It is through Gaines that researchers learn of the political activities of African Americans who settled in Ghana in the 1950s and 1960s. David Levering Lewis also reports on his own experiences meeting with politically active expatriates who lived in Ghana during the Nkrumah regime. His published records of these meetings can be read in “Ghana, 1963: A Memoir,” which was published in the *American Scholar*.

The 1966 ouster of Kwame Nkrumah was the start of a lengthy period of instability, marked by more coups, attempted coups, and two short-lived republics. Between 1969 and 1981 there were six different military governments, interspersed with one civilian government that lasted for only three years, and another that lasted for only two. Roger Gocking’s *The History of Ghana* speaks extensively of the various military regimes of the 1960s through the 1980s, and of the two brief attempts at democratic governance. Though Gocking’s work provides no coverage of the experiences of African Americans in Ghana, it does give a thorough explanation about the increasing stability that came to attract foreigners to move to Ghana. Another work that covers the various regime changes in Ghana is Volume One of Emmanuel Doe Ziorklui’s *Ghana: Nkrumah to Rawlings*.

The Rawlings Era marked the beginning of the current wave of migration of African Americans to Ghana. In 2015 Justin Williams published an article in *African Studies* entitled “The ‘Rawlings Revolution and Rediscovery of the African Diaspora in Ghana (1983–2015).” Here Williams compares the socialist pan-Africanism of Kwame Nkrumah with the neoliberal pan-Africanism of Jerry Rawlings. Williams focuses on what I include as a major theme of this book, and that is how many of those participating in the current wave of African-American migration to Ghana are involved in entrepreneurial activities, including the tourism industry. In her book *African Homecoming: Pan-African Ideology and Contested Heritage*, Katharina Schramm provides a great deal of coverage of African-American tourism to Ghana. Schramm speaks of the desire of African Americans to come to Ghana to reclaim their heritage, and how the government of Ghana has helped facilitate that reclamation by sponsoring activities such as Emancipation Day and PANAFEST. In another work, entitled “Negotiating Race: Blackness and Whiteness in the Context of Homecoming to Ghana,” Schramm writes of her ethnographic study of

African-American expatriates and the degree to which they feel welcome in Ghana. In an article entitled, "Rites of Passage, Routes of Redemption: Emancipation Tourism and the Wealth of Culture," published in *Africa Today*, Jennifer Hasty also writes about Emancipation Day and how such celebrations have served to increase the number of African Americans traveling to Ghana. Hasty also writes about those African Americans who came, not as tourists, but as permanent settlers, and of the problems that some have in finding acceptance among Ghanaians.

What is missing from the existing literature about Ghana is coverage of the political proclivities of the current wave of African Americans in Ghana: those who came during the Fourth Republic, or the years leading up to the restoration of democracy. While researchers such as Kevin Gaines have written about the political activities of African Americans during the First Republic, far less is written about this topic during the Fourth Republic. Most information about African-American current participation in Ghana's politics focuses on their involvement in traditional politics, meaning the chieftaincy. George Bob-Milliar's article "Chieftaincy, Diaspora, and Development," looks at the role of the "Development Chiefs" in various villages in Akan-speaking regions in Ghana. Many of these "development chiefs" are African Americans. In the book *Relations Between Africans and African Americans: Misconceptions, Myths and Realities*, Godfrey Mwakikagile provides the most comprehensive coverage yet of the attempts of African Americans to establish a village in eastern Ghana, named Fihankra, and to install traditional leadership. In chapter 5 of this book, I provide a brief follow-up to Mwakikagile's coverage of Fihankra, and I summarize news reports about tragic events that recently occurred there, as does Mwakikagile in his latest work, entitled *The People of Ghana: Ethnic Diversity and National Unity*. I complement Mwakikagile's writings with interviews of persons closely connected with the Fihankra community.

Ghana as a Preferred West African Destination

Though some African Americans in Ghana have settled in remote locations like Fihankra, the vast majority of those in Ghana reside in and around the capital city of Accra. There are more African Americans living in Ghana than in any other African country. Tanzania, in East Africa, is also the home to a sizable number of African Americans, but not nearly

as many as in Ghana. There are several reasons why Ghana has been an attractive destination for African Americans who wish to return to the continent of their ancestors. One reason is that Ghana is on the west coast of Africa, the region of the continent where the majority of African-Americans' families originated. While very few African Americans are able to trace their direct lineage, as writer Alex Haley was able to do, there is irrefutable historical evidence that the vast majority of slaves taken to the western hemisphere came from West Africa. The southern coast of Ghana is dotted with castles that were used as a staging point for the departure of slaves headed to the New World.⁴ These castles remain standing, and they are now tourist attractions. They also serve as a reminder that a large percentage of African Americans have ancestors who embarked from what is now Ghana. It is for this reason that I use the term repatriates interchangeably with the term expatriates. Conventionally those persons who leave their country of birth and settle in a different country are referred to as "expatriates." However, African Americans are moving to the land where their ancestors originated. In other words, they left their natal homeland and took up residence in their aboriginal homeland. It is for this reason that the terms expatriate and repatriate are used interchangeably throughout this book.

