Navigating through an external agenda and internal preferences:

the case of Ghana's National Migration Policy

Master's thesis

submitted by

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Abstract

In the context of international migration from African countries to Europe the EU widely applies the strategy of curbing irregular migration. EU efforts focus on combating the root causes of migration and flight and achieving African compliance on return and readmission. This approach ignores the interests of countries of origin. It also undermines what countries of origin do to deal with migration in their states. In West Africa, the regional organisation ECOWAS strongly promotes migration management, and introduced the 2008 ECOWAS Common Approach on Migration with guidelines for migration governance in the region. Ghana, as one of the first ECOWAS member states, adopted a National Migration Policy (NMP) in 2016. The country has a long migration history, has experienced different migration trends and is affected by various migration streams. As little is known about the country's policy responses to migration management, this study investigates migration policy-making in Ghana. It specifically examines the case of the NMP for Ghana and aims at uncovering stakeholder involvement in the policy process as well as its determinants. Guided by an analytical framework derived from theoretical considerations of the advocacy coalition framework, the framework of institutions, actors and ideas and an extensive literature review, the study uses a qualitative approach. The results are based on 14 weeks of field research in Ghana in which 40 experts were interviewed. Together with an analysis of a plethora of secondary data the study finds that interests in the policy and the resources stakeholders possess, which then form the basis for their power, mainly account for stakeholders' involvement in the policy process leading to the NMP for Ghana. The research further reveals that the NMP does not primarily respond to a perceived problem related to migration in Ghana: the internal migration flows from deprived to less deprived areas. Rather it largely pursues the interests of the EU, who is the main financer of the policy, to foster migration control. The results of the study therefore suggest that in the case of Ghana's NMP internal interests were outweighed by the external agenda of the EU in the policy formulation process.

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ACILA	Africa Centre for Law & Accountability
ACF	Advocacy Coalition Framework
ACP	Africa, the Caribbean and the Pacific
AU	African Union
CMS	Centre for Migration Studies, University of Ghana
CPA	Cotonou Partnership Agreement
CSO	Civil Society Organisation
DFID	Department for International Development
DP	Development Partner
EC	European Commission
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
EDF	European Development Fund
EU	European Union
EUTF	European Union Trust Fund
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
FMM West Africa	Free Movement of Persons and Migration in West Africa
GAM	Global Approach to Migration
GAMM	Global Approach to Migration and Mobility
GIMMA	Ghana Integrated Migration Management Approach
GIPC	Ghana Investment Promotion Centre
GIS	Ghana Immigration Service
GIZ	German International Cooperation
GNA	Ghana News Agency
GNCM	Ghana National Commission on Migration
GoG	Government of Ghana
GPRS	Ghana Poverty Reduction Strategy
GRA	Ghana Revenue Authority
GRB	Ghana Refugee Board
GSGDA	Ghana Shared Growth and Development Agenda
GSS	Ghana Statistical Service
ICMPD	International Centre for Migration Policy Development
IDF	IOM Development Fund
ILO	International Labour Organization
IMSCM	Inter-Ministerial Steering Committee on Migration
IO	International Organisation
IOM	International Organization for Migration
KNUST	Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology
MDAs	Ministries, Departments and Agencies
MDG	Millennium Development Goal
MIB	Migration Information Bureau
MIC	Migration Information Centre
MoE	Ministry of Education

MoELR	Ministry of Employment and Labour Relations
MoF	Ministry of Finance
MoFA	Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration
MoGCSP	Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Protection
MoH	Ministry of Health
MoI	Ministry of Interior
MoJ	Ministry of Justice
MoTCCA	Ministry of Tourism, Culture and Creative Arts
MoTI	Ministry of Trade and Industry
MoYS	Ministry of Youth and Sports
MU	Migration Unit
NADMO	National Disaster Management Organisation
NDC	National Democratic Congress
NDPC	National Development Planning Commission
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NIA	National Identification Authority
NMP	National Migration Policy
NPC	National Population Council
NPP	New Patriotic Party
ODA	Official Development Assistance
PPME	Policy Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation
PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
RECFAM	Research & Counselling Foundation for African Migrants
RIPS	Regional Institute for Population Studies, University of Ghana
UN	United Nations
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Topic and research question

Migration is a dominant topic in Europe in current debates and European views prevail, especially in discourses on migration from African countries to Europe. In these debates the perspective of the states' migrants originate from are largely ignored. European interests mainly shape the agenda when it comes to dealing with migration from African countries (Chandler 2017). This can be concluded from the way attempts of increasing EU-Africa cooperation on migration have been designed since the beginning of the 2000s. They reflect the EU's migration focus on prevention and return instead of equally taking into consideration African countries' interests of legal migration pathways and the usage of migration for development. In the first cooperation effort, the Cotonou Partnership Agreement (CPA) of 2000, the EU pushed for and included a clause on readmission which was widely opposed by the African, Caribbean and Pacific Group of States (ACP) (Vanheukelom et al. 2007; Koeb & Hohmeister 2010). Also the Global Approach to Migration (GAM), 2005, and the successor initiative, the Global Approach to Migration and Mobility (GAMM), 2011, is often referred to as another way to close the EU off from unwanted African migrants (Devisscher 2011; Martin 2013). In a similar vein, the European Union Trust Fund for Africa (EUTF), started in 2015, designed, among others, to address the root causes of irregular migration and improve migration management, is perceived as "European-imposed migration agenda that prioritises EU interests over African ones" (Castillejo 2017: 1). Consequently, Oltmer (2015) argues that European actors try to regulate and limit migration from the South to prevent the kind of migration they consider disadvantageous to their domestic security, prosperity and social cohesion (Oltmer 2015: 10).

However, the strong dominance of European views, and in the wider sense of the perspective from the Global North[1] in the international migration debate, ignores what countries of origin on the African continent themselves and within their region do to deal with migration. Whereas their ideas do not face considerable attention on the European agenda, the regional organisation in West Africa, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) together with its member states strongly promotes migration management. This gives ECOWAS, compared to other African regional organisations, a pioneering role in the field of regional migration and mobility policy (SEF 2016). With the 2008 ECOWAS Common Approach on Migration the community released a specific instrument for migration governance in the region and reacted towards the mobility of the people within and beyond its borders. The approach accommodates a wide range of migration-related issues, like refugee and asylum seekers' needs, migrants' rights, legislation and commitments to labour migration as well as an explicit emphasis on the link between migration and development (ECOWAS 2008). One of its six principles envisages

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[1] The term 'Global North' refers to a privileged position, whereas 'Global South' describes a disadvantageous social, political and economic position in the global system. While the contrasting designations 'developed' and 'developing countries' contain a hierarchical Eurocentric idea of 'development', the terms 'Global North' and 'Global South' aim at including different political, economic and cultural positions in the global context based on different experiences with colonialism and exploitation. The terms do not reflect geographical positions per se, as there are people in the Global South that have the privileged position of the Global North and there are people in the Global North with disadvantageous positions (Glokal e.V. 2013).

first, the establishment and second, the harmonization of national migration management and development policies among member states (Manuh et al. 2010).

As one of the first ECOWAS member states[2], Ghana introduced its National Migration Policy (NMP) in April 2016 as a reaction to the absence of an encompassing national framework on migration. Ghana is a country of origin for migrants coming to Europe, but simultaneously also a destination country for migrants from the region (Awumbila et al. 2008). The official aim of the NMP is to "help manage its internal, intra-regional and international migration flows for poverty reduction and sustained national development" (GoG 2016: vii). After its adoption in 2016 the policy is currently waiting to be implemented.

Although it seems that actors from the Global North, primarily the EU, set the tone in addressing migration in countries of origin, the case of Ghana raises the question whether there was guiding influence from other external actors, like the regional organisation ECOWAS, and which role the Government of Ghana (GoG) itself as well as other domestic players had in the NMP formulation process.

Consequently, this thesis deals with policy formulation in the field of migration in Ghana. It seeks to examine the process that led to the formulation and adoption of the NMP for Ghana in 2016. The time frame of the analysis spans hereby from the first emergence of the migration topic in the Ghanaian context at the end of the 1990s to the current stage of implementation. The aim of this thesis is to reconstruct the policy process that led to the development of the NMP and identify the key actors involved, their specific interests, what brings them together and how they interact. The following research question will be answered:

Which factors account for stakeholders' involvement in the policy-making process of the National Migration Policy in Ghana?

1.2 Relevance and research deficit

Migration dominates European political and public debates. The topic has gained large attention in Europe since the 1990s with an increase of migration through the Sahara desert to the Maghreb countries and from there to the European states bordering the Mediterranean Sea. The EU reacted with various policies and programmes (Lutterbeck 2006; De Haas 2007). Initially, it extended border controls and pressure on North African countries to curb irregular migration and agree on readmissions in return for financial support, aid and work permits. Instead of achieving their aim, these measures rather led to intensified maltreatment of migrants in North Africa and to a diversification of migration routes across the desert and the sea (De Haas 2007). Additionally, policy discourses and the media in Europe shaped the debate of "public fears about mass irregular immigration" (De Haas 2008: 1309). Migration became an omnipresent topic; in internal affairs it accompanies election campaigns, political confrontations and the newspaper coverage in EU member states (Caviedes 2015; Gattinara 2018; Torelli 2018). In

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[2] According to a survey on migration policies in West Africa, Burkina Faso, Ghana, Liberia, Mali, Niger and Nigeria were in the process of drafting a national migration policy. After finalising that study, Mali announced the adoption of the national migration policy and its action plan in September 2014 (Devillard et al. 2016). According to IOM information, Nigeria adopted its national migration policy in May 2015 (IOM (2015). Interview information, however, revealed that Ghana was the pioneer in West Africa to adopt the National Migration Policy (Senior (ret.) Civil Servant, Ministry of Employment and Labour Relations. Personal Interview. 27.04.2018).

external affairs it has gained a strong position in foreign and development policies. These are recently carried out through programmes aiming at 'combating the root causes of migration and flight' which finds itself in various strategic policy documents guiding the cooperation with African states (EC 2015a, 2015b; UN 2016). This approach emphasizes the belief that through facilitating development in 'sending countries' migration flows to Europe can be diminished (De Haas 2005). Another effort is undertaken by migration policy-making in countries of origin. Mostly the EU or its member states set up programmes to introduce migration policies in countries in which large migration flows occur. It serves as a strategy to assure that states are able to improve the conditions of migrants at places of origin, guarantee their treatment in accordance with human rights and allow for an appropriate dealing with refugees and victims of human trafficking (IOM Migration Research Division 2011).

This study chooses a different approach by looking at migration policy-making from the perspective of a country of the Global South. Despite of European dominance in the migration debate, the West African sub-region shows a lot of regional emphasis on migration management. The ECOWAS Common Approach serves as an overarching framework on migration with one of its principles highlighting the harmonisation of national migration management policies across member states (Devillard et al. 2016: 45). On top of that, Ghana itself is a country with a long migration history. From traditionally being a country of immigration, it experienced reversed migration trends from the late 1960s which made it a country of emigration. Since the beginning of the 1990s a diversification of migration patterns can be observed in which Ghana faces much more complex forms of migration: internal migration, immigration, transit migration and emigration both within and outside Africa (Awumbila et al. 2008). Lately, challenges related to environmentally induced migration increase internal movements because of scarcities of natural resources and rainfall variability (van der Geest et al. 2010; Rademacher-Schulz et al. 2014). These current developments lead to the assumption that there is rising domestic awareness of the migration issue.

Therefore, this thesis aims at closing a research gap by focusing on a national policy on migration in Ghana and the way this policy has been developed. Furthermore, policy-making in Ghana has so far only been approached by in-depth studies in the field of health and education (Seddoh & Akor 2012; Imurana et al. 2014; Nudzor 2014). Little is known about the various stakeholders, their interactions, discourses and events that influence policy-making and specifically migration policy-making in Ghana.

As a consequence, the following questions emerge: who did participate in the migration policy-making process and who did mainly shape the discussions based on their agenda, so that an adoption of the policy in its 2016 version was possible. The analysis of the policy-making process offers a better understanding of whether Ghana's migration agenda is influenced by its domestic interests or by outside pressures. This constellation has then implications for the implementation of the policy. The identification of (a) guiding actor(s) in migration policy-making and their specific agenda(s) allows to determine consequences for the implementation stage, public recognition, the state's ownership and lastly the success of the policy. Therefore, a reconstruction of the policy process leading to the development of the NMP results in an improved comprehension of strengths and weaknesses of actors involved. Eventually, the identification of potential support mechanisms can guide recommendations for successful implementation.

The thesis is structured as follows: first, it gives an overview of the theoretical background and the literature on public policy making. Second, a framework for analysing stakeholder involvement in policy processes based on the advocacy coalition framework for stakeholder analysis, the institutions, interests, ideas framework and the literature review is developed. The research design and methodology chapter presents the research questions and their operationalisations. It also contains the methodological approach of semi-structured expert interviews and qualitative content analysis. Afterwards, Chapter 4 outlines the thematic framework of migration in Ghana and gives an overview of past and present migration patterns, policies and legislations governing migration in the country and an outline of the NMP. Chapter 5 contains the empirical analysis of the policy process leading to Ghana's National Migration Policy and its implications, before Chapter 6 presents a discussion of results and an examination of the limitations of the study. The final part of the thesis sums up the main findings and gives an outlook for future research.

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND LITERATURE REVIEW

The purpose of this chapter is to develop a framework for analysing the policy process that led to the formulation of the NMP for Ghana. It focuses on identifying and examining factors responsible for stakeholder involvement in the formulation and adoption of the NMP. The chapter intends to discuss public policy-making against the backdrop of the policy cycle, the advocacy coalition framework and policy context with the institutions, interests and ideas framework. After a review of the theoretical models, a framework for analysing actors involved in the formulation and adoption process of the NMP for Ghana is established.

2.1 Policy cycle

Public policy-making, as defined by Jenkins (1978), comprises of taking decisions in addressing a public problem and the means of achieving these decisions. However, public policy is a complex phenomenon which includes a range of decisions to be taken by involved actors who are themselves shaped by the structure surrounding them and the ideas they believe in. A way to simplify public policy-making is to think of it as a process comprised of several interrelated stages. Lasswell (1956) is the first to conceptualize a seven stage model of the policy process. Together with the input-output model of Easton (1965), the stages model was then arranged in a cyclical process, the so-called policy cycle (Jann & Wegrich 2007: 44). The different stages are illustrated in Figure 1. The conventional order follows first, the definition of problems and their placement on the agenda, afterwards policies are developed, formulated and adopted, before they are implemented and finally evaluated. Based on their effectiveness and efficiency they are either terminated or redefined.

Figure 1: Policy cycle
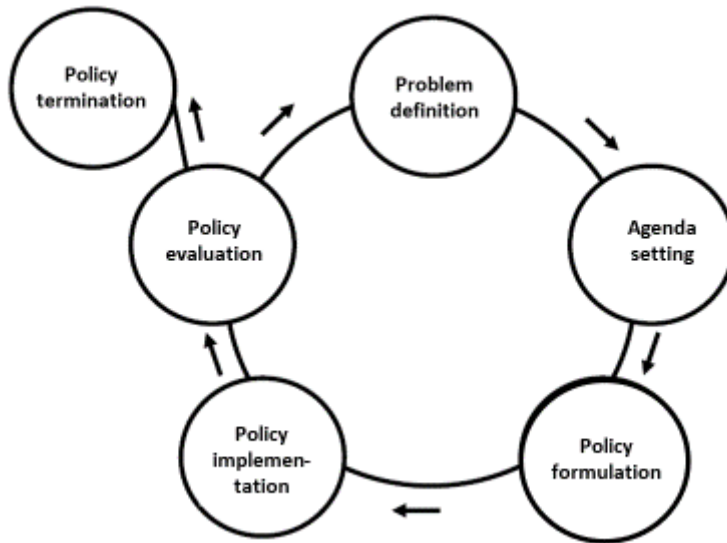
Source: own compilation based on (Jann & Wegrich 2003: 106).

The policy cycle's asset is its inclusion of feedback loops between different parts of the policy process (Jann & Wegrich 2007). Furthermore, it enables the identification of the various policy actors, institutions and ideas in the process and helps reducing complexity. The division into different stages allows for an isolated analysis of each stage with own models and theories (Howlett et al. 2009: 12f.).

Still this modelling of the policy process is very simplistic. In reality, running through one stage after the other and providing sufficient space for evaluation is a rather idealistic approach. Moreover, the policy cycle is not a causal model which clearly identifies dependent and independent variables (Jann & Wegrich 2007: 56).

2.2 Policy context

Since Lasswell's approach to structuring the policy process, scholars are aware of the importance of context to understand policy-making (Lasswell 1956; Timmermans & Bleiklie 1999; Brugha & Varvasovszky 2000; Howlett et al. 2009). Whereas studies highlight the function of actors in the policy process, another body of literature stresses that individual or group actions depend on the structures actors operate in and the ideas they hold within the policy-making process (Timmermans & Bleiklie 1999). Howlett et al. (2009) argue that actors seek to pursue their own interests. But the way they try to achieve their interests is shaped by what happens around them. The political, economic and social structures influence their behaviour and their decisions. Moreover, their actions are guided by the ideas they have and how they define appropriate actions (ibid.: 52).

2.2.1 Exploring the policy context with stakeholder analysis

A common tool to analyse actors in the policy-making process and to explore the context in which different actors operate is stakeholder analysis. It is an approach to understand the complex relations involved in policy processes. Stakeholder analysis generates information on the relevant actors involved in order to understand their interests, behaviour, motivations and

interrelations. Furthermore, it enables the assessment of influence and resources actors bring to the policy process (Schmeer 1999; Brugha & Varvasovszky 2000).

A stakeholder is commonly defined as an actor, either an individual or a group, with special interest in the policy under investigation (Schmeer 1999: 3). Due to the world's increasing interconnectedness, an identified public problem includes and influences a diverse range of actors. Taking all these different stakeholders into consideration helps to identify the problem and solutions towards solving it (Bryson 2004). A detailed examination of stakeholders, their interests and motivations allows to unfold why and how certain policies develop.

Applications of stakeholder analysis in exploring policy processes can be found in health policy (Basaza et al. 2013; Ancker & Rechel 2015), social policies (Gil et al. 2010; Sanjeeva et al. 2017), and national resource management (Grimble & Wellard 1997).

However, a pure stakeholder analysis lacks theoretical grounding. It identifies variables necessary to understand actors' behaviour but does not provide a theoretical foundation to explain causal linkages between these variables (Weible 2007). Additionally, it just captures one very specific moment in time, whereas stakeholder interests, positions, alliances and influence change as well as the political context in which they operate (Brugha & Varvasovszky 2000).

2.3 An advocacy coalition framework approach to stakeholder analysis

As a result of a lack of theoretical grounding in stakeholder analysis, Weible (2007) proposes an advocacy coalition framework (ACF) approach as theoretical basis to conduct a stakeholder analysis. The ACF was developed in the 1980s to better understand stakeholder behaviour and policy outcomes (Sabatier 1988; Sabatier & Weible 2007). It is based on three theoretical ideas: first, policy-making happens among specialists within a policy subsystem, but their behaviour is guided by factors in the broader political and socioeconomic system, second, the behaviour of the individual is shaped by social psychology, and third, the formation of advocacy coalitions is a way to handle multiple actors in a subsystem (Sabatier 1988).

If the ACF is taken as a theoretical basis for stakeholder analysis then its assumptions on policy subsystems, belief system and advocacy coalitions structure the investigation (Weible 2007). According to the advocacy coalition framework approach, a policy subsystem constitutes the unit of analysis. Policy subsystems are defined as constructs of substantive and geographical boundaries involving a set of policy participants (Sabatier 1988). These stakeholders are characterized by their specific knowledge. Their special resources enable them to develop actions to deal with a raised public problem (Howlett et al. 2009: 12). According to Weible (2007), stakeholders in a policy subsystem are local, state and federal government officials, interest groups, non-governmental organisations, researchers, members of the media and target groups (ibid.: 98). With a few exceptions (Villamor 2006; Beverwijk et al. 2008), the ACF has been mainly used to explain policy processes in the Global North. But Koivisto (2014) highlights that especially in developing countries external actors, like international organisations and donors, also seem to have a say in policy-making processes because of the provision of funds. Therefore, their inclusion in the analysis is necessary.