The country of Senegal is also the site of a slave castle, on the country's Goree Island, but Senegal has not become a destination of African Americans seeking to settle in Africa. Hence the second reason why Ghana is a more attractive location for African-American repatriates. Ghana, formerly called the "Gold Coast," was a British colony from 1844 to 1957,⁵ and English is the official language. Senegal, in contrast, is a former French colony, and the official language is French. African Americans who settle in Ghana have an easier time communicating with the local residents than they would if they settled in Senegal, Cote d'Ivoire, Togo, or other West African countries where English is not the official language. The use of English as an official language is one reason why Tanzania is also a popular location for African Americans who have repatriated to the Continent.

The third reason why Ghana has been a destination for African Americans is that Ghana was the first Sub-Saharan country to become independent during the postwar wave of decolonization, and its first head of state, Kwame Nkrumah, extended an invitation to Black Americans to settle in Ghana and assist his countrymen in building their new nation. The first generation of African-Americans to settle in Ghana

began in 1957 when Nkrumah became Prime Minister (later President). One year after Ghana became independent, Nkrumah visited the U.S. and ensured African Americans of a warm welcome awaiting them in Ghana. Nkrumah spoke of “bonds of blood and kinship” that linked them to Ghana.⁶ Nkrumah’s invitation was taken up by writers, academicians, professionals, and political refugees. The most notable was the eminent scholar Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, who moved to Ghana in 1961 at the age of 93. Despite his advanced age, Du Bois had suffered no decline in mental acuity, and immediately began work on an academic project entitled *Encyclopedia Africana*, a project that was funded by the Ghanaian government. Du Bois was joined by his wife, Shirley Graham Du Bois. While Dr. Du Bois was working on the encyclopedia project, Mrs. Du Bois established and directed the government-owned Ghana Broadcasting Service. Mrs. Du Bois was one of several expatriates who played prominent roles in Nkrumah’s government. The Du Boises were provided a handsome residence in the upscale Cantonments section of Accra. That home is now a museum, and the compound surrounding it houses an events center, a visitors’ hostel, and the headquarters of two expatriate organizations: the Diaspora Africa Forum and the African American Association of Ghana.

The positive view of the Nkrumah government was not unanimous among African-American expatriates. Nkrumah was becoming increasingly autocratic, and he was cultivating an alliance with the Soviet Union. Some African Americans were dismayed by this turn of events. One such person was the American dissident novelist Richard Wright, who had years earlier warned Nkrumah against a close alliance with the Soviet Union. Wright was a strong supporter of Nkrumah, and of pan-Africanism in general, but he nonetheless voiced his concerns in an open letter to Kwame Nkrumah.⁷ When Ghana celebrated its independence in March 1957, Wright was not among those invited to attend the festivities. Another high profile African American who became disenchanted with the Nkrumah regime was Pauline “Pauli” Murray, who briefly served as a law professor at the University of Ghana. Murray left after having spent just one year in Ghana. Most Black expatriates, however, chose to remain in Ghana, and they were strong supporters of Nkrumah and his Convention People’s Party government. The bulk of the approximately 300 African American expatriates who left the U.S. and migrated to Ghana did so because they saw themselves as political dissidents when they were in the U.S. In Ghana they were referred to as “the Politicals” because of their focus on political issues. The Politicals were avid supporters of the CPP.

The fate of the Politicals became precarious on February 24, 1966 when Nkrumah and his CPP government were overthrown by a U.S.-supported coup d'état carried out by the Ghanaian military and police services. The ruling junta had no sympathy toward Black American exiles. Some of the expatriates, such as Shirley Graham Du Bois, were deported, while others left before being deported. Some of those who left went to Tanzania, where they were welcomed by President Julius Nyerere, an ally of Nkrumah.