Stakeholders within a policy subsystem are guided by a belief system which is illustrated in Figure 2. The ACF approach hypothesizes that actors are rational and follow a three-tiered hierarchical belief system. This hierarchical normative belief system is characterized by *deep*

core beliefs at the highest level. These are normative and fundamental beliefs that apply on a broader scale beyond one policy subsystem. Deep core beliefs are fundamental values like liberty and equality, but also the political left-right scale falls in this category (Sabatier & Weible 2007: 194). Because of their deep rooting in processes of socialization, they are extremely hard to change (ibid.). The second level comprises of *policy core beliefs*, normative and empirical beliefs, that guide the whole policy subsystem. Eleven components of such policy core beliefs were described which include policy-related values, the relative authority of government and markets, the roles of the public, elected officials, civil servants and experts (ibid.). Although they cannot easily be changed, they are more adaptive than deep core beliefs. The lowest level represents *secondary beliefs* which are empirical beliefs related to a substantive or territorial subcomponent of a policy subsystem. These beliefs focus on administrative rules, budgetary allocations or public participation guidelines within a specific program. They are therefore relatively narrow in scope. Out of the three, they are the most likely to change due to new information or events (Weible 2007).

Figure 2: Three-tiered hierarchical belief system influencing stakeholders' motivation to participate in a policy subsystem
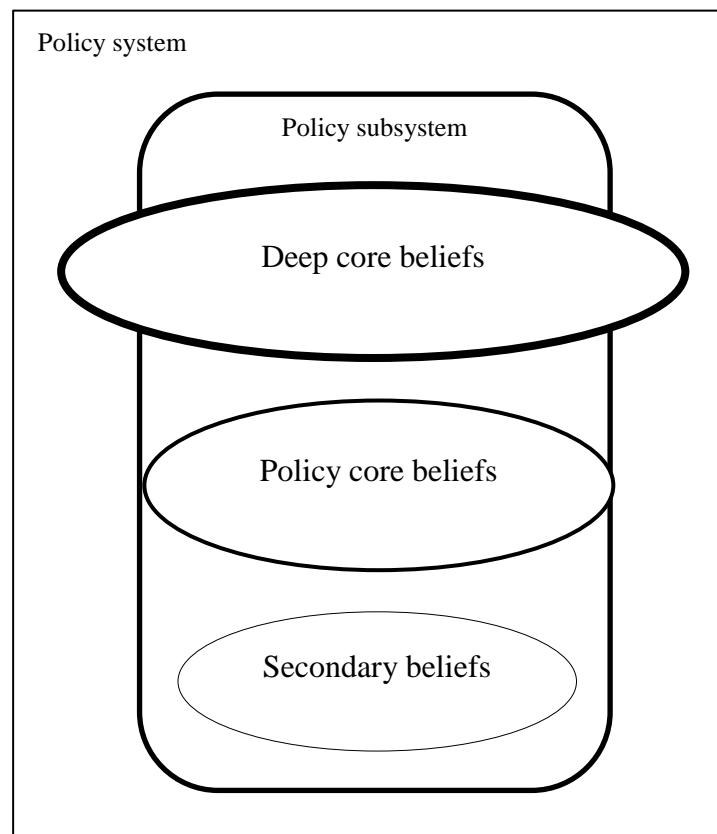
Source: own compilation based on Sabatier (1988), Sabatier & Weible (2007).

A resulting assumption from the ACF is that actors aim at transforming their beliefs into actual policies. To reach this goal, they try to form advocacy coalitions with actors who have similar policy core beliefs. Together they coordinate their actions, resources and employ joint strategies to influence the policy-making process. As policy core beliefs are extremely unlikely to change

over time, they guide advocacy coalitions and membership within these coalitions extensively (Weible 2007).

To achieve their objectives, coalitions possess different kinds of resources. Sabatier and Weible (2007) have identified policy-relevant resources stakeholders use to influence the policy-making process. These include formal legal authority to make policy decisions, public opinion supporting a coalition's policy position, information on the problem, mobilizable troops of public supporters, financial resources and skilful leadership (Sabatier & Weible 2007: 201f.). The ACF assumes that stakeholders employ their resources in multiple venues to guide the policy process. Venues are conceptualized as institutional arenas in which stakeholders can influence policy-making. Examples are elections, decisions in the legislature, chief executives, courts and agencies (Weible 2007).

The ACF for stakeholder analysis can serve as reference point for this study because it gives guidance for analysing a policy and the actors involved. Additionally, it outlines some of the explanatory factors responsible for stakeholder involvement in the policy process. First, the ACF allows for identifying the specific policy subsystem under study and the stakeholders within. Second, it recognizes four factors accounting for stakeholder involvement in the policy-making process: (i) policy core beliefs; (ii) advocacy coalitions; (iii) available resources; (iv) available strategies and venues (Sabatier & Weible 2007; Weible 2007).

The applicability of the ACF has been empirically tested. Weible (2007) uses the approach to conduct a stakeholder analysis in the context of the establishment of marine protected areas in California. After specifying the policy subsystem, he conducted informal interviews to determine stakeholders and their policy core beliefs. With an ally and opponent network he identified advocacy coalitions: one pro and one anti marine protected areas which are both able to use their resources to underline their position. However, the analysis fails to achieve a systematic examination of available resources as it focuses largely on stakeholders' beliefs and coalitions. Furthermore, he emphasizes the lack of institutional factors that explain coalition building and belief systems within the advocacy coalition framework. Although the institutional context is related to the guiding principles of the ACF, there has been no explicit theoretical conceptualisation of how institutions affect stakeholder actions, their beliefs and coalition building (Weible 2007).

Providing insights into beliefs and coordination between stakeholders is also the main achievement of Koivisto's (2014) stakeholder analysis with an ACF in the case of disaster risk reduction in Mozambique, which is a Global South context. Similar to Weible's (2007) analysis, she groups stakeholders around two policy core beliefs into two coalitions. But she stresses that in the Mozambican case coalition building was not very obvious regarding core beliefs and membership in coalitions. However, the study finds that the main difference between coalitions attributes to power and is related to who can decide on the structure of the implementation process. Additionally, in line with Weible (2007), she concludes that stakeholder analysis cannot explain every behaviour in subsystems and therefore, needs further specification.

Beverwijk et al. (2008) doubt the suitability of stakeholder analysis based on ACF in contexts others than the Western industrialized states where it was developed. They test its applicability in developing countries by analysing policy developments in the Mozambican higher education

subsystem over a 10-year period. Their focus lies on analysing belief systems in nascent subsystems, represented by the higher education system in Mozambique, and examining policy change in turbulent and unstable contexts. The authors show that the Mozambican case challenges assumptions posed by the ACF like the proposition that great changes in the political system rarely take place or that the establishment of a new subsystem includes a huge variety of actors. They can reveal that these assumptions do not hold true for countries that experienced great social and political turmoil. Consequently, they also argue for further refinement of the framework in line with Koivisto (2014).

In contrast, other authors find the ACF an appropriate tool to analyse policy development and change in the context of developing countries. Villamor (2006) studies the change in forest policy on the Philippines towards including protected areas. The ACF serves as a framework to identify policy actors and belief systems. Based on the findings three main advocacy coalitions were determined which then translated their beliefs into policies and contributed largely to the change in the Philippine forest policy situation. Also Klaphake and Scheumann (2006) highlight the applicability of the ACF in the context of the Global South. They examine water regime formation in five African countries, and find that transnational coalitions play an important role therein. This observation reflects the increasing importance of international non-governmental actors in water regime formation. They cooperate because of similar belief systems as highlighted by the ACF.

2.4 Institutions in the policy-making process

Another body of literature has focused on the role of institutions in the policy-making process, an aspect of stakeholder involvement that is not adequately covered in the advocacy coalition framework as shown by Weible (2007). Emphasis is put on the policy context of continuous interplay between institutions, interests and ideas. This approach highlights the importance of the structure of the system in which actors operate and their diverse values and interests to explain which factors account for policy-making decisions (John 1998).

Institutions are conceived as structures and rules guiding actors' behaviour (Dickinson & Buse 2008). Hall and Taylor (1996) specify three different analytical approaches in which institutions influence policy processes; rational choice, historical and sociological institutionalism. Rational choice institutionalism assumes that individual actors have a fixed set of preferences, are selfish and want to maximize their benefits. An actor's behaviour is guided by strategic calculus. Institutions structure the interaction between actors and provide information to reduce uncertainty about the behaviour of others. Historical institutionalism highlights the long-term institutional legacies of policy-making. It hypothesizes that institutions are embedded in persisting political structures and that they shape policy processes along specific path dependencies. Finally, sociological institutionalism makes use of a cultural approach in understanding how institutions influence behaviour.

Howlett et al. (2009) reflect on capitalism and democracy as leading institutions in the policy process of modern societies. In addition, the political system in place influences public policy-making. It differs in unitary and federal political systems. Moreover, the existence of parliamentary and presidential systems affects policy processes to varying degrees.

Other authors also emphasized the importance of examining institutions in the policy-making process. Howlett et al. (2009) refer to the framework of institutions, actors and ideas. They

differentiate between a set of domestic and international policy actors, which influence the policy-making process in an interplay with institutions and ideas. Work by Keeley and Scoones (2003) on environmental policy-making focuses on three overlapping factors explaining the policy process. Actors and their connections shape so-called (i) policy narratives, the perception of a problem, how it has emerged and how it can be tackled. Likewise, they are influenced by the (ii) political context, the underlying power dynamics, and the (iii) interests of powerful actors. Interests concern the various agendas of individual or group actors who participate in policy-making. The ability to enforce their interests depends on stakeholders' power, their resources and their ways of cooperation (Koh et al. 2016).

Various studies have applied the framework of institutions, interests and ideas in its different forms to analyse how and why a public policy emerged, was designed and got implemented. Dickinson and Buse (2008) explore the role of institutions, ideas and interests in national HIV policies in Botswana, South Africa and Uganda. For the purpose of identifying the causal mechanisms that led to the formulation of the day off policy for migrant domestic workers in Singapore, Koh et al. (2016) likewise frame their analysis in terms of institutions, interests and ideas. In their conceptualisation interests are the agendas of different groups taking part in policy-making. They find the tradition of incrementalism and social consensus as directing policy legacies in the policy-making process, the issue of care as guiding idea and employers, government and migrant domestic workers with their interests as drivers in the policy process. In an attempt to examine implementation challenges of transit oriented development in new urban areas in the Netherlands, the focus on institutions, interests and ideas shows that low stakeholder interests and institutional path dependencies, like the weak role of provinces in regional development, led to implementation struggles of such projects (Pojani & Stead 2014). A slightly different approach is the framework of policy actors, knowledge and spaces applied by Brock et al. (2002). The authors define a policy process as consisting of spaces in which actors connect to shape a policy. Each policy actor possesses specific knowledge about the policy issue which influences its actions. They apply this approach to the poverty reduction policy process in Uganda. As a methodological approach they conduct interviews with involved actors to find out about their knowledge and interactions in the formulation and implementation process.

2.5 Developing an analytical framework for this study

From the advocacy coalition framework for stakeholder analysis, the institutions, interests, ideas framework and the literature review a set of explanatory factors (independent variables) have been identified. They will guide the analysis as they have potential to explain stakeholder involvement in the policy-making process (dependent variable). The identified factors are explained below.

Policy beliefs - interests

The first aspect identified from the advocacy coalition framework for stakeholder analysis are policy core beliefs. They can be conceptualized as the interests and motives a stakeholder has in the policy. It is assumed that the interests of stakeholders shape their involvement in policy processes. Based on interests, a stakeholder has certain preferences of how a policy should

develop (Weible 2007; Koh et al. 2016). The interests in a policy are often closely connected to the advantages and disadvantages the adoption and implementation of a policy would bring to a stakeholder. Therefore, the interest in a policy also provides insight into the position a stakeholder takes on a policy, whether he takes a supportive, opposing or neutral stance on it (Schmeer 1999).

Hypothesis 1: *Stakeholder involvement in the NMP process increases with the interest a stakeholder has in the policy and its topic.*

Advocacy coalitions - alliances

It can be observed that stakeholders form coalitions with other stakeholders based on their policy core beliefs (Koivisto 2014). Special dynamics between them, like the joint interest in a policy, fosters cooperation between two or more stakeholders to achieve the same goal (Schmeer 1999). Based on the definitions stakeholders gave on disaster risk management, the narrative used to talk about their work and the cooperation between stakeholders, Koivisto (2014) identified two alliances in his investigation on disaster risk reduction policy-making in Mozambique. They are characterised by different approaches used to tackle disasters.

Hypothesis 2: *Stakeholder involvement depends on the alliances a stakeholder forms with other stakeholders based on similar interest).*

Resources

The availability of resources has been identified as crucial factor to influence policy-making processes (Sabatier & Weible 2007). Critical resources can be of different kind. Grindle and Thomas (1991) determine political, financial, managerial and technical resources to have an impact on policy-making. Apart from that, the access to human resources also shapes stakeholder involvement in policy processes. In his examination of marine protected areas in California, Weible (2007) found that human resources like access to mobilizable environmental groups, technical resources like scientific knowledge but also political resources like the support of legal authority, impact actors' influence on a policy.

Hypothesis 3: *The more resources a stakeholder brings to bear in the policy process, the more involved s/he becomes.*

Power

Closely connected to resources available to a stakeholder is the ability to mobilize those resources. That relates to the power a stakeholder has. Power refers to a stakeholder's ability to affect the policy process through the strength s/he possesses. It is conceptualized as the ability to influence the policy process. The power component, however, is connected to the leadership capabilities of a stakeholder. Guiding questions are, does s/he have the power as well as the willingness to initiate a process, start a conversation among actors or guide actions for or against policy implementation (Schmeer 1999).

Hypothesis 4: *Stakeholder involvement increases with the level of power a stakeholder has and the ability of the stakeholder to use that power to influence the policy process.*

Institutions – formal and informal rules

Policy-making happens in a political context in which certain structures and rules guide the behaviour of stakeholders. This context is shaped by historical legacies, path dependencies and practices. But it is also guided by norms, values and discourses inherent in that political context. Consequently, the formal and informal rules that define a political context shape the development of a policy process.

Hypothesis 5: *The degree of stakeholder involvement is dependent on formal and informal rules of policy-making in the specific context.*

From these above discussed explanatory factors derived from theoretical considerations and the literature review, an analytical framework for this study is developed. As shown in Figure 3, it first takes into consideration the identification of stakeholders. It then lists potential explanatory factors identified to fill the black box that tend to explain stakeholder involvement in policy-making processes. The analysis focuses on the first three stages of the policy process: problem definition, agenda setting and policy formulation and adoption. The stage of policy implementation is included because it is assumed that specific stakeholder involvement based on certain explanatory factors also has an influence on the implementation of policies. The framework serves to guide the analysis of the policy process that led to the formulation and adoption of the NMP for Ghana.

Figure 3: Analytical framework

Stakeholder involvement   Explanatory factors   Policy process

Stakeholders

- Interest in policy/ position on policy
- Alliances between stakeholders
- Critical resources
- Power and leadership capabilities
- Formal and informal rules

Problem definition

Agenda setting

Policy formulation and adoption

Policy implementation
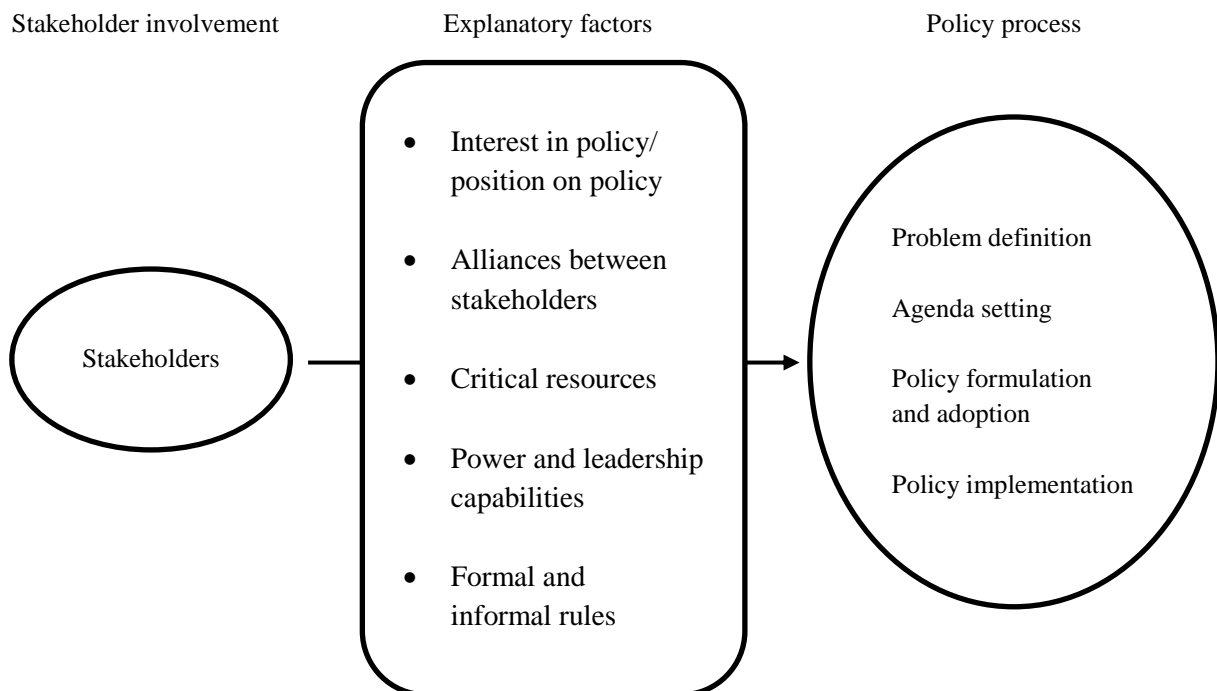
Source: own compilation based on the reviewed literature

3. RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

This chapter gives an overview of the methodological approach of this research. It presents the research questions and their operationalisations, before a justification for case selection is provided. The data collection methods of semi-structured expert interviews and desk research are described as well as the qualitative content analysis as method of analysis. The chapter ends with a critical reflection on the positionality of the researcher and the limitations of the study.

The main focus of this study lies on exploring the policy-process leading to the adoption of the NMP for Ghana. It therefore, constitutes the policy subsystem. The research aims at reconstructing the policy process and identifying the stakeholders involved. The study seeks to explain stakeholder involvement in the first three stages of the policy-making process and examine its impact on policy implementation. Consequently, the main question guiding this research is:

Which factors account for stakeholders' involvement in the policy-making process of the National Migration Policy for Ghana?

To answer this research question using the above described analytical framework, the following sub-questions have been deduced:

a) Which stakeholders were involved in the policy process leading to the adoption of the NMP?
b) What are the stakeholders' interests in the policy process and which position do they have on the policy?
c) With whom do stakeholders form alliances?
   i.   How do they form alliances?
   ii.   Why do they form alliances with this/these specific actor(s)?
d) What are critical resources in the policy process?
   i.   Who has access to and who does control critical resources?
e) Which actors are able to affect the policy process through power and/or leadership?
   i.   How do they exert power and/or leadership?
f) Which formal and informal rules structure stakeholders' behaviour in the policy process?
g) What implications does the specific stakeholder involvement have for the implementation of the NMP now?

3.1 Operationalisation
According to Weible (2007), a policy subsystem is defined by "a set of policy participants and territorial and substantive scopes" (ibid.: 98). The policy subsystem under investigation in this study is the field of national migration policy-making in Ghana. The question guiding this research seeks to find out which stakeholder was involved in the policy process leading to the formulation and adoption of the NMP for Ghana and to what extent. The time frame of analysis hereby ranges from the first consideration of the migration topic in national development plans

at the end of the 1990s to its current stage of implementation today. For this purpose, the first step of this research is to provide a chronological reconstruction of the policy process. This enables the determination of the main incidents that took place to develop an introductory overview of who participated during the various stages of the policy process. The second step identifies the stakeholders in the policy process. Stakeholders are defined as actors, either individuals or a group of people, with an interest or concern on an issue (Schmeer 1999). Schmeer (1999: 3) compiles a classification of stakeholders into international/donors, national political (legislators, governors), public (ministries and public agencies), labour (unions, associations), commercial/private for-profit, non-profit (non-governmental organisations, foundations), civil society and users/consumers. Consequently, in the case of the NMP for Ghana all actors who participate in any stage of the policy process, or who were consulted because of their specific knowledge on the topic and the process, are considered as stakeholders.

Sub-questions b to f aim at finding out which of the explanatory factors obtained from the literature and depicted in the analytical framework (Figure 3) account for stakeholders' involvement in the policy process. Stakeholders' interests in and position on the NMP (sub-question b) is operationalised by examining stakeholders' agenda, their underlying programme, as well as their knowledge on the policy. During the field research questions about the role they have taken in the policy-making process and their key actions within policy development were asked. Additionally, questions inquired the aspects stakeholders consider most important regarding the NMP, but also the gaps they see in the policy. On top of that, stakeholders rated the importance of the NMP for Ghana and Ghana's development.

The operationalisation of alliances between stakeholders (sub-question c) focuses on any form of cooperation between two or more stakeholders. Cooperation is understood as ways of working together with other actors to enforce one's own interests. It can be both formal and informal. The relationship between actors is at the core of this question. Therefore, interviewees were requested to name the actors they mainly cooperate and hold similar views with. Additionally, interview partners listed actors with different views and those with whom it was difficult to work together. Both aspects were examined with focus on why cooperation was perceived positively or challenging.

Critical resources (sub-question d) are operationalised as sources of support deemed necessary to influence the policy process. It is identified who financially supported the policy-making process. Technical resources are operationalised in terms of possession of expertise and scientific/specific knowledge. Human resources point in the direction of mobilisation capacities, but also at a sufficient number of staff to work on the topic. In this context, stakeholders were asked which were the most important resources in the policy-making process from their point of view and who held these resources.

An operationalisation of the ability to affect the policy process through power and/or leadership (sub-question e) is achieved through asking which actors were perceived to take over a guiding role in the policy process. Power is understood as the ability and capacity of an actor to affect the policy process through his/her strength or force. Leadership refers to the ability and capacity to start or initiate action within the policy process. To obtain a better picture of power and leadership capabilities interview partners were requested to name the most powerful stakeholders in the policy process and rank them starting with the most powerful.

Formal rules (sub-question f) are operationalised as codified and formalised rules and regulations, like the institutions in which policy-making takes place. Questions took the form of what tradition does shape policy-making according to the interviewed stakeholder (e.g. path dependency, incrementalism, social consensus) and what rules do they follow in the policy process. The operationalisation of informal rules (sub-question f) contains values, norms, own practices and social relations that developed through interactions. It was asked through which values and norms the stakeholder in his/her organisation bases policy decisions on and what s/he thinks values and norms guide other stakeholders' behaviour in the policy process.

Sub-question g aims at closing the policy cycle and tries to investigate how stakeholder involvement impacts the implementation of the NMP for Ghana. For this purpose, the question on the interview partner's own opinion on implementation success of the NMP was raised. An additional point of issue was the view on how certain stakeholder involvements positively or negatively affect or affected the current implementation process.

3.2 Case selection

Ghana's National Migration Policy offers a great opportunity to study stakeholder involvement in a policy-making process. Ghana's NMP can be considered as a "paradigmatic case" (Flyvbjerg 2006: 230), as Ghana's experiences are highly representative of the involvement of a variety of actors in the field of migration. The policy document itself speaks about various actors involved in the policy process. It acknowledges the financial and technical support provided by development partners. Together with the national government, non-governmental organisations and civil society, a number of actors contributed to the policy process (GoG 2016). However, they reflect great variance in the way they have access to the policy process. Consequently, the research interest of analysing actors and their motivation to participate in policy process lies within the case (Flyvbjerg 2006: 232).

Ghana as a country experiencing different migration streams offers additional features to be studied as a "paradigmatic case". Being the first Sub-Sahara African country to gain independence in 1957, the exemplary development of democracy and the exceptional peacefulness serves as an example for other countries in West Africa and maybe even in the whole of Sub-Sahara Africa as Paul Nugent states:

> "Ghana has always exerted a great influence over African affairs and over external perceptions of the continent than its limited size and population […] might lead one to expect." (Nugent 1995: 9f.)

The same guidance is expected from Ghana's attempts towards migration governance. The country's long migration history in the region, the various migration flows affecting the country and the fact that it is one of the first ECOWAS states to adopt a national migration policy, underline the country's forerunner status.

Additionally, the importance of language for doing qualitative field research informed the case selection. English is the official language in Ghana and its knowledge is therefore a prerequisite for studying stakeholder involvement in a policy process through semi-structured interviews.

3.3 Data collection methods

This study uses a qualitative approach as it seeks to understand the process leading to the NMP for Ghana and the way stakeholders interacted hereby, made decisions and shaped the policy

development. Therefore, detailed information on involved actors, the discussions held and actions taken need to be collected. Qualitative interviews allow one to gain such insights, understand relationships and analyse a specific case (Blatter et al. 2007). This study seeks to explore the black box between stakeholder involvement and the policy process leading to the NMP in Ghana. Such an in-depth examination of one policy as depicted in Figure 3. Therefore, the identification of explanatory factors can best be achieved with a qualitative research design (Blatter et al. 2007: 133; Hennink et al. 2010).

The main method of data collection in this study is semi-structured expert interviews. The research question demands specific knowledge from insiders in the policy-making process and interviews are the only way to gather this particular information (Rathbun 2008). Although interviewing is criticized for its lack of objectivity and generalizability, it allows for an in-depth understanding of relationships and decision-making as pointed out by Almond and Genco in 1977:

> *"[…] interviewing, whatever its flaws, is often the best suited method for gathering data on those characteristics of the social world that differentiate it from the natural world: human beings' efforts to intentionally transform their environment on the basis of cognition, reflection, and learning." (cited in Rathbun 2008: 8)*

Consequently, semi-structured expert interviews have been widely defined as a helpful tool to reconstruct policy processes with their specific structure of negotiation and decision-making (Gläser & Laudel 2004; Kaiser 2014). An expert is defined as a person responsible for the development, implementation or control of solutions, strategies and policies. On top of that, s/he has privileged access to information about groups of people or decision-making processes. Kaiser (2014) summarizes three characteristics identified in the literature on expert interviews. First, experts are defined via their position, their status and the knowledge ascribed to them. In this regard, Bogner et al. (2009) describe experts as persons who – based on specific practical and empirical knowledge on a clearly defined problem – are able to structure a specific area of activity purposefully and guide others through their interpretations. Second, the expert is endowed with specific forms of professional wisdom relevant for the scientific analysis and different from the knowledge of a layperson (Abels & Behrens 2009: 139). Experts are not interviewed as private persons but as representatives of an organisation or institution (Meuser & Nagel 1991: 444). Third, Kaiser (2014) emphasizes that the researcher offers expert status to a person. Based on the research topic, the researcher decides who the person is that has access to specific information and is willing to share them. This implies that the choice of expert as interview partner has to be justified well.

The strength of an expert interview lies in gaining insights into actors' motivations and their views on problems, as well as their subjective interpretations of policy processes, which cannot be gained through other methods (Kaiser 2014). Moreover, experts are often networked persons who will easily be able to recommend other interviewees on the research topic (Bogner et al. 2009).

For this study the objective of the interviews was to gather detailed knowledge of the role, interest, cooperation, resources, power structures and guiding rules of actors in the NMP process. This knowledge was then used to better understand stakeholder involvement in policy development. The quite open nature of semi-structured interviews enabled the researcher to

identify important aspects for interview partners, recurring patterns in perceptions and standpoints towards impacts on policy implementation.

Additionally, data was collected through desk research. This took place intensively before the time in the field begun to allow for optimal preparation and ideal targeting of questions (Rathbun 2008). Secondary data, like policy documents and publications in the field of migration in Ghana, gave first insights. A detailed examination of organisational, institutional, financial, political and legal documents provided a useful source of information on the policy-making process. It helped to identify the language and words of participants and provided a discreet source of information (Cresswell 2014). The time in the field extended the availability of data sources. The researcher gathered publications, annual and strategic plans as well as policy documents from the institutions and organisations visited whilst in the field. An overview of the secondary data sources is provided in Appendix A. A specific focus laid on examining the newspaper coverage of the policy process on the NMP. Access to the library of the University of Ghana helped to access the hard copies of Ghanaian newspapers[3] and examine their coverage of the policy process. Together with a web research it enabled to trace back public attention on the issue and to identify milestones in the process.

3.4 The interviews

During 14 weeks of field research from February to May 2018 a total of 40 interviews were conducted of which 29 are classified as official interviews and 11 as background talks. Official interviews were held based on an interview guide (Appendix B) with open ended questions. Background talks are, however, characterized by more open and creative interview questions conducted to gather background knowledge from an interview partner who is an expert in a specific field, e.g. participated in another Ghanaian policy development process, or has, due to his/her position, special insights into contexts necessary to understand migration policy-making in Ghana. The background talk was usually based on less impulses and rather enabled the interview partner to speak based on own emphasis and structure.

For this research, interview partners were selected based on literature research at home, initial contacts from the researcher's previous stay in Ghana, networks of the cooperating partners and the snowball method. The last question of every interview was whether the interview partner recommends someone else to speak to on the issue.

The interview partners were officials of different government ministries, departments and agencies (MDAs), researchers from the University of Ghana (Accra) and the Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology (Kumasi), officials from development partner organisations and international organisations operating in Ghana, representatives of civil society organisations and members of parliament. A complete list of interview partners, their position, anonymized title as well as date of the interview can be found in Appendix C.

Two out of the 40 interviews were recorded and transcribed verbatim. 38 interviews were held while taking notes only. These were written up within the days following the interview. Initially, recording and simultaneous note-taking was envisaged. However, the researcher noticed quickly that a much more open and trustworthy atmosphere could be established without taping the interview. Despite ensuring anonymization and confidentiality, a certain

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[3] The two Ghanaian newspapers available as hard copies were *Ghanaian Times* and *Daily Graphic*.

distance was felt during the recorded interviews. This finding was confirmed after comparing the results of two recorded interviews and two in which only notes were taken as well as exchange with contact persons on the ground and other researchers who had previously done research in Ghana. Therefore, the researcher adapted her procedure to detailed note taking during the interview and an extensive transcription of the notes afterwards. The decision for this procedure limited the full focus on the interview partner. Thus, rapport building became more difficult as a lot of attention had to be paid to noting down all information quickly. However, it enabled the creation of a more informal and open atmosphere in which confidential and sensitive information were shared. Moreover, it made the researcher listen more closely to what was said because there was no second chance of hearing the audio again.

All interviews took place face to face and the majority of interview partners were interviewed alone. Five interviews, however, were held in groups of two and one in a group of six. In most cases this was due to the fact that the interview partner called in a colleague who s/he considered as specialist on the topic who could provide additional information. Sometimes it was a colleague working on a specific project related to the interview topic. Two interviews took place in collaboration with fellow researchers, one with a PhD student from Germany and the other with a researcher from the German Development Institute. This approach provided feedback on interview style and technique and allowed to gain insights into fellow researchers' work.

3.5 Method of analysis

This thesis uses the method of qualitative content analysis for data analysis. This method works with inductive and deductive codes to structure the interview material and filter the information necessary for answering the research question. For this purpose, interview material is organised based on developed inductive and deductive codes. Similar codes are hereby systematically combined and enable a clear structure of the interview material (Hennink et al. 2010; Mayring 2015). Therefore, the researcher organised the collected data in an Excel document. A sheet was created in which the rows represent the interviews and the columns contain the topics and questions from the interview guide as well as additional aspects raised during the interviews. The data was filled in accordingly, the interview text in the matching column to which topic/interview question it belongs. Hereby, recurrent patterns could be identified, especially from the additional aspects mentioned. The next step involved the development of inductive codes, from re-reading the interview material, and deductive codes, from topics in the interview guide derived from literature and theory. Afterwards the interview material was coded manually in additional columns next to each topic column in the Excel sheet (Hennink et al. 2010). Based on the structure given through the analytical framework it follows a summary of the main aspect belonging to each code. Results were described and put in a greater context, before a critically analysis took place (Kuckartz et al. 2008).

3.6 Reflections on the positionality of the researcher

In the run-up to the field work, differences in gender, age, professional status, background experience and cultural factors were identified to pose a risk to the research (Abels & Behrens 2009). Gender played a role in the sense that the policy-making landscape in Ghana is a widely male-dominated domain and, thus, the majority of interview partners were older men in higher positions. In the beginning of the research, this posed a challenge in a few cases as it was

difficult for the researcher to break the ice in the interaction with some interview partners. This phenomenon has been described in the literature as 'iceberg-effect' which is characterized by interviewees disinterest and inert willingness to give out information (ibid.: 146). With time and a better understanding and feeling for situations building rapport was much easier and the gender aspect often became a benefit to certain extents. Interview partners in general, but males in particular, were very interested, sometimes even flattered, to be interviewed by a younger woman who wanted to study a topic in their country.

Moreover, being a foreigner in Ghana, a white young woman, opened many doors. The researcher's privileges enabled her to walk in the ministries and bring forward requests to conduct an interview without any effort. Also, a visit in Jubilee House, the presidential palace in Accra, and the Diaspora Affairs Bureau at the Office of the President did not pose any challenge at all. With sensitivity for the hierarchical structures, especially in government institutions, openness for the context and reality of life of Ghanaians by the researcher and the great hospitality of the Ghanaian people, the research process went extremely smoothly.

3.7 Limitations of the research

Nevertheless, a number of limitations accompanied the research process which might impact the results of this study. A few limitations are outlined in this section. However, the impacts of the limitations on the results are reflected on in greater detail in the discussion part. A main challenge relates to qualitative interviewing itself. It often suffers from results based on interpretation (Alvesson & Sköldberg 2009). Consequently, the researcher worked with greatest care while analysing the empirical material. But certain biases prevail due to socialization and positionality. Therefore, the researcher tried to be as attentive as possible and reflected as much as possible on different views in the study. One limitation possibly stems from socially desirable answers provided to the researcher who is an obvious outsider in Ghana.

The research is based on expert interviews. It was crucial for this study to gain access to actors involved in the policy-making process. In some cases this posed a challenge. With the help of gatekeepers and the snowball method it was quite easy to get access to the institutions and organisations involved in the policy process. However, because of high fluctuation of staff, especially in government institutions and development partner organisations, some persons interviewed lacked in-depth knowledge of the process because they were themselves not personally or only partly involved. They often mentioned their predecessor who has been retired in the meantime or posted elsewhere. In one case, a government institution was not able to provide any information on their involvement in the NMP process due to change of officers. As a result the accuracy of some information reduces. It was, however, possible to identify the 'expert' from the specific institution in the majority of cases, so that interviews could be arranged. One time a retired senior civil servant with detailed knowledge on the process even received the researcher in his home.

Additionally, experts are usually very busy and hard-to-reach people, but with patience and perseverance it was possible to interview all main actors during the field work time of 14 weeks. But the results have to be read with the knowledge that due to time constraints usually only one voice from an institution or organisation was interviewed. This interview partner gave a certain assessment of the policy process. However, it has to be kept in mind that this one actor provides

an own opinion which cannot always be generalized for the whole institution or organisation which is a limitation of this study.

4. THEMATIC FRAMEWORK: MIGRATION IN GHANA

The following chapter serves the purpose of outlining the thematic background of the research topic. It presents past and present migration trends affecting Ghana. Furthermore, it highlights important developments related to the topic with the aim of creating a basis for a better understanding of the analysis that follows. Additionally, the chapter provides background knowledge on the political history and the nature of policy-making in Ghana as well as on existing national, regional and international frameworks governing migration. It ends with a detailed presentation of the National Migration Policy for Ghana which is then analysed in-depth in Chapter 5.

4.1 History of migration in Ghana

Human mobility is an important characteristic of Ghana's past and present history. In pre-colonial times, population movements in West Africa took place in various forms and were guided by several reasons. The spread of Fulani speaking pastoralists over the Sahel zone and the seasonal movements of herders marks one example of pre-colonial mobility. Other forms include transregional trade, pilgrimage and religious education which involved movements to other parts of Africa (Bakewell & De Haas 2007: 103). Partly, population movements were the result of warrior conquests and the resettlement to new lands for farming purposes (Hance 1970).

The arrival of the Europeans, which started with the Portuguese in the second half of the 15th century, changed these mobility patterns dramatically, but also led to the emergence of other movements, through slave trade and colonization (Azikiwe 2015). The colonial economy demanded labour on the various plantations and mines, in the infrastructure sector and in the growing cities which triggered labour migration within the region (SIHMA 2014). In this time, Ghanaian mobility was dominated by internal movements as the economic and administrative hubs were created in the Southern part of the country. North-South migration, either permanently or seasonal, therefore, was a dominating pattern (ibid.). Nevertheless, the establishment of mines, railways and cocoa farming attracted international migrants from neighbouring countries leading to a huge population increase in Ghana between 1921 and 1960, from roughly two million (1921) to about 6.7 million (1960) (GSS 2005: xvi).

4.1.1 Phase 1: Ghana – an immigration country

After independence in 1957, the thriving economy of Ghana, but also the one of neighbouring country Côte d'Ivoire, were appealing destinations for internal and international migrants in the region. This trend was reinforced by pan-Africanist thinking of Ghana's President Kwame Nkrumah who pushed for liberal migration policies (Bakewell & Haas 2007; Awumbila et al. 2008). Figures from the 1960 census reveal that more than 12.3 % of Ghana's population in

1960 was foreign born. Togo, followed by Burkina Faso and Nigeria, were the main countries of origin (Hance 1970; Peil 1974).

4.1.2 Phase 2: Shift towards emigration country

Ghana's status as immigration country changed in the 1960s. Due to economic decline, rising unemployment and increasing sentiments against migrants after the 1966 coup, the government introduced the Aliens Compliance Order in 1969. The law forced every migrant to obtain a residence permit within two weeks or to leave the country. This resulted in a massive outflow of around 200 000 migrants, mainly from Nigeria (Peil 1974).

Ghanaians also started emigrating in large numbers. An estimated two million workers left the country between 1974 and 1981, predominantly to Nigeria and Côte d'Ivoire (Bakewell & Haas 2007: 104). The change towards an emigration country was further intensified through military dictatorship and economic recovery policies in the 1980s leading to an increase in migration flows of skilled professionals and unskilled youth to destinations in Western Europe and North America from the mid-1980s. One reason for this change in migration patterns were mass deportations of huge numbers of Ghanaians from Nigeria in 1983 and 1985 (Anarfi & Kwankye 2003). Ghana still received immigrants after the 1960s, but these were mainly refugees and asylum seekers from fragile, conflict-affected countries in the region like Togo, Liberia, Sierra Leone and Côte d'Ivoire (SIHMA 2014).

4.1.3. Phase 3: Diversification of migration patterns

Since the beginning of the 1990s a greater variety of migration patterns can be identified. Nevertheless, emigration continued to other countries on the continent and outside Africa, especially for trained health professionals like doctors and nurses. According to Clemens and Petterson (2008), more than 56 % of doctors and 24 % of nurses trained in Ghana were working abroad in 2000. Another pattern is the increased importance and influence of diaspora. Ghanaians have moved to major cities in Western Europe and North America, but they also live in many more countries around the world (Anarfi & Kwankye 2003). According to estimates by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 2008, Ghanaian migrants live in more than 33 countries worldwide (Asare 2012: 6). The remittances they send home constitute an important aspect of improved socio-economic conditions for the receivers in Ghana. Moreover, continuous economic and political stability over the past years led to an increase in return migration. Huge discrepancies between the North and the South, but also between resource poorer and resource richer areas, have triggered internal migration. Additionally, restrictive border control regimes increased human trafficking (SIHMA 2014).

4.2 Contemporary migration trends

4.2.1 Immigration

Ghana continues to be an important country of destination for immigrants. According to the 2010 Population and Housing Census, the total number of non-Ghanaians in the country is 600 049, which constitutes 2.4 % of the total population. This indicates a decrease from 3.9 % in 2000 (GSS 2005, 2012). From the foreign population around 86 % were African nationals in 2010. 68.3 % of them came from other ECOWAS member states. Nigerians (20.8 %), Togolese

(5.3 %) and Burkinabe (5.1 %) formed the largest population groups among ECOWAS nationals in Ghana (Table 1). According to Ghana Statistical Service (GSS), the youth mark a large proportion of the non-Ghanaian population. 45 % is aged between 15 and 29. Men exceed women (54.5 % to 45.5 %) (Devillard et al. 2016: 157).

Table 1: Non-Ghanaian population 2000 and 2010

Nationality	2000*		2010	
	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number
Total population	**100,0**	**18 912 079**	**100,0**	**24 658 823**
Total non-Ghanaian population	**3,9**	**740 191**	**2,4**	**600 049**
ECOWAS nationals	58,9	436 278	68,3	409 910
Nigerian			*20,8*	*124 653*
Togolese			*5,3*	*31 973*
Burkinabe			*5,1*	*30 664*
Liberian			*2,2*	*13 396*
Other ECOWAS nationals			*34,9*	*209 224*
African, other than ECOWAS	23,0	169 982	18,1	108 328
Non African	18,1	133 931	13,6	81 811
European			*0,7*	*4 439*
American (North, South/Carribean)			*0,5*	*2 714*
Asian			*12,4*	*74 212*
Oceanian			*0,1*	*446*

* For 2000 only the depicted figures are available from the 2000 Census (GSS 2005).
Ghana Statistical Service (GSS) counts all foreign citizens who were residing in Ghana during the 2010 Population Census as immigrants (GSS 2012: 4).
Source: own compilation based on GSS (2012: 29; 2005: 111f.).