For Black Americans the situation did not improve when Ghana returned to democratic rule in 1969. The elected government of the Second Republic was run by an anti-Nkrumahist party, the Progress Party, under the leadership of Prime Minister Kofi Abrefa Busia. While establishing close ties with the rightist Nixon Administration in the U.S., and making overtures to the apartheid regime in South Africa, Busia did not reinstate Nkrumah's invitation to African Americans to help build and develop the young nation of Ghana. The welcome mat had been rolled up in 1966, and was not unfurled until the 1980s under the military regime of Air Force Lieutenant J. J. Rawlings. Rawlings had briefly been in office in 1979 after having successfully staged a coup that ousted a military regime, but he and the members of his junta returned to the barracks after an elected government was brought into office. Two years later, however, Rawlings overthrew that elected regime and returned to office, but this time there were no plans for a swift return to democracy.

Rawlings Revives the Invitation to African Americans

The Rawlings-led military junta included junior officers such as Rawlings. It gave itself the name "Provisional National Defence Council" (PNDC), with Rawlings as Chairman and head of state. Once the PNDC became entrenched, it proposed sweeping economic and political changes. Initially Rawlings espoused leftist rhetoric that resembled that of the Nkrumah era, and he received support from many who considered themselves to be "radical Nkrumahists."⁸ But less than two years after seizing power, Rawlings did an about-face and began implementing neoliberal economic policies that were pleasing to the highly industrialized creditor nations. Ghana began experiencing economic growth on the macro-level, which made it an attractive location for foreign investors. But despite the economic changes, Rawlings did not jettison the pan-Africanist philosophies, and he and his PNDC government continued their opposition to apartheid

in South Africa. Moreover, the PNDC government revived Nkrumah's invitation to African Americans to settle in Ghana. The difference was that, whereas Nkrumah wanted expatriates to come help build a newly independent nation, Rawlings merely wanted them to help build up Ghana's free-market economy. He was looking for entrepreneurs, not dissidents. Many of those who heeded Rawlings's invitation came as business entrepreneurs, hence I refer to them as the "Entrepreneurials," as opposed to the "Politicals" of the Nkrumah era. Though Rawlings did not appropriate the economic policies of Nkrumah's socialist regime, he did reach out to the devotees of the first head of state, and he has tried to present himself and his followers as being in the Nkrumahist tradition. In line with Nkrumah's pan-Africanism, Rawlings went so far as to propose dual citizenship for those Black Americans wishing to reside in Ghana on a permanent basis. This would be akin to the "Law of Return" for diasporic Jews who wish to settle in Israel.

For ten years, beginning with the installation of the PNDC government, political activity was not an option for most Ghanaians. The junta did not permit the formation of political parties, nor did it allow citizens to elect a parliament. It has often been said that during this period Ghana developed a "Culture of Silence," whereby individuals refused to discuss governmental abuses out of fear of retribution.⁹

The restrictions on society were lifted in 1992 when the PNDC announced that democratic elections would be held at the end of the year, and that political parties could be formed without government intervention. The PNDC re-branded itself as the "NDC," or the "National Democratic Congress." Rawlings officially resigned his Air Force commission and ran as the NDC's presidential candidate for Ghana's Fourth Republic. The major candidates in that race were as follows: Rawlings, who was the center-left candidate; the center-right candidate, Adu Boahen, of the New Patriotic Party (NPP); and the left-of-center candidate, Hilla Limman, of the People's National Convention, an avowedly Nkrumahist political party. Limman had been the president of the Third Republic from 1979 until December 31, 1981, when he was ousted by the second Rawlings-led coup. Both the NDC and the PNC vied for the support of the Nkrumahist voters, but the NDC had the advantages that accompany incumbency.

After the votes were counted, it became apparent that Rawlings had the support of the Nkrumahists in Ghana, while Limman's PNC was a very minor party. Rawlings won the election, but his most formidable opposition came from the NPP, and that party remains the

NDC's rival for control of Ghana. The NPP follows the tradition of Nkrumah's major rival, Dr. Joseph Boakye Danquah and his successor Dr. Kofi Abrefa Busia, who was the Prime Minister of Ghana from 1969 to 1972. The NPP models itself after the Republican Party in the United States, and has adopted the elephant as its symbol, the same as the Republican Party. The NPP and the Republican Party are members of the International Democratic Union, a worldwide coalition of right-wing and center-right political parties.¹⁰ Ghana's current NPP president, Nana Akufo-Addo, describes the NPP and the Republican Party of the United States as "sisters," and has reached out to U.S. President Donald Trump.¹¹ When Trump was declared the winner of the U.S. presidential election, Akufo-Addo's sent a congratulatory letter to him. This was one month prior to Ghana's presidential election, in which Akufo-Addo was hoping to unseat the incumbent, John Dramani Mahama. Akufo-Addo went on to win the 2016 election, and he became the fifth president of the Fourth Republic. Both the election and the regime change went peacefully, attesting to Ghana's stability and the strength of its democracy.