UNHCR statistics show changing trends in the number of refugees and asylum seekers in Ghana over the years. In 1999, the country hosted 13 200 refugees and asylum seekers on its territory. This number dramatically increased to 47 695 (2003) and 58 700 (2005). Liberians largely account for the rise in this number. In 2003 they constituted 88.9 % and in 2005 72.5 % of the total refugee population in the country. After this peak the number of refugees and asylum seekers in Ghana decreased again to 34 950 (2007) and 13 700 (2009) (UNHCR 1999, 2003, 2005, 2007, 2009). In 2014, Ghana gave refuge to 18 683 people and hosted 2287 asylum seekers (UNHCR Ghana 2014). The latest figures from July 2017 indicate that Ghana hosts 12 019 refugees and 1386 asylum seekers. More than 50 % of the refugees come from Côte d'Ivoire, 27.5 % from Togo and 10.2 % from Liberia (UNHCR 2017).

Improved economic opportunities and political stability have attracted migrants from other West African countries to work in Ghana. The Immigration Act requires a working permit from non-Ghanaian residents for this purpose. It is granted based on the law set by the Immigration Quota Committee (Quartey 2009: 53).

The lack of reliable data proofs difficult to estimate the volume of irregular migration within Ghana. According to immigration service data, 112 foreign nationals were repatriated in 2010 and 413 people who irregularly stayed in the country were deported to their country of origin. This marks a huge decrease in the number of deportees. In 2007, 1297 irregular migrants were deported (SIHMA 2014: 16f.).

Students represent another group of immigrants to Ghana. Most of those obtaining a study permit come from other ECOWAS member states. Since the beginning of the 2000s the number of non-Ghanaian students at the University of Ghana has steadily increased. Additionally, Ghana has become an increasingly attractive destination for tourists and visitors in the past years (Quartey 2009: 54).

4.2.2 Emigration

GSS defines an "emigrant" as a Ghanaian who has lived outside the country for more than six months (GSS 2012: 5). As shown in Table 2, the total number of Ghanaian emigrants is estimated to be 250 624. The largest number of Ghanaians can be found in Europe (37.7 %), followed by other ECOWAS states (25.5 %) and the Americas (23.6 %). Côte d'Ivoire and Nigeria are the main destination countries for Ghanaian migrants in the ECOWAS sub-region (Table 2). According to GSS 2010 data, the number of Ghanaians in Europe is more than 94 000. The EU released figures for 2014 stating that more than 120 000 Ghanaians live in EU countries (EEAS 2016).

Table 2: Emigration of Ghanaians by place of destination, 2010

	2010	
Destination of emigrants	Percentage	Number
Total number of emigrants	**100,0**	**250 623**
ECOWAS states	25,5	63 919
Côte d'Ivoire	*7,8*	*19 483*
Nigeria	*6,8*	*17 092*
Togo	*3,1*	*7 825*
Gambia	*1,7*	*4 341*
Liberia	*1,5*	*3 669*
Other ECOWAS nationals	*4,6*	*11 509*
Africa, other than ECOWAS	10,4	26 110
Outside Africa	64,1	160 594
Europe	*37,7*	*94 471*
America (North, South/Carribean)	*23,6*	*59 106*
Asia	*2,3*	*5 672*
Oceania	*0,5*	*1 345*

Source: own compilation based on GSS (2012: 38).

From 2009 to 2012 the number of Ghanaian refugees abroad increased from 14 893 to 24 298. In 2012, a huge majority sought refuge in neighbouring Togo (17 371) followed by Germany (4323) (SIHMA 2014: 21f.). Similarly, a growing number of Ghanaian asylum seekers can be observed in the same time frame. It rose from 1347 to 3482, whereby 41 % of the Ghanaian asylum seekers in 2012 arrived in Italy (ibid.).

An overview of economic activities of Ghanaian emigrants compiled by the Ghana Statistical Service shows that 70.6 % of them are employed, 14 % are students and 6.1 % are unemployed (GSS 2012: 38). According to Quartey (2009), Ghana's skilled emigration rate is 46 % which makes it the country with the second highest skilled migration rate in the world after Haiti for countries with a population higher than 5 million people. Likewise, the percentage of low-skilled Ghanaian emigrants is 24.2 %. 3.6 % do not have any recognizable skills.

In terms of irregular emigration, 2352 Ghanaians have been deported from different destination countries in 2013, the largest number of 1606 coming from Libya (GIS 2014). This is a huge increase compared to 2008 where 1344 deportees were counted (GIS 2009).

The number of voluntary returns is hard to obtain as official figures are missing. IOM reports that the organisation assisted with 136 voluntary returns to Ghana in 2016 (IOM 2017b). EU statistics report 4660 Ghanaian migrants staying illegally in the EU in 2014 (EEAS 2016). Latest figures of March 2018 by IOM reveal that 62 422 Ghanaians are currently in Libya, either in various cities or detention centres. A large majority of them are illegal migrants. The IOM has supported the voluntary return of 706 Ghanaians from Libya since June 2017 (Daily Graphic 2018). Libya has become the major transit route for migrants after crossing the Sahara and before continuing to Europe. Employment opportunities in Libya have also attracted Ghanaian migrants to work in the country. Based on networks between Ghanaians in Libya and those at home, the attractiveness of the place for economic success became popular among Ghanaian communities (Bob-Milliar 2012). But the worsened situation for migrants from Sub-Sahara Africa in Libya culminated in a video from the end of 2017. It shows a 'slave market' in Libya where migrants were auctioned. The video caused a worldwide outcry. Ghanaian returnees from Libya reported that also Ghanaians were victims of this modern day slave trade. However, they also described incidences in which Ghanaians acted as perpetrators of exploitation and trafficking along the route through the desert (GhanaWeb 2017, 2018).

Human trafficking and smuggling is part of Ghana's mobility patterns. The country has been described as an origin, transit and destination country for these activities (SIHMA 2014).

4.2.3 Internal migration

Migration within Ghana has historically constituted a widespread phenomenon in the country. It mainly takes the form of rural-urban migration and North-South migration. The North consists of the three regions Upper West, Upper East and Northern region and is characterized by sparse natural resource endowments. This is due to climate conditions of savannah landscape in which seasonal rainfall hampers agricultural productivity (Oduro et al. 2014). Additionally, the British colonial administration considered the potential of the Southern forest belt with access to the coast for development and promoted the Northern savannah region as major source of labour on the plantation, mines and in road and railway construction in the South. Attempts by post-independence governments to set up development programmes to tackle the uneven socio-economic development in the country only further exacerbated the deprived position of the North. The variations in development led to migration to the South for employment (Kwankye et al. 2009; Adaawen & Owusu 2013). In the 1960s and 1970s, it was mainly men who looked for jobs in the South. Over time they have been replaced by young people moving to the economically better-off areas, especially the big cities Accra, Kumasi and Sekondi-Takoradi (Kwankye et al. 2009; Awumbila et al. 2014). Migration to the urban centres has increased dramatically in the past years. It is now predominantly girls, boys and youth who move to the urban areas to seek employment. A widespread activity mostly young females engage in is working as head porters in transport stations and markets in urban areas. People engaging in this activity are referred to as *kayayei*. They carry goods on their heads for a negotiated price. The *kayayei* business is dominated by people from the Northern region (Kwankye et al. 2009). Their activities belong to the informal sector. *Kayayei* are exposed to

different forms of vulnerability. They usually do not have access to formal housing and often live and sleep in or around the market which exposes them to health risks, rape and poverty (Awumbila & Ardayfio-Schandorf 2008).

Other activities these children and youth are engaging in is ice water selling, hawking, petty trading and house work (Sulemana et al. 2015: 605). However, many of them only take up simple work and end up unemployed on the streets leading to increased urban poverty and challenges of urbanization like slum formation (Beauchemin 1999; Anarfi & Kwankye 2003).

The number of people living in urban areas has steadily increased since 1950 and is also forecasted to grow rapidly in the coming years. This goes in hand with large population increases. In 2015, Ghana's total population was 27.6 million. In 2020, it will exceed 30 million (United Nations, DESA, Population Division 2018). Whereas in 1950 the urban population was 15.4 % of the total population, it had increased to 23.2 % in 1960. The percentage of people living in urban areas rose to 36.4 % in 1990 and 43.9 % in 2000. Currently, more than half of the Ghanaian population resides in urban centres which illustrates the rapid urbanization in the country. The percentage of urban residents is expected to continue rising up to 60 % in 2025 and even over 70 % in 2050 (Figure 4).

Figure 4: Urban population in Ghana (% of total population)
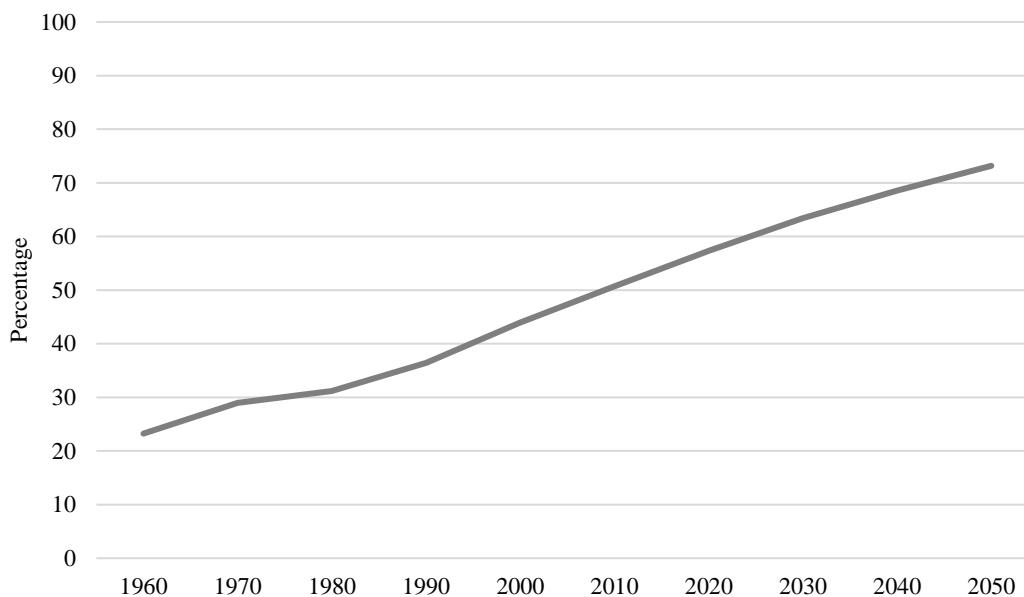
Source: own compilation based on United Nations, DESA, Population Division (2018).

Accurate data and current estimates of the number of internal migrants in the country, of within-country migration flows and patterns, are lacking. The same can be observed for regional migration due to the informal character of migration patterns in the African context (Akokpari 2000). Research has so far mainly looked at the determinants of internal North-South migration in Ghana.[4] Data on internal migration provided by the GoG can only be found in census data

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[4] Quantitative studies worked with data provided by the GoG in the various Ghana Living Standards Surveys (Boayke-Yiadom 2008; Ackah and Medvedev 2010; Amuakwa-Mensah et al. 2016). Qualitative research engaged with migrants and their migration motivations in specific regions or cities (Sulemana et al. 2015); Adaawen and Owusu 2013; Kwankye et al. 2009).

and population data analysis reports[5] as well as the Ghana Living Standards Survey, an instrument to collect household-level based data to measure socio-economic indicators across the country. The survey acknowledges that internal migration in Ghana takes the form of North-South and rural-urban migration. Data collected on migration status for 2012/2013 show that 17.1 % of the Ghanaian population are in-migrants while 31.5 % are return migrants (Table 3). The table further indicates that the non-migrant population constitutes the majority across all regions, especially in the Northern regions where the non-migrant population comprises of more than 60 % of the population. The Greater Accra region has the highest proportion of in-migrants (38.9 %).

Table 3: Migration status by region

Region of current residence	Migration Status		
	In-Migrants (%)	Return Migrants (%)	Non-Migrants (%)
Western	11,1	41,7	47,2
Central	24,3	20,3	55,4
Greater Accra	38,9	20,7	40,4
Volta	15,6	34,1	50,3
Eastern	11,3	39,7	49,0
Ashanti	10,8	38,6	50,6
Brong Ahafo	18,5	31,4	50,1
Northern	5,8	29,3	64,9
Upper East	5,4	24,7	69,9
Upper West	4,6	37,5	67,9
All	**17,1**	**31,5**	**51,4**

Source: own compilation based on Ghana Living Standards Survey round 6 (GSS 2014: 67).

Table 4 reveals that 48.6 % of the Ghanaian population has migrated. Accra has the highest percentage of migrants (60.3 %), followed by rural forest areas (51.6 %). Other urban areas have a proportion of 46.7 % of migrants. The data further show that half of the female population are migrants (50.1 %), in comparison to 46.5 % males.

Table 4: Migration of population by sex and current locality of residence (above 6 years, in %)

Sex	Locality of residence					
	Accra*	Other Urban	Rural Coastal	Rural Forest	Rural Savannah	Total
Male	60,9	45,0	42,7	50,4	32,0	46,5
Female	59,8	48,1	46,1	52,7	42,8	50,1
All	**60,3**	**46,7**	**44,6**	**51,6**	**37,5**	**48,6**

* Refers to Greater Accra Metropolitan Area
Source: own compilation based on Ghana Living Standards Survey round 6 (GSS 2014: 66).

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[5] One example is GSS (2005). Population Data Analysis Reports. Volume 1. Socio-Economic and Demographic Trends Analysis.

4.2.4 Remittances

Ghana's huge population outside the country and the remittances they sent home have been recognized to constitute an important part of national development. According to the World Bank, the amount of remittances to Ghana was 2.1 billion USD in 2016. Compared to neighbouring Côte d'Ivoire and Burkina Faso, data from the World Bank show a dramatic increase in remittances to Ghana from 2010 to 2011. Since then Ghana's migrant remittance inflows, as depicted in Figure 5, exceed those of ECOWAS member state Senegal. As illustrated in Figure 6, in 2015 personal remittances, cash flows received from a resident household by a non-resident household, consisted of 13.3 % of Ghana's GDP. This marked a peak in remittance flows to Ghana. In 2014 (5.2 %) and 2016 (7.0 %) the percentage of remittances as part of the GDP was lower.

Figure 5: Migrant remittance inflows (in million USD)
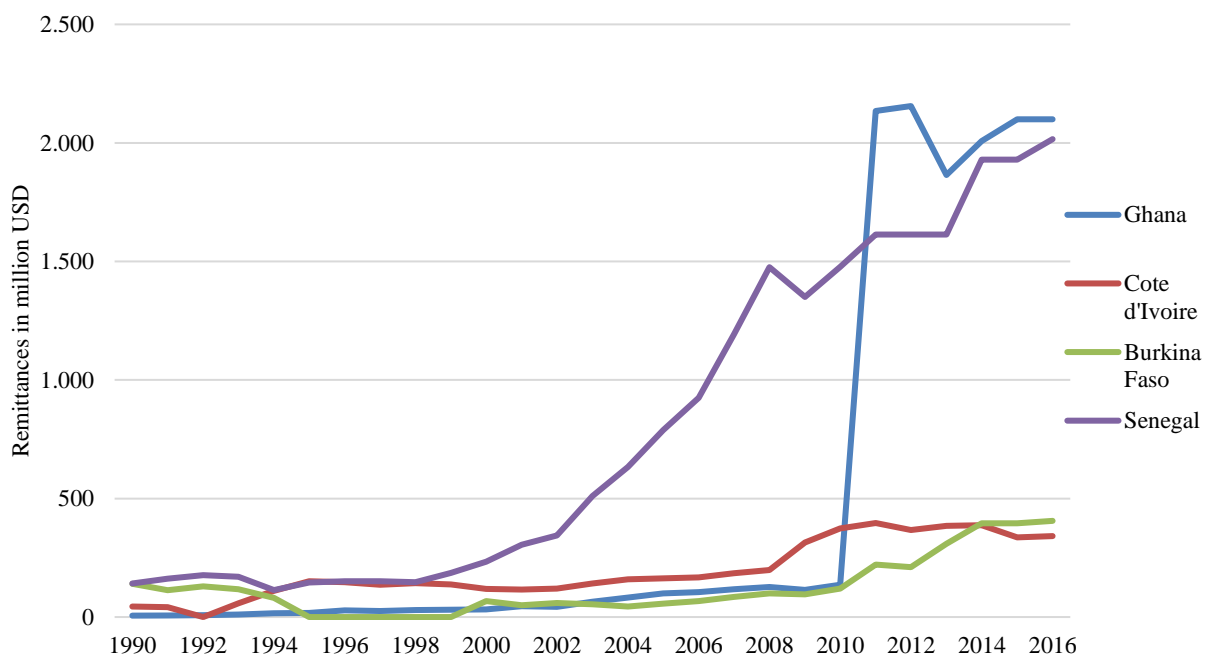
Note: World Bank staff calculation based on data from IMF Balance of Payments Statistics database and data releases from central banks, national statistical agencies, and World Bank country desks.
Source: own compilation based on World Bank (2017).

Figure 6: Personal remittances*, received (% of GDP)
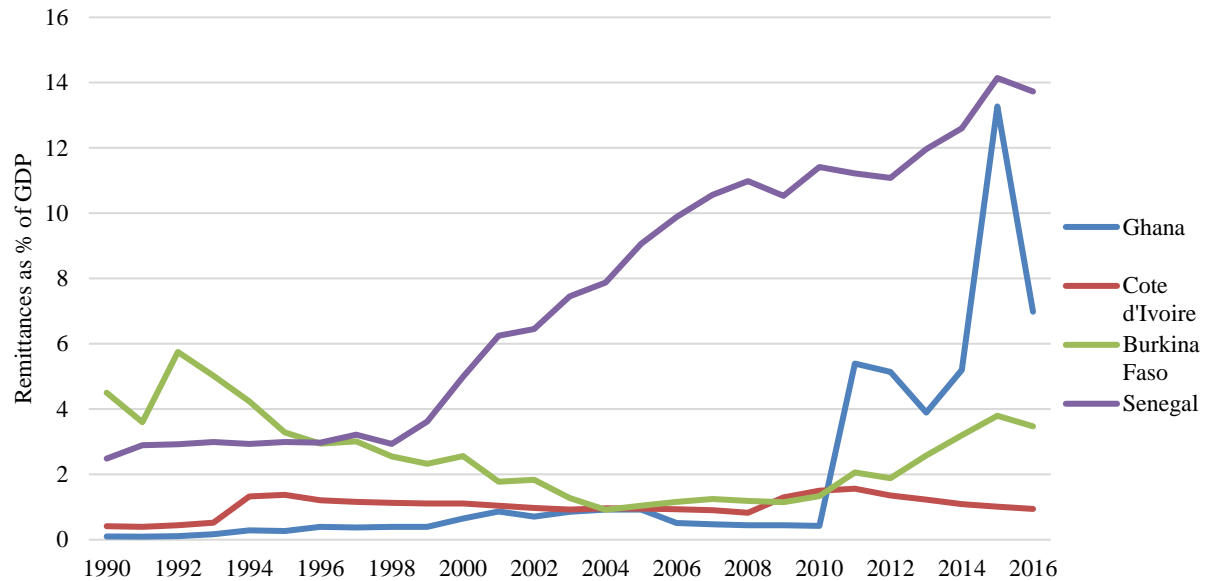
* Personal remittances comprise personal transfers and compensation of employees. Personal transfers consist of all current transfers in cash or in kind made or received by resident households to or from non-resident households. Personal transfers thus include all current transfers between resident and non-resident individuals. Compensation of employees refers to the income of border, seasonal, and other short-term workers who are employed in an economy where they are not resident and of residents employed by non-resident entities.
Source: own compilation based on World Bank (2018).

The Ghana Living Standards Survey reveals that remittances only contribute 2.3 % to the total household income of Ghanaians (GSS 2014: 151). However, reports show that most remittances are sent through official channels, while 35 % are sent through friends, relatives, transport drivers and other informal channels. The largest amount of remittances is estimated to be used for private consumption like living expenses, school fees and social activities. Up to one-fourth of remittances is said to be spent on investment purposes (Devillard et al. 2016: 159).