Ghana's political stability, the (P)NDC/Rawlings invitation, the country's economic growth since the 1980s, and the shared use of English



Figure 1. Steven Taylor and Nana Akufo-Addo, October 23, 2015, in Washington, DC (author's collection).

have all contributed to making Ghana an attractive destination for African Americans wishing to repatriate to the continent. There are, however, significant differences between the motives of the Nkrumah-era repatriates and those of the current era. Very few African Americans who settled in Ghana post-1981 can be referred to as “Political.” Nkrumah encouraged African-American settlers to become involved in his government, and there were some who did. Most of those who did not take government positions were nonetheless ideologically supportive of Nkrumah and the CPP. The current group of repatriates does not include anyone who went on to become a government official. Moreover, since parliament has thus far failed to act on Rawlings’s call for dual citizenship for African Americans; members of that community are not involved in formal political activities, such as voting or seeking government positions. The only voting opportunities available to repatriates is to cast absentee ballots for elections back in the United States, as I did for the 2016 state of Maryland primary elections. One purpose of this study is to determine if the current generation of repatriates was involved politically before leaving the U.S. I interviewed repatriates and asked them about their involvement back in the U.S., and if this involvement has led them to support the NDC and oppose the NPP, just as they opposed the latter’s “sister party” in the United States.

Though African Americans residing in Ghana do not have the opportunity to vote, Ghana today is a democratic country by any international standard, hence persons residing there have the opportunity to participate in non-voting political activities. Wong, Ramakrishnan, Lee, and Junn identify four non-conventional means of political participation, means that are available in a democratic environment, such as in the United States and in Ghana. The four means are (1) political donations, (2) contacting government officials, (3) community activism, and (4) protest.¹² To those four, I add editorializing, broadcasting, and blogging. These are opportunities afforded to both citizens and non-citizens alike. In this study I conducted interviews with African-American repatriates in Ghana to determine how extensively they are involved in political participation, even if it is one or more of the non-conventional means of political involvement. I asked my respondents if they have availed themselves of these democratic opportunities in Ghana, and if so how have they leaned politically. They were also asked if their allegiance to the Democratic Party in the U.S. translated to an allegiance to Ghana’s center-left party, the National Democratic Congress. My hypothesis was

that that those African Americans who are politically active (albeit unofficially), and those who are inactive but who have political leanings, would affiliate with the NDC. The NDC is an offshoot of Kwame Nkrumah's CPP, and it was Nkrumah's regime that extended the invitation to African Americans to settle in Ghana, an invitation renewed by NDC founder Jerry Rawlings. This is what led me to hypothesize that politically active African Americans in Ghana would be supportive of the NDC, just as that first generation of repatriates affiliated itself with the CPP.

Methodology of the Study

The methodology used for this study was ethnographic research conducted through participant observation and through interviews. I spent the winter and spring of 2016 in Ghana on a fellowship provided by the Fulbright program of the United States Department of State. Two years prior to my extended stay in Ghana, I visited the country. This trip was conducted in May 2014, and during that visit I attended three gatherings of the African American Association of Ghana (AAAG), an organization founded in 1981. The AAAG is an organization of expatriates from the United States and assists them as they settle in Ghana. The Association sponsors cultural, social, and religious events, sometimes in conjunction with the U.S. embassy. Though I had been to Ghana seven times prior to 2014, I had not involved myself with the AAAG.

I returned to Ghana at 8:00 a.m. on January 17, 2017. That afternoon I attended AAAG's monthly meeting, and I joined the organization. I immediately became active with an AAAG committee that was planning events for the upcoming Black History Month. Throughout the four months that I was in Ghana, I was very active with the AAAG, and I interviewed many of its members. Those interviews provided me with much of the information for this study. Not all the respondents were AAAG members, but the members of the Association provided me with the bulk of the information about twenty-first-century life for African-American repatriates in Ghana. There were 34 respondents, of whom 21 were females and 13 were males. Half of the female respondents were spouses of Ghanaians, while only two of the male respondents fell into that category. Two of the respondents (both females) were not from the U.S., but were of Caribbean origin and were affiliated with the Ghana Caribbean Association (GCA), an organization similar to AAAG but

which works with expatriates of Caribbean origin. I also utilized two news articles in which the subjects were African-American females living in Ghana. Readers will observe that when respondents are quoted, I am careful to avoid including information that will identify who they are. For that reason their gender is very rarely disclosed; rather, they are referred to as “the respondent” or “the interviewee.” This is in line with an agreement that I made to preserve their anonymity.