Apart from individual financial support sent to Ghana, there are a lot of joint initiatives by Ghanaian migrants outside the country. A very popular form of organisation are hometown associations. Ghanaians in the diaspora come together in these groups based on the place where their ancestors or they themselves were born. This place is referred to as their hometown. There is a strong connection with this particular location. Ghanaian hometown associations have formed in many big European and North American cities where Ghanaians in the diaspora live. Hometown associations serve the purpose of first, helping migrants to find their way in the new country, and second, supporting development-oriented projects in their hometowns and regions through financial contributions of their members. Through these initiatives schools, hospitals and roads in Ghana could be built and equipped (Mazzucato & Kabki 2009). It is due to the increase of remittances observed by the Ghanaian government and a gained international focus on the migration-development nexus, that migration's impact on Ghana's development was put on the Ghanaian agenda since the end of the 1990s. It is based on the realisation that migrants do not cut off their relations to their home country but engage in transnational activities that make them potential agents of development (Kleist 2011: 8).

4.3 Political context: Ghana's political history, party system and tradition of policy-making

Ghana was the first country in Sub-Sahara Africa to become independent in March 1957. Kwame Nkrumah took the lead in the Ghanaian independence struggle from British colonial rule and became the country's first president. The proponent of Pan-Africanism followed a left-socialist path in his politics. Eventually, he was deprived from power in 1966 by a military coup. Until the beginning of the 1990s, Ghana experienced high levels of political instability and military coups. It was under the military leader Jerry John Rawlings that the country returned to democracy. Rawlings had come to power through a military coup in 1981 and led the country through the democratic transition. It included the formulation of the Forth Republican constitution, the 1992 Constitution, the establishment of a multi-party system and the holding of elections (Gyimah-Boadi 2008). Rawlings organised his movement into the political party National Democratic Congress (NDC) which won the 1992 election and made him the first President under the Fourth Republic. Since then Ghana has held successful multi-party elections every four years and has experienced three peaceful turnovers. In 2001, the New Patriotic Party (NPP) under John Kufuor took over the leadership of the country. After another successful election in 2004, the NDC gained back power in 2008. President John Mahama (NDC) handed over to the opposition party leader Nana Akufo-Addo (NPP) after a defeat in the December 2016 presidential and parliamentary elections.

Although multiple parties contest in Ghanaian elections a strong two-party system has formed over the years in which the ruling power alternated between NDC and NPP. In general, both parties attract voters along ethnical, regional and socio-economic lines. NDC has a stronger support base in the more economically deprived Northern regions, the Volta region and poorer urban communities. NPP tends to be stronger in more economically prosperous middle and southern areas and urban communities. This also reflects the ethnic composition of NDC and NPP voters. Whereas the NPP receives a lot of support from the Akan ethnic group, the NDC attracts largely Ewe and other non-Akan people (Osei 2012: 582).

Ghana is often referred to as role model of peace and stability on the African continent. In the words of Abdulai: "Ghana's democratization has been touted as one of the political success stories in Africa." (Abdulai 2009: 2). Democracy measurements like Freedom House Index[6] underline this picture. Ghana is ranked as democratic country and receives the status "free" since 1999 (Figure 7). The Freedom House Index, displayed for Ghana in Figure 7, illustrates how Ghana developed from a non-democratic to a democratic state.

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[6] Freedom House is a measurement index of a country's state of democracy operationalised through political rights and civil liberties enjoyed by individuals. The average of a country's rates for political rights and civil liberties is calculated to determine the Freedom Rating. It is a number between 1 and 7, whereby 1 represents the highest degree of freedom and 7 the smallest degree of freedom. A country is given the status "free" with a rating between 1.0 and 2.5, "partly free" (3.0 to 5.0) or "not free" (5.5 to 7.0) (Freedom House 2018b).

Figure 7: Freedom house ratings Ghana, 1991-2018
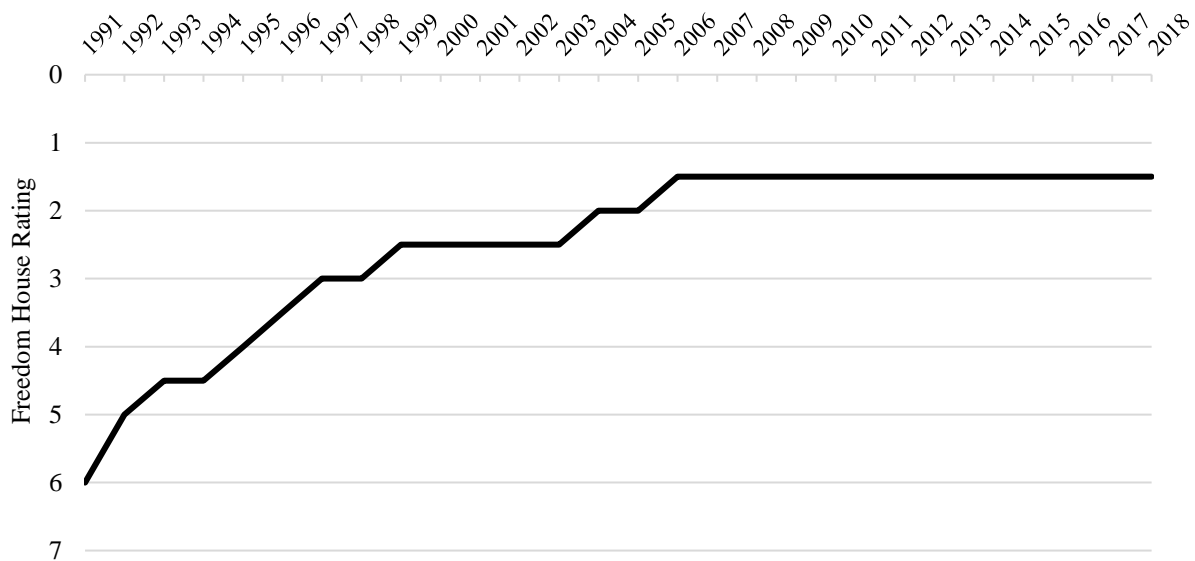
Source: own compilation based on (Freedom House 2018a).

The democratic transition in 1992 has also opened avenues for more participatory public policy-making in Ghana. Before policy-making was widely considered as "exclusionary and elitist" (Mohammed 2013: 118). Only the ruling class, technocrats and experts were allowed to participate and make decisions for the whole society (ibid.). The 1992 Constitution gave more room for civil society organisations and enabled them to participate more proactively in policy-making. It recognized the role of non-state actors and advocated for their presence in development processes as well as their representation on boards of state agencies (GoG 1992: Art. 37 (2a)). Public participation in policy-making was fostered through regional and sub-regional forums to elaborate a long-term socio-economic development plan in 1993 and 1994. It culminated in the Ghana Vision 2020, a development plan aiming at achieving middle-income country status by 2020 (Mohammed 2013: 120). A participatory national dialogue was also the basis for Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs). The relative failure of structural adjustment programs made IMF and World Bank to introduce this initiative to enable low-income countries the access to concessional loans. The Government of Ghana took this up and started formulating the Ghana Poverty Reduction Strategy (GPRS I) in 2000 and the Growth and Poverty Reduction Paper (GPRS II) in 2005. Especially the latter included the views of the public and broadened the range of consultations towards CSOs, research institutions, think tanks and the private sector. After the discussions in a multi-stakeholder working team, policy makers consulted the districts and communities to explain the GPRS II document and listened to ideas for improvement. The aim was to foster ownership of the development plan and raise awareness on it (Abdul-Gafaru & Quantson 2008: 129f.). However, studies conclude that, despite of the more participatory approach towards policy-making in Ghana since 1992, government actors and development partners are the most powerful actors in policy-making processes in Ghana. CSOs often lack the necessary resources, skills and information for effective engagement. Because of limited capacities they are therefore only consulted and not part of joint decision making processes and policy directions (Abdul-Gafaru & Quantson 2008; Mohammed 2013).

Another important characteristic of Ghana's political system is the role of traditional authorities in governance. During colonial rule chiefs played an important role in the local government administration (Asamoah 2012). The 1992 Constitution guarantees the status and autonomy of the institution, but it also prohibits the involvement of traditional authorities in active partisan politics. Nevertheless, traditional authorities are de facto very important when it comes to land control, cultural leadership and political representation of the community. They cannot be bypassed at the local level and their inclusion and consultation is inevitable to implement any policy on the ground (Taabazuing et al. 2012).

4.4 Overview of national, sub-regional, regional and international legislation and policy frameworks governing migration

Since independence Ghana has adopted and introduced a range of national, sub-regional, regional and international legislation and policy frameworks to address migration issues. The following section highlights the most important ones, while Appendix D provides a detailed overview and description of all these laws and regulations on migration in Ghana. At the time of independence, the prospering Ghanaian economy and the propagated pan-Africanist ideology of President Kwame Nkrumah attracted migrants in the sub-region to come to Ghana. However, the first legal instrument on migration introduced after independence was rather restrictive. The Alien Act of 1963 organised the entry, stay and employment of foreign nationals in Ghana by introducing a quota system. This limited foreign nationals' access to certain sectors of the economy to avoid the possible 'plundering' of national resources by 'unscrupulous aliens' (Manuh et al. 2010). The next chronologically following legislation was developed almost 30 years later. The 1992 Constitution entails several provisions on how to obtain Ghanaian citizenship. It also regulates the mandate of various institutions and officers responsible for implementing immigration laws (GoG 1992).

The National Population Policy of 1994 constitutes one of the first policy documents to acknowledge the role of migration for development in Ghana. It explicitly mentioned Ghana's move from a country of immigration to a country of emigration (Anarfi & Kwankye 2003).

The Immigration Act (2000) combines all laws relating to immigration in Ghana covering admission, residence, employment and removal of foreign nationals (Brown 2009). To strengthen the ties of Ghanaian diaspora with their home country, the right to dual citizenship was introduced with the Citizenship Act in 2000. In addition, the Representation of the People (Amendment) Act of 2006 recognised absentee voting rights. The 2005 Human Trafficking Act addresses practices of human trafficking and introduced measures towards its prosecution. The more recently adopted National Youth Policy (2010), National Urban Policy (2012) and National Climate Change Policy (2013) all provide small sections on the impacts of the respective issue on migration.

Next to national legislation and frameworks, Ghana addresses migration through regional legislative instruments. The country committed itself to several legislations and frameworks through its membership in ECOWAS and the African Union (AU) (Bosiakoh 2012). Ghana ratified the 1979 ECOWAS Treaty as well as the 1979 ECOWAS Protocol on Free Movement of Persons, Right of Residence and Establishment. This policy document aims at free movement within the ECOWAS sub-region. It intends to achieve this goal in three phases from enabling

community citizens to stay in other member states without a visa for 90 days, to granting the right of residence in member states and finally allow community citizens to establish businesses in member states. In 2008, the ECOWAS Heads of State and Government adopted the ECOWAS Common Approach on Migration with the objective to create a link between migration and development and to define its negative impacts (SEF 2016). Additionally, Ghana receives policy guidance in the formulation of its own national migration policy from the AU 2006 Migration Policy Framework for Africa (AU 2006).

The migration governance landscape in Ghana further entails international legal instruments. Ghana has ratified international conventions to protect migrants, refugees and asylum seekers and is party to international legal instruments regulating international migration. An overview of those can be found in Appendix D.

This synopsis has shown that Ghana addressed migration and migration-related issues through a variety of legislations and policies over the past years. Consequently, its efforts to migration management are positively acknowledged and put Ghana in a progressive position compared to other ECOWAS member states (Devillard et al. 2016: 159). However, the initiatives of the past are characterized by a lack of coordination. Various laws and policies exist which leave the migration landscape in a scattered manner. The need for a single comprehensive all-encompassing document providing policy guidelines for all migration areas to effectively manage migration became central. Various scholars, international advisors and public officials emphasized the importance of such a document (Awumbila et al. 2008; Quartey 2009; GoG 2010a; Devillard et al. 2016). As a consequence, Ghana's authorities started the process of developing a National Migration Policy.

4.5 National Migration Policy for Ghana

The National Migration Policy document, adopted by the Ghanaian government in April 2016, tackles the scattered policy responses and the fragmented attempts to manage migration in the country. It provides the first holistic approach to migration governance in Ghana.

> "*For the first time in the history of Ghana, the Government of Ghana has formulated a comprehensive National Migration Policy (NMP) to help manage its internal, intra-regional and international migration flows for poverty reduction and sustained national development.*" (GoG 2016, Foreword, vii)

The National Migration Policy constitutes an inclusive framework for the management of all forms of migration with the aim of enhancing the sustainable development of the country. It recognises the influential role migration has played in Ghana's history. While emphasis is put on strengthening the potential of migration for Ghana's development, it also addresses challenges related to migration. The policy was embedded in national and international policy frameworks that guide migration governance in the country, in the region and worldwide. The Constitution of Ghana and Ghana's National Development Plans are guiding principles of the National Migration Policy. Additionally, regional migration governance approaches like the 2006 African Union Strategic Framework for Migration and the 2008 ECOWAS Common Approach on Migration build the basis for the Ghanaian policy document. On the international level, the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) serve as reference point.

The NMP gives an overview of the history of migration in Ghana and acknowledges internal migration, immigration and emigration as the three main migration patterns in Ghana. Furthermore, the policy lists already existing national laws and policies related to migration in the country. This overview is complemented by a presentation of sub-regional, regional and international legal and policy frameworks adopted or ratified by the Government of Ghana.

The main body of the over-150-pages document specifies and investigates the various forms of migration affecting the country. Each type is outlined in detail and supplemented by policy objectives and strategies.

The NMP deals with internal migration, irregular migration, labour migration, the return, readmission and reintegration of emigrant Ghanaians as well as with the increased influx of immigrants like the Fulani pastoralists predominantly in Northern Ghana. All these various issues are discussed in one chapter. The sub-section of irregular migration pays specific attention to human trafficking and smuggling. Labour migration focuses on brain drain, brain circulation, but also on brain waste. Another chapter deals specifically with border management and focuses on high mobility patterns within the West African sub-region and beyond. Forced displacement across borders is another focus area that deals with refugees and asylum seekers in Ghana and their protection. It also addresses strategies of dealing with stateless persons. Further emphasis is put on the environment and climate change in the context of migration. Cross-cutting issues subsume migration and gender, migration and health and migration and vulnerable groups. However, it also touches upon student mobility within and outside the country as well as migration related to tourism and cultural heritage. Migration for trade and service is elaborated on, likewise migration and natural resources which links the discovery of oil and gas to changing internal and international migration dynamics. In terms of international cooperation, the policy highlights the importance of regional and international policies on migration management. It especially emphasizes international labour migration management. Another core of the policy lies on the great potential of emigration for the country's development. Figures show that remittances into Ghana exceed flows of foreign direct investment (FDI) and official development assistance (ODA) (GoG 2016: 69). Engaging the diaspora and its resources is therefore considered a key aspect for development. In this regard, also the provision of the legal basis for dual citizenship plays a significant role in terms of diaspora engagement. As the previous sections have already highlighted, data availability is a major concern in the Ghanaian context to provide adequate information on migration flows. Consequently, the policy sketches out how the capacity of the Ghana Statistical Service (GSS) and other relevant institutions need to be enhanced to build a sound national migration database. It also tackles data sharing among the various stakeholders in the field of migration.

The NMP outlines its envisaged institutional framework for implementation by listing all implementing institutions and organisations for each strategic area and specifying their roles and responsibilities in the appendix. The Inter-ministerial Steering Committee on Migration (IMSCM) that facilitated the policy development and the Migration Unit (MU) under the Ministry of Interior spearhead the NMP's implementation. The MU is especially responsible for setting up the Ghana National Commission on Migration (GNCM). This body made up of representatives from government, academia, NGOs, civil society, interest groups, the diaspora and the media and is tasked with migration management in consonance with the NMP and earmarked as the main coordinator of the NMP implementation.

The policy speaks about resource mobilisation for implementation and gives a central role to the Government of Ghana to provide and mobilise funding. However, this topic is only dealt with very briefly and without any details regarding the acquisition of financial resources.

A first outline of an Action Plan is attached to the policy document. It points out key activities, implementing bodies and expected outcomes to achieve policy objectives. However, it does not set any time frame at all for the activities to be carried out and it does not provide any budget with clear responsibilities.

The NMP addresses a huge variety of topics and issues concerning migration. However, while reading the policy document one gets the feeling that many aspects are just very briefly touched upon. Examples are internal migration, border management and return and reintegration of Ghanaians. A clear focus can be identified on those aspects that have potential to contribute on first sight to the development of the country like diaspora engagement and labour migration. Also, the topic of data management is extensively elaborated on.

5. ANALYSIS: THE NMP FOR GHANA UNDER THE MAGNIFYING GLASS

After an overview of the various migration streams affecting Ghana, the policies and legislations available that reflect the demand for an encompassing policy document and an elaboration on the policy itself with its focus areas and flaws, the next chapter delves into the NMP for Ghana. It starts with the factors that led to the development of the policy and then provides a detailed case description. It tries to reconstruct the policy process timewise based on a compilation of various information collected on how the NMP came about. It then presents actors involved, their roles taken in the policy process and their interests on the policy. The chapter proceeds by analysing each explanatory factor identified in the analytical framework and its role in the NMP for Ghana case in-depth.

5.1 Factors leading to the development of the policy

The research aims at finding out how the above described NMP for Ghana came about. Consequently, this section begins with looking at reasons that led to the idea of developing a migration policy. Interview partners gave their assessment of why the NMP was developed. The analysis of interview material allows to group the provided views in four broad categories: benefits of migration towards national development, the need of addressing various migration streams affecting the country, international migration to Europe as a topic which is ranked high on development partners' agendas and the lack of a coordinated management approach to migration.

A main pattern observed regarding what made the GoG embark on the journey to develop a NMP is first, the contribution migration can provide to the development of the country. The widespread view is that a migration policy will greatly support harvesting the benefits of migration. It is understood as a contribution to economic development and poverty reduction. Whereas due to historical experiences, migration was perceived mainly negatively, the opinion that migration can be good and positive spread since the end of the 1990s (Kleist 2011). To

receive a positive contribution towards development, it needs to be managed well and challenges need to be minimized. A policy is hereby viewed as a step in the right direction. Key in this discourse are remittances. Ghana's large diaspora sends huge sums of money into the country. Estimates have calculated that they make up a significant part of Ghana's GDP (Mazzucato et al. 2008). Another aspect in this category addresses diaspora engagement in terms of skills transfer. One interview partner reports that if the right structures are in place, remittances and expertise of Ghanaians abroad can make a huge contribution to Ghana's development.[7] The importance of using the benefits of migration took on a new dimension in the 2000s with Ghana's uplift towards middle-income country stage as described by a senior researcher at the University of Ghana:

> *"There are so many migrants outside with resources, skills and networks. They present an important source for development, especially when Ghana was declared middle-income country. We didn't have the support we used to have."[8]*

In the context of acquiring alternative sources for the betterment of the country, the development of the NMP was pursued.

A second recurrent pattern concerning the idea of developing a NMP is the need to address various migration streams affecting Ghana as a country, first and foremost internal migration, but also emigration, brain drain and irregular migration. The trigger for the migration policy is seen in the observation of internal migration within the country. This mainly takes the form of rural-urban migration and migration from the rather deprived Northern Ghana to the economically more promising areas in the South. Observations highlighted the phenomenon of *kayayei*. As a response to this development migration was included into National Development Plans, first in 1996.[9] The circumstances inside the country were further characterized by emigration of professionals in the health and education sector to the Global North. This 'brain drain' had a large impact on medical services and educational training. Consequently, officials wanted to regulate the outflow of qualified personal with the NMP and put measures for the enhancement of brain circulation and brain gain in place.[10] On top of that, the country faces emigration of mostly unskilled labour to the Gulf countries. Especially young women move to the region as domestic workers. In the past, reports of human trafficking to these countries and incidences of abuses of migrants have made the GoG issue a temporary ban on recruitment of workers to the Gulf states in May 2017 (Hawkson 2017). Another prevalent migration stream concerns irregular migration to Europe, mainly using the Sahara route. The high numbers of youth unemployment in Ghana are here seen as a cause of letting young men embark on the dangerous journey through the Sahara desert.[11] To develop measures to address these internal movements as well as the risks Ghanaians are exposed to when emigrating, a good policy response was needed.

The third category of factors behind the NMP development spans around the topic of international migration to Europe being high on development partners' agendas. Especially in the 2000s, an increase of Ghanaians to Spain and Italy through illegal migration was observed. This coupled with more and more reports of illegal migrants dying in the Mediterranean Sea on

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[7] Senior Officer, GIZ. Personal Interview. 19.03.2018.

[8] Senior Researcher, Institute of African Studies, University of Ghana. Personal Interview. 21.05.2018.

[9] Senior Civil Servant, National Development Planning Commission. Personal Interview. 20.03.2018.

[10] Senior Researcher, Centre for Migration Studies, University of Ghana. Personal Interview. 07.05.2018.

[11] Senior (ret.) Civil Servant, Ministry of Employment and Labour Relations. Personal Interview. 27.04.2018.

their way to the EU.[12] The media took up the topic and "the cries in Europe on illegal migration were at the forefront of discussions"[13]. Consequently, interview partners argue that migration to Europe is a very current topic at the moment when engaging with development partners from Europe.[14] The GoG was prompted by the EU and IOM to take up the idea of migration management and develop a migration policy for the country.[15] However, this approach was guided by the development partners' interest of regulating global migration movements. As a result, the focus was on international migration.[16]

The fourth pattern of explanations for the emergence of the NMP evolves around the lack of a coordinated migration management approach. In Ghana one finds a scattered migration landscape. Various actors are involved. There are different documents and a number of laws on migration, but one encompassing document is missing which hampers effective coordination and management of migration issues.[17] Because of the absence of a comprehensive policy, only ad-hoc measures have been put in place to address current challenges in the field of migration.[18] Therefore, the need for a policy to guide the migration landscape in Ghana has been expressed. Another but less frequent mentioned factor behind the NMP formulation is the wish to obtain sufficient migration data. In Ghana data collection on migration parameter is scarce. Those information available are with different institutions and agencies.[19] Furthermore, the signature and adherence of certain AU and ECOWAS protocols is believed to have driven the NMP development process.[20]

An analysis of which actor gave what kind of assessment of the driving idea behind the NMP does not reveal a pattern. There is no possibility of referring certain groups of actors to specific factors that led to the policy process. It follows, that actors from the same group identified different reasons for the development of the NMP. It rather seems that individual actors have their own ideas towards NMP development which is partly influenced by their position, but also by the way they are critical towards outside influence on the policy and its topic.

5.2 Timeline of policy process

After examining reasons why the policy came about, the following section presents the whole policy process from problem definition over agenda setting to policy formulation, adoption and implementation. It reconstructs the NMP development chronologically from the first idea to its current state in August 2018.

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[12] Senior Officer - NGO. Personal Interview. 10.05.2018.

[13] Senior Civil Servant, Migration Unit, Ministry of Interior. Personal Interview. 17.04.2018.

[14] Senior Researcher, Centre for Migration Studies, University of Ghana. Personal Interview. 07.03.2018; Mid-Level Civil Servant, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration. Personal Interview. 14.05.2018.

[15] Senior Civil Servant, Ghana Refugee Board. Personal Interview. 10.05.2018.

[16] Senior Researcher, Centre for Migration Studies, University of Ghana. Personal Interview. 07.03.2018.

[17] Senior Researcher, Department of Economics, University of Ghana. Personal Interview. 17.05.2018; Mid-Level Officer, UNHCR Ghana. Personal Interview. 18.05.2018.

[18] Senior Researcher, Regional Institute for Population Studies, University of Ghana. Background Talk. 23.02.2018; Senior Researcher, Centre for Migration Studies, University of Ghana. Personal Interview. 07.03.2018.

[19] Mid-Level Civil Servant, Ghana Investment Promotion Centre. Personal Interview. 12.04.2018; Senior Researcher, Centre for Migration Studies, University of Ghana. Personal Interview. 07.05.2018.

[20] Mid-Level Civil Servant, Ministry of Justice. Personal Interview. 07.05.2018; Senior Officer, ILO. Personal Interview. 15.05.2018.

1. First appearance of migration topic

In the Ghanaian context migration was initially related to population issues. Over the years, the GoG had adopted several programs on population which considered migration as an "integral thing"[21]. The focus on population management in the 1990s culminated in the Revised 1994 National Population Policy of Ghana. This policy document explicitly links migration to development and highlights Ghana's transformation from a country of immigration to a country of emigration. Furthermore, it addresses internal migration from more to less deprived areas (GoG 1994).

In 1996, the National Development Planning Commission (NDPC) addressed migration for the first time in its policy frameworks. Migration appeared in the five-years medium-term National Development Plan 1996-2000. The NDPC is the responsible government agency to work out such National Development Policy Frameworks as directions which are then translated into policies and projects by the various governmental sectors. The first long-term National Development Plan (Ghana Vision 2020) along with its first medium-term plan *Vision 2020: The First Step, 1996-2000* refers to migration in the context of population and urbanization. It acknowledges that migration contributed largely to urban population growth since independence (GoG 1996: 64) and recognizes international migration's significant influence on Ghana's population since 1969 (ibid.: 8). Its successor document, the Ghana Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (GPRS), 2003-2005, a national development plan to meet the MDGs, enhances economic growth and the fight against poverty. It describes rural-urban migration of young people as head porters and street hawkers (GoG 2003: 13, 29). It further identifies poverty as the main driver of migration from the North and demands policies to tackle poverty in sending areas (ibid.: 28). Additionally, the document addresses the topic of emigration of health professionals (ibid.: 111). Apart from policy documents, the GoG under President Kufuor raised awareness for the migration issue with the organisation of the first Homecoming Summit in July 2001. Its objective was to attract Ghanaians in the diaspora to invest in and support the development of Ghana with their skills and potential (Manuh & Asante 2005; Kleist 2011). Moreover, researchers rose awareness. An in-depth situational analysis of migration to and from Ghana which takes the historical roots of mobility within Africa into consideration presented by John Anarfi and Stephen Kwankye (Anarfi et al. 2003) put attention on the issue beyond the academic sphere.[22]

In the international arena, the Cotonou Partnership Agreement (CPA) between the EU and the ACP, signed in June 2000, highlighted the link between migration and development. With inserting a clause on migration, Article 13, the topic was put high on the agenda of EU-ACP cooperation. The clause illustrates very well the different interests of the EU and the ACP on migration. Whereas, Article 13 allows the EU to negotiate readmission agreements with individual countries as a reaction towards irregular migration from Africa to Europe, the ACP states advocated for including the protection of rights of their migrants residing and working in the EU as well as migration policies' impact on development (Vanheukelom et al. 2007). The discussions around the migration-development nexus were put more prominently on the agenda of African governments in general and the Ghanaian government in particular (van Criekinge 2010). Towards the end of 2004, Ghana hosted a conference on the topic under the aegis of the

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[21] Senior Researcher, Institute of African Studies, University of Ghana. Background Talk. 21.05.2018.
[22] Senior Researcher, Centre for Migration Studies, University of Ghana. Personal Interview. 07.05.2018.

UN. The resulting report highlighted the link between migration and development and initiated the idea towards creating a bureau that coordinates the activities of all Ghanaian organisations working on migration (ICMPD).

2. First ideas towards migration management and policy development
The idea of developing a policy in the field of migration was first sketched out by the NDPC in Ghana's Growth and Poverty Reduction Strategy (GPRS II), the national development plan for 2006 to 2009. The main aspect towards migration is listed, among other strategies, in this document under the key focus area Employment "2.2 Develop policies to address seasonal unemployment and migration for young women and men" (GoG 2005: 112). Furthermore, the policy framework recognizes the effects of rural-urban migration in terms of slum development (ibid.: 53) and advocates for public education programmes on the risks of human trafficking and safe migration avenues (ibid.: 120). Although it is rather broadly formulated, the document is often referred to as the first to have talked about policy development related to migration.
Around that time Ghana became a member of the International Organization for Migration (IOM) in November 2005 because it was recognized as "an active partner in the global discussion on migration" (MoI 2017). Ghana's strategy of developing policies to address migration was accompanied by changes in the country, the increase of female head porters in big cities as well as large emigration of teachers and nurses.[23]

3. Establishment of Migration Unit
As a result of the GoG's wish to have a centralized migration management body to be able to deal with the increasing challenges emerging around migration and to harvest its potential for development, the IOM supported the establishment of the Migration Unit (MU). The MU got cabinet approval for set up in 2006. Due to lack of office space, its establishment was delayed until 2008 at the Ministry of Interior. IOM provided financial and technical assistance for its set up (ICMPD: Section 1, 4). The MU is tasked with the coordination of all migration related activities of government institutions. Its main objective is to lead the development of a national migration policy for the country (MoI 2017).
There are voices that claim that the MU establishment was a condition for Ghana's IOM membership (Vezzoli & Lacroix 2010: 22; Kleist 2011: 12f.). The driving role of the IOM in the MU set up is acknowledged by the IOM Ghana itself. The representatives confirm that the idea for the MU was conceived by IOM. However, they argue that the GoG wanted to have a body for centralized migration management and that therefore, they just followed a demand expressed by their partner. Consequently, they supported the GoG.[24] The wish for such a centralized migration management body was maybe voiced in bilateral talks between IOM Ghana and government representatives. However, the researcher does not have access to any public documents that speak about that wish. GPRS II, as described above, looks at migration in the context of employment. This constellation points at different interests existing between the GoG's focus on the migration topic and the IOM as an international actor.

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[23] Senior Civil Servant, National Development Planning Commission. Personal Interview. 20.03.2018.
[24] Mid-Level Officer, IOM Ghana. Personal Interview. 05.04.2018.

4. Establishment of Inter-ministerial Steering Committee on Migration

As the coordinator of the migration policy development, the MU put together an IMSCM in 2009. Members are representatives of government institutions dealing with migration. The NMP itself refers to the IMSCM as "parent body" (GoG 2016: x) which played a key role in the facilitation of the NMP development. After it was set up by cabinet in 2009, it started its meetings and drew up terms of references for a consultancy to draft the migration policy.[25]

Likewise in 2009, the National Migration Profile for Ghana was published. The document, which was compiled in the years before by Peter Quartey, University of Ghana, is the result of an IOM initiative to support the government with a comprehensive policy approach to migration. The National Migration Profile brings migration related data and information from various sources together and provides an overview of the current migration governance landscape. It identifies gaps in the current policy approach to migration and therefore, recommends the development of a migration policy as a holistic approach to migration management in the country. This policy should include all stakeholders on migration as well as spell out specific strategies for improved migration data (Quartey 2009).

5. Begin of National Migration Policy development

The next following National Development Plan, Ghana Shared Growth and Development Agenda (GSGDA, 2010-2013), published in 2010, emphasizes the need for a national migration policy to effectively manage migration. It spends a whole sub-section on the need of using the positive impacts of migration and likewise reducing its negative impacts on development. The policy framework highlights the lack of measures to deal with internal migration due to increasing rural-urban migration because of infrastructure development and extreme environmental conditions. It further addresses the insufficient usage of diaspora resources, the absence of an overarching framework for migration management for development and an increase in irregular migration leading to death (GoG 2010a: 113). The attached matrix which highlights key areas of interventions also provides a section on "Managing Migration for National Development".

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[25] Senior Researcher, Centre for Migration Studies, University of Ghana. Personal Interview. 24.04.2018.

Key focus area	Issues	Policy Objective	Strategies	Implementing and collaborative agencies
15. Managing Migration for National Development	• Absence of institutional regulatory framework for effective management of migration for development • Inadequate mobilisation and utilisation of Diaspora resources • Increasing trend of irregular migration which results in the loss of lives	1. Minimise the negative impact and optimise the potential impact of migration for Ghana's development	1.1 Formulate and promote national migration and development policy 1.2 Mainstream migration into national development frameworks 1.3 Establish national institution for the management of migration for development 1.4 Establish a database on Ghanaians in the Diaspora	

Source: extract from Medium-Term Development Policy Framework, 2010-2013 (GoG 2010a: 268).

Although the National Development Plan from 2010 to 2013 is more precise on the national migration policy and the reasons for its establishment than its predecessor document, the policy objective stated above is still very broad. It mentions these four strategies but it lacks clear responsibilities regarding who is in charge for the activities towards achieving the policy objective. In the extract displayed above, the column in which the responsible actors are supposed to be listed is empty. It shows a lack of commitment by the GoG at this stage. The problem is identified, based on own observations or National Migration Profiles financed by IOM, and it is broadly outlined in the policy framework for the country. But specific measures to address the problem are not provided, just as responsibilities are not assigned to specific actors.

Nevertheless, the IMSCM started with the development of the NMP itself in the last quarter of 2010.[26] The Centre for Migration Studies of the University of Ghana had won the contract for the consultancy and began its work on the migration policy draft in the same year.[27] Before, the ceremony for officially launching the MU was hold in March 2010 (IOM 2011: 46). At first sight it seems surprising that the policy development process started, although the government's commitment appeared rather low. But on second thought it becomes clear that with the provision of funds for policy development, the process could begin.

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[26] Senior (ret.) Civil Servant, Ministry of Employment and Labour Relations. Personal interview. 27.04.2018.
[27] Senior Researcher, Centre for Migration Studies, University of Ghana. Personal Interview. 07.03.2018.

6. Policy drafting 2011-2014

Consequently, in September 2011, the inception of the migration policy development process with all stakeholders took place.[28] It was followed by a series of information gathering, consultations and information compilation into a policy draft.

Phase 1: Situational analysis

Right after the inception meeting the hired consultants started with an analysis of migration in Ghana with the purpose of identifying the key issues and themes on various migration flows that needed to be addressed in the policy. They reviewed literature on migration, looked at the data available, analysed existing policies in Ghana, examined best practices provided by ECOWAS and the AU and studied policies of other institutions dealing with migration in Ghana.[29] At the same time members of the IMSCM also did an intensive literature review, interviewed researchers in the field of migration, visited Nigeria who had just started their NMP development process and tried to collect as many information as possible as emphasized by a member of the IMSCM: "We tried to never miss any conference that had migration as a theme."[30] The aim of the situational analysis was to come up with an initial draft to be discussed within the IMSCM.

Phase 2: Series of stakeholder meetings

After information gathering and writing down of first ideas, the policy developers travelled extensively across the country to gather information from other sources. They went to migration endemic areas and talked to various people who shared their experiences and own migration stories. They held interviews and focus group discussions. They spoke to opinion leaders and other key people.[31] In October 2012, a stakeholder meeting was held in Accra with representatives from governmental institutions as well as selected donors and foreign missions, CSOs and the media. The aim was to review the efforts already done, outline the way forward and make relevant partners aware of the progress achieved so far (Cobbina 2012). The material gathered during stakeholder meetings and the situational analysis culminated in a first policy draft. The IMSCM discussed it, made comments and sent it back to the consultants for revision.[32]

Phase 3: Regional consultations

After the finalisation of a first draft, consultants and members of the IMSCM went to the country for regional consultations and endorsement. They divided the country in segments and presented the policy draft in the southern, middle and northern zone to get people's input and feedback on the document from all parts of the country. According to a member from the

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[28] Mid-Level Officer, IOM Ghana. Personal interview. 05.04.2018.

[29] Mid-Level Officer, IOM Ghana. Personal interview. 05.04.2018; Senior Researcher, Centre for Migration Studies, University of Ghana. Personal Interview. 24.04.2018; Senior (ret.) Civil Servant, Ministry of Employment and Labour Relations. Personal interview. 27.04.2018.

[30] Senior (ret.) Civil Servant, Ministry of Employment and Labour Relations. Personal interview. 27.04.2018.

[31] Mid-Level Officer, IOM Ghana. Personal interview. 05.04.2018; Senior Researcher, Centre for Migration Studies, University of Ghana. Personal Interview. 24.04.2018.

[32] Senior Researcher, Centre for Migration Studies, University of Ghana. Personal Interview. 24.04.2018; Senior (ret.) Civil Servant, Ministry of Employment and Labour Relations. Personal interview. 27.04.2018.

consultant team, this exercise is called "stakeholder buy-in"[33]. Traditional authorities, NGO representatives, students, civil society, implementers and also development partners take part in these consultations. It aims at making all stakeholders aware of what the migration policy is about and collect their feedback. However, these comments are non-binding for the policy developers.[34]

Phase 4: Finalisation of policy draft
Following the country-wide feedback, the consultants included relevant collected information in the policy draft and presented it to the IMSCM. A member of the consultant team describes this phase in the following way: "Five times we went to the IMSCM and they made comments and we went back to make the necessary changes."[35] Eventually, the policy draft was sent to an independent consultant outside the country for feedback. The comments were incorporated and the policy document finalised with the writing of the executive summary. Afterwards it was given to the MoI for the foreword composition.[36]

7. Meetings with parliament and cabinet
In a next step members of the IMSCM held a series of meetings with parliament. Initially, they talked to various committees, before they met with the Parliamentary Select Committee on Defence and Interior under which the migration management topic falls (IOM Ghana 2015a). They intensively discussed and presented the migration policy draft to the committee. Afterwards the document was sent to cabinet to collect feedback. "It got good views" according to an IMSCM insider.[37] Subsequently, IMSCM members had to meet the relevant cabinet sub-committee on the topic and "took on board some of their comments to enrich the document"[38]. The report of the committee was brought to parliament and also discussed there.[39] All these comments and feedback were put together as National Migration Policy for Ghana. In December 2014, a two-day validation workshop with representatives from government agencies took place in Koforidua. Its purpose was to gain high level technical feedback on the policy document to prepare the ground for cabinet approval. Cabinet was expected to review the policy in the first quarter of 2015 (IOM Ghana 2014). Additionally, the IMSCM members gave a one day presentation on the policy at the MoI as the Minister of Interior had to defend the policy at cabinet.[40]
At the same time, the Ghana Shared Growth and Development Agenda II (GSGDA II, 2014-2017), the follow-up National Development Plan, again highlights the lack of a policy to manage migration for development and demands to adopt, promote and implement a National Migration Policy (GoG 2014: 226).

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[33] Senior Researcher, Centre for Migration Studies, University of Ghana. Personal Interview. 24.04.2018.
[34] Senior (ret.) Civil Servant, Ministry of Employment and Labour Relations. Personal interview. 27.04.2018.
[35] Senior Researcher, Centre for Migration Studies, University of Ghana. Personal Interview. 24.04.2018.
[36] Ibid.
[37] Senior (ret.) Civil Servant, Ministry of Employment and Labour Relations. Personal interview. 27.04.2018.
[38] Ibid.
[39] Member of Parliament and Select Committee on Communications, NDC. Background Talk. 29.05.2018.
[40] Senior (ret.) Civil Servant, Ministry of Employment and Labour Relations. Personal interview. 27.04.2018.

8. Policy approval and launch

The NMP eventually received cabinet approval in October 2015 (GNA 2015). Afterwards researchers from the CMS held a training workshop in Ho for policy makers and members of the IMSCM on behalf of the MoI with financial support from IOM. Media representatives were also present. The five-day workshop aimed at providing policy makers with the adequate knowledge for effective policy implementation (Zaney 2015).

On April 5, 2016 the NMP for Ghana was formally launched in Accra. The MoI together with the IMSCM organised the ceremony which was financially supported by IOM, EU, MoF and GIZ (Aidoo & Ogawa 2016). According to an IMSCM insider, the policy got excellent reviews from various people in Ghana but also from other countries. The ECOWAS secretary as well as the AU secretary congratulated Ghana on its achievements towards migration policy formulation.[41] The NMP also serves as an example for other countries. In July 2016, a delegation from Botswana visited Ghana to learn from its experiences in the migration policy development process (Zaney & Jotie 2016).

9. Current state of implementation

More than two years after the launch of the NMP implementation has not yet taken place. The migration commission, foreseen to spearhead the implementation process, has not yet been established. In January 2017, Ghana experienced a change of government. The NDC, under which a major part of the policy development process had taken place, was voted out of office and the opposition party NPP took over. The change in government and the previous focus on the upcoming elections in the second half of 2016 could be one explanation why implementation has been so low. The think tank African Centre for International Law and Accountability (ACILA) criticized officials in a public note that implementation has not started yet. They urged the new government one year after the launch in April 2017 to act quickly towards commission setup, so that the NMP implementation can start (Yeboah 2017).

A representative from IOM explains that his organisation was expecting action from the GoG in 2017 but instead of setting up the migration commission they established the Diaspora Affairs Bureau at the presidency.[42] The bureau aims at mobilising and including human and financial resources of Ghanaians living in the diaspora in the development of Ghana. This shows that the new government prioritizes another aspect related to migration and does not consider the setup of the migration commission urgently important. Different voices explain that they have heard from the MoI in the course of the last year that the MU is working on forming the commission.[43] The lack of funding for establishing the commission has always been named as crucial factor for the delay.