Ten of the 21 females left the U.S. with their Ghana-born spouses, while only one of the males fell into that category. All but one of the respondents came with the second wave of African Americans moving to Ghana, while the other came in the mid-1960s, during the regime of Kwame Nkrumah. Those respondents who were members of the Ghana Caribbean Association provided me with a perspective of repatriates from the Islands of the Caribbean.

In Ghana I encountered a small number of African Americans who are affiliated with the All African People’s Revolutionary Party (AAPRP). The AAPRP is a pan-Africanist socialist organization that adheres to the philosophies of Kwame Nkrumah. The organization has chapters in the U.S., Ghana, and several other countries. I refer to the AAPRP expatriates living in Ghana today as modern “Politicals.” While they are only a small number among the expatriates, their presence in Ghana demonstrates that the current cohort of African Americans in Ghana is a politically diverse group. Among the expatriates’ numbers are Politicals, Entrepreneurials, and spouses of Ghanaians, with these groups overlapping one another.

During the interviews, the respondents were asked about their political involvement back in the United States, including voting, protest, contacting officials, or campaign contributions. I also asked them about their partisan affiliation in the U.S., whether they were affiliated with the Democratic Party, the Republican Party, or if they had no affiliation with either of those two major U.S. parties. I would then ask them about their involvement in Ghanaian politics, where their involvement would exclude voting. Though they did not vote in Ghana, I asked them about their partisan preferences, whether they supported the National Democratic Congress, the New Patriotic Party, or one of the smaller parties. Many of the respondents were not involved in any political activities, but they did express a preference toward one of the political parties. There are three reasons why I hypothesized that American repatriates would lean toward the NDC. The first reason is that the NDC claims the Nkrumahist mantle, and the president at that time, John Mahama, came from

a staunchly Nkrumahist family. His father, Emmanuel Mahama, had been a CPP parliamentarian during the First Republic, and during the Third Republic he was an adviser to President Hilla Limman, a Nkrumahist.¹³ Since it was Nkrumah who originated the invitation to African Americans to migrate to Ghana, my assumption was that many of the repatriates would have a preference for the NDC, which can be deemed as a Nkrumahist party. A second reason why I hypothesize that African Americans favor the NDC is because it was the party's founder, Jerry Rawlings, who reinstated the Nkrumah-era invitation to Black Americans to come to Ghana. A final basis for my hypothesis is that the NDC occupies a similar position on the Ghanaian ideological continuum that the Democratic Party occupies on the U.S. continuum. Both the NDC and the Democratic Party are center-left parties, while their respective opponents, the NPP and the Republican Parties are rightist parties. The Democratic Party commands the loyalty of close to 90 percent of African Americans in U.S. presidential elections. Black Americans' near-unanimous loyalty to the Democratic Party reaches down to the local level. Black voters in the U.S. shun the Republican Party, even when that party sponsors Black candidates for election. An example at the local level is Gary, Indiana, a city where the population was 80 percent African American. In 1995 a white attorney, Scott King, won the Democratic nomination for mayor. He was opposed by a Black Democrat, Marion Williams, who ran as an independent. King overwhelmingly defeated Williams, receiving over 77 percent of the vote, to only 18 percent for Williams.¹⁴ On the statewide level, in 1986 a popular Black Democrat, Wayne County Executive William Lucas, switched parties and received the Republican nomination for Governor. Lucas had longstanding ties to Michigan's African Americans, having served as Sheriff and later County Executive of predominantly Black Wayne County (which includes Detroit). He was consistently supported by African-American voters until he changed parties. Black voters in Michigan voted for his White Democratic Party opponent, James Blanchard, who won the race.¹⁵

The current and previous Republican U.S. presidents (Donald Trump and George W. Bush, respectively) were very unpopular among African Americans, but they received strong support from the current and previous NPP presidents (Nana Akufo-Addo and John Kufuor). As previously stated, when Trump was declared the winner of the 2016 U.S. presidential election, Akufo-Addo sent him a very laudatory letter, congratulating him on his victory and expressing his joy that the

Republican Party simultaneously maintained its grip on the United States Congress. The previous NPP president, John A. Kufuor, also showed his affinity toward the Republican Party by designating a major highway as the “George W. Bush Highway,” after the previous Republican president of the United States.¹⁶ Prior to conducting this study, my belief was that African Americans in Ghana would reject the NPP just as African Americans in the U.S. have rejected its “sister party.” Therefore, the working hypothesis was that African Americans in Ghana, whether they are politically involved or not, have a preference for the National Democratic Congress, and that those who are involved in political activities do so on behalf of the NDC.