It is striking that the interviewed IOM representative stressed that bits and pieces of the policy are implemented by certain stakeholders. Speaking only for IOM he explained that parts of the policy on return and reintegration have been implemented.[44] A new project launched by the IOM in February 2018 that aims at mainstreaming migration into national development plans to achieve the SDGs might also push the implementation process. It provides, among other

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[41] Ibid.
[42] Mid-Level Officer, IOM Ghana. Personal Interview. 05.04.2018.
[43] Senior Researcher, Centre for Migration Studies, University of Ghana. Personal Interview. 07.03.2018; Insider Migration Management Ghana. Personal Interview. 08.03.2018.
[44] Mid-Level Officer, IOM Ghana. Personal Interview. 05.04.2018.

things, funds for two initiatives from the NMP action plan to be implemented. Furthermore, the Deputy Director of the MU contemplates that this project might be able to push the setup of the GNCM (IOM Ghana 2018). These observations show that the only measures taken towards implementation are carried out with funding from the IOM.

Figure 8 summarizes the policy process chronologically. It begins with the first observations leading to problem definition and then illustrates the main steps and activities undertaken in the policy process. The events below the timeline depict the main incidents directly related to and part of the NMP process. The milestones above the timeline embed the incidents of the NMP process in a wider context of important policies, national development plans, political changes, related publications and events.

After problem definition had taken place, mainly because of the observation of internal North-South migration and emigration of professionals, the topic of formulating a national migration policy was set on the agenda. The national policy framework GPRS II mentioned policy development in this field for the first time. It came along with the IOM membership and the setup of the Migration Unit which is linked to each other. The resulting establishment of the IMSCM paved the way for policy formulation which took place in different phases guided by the IMSCM and the contracted consultants. After cabinet approval the NMP was adopted and officially launched. Subsequently, policy implementation was supposed to start.

Figure 8: Timeline of policy process
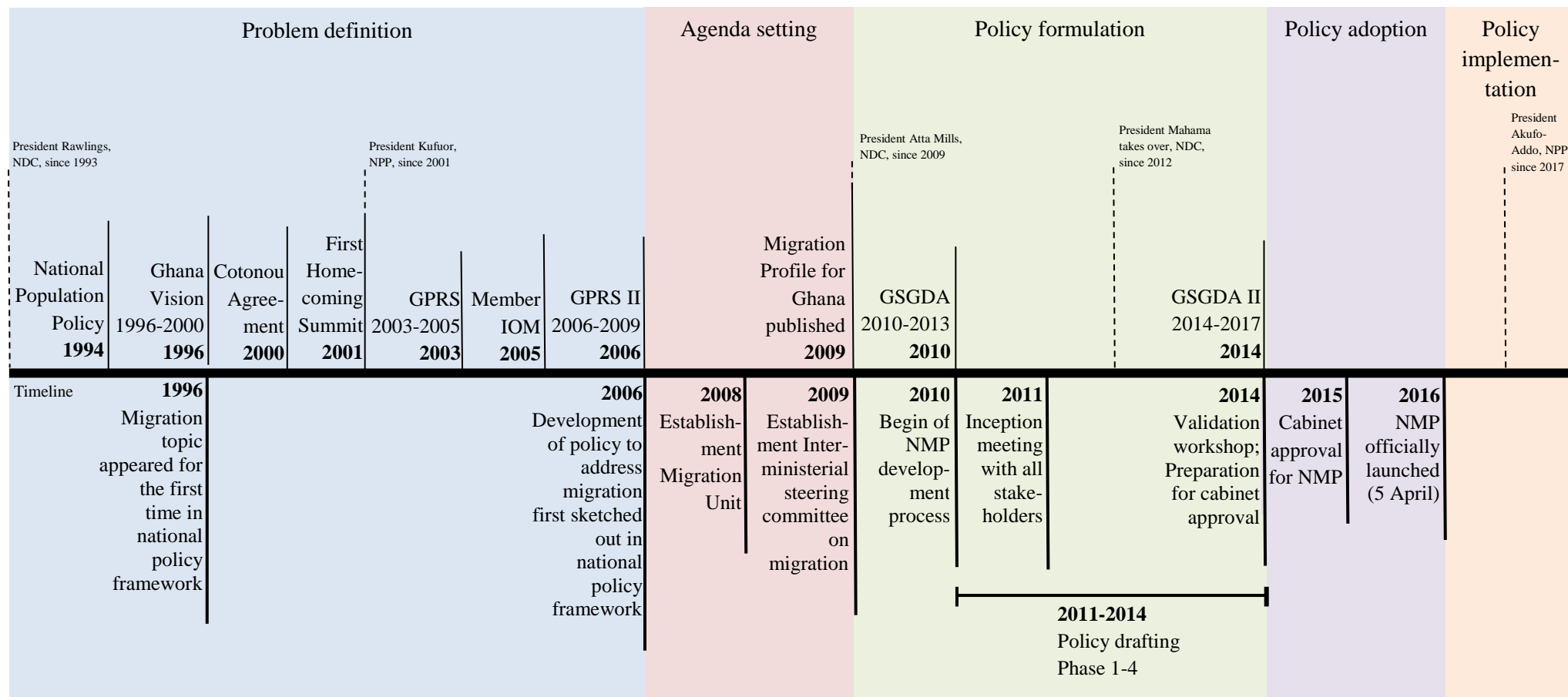
Source: own compilation

The timely reconstruction of the policy process has already shown that at some points there were gaps between the Ghanaian government's approach towards tackling the migration topic and the IOM's conceived ideas. The first National Development Plans brought the issue of migration up, but with Ghana's own specific focus on the topic. The setup of the MU placed the topic more prominently within the Ministry of Interior. But the establishment of the MU comes together with Ghana's membership in the IOM and an increased push for IOM's ideas and interests in the field of migration in Ghana. The MU allows the IOM to channel their interests and bring them close to the government. The GoG benefits from the IOM's provision of financial and technical resources for the MU. At the same time it allows the IOM to cooperate closely with a government agency and push their own migration agenda.

IOM's provision of financial assistance to the MU and the IMSCM to develop the migration policy then also explains why the policy process started. Funds were available for this project. A former civil servant at the MoFA describes policy development based on the provision of funding in Ghana:

> *"But you know in our part of the world, things are mostly driven by donor guidance. There is money for migration policy. So we go and take it and we say 'we are doing it'. When the money is finished, we say 'okay, where is the next money?' The next money is there. Then we go and take it. We shelf the other and we continue with this one. That is how our policy development process is. They have gained their directions which is unfortunate."[45]*

The policy process reveals a heavy reliance on outside support. Because funding was available from international actors policy development began. Consequently, the main reason why implementation has not started yet is because the GoG is waiting for a donor agency to offer support in the implementation phase. The GoG knows that they can rely on their international partners.

> *"GIZ supported through the CIM programme with the printing of the policy for dissemination and they have still not disseminated. You know, IOM is supporting them with capacity training and so on. [...] They are now waiting for another support to do the dissemination."[46]*

It seems that action starts as soon as outside funding is available. As described in the quotation above, after the NMP there was money available to formulate a Diaspora Engagement Policy in 2015 and 2016. Interview partners stressed that it came up as a recommendation from the NMP. It aims at creating provisions to secure the benefits of migration for Ghana. Topics included, among others, are diaspora investments, the costs of remittances, data of Ghanaian migrants, recommendations to integrate returnees and collaborations with hometown associations.[47] The policy development process had a very similar form to that of the NMP. The MoFA and its Diaspora Unit were the leading governmental institution behind the policy. The CMS drafted the policy.[48] The policy developers collected views from abroad which were, according to a representative from the GIPC, shaped by diaspora organisations. All information gathered were put together. Afterwards regional consultations took place, before a draft was

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[45] Insider Migration Management Ghana. Personal Interview. 08.03.2018.

[46] Ibid.

[47] Senior Researcher, Institute of African Studies, University of Ghana. Personal Interview. 21.05.2018.

[48] Senior Researcher, Centre for Migration Studies, University of Ghana. Personal Interview. 07.03.2018.

presented.[49] Funding for the policy came mainly through ECOWAS which got funds for this project from the EU and the Spanish government.[50] IOM was then the implementer on the ground, providing technical support and encouraging the GoG to start the process. One GIPC representative describes the procedure in the following way "IOM managed to get funding to run us through [...]."[51] However, it was not passed before the NDC government left office in December 2016. It is currently at cabinet.[52] Additionally, the process of formulating a Labour Migration Policy for Ghana has just begun. A voice from the Labour Department says "The idea of a Labour Migration Policy has been on the drawing board of the Ministry of Employment and Labour Relations for long, but because of financial constraints it was not taken up."[53] The Support to Free Movement of Persons and Migration in West Africa (FMM West Africa), an initiative jointly funded by EU and ECOWAS, and implemented by IOM, ILO and ICMPD is behind the development of a national labour migration policy. A first workshop in which the GoG together with the facilitating organisations started the policy development process was held in April 2018 in Mankessim, Ghana (FMM West Africa 2018). It is argued that the need for a labour migration policy stems from the insufficient recognition of labour migration in the NMP.[54]

The processes of formulating a Diaspora Engagement and a Labour Migration Policy, both dealing with migration aspects touched upon in the NMP, at a point where the NMP has not yet been implemented, shows the Ghanaian government has already shifted the focus to new projects for which money is made available.

Additionally, the insights into the policy drafting and the way stakeholders were consulted shows that the whole policy process is characterized by high-level stakeholder involvement. The composition of the IMSCM is discussed in the following section. However, the mention of the process of "stakeholder buy-in"[55] during regional consultations leads to the question why certain stakeholders, specifically those who have expertise and insights into the situation on the ground and who are potential implementers of the policy, were not included into the policy process from the beginning. Why do they need to be 'bought' at a later stage instead of making sure their voices are heard and their views are included right from the beginning? A representative from a CSO highlights this aspect:

> "Civil society reaches where government can't reach, but they were left out by policy makers in the policy process. [...] The NMP only involved state organisations. Now

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[49] Mid-Level Civil Servant, Ghana Investment Promotion Centre. Personal Interview. 12.04.2018.

[50] Senior Researcher, Centre for Migration Studies, University of Ghana. Personal Interview. 07.05.2018; Senior Researcher, Regional Institute for Population Studies, University of Ghana. Background Talk. 23.02.2018.

[51] Senior (ret.) Civil Servant, Ghana Investment Promotion Centre. Background Talk. 18.04.2018.

[52] According to an interview partner, the Diaspora Engagement Policy was not passed under the NDC government because the Minister of Foreign Affairs at that time was not supportive and did not help the policy developers pushing the policy through. One reason might be that parts of the policy are very political as it envisages voting rights for Ghanaians in the diaspora. The current government has not shown a lot of interest in adopting the Diaspora Engagement Policy because no attempts have been made to pass it. It rather looks like the current government wants to start the policy process for a Diaspora Engagement Policy again (Senior (ret.) Civil Servant, Ghana Investment Promotion Centre. Background Talk. 18.04.2018). However, in a background talk a representative of the newly formed Diaspora Affairs Bureau at the presidency stressed that his agency is currently working at getting the Diaspora Engagement Policy ratified (Senior Civil Servant, Diaspora Affairs Bureau, Office of the President. Background talk. 20.03.2018).

[53] Senior Civil Servant, Labour Department. Personal Interview. 27.04.2018.

[54] Senior Officer, ILO. Personal Interview. 15.05.2018.

[55] Senior Researcher, Centre for Migration Studies, University of Ghana. Personal Interview. 24.04.2018.

> *they [GoG] want to empower civil society organisations to take up the implementation, although they were not involved from the beginning. That's a wrong assumption."[56]*

The inclusion of civil society actors into the policy process is a crucial aspect, also for the implementation which has not yet started. Here one can observe another gap; this time between the GoG's and researchers' perception on the one side and civil society organisations on the other side. The former decide of who is eligible for participating in policy making and who is only asked for inputs at one or two meetings. The latter want to be heard and equally participate as they claim to be the experts on the ground based on their daily work experience.

5.3 Actors, their roles and interests in the policy process

The chronological reconstruction of the NMP development process has already given a vague idea of the variety of actors involved in the policy process. It has also touched upon certain discrepancies between government institutions and CSOs, but also between the financers from the development partner side and the government. As a consequence, this section presents the variety of actors involved in the policy process, the roles they have taken as well as the interests they pursued. For a better structure, the actors are grouped into categories they belong to: government institutions, academia, development partners[57] and civil society organisations. For government institutions a differentiation is made between ministries, departments and agencies.[58]

With the examination of actors' interest in the policy, this section also delves into the first explanatory factor identified in the analytical framework.

5.3.1 Government institutions – ministries

A central ministry in the policy process is the Ministry of Interior (MoI) with its Migration Unit. It describes itself as "host of the policy"[59]. The Migration Unit is the government agency tasked with the development of the policy and sees itself as leading agency in the process.[60] Moreover, it is responsible for the coordination of all activities related to migration in the country (MoI 2017). The MU set up the IMSCM to coordinate the drafting of the NMP. The IMSCM members established the terms of references for engaging the consultants.[61] Additionally, the IMSCM determined a chairman to lead a IMSCM working group on the migration policy who did itself research on migration issues affecting Ghana, visiting conferences on the topic and collecting views from in- and outside the country.[62]

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[56] Senior Officer, NGO. Personal Interview. 16.03.2018.

[57] Development partners are understood as governmental aid agencies which include bilateral donors (countries), but also multilateral donors (e.g. EU) and international organisations (e.g. IOM, ILO) as they are mostly financed by governmental aid agencies.

[58] A ministry is a governmental body presided by a minister. Ghana has currently 23 ministries under president Akufo-Addo's administration. A department is understood as a distinct division or directorate within the ministry. The Migration Unit within the Ministry of Interior serves as an example. An agency is a governmental bureau or organisation that operates on its own but is subordinated to a ministry, e.g. Ghana Police Service, Ghana Immigration Service are both under the Ministry of Interior.

[59] Senior Civil Servant, Migration Unit, Ministry of Interior. Personal Interview. 17.04.2018.

[60] Ibid.

[61] Senior Researcher, Centre for Migration Studies, University of Ghana. Personal Interview. 24.04.2018.

[62] Senior (ret.) Civil Servant, Ministry of Employment and Labour Relations. Personal Interview. 27.04.2018.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration (MoFA) is also concerned with migration policy development. It looks at the topic largely from the diaspora perspective. In the policy process it gathered and provided information through the Ghanaian missions abroad operating under its auspices.[63] In 2012, it founded a Diaspora Affairs Unit to keep record of all Ghanaians living abroad as well as to facilitate diaspora engagement in Ghana (SIHMA 2014: 35).

Incorporating labour migration in the NMP document was the interest of the Ministry of Employment and Labour Relations (MoELR). Especially addressing youth unemployment is at the core of the ministry's efforts in the process.[64] Furthermore, its mandate tasks the ministry and the Labour Migration Unit operating under it with reintegrating Ghanaian migrants into the labour market who returned voluntarily or through deportation (SIHMA 2014: 35). The MoELR provided the chairman of the IMSCM working group on the migration policy.

Within the Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Protection (MoGCSP), it is mainly the Human Trafficking Secretariat which works on migration issues. Its interest was to address children and gender related issues of migration in the NMP. The secretariat largely focuses on internal migration of independent children and young adults for various reasons, from engaging in economic activities, running away from harsh cultural practices and extreme weather conditions up to education-induced migration. They are also concerned with migration abroad for working purposes.[65]

The Ministry of Justice (MoJ) saw its role in the policy development in advocating for the legal features and human rights aspects of migration related topics.[66] In contrast, the Ministry of Finance (MoF) did not contribute content-wise in the NMP process, but took part to develop an understanding of the topic and to get an overview of the work the various sectors are currently involved in. Being informed about the ministries' priorities helps them to better comprehend their budget plans.[67]

Further ministries involved in the IMSCM were the Ministry of Education (MoE) to foster education mobility for Ghanaians and foreigners, the Ministry of Health (MoH) to ensure the stay and reintegration of health professionals in the country, the Ministry of Trade and Industry (MoTI) to attract investments from the Ghanaian diaspora and the Ministry of Tourism, Culture and Creative Arts (MoTCCA) to promote tourism and engage the diaspora to visit or return to Ghana (SIHMA 2014; GoG 2016).

5.3.2 Government institutions – departments and agencies

An important government institution from the department and agency level is the National Development Planning Commission (NDPC) which can be classified as the main planning authority of Ghana. It is responsible for analysing the socio-economic situation of the country and proposing medium- and long-term plans for the development of Ghana (NDPC 2015). Their National Development Policy Frameworks give planning directions for the various sectors as well as regional and district authorities. Planning directions are then put into policies and further translated into programmes and projects by sectors. The NDPC is also responsible for

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[63] Mid-Level Civil Servant, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration. Personal Interview. 14.05.2018.
[64] Senior (ret.) Civil Servant, Ministry of Employment and Labour Relations. Personal interview. 27.04.2018.
[65] Mid-Level Civil Servant, Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Protection. Personal Interview. 17.05.2018.
[66] Mid-Level Civil Servant, Ministry of Justice. Personal Interview. 07.05.2018.
[67] Mid-Level Civil Servant, Ministry of Finance. Background Talk. 09.05.2018.

monitoring and evaluation to make sure that programmes and projects are in line with outlined objectives. Annual progress reports give an overview of achievements and implementation challenges.[68] In the case of the NMP, the NDPC understands itself as "policy initiator"[69]. According to the information gathered, the NDPC has analysed the situation in Ghana and as a consequence looked at migration issues in their policy frameworks.

> *"We observed outmigration. Ghanaians moving out internally, kayayei. It has always been an issue. We needed a policy to guide whatever this phenomenon is. In 1996 we started looking at migration issues in policy frameworks."[70]*

The NDPC considers itself very influential and sees its role in the NMP process in supporting the MoI in policy development with technical input.[71]

Ghana Immigration Service (GIS) which operates under the MoI is the government agency with the sole mandate of regulating and monitoring the entry, residence, employment and exit of foreign nationals in Ghana (PNDC Law 226, 1989, renewed and expanded through Immigration Act, 2000). Its strategic objectives are migration management in the national interest, defence against irregular migration and enhancing national security (GIS 2010: 13). GIS operates a Migration Information Bureau (MIB) since 2006. It has a Refugee Unit, a Migration Unit and a Migration Information Unit. The aim is to sensitize potential migrants, provide counselling on safe migration and warn about the dangers of irregular migration (Manuh et al. 2010). In-coming refugees and asylum seekers are advised and often send further to the Ghana Refugee Board (GRB). Due to the fact that many movements of irregular migration start in the Brong Ahafo region, GIS set up a Migration Information Centre (MIC) in Sunyani in 2015 which serves the same purpose.[72]

The representative of GIS interviewed considers the role of GIS very pivotal in the NMP development process because GIS is mainly concerned with international migration and population control and brings these aspects in to the policy preparations.[73] In its Strategic Plan 2011-2015 GIS acknowledges the lack of a comprehensive migration policy for Ghana and lists the contribution to the NMP formulation as one project for this time frame. To include GIS interests in the NMP, it envisages playing a leading role in the definition and implementation of the policy, but also wants to cooperate with other migration stakeholders in the country. The detailed activities under this project include the setup of a technical in-house committee to develop GIS inputs into the NMP and to hand over these recommendations to the IMSCM. These activities are planned for the year 2012 with an allocated budget of 17.000 GHC (GIS 2010: 66). In the annual report 2016 GIS reflects upon the implementation stage of the support to the NMP project. GIS played an active role in drafting and implementing the policy. Moreover, an Action Plan for implementation has been worked out and stakeholder sensitization of that plan took place (GIS 2016: 18).

Another government agency with specific interests in the NMP development is the Diaspora Unit which was established around 2012 at the MoFA. It aims at using the benefits of the Ghanaian diaspora for the development of the country and therefore advocates for having the

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[68] Senior Civil Servant, National Development Planning Commission. Personal Interview. 20.03.2018.
[69] Ibid.
[70] Senior Civil Servant, National Development Planning Commission. Personal Interview. 20.03.2018.
[71] Ibid.
[72] Senior Civil Servant, Ghana Immigration Service. Personal Interview. 02.05.2018.
[73] Ibid.

various potentials of migration addressed in the policy.[74] Apart from encouraging diaspora engagement for national development, the unit sets up a databank of Ghanaians living outside and collaborates with other government institutions to foster diaspora investment (SIHMA 2014: 35f.). One of these agencies is the Ghana Investment Promotion Centre (GIPC) which provides information on investments in the country. It works towards creating an enabling environment for investments. Special emphasis is put on Ghanaians in the diaspora. They receive support with facilitating their business or investment ideas. Additionally, GIPC offers assistance for potential investors in terms of legal and administrative requirements.[75]

Ghana Refugee Board (GRB), also an agency under the MoI, is the body mandated with coordinating all refugee related activities in Ghana which include the management of refugee camps and advice to government on refugee issues. Furthermore, it is the only agency responsible for assigning the refugee status to asylum seekers. It works closely with UNHCR Ghana. The board was an integral part of the policy formulation process and made sure that asylum and refugee issues are addressed in the NMP.[76]

Next to the MoGCSP, the promotion of human trafficking aspects of migration in the NMP document was also the interest of the Anti-Human Trafficking Unit of the Ghana Police Service.[77] The unit addresses human trafficking inside and beyond Ghana. Its representative on the IMSCM served as the focal person for anti-human trafficking issues in the policy development process.[78]

Ghana Statistical Service (GSS) is the government agency tasked with the provision of data. They conduct the Ghana Living Standards Survey which is held every five years. This survey contains a chapter on migration in Ghana. They also carry out the Population and Housing Census which was conducted for the last time in 2010 and includes information on migration. Consequently, GSS was eager to include the migration data topic in the NMP. As most policy documents do not tackle upon data collection, processing and provision, "I sold the idea that if we develop a migration policy, we have to ensure the data aspect."[79] All reports concerning migration require knowledge of migration flows and therefore, there is need for adequate migration data management as voiced by GSS.[80]

The Labour Department represented in the NMP development ensured the incorporation of labour migration aspects,[81] whereas the National Population Council (NPC) advocated for migration from the population perspective.[82] Likewise, the Bank of Ghana contributed to the policy process by presenting precise overviews of official remittance flows into Ghana based on their own records (Quartey 2009).

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[74] Insider Migration Management Ghana. Personal Interview. 08.03.2018.
[75] Mid-Level Civil Servant, Ghana Investment Promotion Centre. Personal Interview. 12.04.2018.
[76] Senior Civil Servant, Ghana Refugee Board. Personal Interview. 10.05.2018.
[77] It is beyond the knowledge of the author whether other departments and units of Ghana Police Service were part of the IMSCM and the NMP development process.
[78] Representative of Anti-Human Trafficking Unit, Ghana Police Service. Personal Interview. 06.04.2018.
[79] Senior Civil Servant, Ghana Statistical Service. Personal Interview. 21.05.2018.
[80] Ibid.
[81] Senior Civil Servant, Labour Department. Personal Interview. 27.04.2018.
[82] Senior Civil Servant, National Population Council. Personal Interview. 14.05.2018.

5.3.3 Academia

In the case of the NMP, the Centre for Migration Studies (CMS) was the leading academic institution in the policy development process. A reason for this constellation is to be found in the special setup of the CMS. Different from other academic centres, it is not only mandated with conducting research, teaching students and training practitioners in the field of migration, but also specifically with policy formulation. The CMS was established in 2006 as part of the University of Ghana as the first Centre for Migration Studies in West Africa. It offers Masters and PhD programmes in Migration Studies. However, it relies on other research institutes and departments of University of Ghana for the majority of its staff. Therefore, it approaches migration issues from a multidisciplinary point of view.[83]

A researcher at the CMS highlights that although Ghana wanted to have migration managed through a migration policy, the initial focus of the policy was on international migration. This was due to the fact that international partners who provided the necessary funding had an interest in managing global streams and wanted to have trafficking, smuggling and irregular migration addressed. So they pushed for policy development. This approach neglected other migration flows, especially internal migration issues in Ghana.[84] But using their position as advisors in the policy process, the CMS shifted the policy focus also to internal migration. In the words of a CMS researcher:

> *"[…] the main focus was on international migration but the centre's interest and the developments of the time brought on board issues of internal migration, rural-urban migration. That was a problem."*[85]

As a result, a more encompassing policy was developed. An interdisciplinary team of researchers from the CMS then won the contract to develop the NMP after having submitted a concept note to the IMSCM. The then Director of the CMS, Professor Mariama Awumbila, a geographer by profession, led the consulting team. It further comprised of Professor Peter Quartey (Department of Economics), Professor Stephen Kwankye (Regional Institute for Population Studies, RIPS) and Yaw Benneh (School of Law) (GoG 2016: xi).

5.3.4 Development partners

The International Organization for Migration (IOM) is an intergovernmental organisation and UN agency working on the topic of migration. It was founded in 1951 and is guided by the assumption that migration contributes positively towards society and migrants themselves, if well governed. "Migration Policy" marks one of its fields of work under which IOM supports and facilitates the development of national, regional and global migration policies and strategies (IOM 2017a). The GoG and IOM collaborate through various projects and programmes since 1987. Initially, IOM supported the return of highly qualified Ghanaians living in the diaspora to come back and help the development of the country. At the beginning of the 2000s, it expanded its activities to assistance for refugees in Ghana, counter-trafficking programmes, voluntary return and reintegration projects, migration health, labour migration and migration

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[83] Senior Researcher, Centre for Migration Studies, University of Ghana. Personal Interview. 07.03.2018.
[84] Senior Researcher, Centre for Migration Studies. Personal Interview. 07.03.2018; Senior Researcher, Centre for Migration Studies. Personal Interview. 24.04.2018.
[85] Senior Researcher, Centre for Migration Studies, University of Ghana. Personal Interview. 07.03.2018.

and development. It hereby collaborates with the responsible government MDAs as well as NGOs, academia and civil society representatives (IOM 2011: 18f.).

Under the project "Migration and Development" in Ghana, IOM supported the GoG in centralizing their migration management. As a result the MU at MoI was set up in 2008. IOM further assisted the MU to enable the development of a migration policy for Ghana.[86] This activity is part of IOM's initiative of "Developing a Migration Policy to integrate Migration into the National Development Framework for Ghana". IOM Ghana's Strategic Plan 2011-2015 provides a list of interventions on this project, first and foremost the development of a comprehensive migration management and development policy for Ghana. Other interventions include assistance to the IMSCM, the start of a national migration database, the incorporation of migration into national development plans and the supply of technical support to MDAs working of migration. The project is funded by the IOM Development Fund (IDF). This funding mechanism was established in 2001 to support IOM member states to be able to establish migration management policies and practices and aligning them with their national development frameworks. The required funding for the migration management project in Ghana is calculated with USD 550,000 in the Strategic Plan 2011-2015 (IOM 2011: 54; IOM Ghana 2015b).

The precise work of IOM Ghana in the NMP development was mainly to facilitate the policy process. IOM was part of the IMSCM as an observer. The organisation hired some of the consultants and brought all stakeholders together for a nationwide stakeholder meeting. Additionally, they provided financial support to workshops and meetings of the IMSCM outside Accra. After the finalisation of the policy draft in 2014, IOM provided further assistance through a follow-up project with a volume of USD 150,000 from August 2014 to April 2016. Next to the adoption of a NMP, this project envisaged the development of an implementation framework and a training programme on the NMP for policy makers and practitioners. Activities included holding validation workshops, striving for cabinet approval of the NMP, organising sensitization workshops, preparing and carrying out the policy launch as well as developing and conducting trainings for policy makers (IOM Development Fund 2017). The IOM Ghana Annual Report 2016 gives account of the policy launch as achievement in the year 2016 (IOM 2017b: 41).

The European Union (EU) provided support to the elaboration of the migration policy through the 10th European Development Fund (EDF). They recommended and invited experts to the policy development process. Moreover, the EU assisted financially in logistical set ups like the hotel rents for meetings. They ensure that the GoG is given the type of support they need and demand. The EU largely provides funds to the IOM to finance their activities. The IOM then functions as implementing agency.[87]

Cooperation between the EU and Ghana on migration started in 2007. That is when the issue of readmission agreements was discussed for the first time between the two parties. After long discussions between the EU and ACP, the Cotonou Agreement eventually entailed a readmission clause. It envisages bilateral negotiation between the EU and ACP for the readmission and return of their nationals as well as third country nationals (van Criekinge 2010;

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[86] Mid-Level Officer, IOM Ghana. Personal Interview. 05.04.2018.
[87] Senior Officer, EU Delegation to Ghana. Personal Interview. 18.04.2018.

Koeb & Hohmeister 2010). These negotiations served as a starting point of cooperation between the EU and Ghana on migration control. However, the resulting statement focused more on a holistic framework of migration management, including the development aspect.[88] Consequently, the EU provided financial support from the EDF and the Aeneas programme[89] to assist migration management in Ghana. It is not very actively engaged in implementation on the ground. This role is rather taken over by IOM and UNDP (van Criekinge 2010). The EU relies hereby on IOM's expertise and experience in the field to push through their agenda in non-EU states (Pécoud 2018).

The EDF is the funding instrument for EU development cooperation. It is an intergovernmental fund outside the EU budget and the main mechanism through which EU member states channel their development assistance to the ACP. The 10th EDF ran from 2008 to 2013 (D'Alfonso 2014). One of the projects funded by the EDF is the development of the NMP.

German International Cooperation (GIZ) is an enterprise working on behalf of the German Government in the field of international cooperation for sustainable development. The German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation Development (BMZ) is its main commissioning party (GIZ 2017). In Ghana, the GIZ cooperates with the GoG, private organisations and civil society groups since 1983. Currently, GIZ Ghana works in the three focal areas agriculture, governance and sustainable economic development. However, the GIZ is in Ghana also active under the programme "Migration for Development", a programme implemented in 24 partner countries. This includes one component on migration policy advice which aims at developing migration strategies with governments and organisations (GIZ 2018). The GIZ was part of the IMSCM working group on the NMP as an observer. The representatives were allowed to raise their opinions but not to vote. In the policy development process GIZ provided financial support to some workshops.[90]

Additionally, according to information gathered during the interviews held, the International Labour Organization (ILO) was also part of the IMSCM to make sure that decent work is mainstreamed in the migration policy for Ghana.[91] The Development Programme of the UN (UNDP) facilitated some first meetings of migration experts in Ghana towards the beginning of the NMP formulation process and contributed financially. In the course of the process they withdrew from it.[92] In the acknowledgements of the NMP document the Department for International Development (DFID) is mentioned as having provided financial support to stakeholder consultation workshops during the NMP development (GoG 2016: xii).

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[88] According to interview information, readmission negotiations between the EU and Ghana have not been successful. The Ghanaian government has not agreed on readmission agreements (Insider Migration Management Ghana. Personal Interview. 08.03.2018.).

[89] The "Aeneas" programme is a thematic instrument of the European Commission to finance migration related projects in third countries from 2004 to 2006 (EC (2004)).

[90] Senior Officer, GIZ. Personal Interview. 19.03.2018.

[91] Senior Officer, ILO. Personal Interview. 15.05.2018.

[92] Senior Reseracher, Centre for Migration Studies, University of Ghana. Personal Interview. 24.04.2018; Senior Researcher, Regional Institute for Population Studies, University of Ghana. Background Talk. 23.02.2018.

5.3.5 Civil society organisations

The inclusion of civil society organisations in the policy process varied greatly. Whereas one research and civil society organisation was part of the committee that formed the NMP, other CSOs were consulted every now and then during the policy formulation process and could provide their views and their specific knowledge from the ground during stakeholder meetings and consultations within the country.

To the researcher's knowledge the following CSO was part of the IMSCM:
- Research & Counselling Foundation for African Migrants (RECFAM)

The following CSOs were observers during the policy process or were partly consulted:
- Africa Centre for International Law and Accountability (ACILA)
- Friends of the Nation
- Media Response
- Migrant Watch & Skilled Revolution Front
- Sahara Hustlers Association
- Scholars in Transit

Reactions towards these different forms of civil society inclusion are twofold. The representative from the Migration Unit stresses "There were avenues for civil society to join the process."[93] Moreover, a senior officer at GIZ emphasizes "Civil society and municipal assemblies were included during sensitization."[94] These perceptions show that these representatives regard the level of civil society consideration to be sufficient. They do not question the imbalance in the policy process between government institutions and development partners on the one side and civil society on the other side. They rather give the impression that the set up seems normal to them. However, interviews with CSO representatives reveal that they were not satisfied with the way the grassroots were included in the policy-making process.

> "They invited us to deliberate on one or two things regarding the NMP. But we wished to be included in the drafting process. If we were involved, we would have suggested one or two things."[95]

The reason for the partially consideration of CSOs is described with their lack of capacity and the fact that they are "not properly constituted to obtain involvement in the process"[96]. CSOs with migration focus are only a few. Some are criticized because of their lack of capacity and professionalism as one interview partner highlights:

> "They don't have a lot of capacity but they bring real life experience together. Most of them are not well educated. They travelled and then they felt they must organise themselves to sensitize their colleagues. But beyond that nothing more to good policy contributions."[97]

The quote hints at organisations founded by returnees. Some Ghanaians who embarked on the dangerous journey through the Sahara desert to Libya and then to Europe came back with the intention to educate the public on the dangers of illegal migration. They started organisations

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[93] Senior Civil Servant, Migration Unit, Ministry of Interior. Personal Interview. 17.04.2018.
[94] Senior Officer, GIZ. Personal Interview. 19.03.2018.
[95] Founder of NGO. Personal Interview. 26.04.2018.
[96] Senior Officer, NGO. Personal Interview. 16.03.2018.
[97] Insider Migration Management Ghana. Personal Interview. 08.03.2018.

to raise awareness and carry out projects. A huge challenge for them, but also for other CSOs with different backgrounds, is funding. The majority of CSOs in Ghana in the field of migration lack financial resources and therefore also the support to develop the necessary capacities. Consequently, a CSO representative advocates for more donor support for CSOs.

> *"Development partners, like GIZ, should also look at support they want to provide to non-state actors on implementation. [...] Development aid should consider to fund civil society to be within the framework of a policy."*[98]

The research civil society organisation RECFAM shows that this is possible. It was part of the IMSCM. The representative interviewed at RECFAM describes it as a privilege to be invited to play a role in the policy process. But it is important to consider that RECFAM has special access. "We are known within state level."[99] It shows that personal connections play a huge role for the consideration within policy-making.

Figure 9 aims at depicting a summarizing overview of the NMP process in terms of the actors involved. The core shows the members of the IMSCM known to the researcher. They comprise of, as presented in the section above, the examined government institutions, academia, development partners and a civil society organisation. An inter-ministerial steering committee is usually only made up of government agencies.[100] However, in the case of the IMSCM it comprises of "representatives of key MDAs dealing with migration" (GoG 2016: x) and representatives from the Centre for Migration Studies (CMS) at the University of Ghana. In addition, the IOM and the GIZ with two seats were part of the IMSCM. They were invited for contributions but did not have any voting power.[101] Moreover, the civil society organisation RECFAM was part of the committee due to its special connection to government institutions and development partners involved. The consultants from the CMS who wrote the policy belong to academia and exchanged constantly with the IMSCM members.

Not involved in the IMSCM setup and in the direct NMP development process were other civil society organisations, traditional authorities, faith-based organisations, the media and the wider public. They were only invited to specific consultation meetings where they could provide input which was non-binding for the policy developers from the IMSCM. However, their role and inputs are acknowledged in the NMP document. That is why they are displayed in the outer area of the graphic in Figure 9.

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[98] Senior Officer, NGO. Personal Interview. 04.04.2018.
[99] Senior Officer - NGO. Personal Interview. 10.05.2018.
[100] Senior Civil Servant, Migration Unit, Ministry of Interior. Personal Interview. 17.04.2018.
[101] Senior Officer, GIZ. Personal Interview. 19.03.2018.

Figure 9: Actors involved in the NMP development process

Consultations

Non-governmental Organisations

The Public

Faith-based Organisations

Policy drafting

Inter-ministerial steering committeee on migration

Government Institutions

Ministries

Ministry of Interior
Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Ministry of Employment and Labour
  Relations
Ministry of Gender
Ministry of Justice
Ministry of Finance
Ministry of Education
Ministry of Health
Ministry of Trade and Industry
Ministry of Tourism

Departments and Agencies

National Development Planning
  Commission
Ghana Immigration Service
Labour Department
Diaspora Unit
Ghana Refugee Board
Ghana Police Service
Ghana Statistical Service
Ghana Investment Promotion Centre
National Population Council
Bank of Ghana

Academia

Centre for
Migration Studies

**Consultants:
Centre for
Migration
Studies**

Prof Awumbila
Prof Kwankye
Prof Quartey
Prof Benneh

**Development
Partners**

IOM
EU
GIZ
ILO
UNDP
DFID

**Civil Society
Organisations**

Recfam

Civil Society Organisations

Traditional Authorities

The Media

Source: own compilation

The whole IMSCM set up shows that civil society was neglected in the NMP process. Their approval was gained during "stakeholder buy-in", but their own ideas for designing the policy were not included right from the beginning. This reflects the power structure during policy development in which government institutions and development partners as the funders had the greatest say. Detailed examination of actors' power in the policy process follows in the next sections. But it can already be concluded that the way of considering CSOs has implications for implementation and ownership of the policy. As expressed by one CSO representative, CSOs are often the implementers on the ground. Therefore, collaboration with them right from the beginning is essential for successfully putting a policy in place.[102]

Traditional authorities were likewise consulted during regional meetings because their approval has to be gained to implement any policy on the ground. It is therefore striking that the presentation of the draft policy is expected to be sufficient to achieve consent of traditional authorities on the topic.

Additionally, diaspora organisations are completely missing in the whole policy process. The timely reconstruction of policy development has illustrated the stakeholders consulted, but it seems that this only included stakeholders within the country. The Ghanaian diaspora lives in many different countries and has organised itself in various organisations (Mazzucato & Kabki 2009; Mörath 2015). It is surprising that they are not considered in the policy process, especially as the policy aims at using migration for development. Ghanaians abroad play a pivotal role for investments and skill acquisition in the country. This is one of the central messages of the NMP. It seems that the flaw of insufficiently incorporating diaspora organisations in the policy process was tried to be tackled with the Diaspora Engagement Policy. Here, views from abroad were collected and according to the representative of the GIPC policy was shaped by diaspora groups.[103] One reason could be the availability of funds to engage with diaspora organisations which were rather accessible in the Diaspora Engagement Policy process. Nevertheless, the neglect of diaspora organisations within the NMP has implications for the implementation success of the policy.

5.4 Actor's position on and perception of rate of importance of the policy

The examination of all the actors involved has shown that each has its own interest in the policy and that this interest goes largely in hand with their take on the migration topic from the perspective of their field. One has seen that GoG and academia focus on internal migration whereas development partners follow their own agenda and want to address irregular migration to Europe and emphasize the importance of migration for development. To get more detailed insights into actors' interest and motivation for participating in the policy process, the following section investigates the position actors take on the NMP. It analyses what they consider strengths and weaknesses in the policy and how they rate it in terms of importance for Ghana and Ghana's development.

5.4.1 Position on the policy

Many actors perceive the focus on the potential of migration for development in the NMP as strength of the policy. It was one of the most frequently mentioned aspects by interview

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[102] Senior Officer, NGO. Personal Interview. 16.03.2018.
[103] Mid-Level Civil Servant, Ghana Investment Promotion Centre. Personal Interview. 12.04.2018.

partners. The frequency was determined by grouping interview codes relating to the same aspect together and identifying how often the code occurred in the whole material. Table 5 gives an overview of the results. The emphasis on migration's potential for development includes minimizing the risks associated with migration as well as the focus on remittances and diaspora engagement in the policy. It is striking that mostly representatives from academia highlighted this aspect as most important. Equally outstanding is the strength of the NMP as encompassing and comprehensive policy which uses simple and clear language as well as precise definitions. This aspect was part of all actors' perceptions and cannot be added to one specific group of representatives. Mostly government actors, however, emphasized that the policy serves as guide and provides a detailed framework for all migration stakeholders. It is also government MDAs that regard the section on migration data management in the policy as an asset. Nevertheless, it is the international actors and CSOs that already consider the existence of the policy itself important. Further strengths of the NMP are the inclusion of issues regarding internal migration in the policy document, the collaboration of a variety of experts on the topic on the IMSCM as well as the coordinated approach achieved with the NMP.

Table 5: Perceived strengths and weaknesses of NMP by group of actors

Most important aspects of NMP	Brought forward by	Main problems with/gaps in NMP	Brought forward by
• Underlining migration's potential for development (7)*	Academia	• Lack of implementation strategy (13)	Mixed
• Encompassing and comprehensive policy with simple language and clear definitions (7)	Mixed	• Lack of public awareness of policy (4)	CSOs
• Provides guidance and an encompassing framework for all migration stakeholders (4)	Government institutions	• Lack of grassroot involvement in policy process (2)	CSOs
• Section on migration data within policy (4)	Government institutions	• No budget attached to policy document (2)	DPs
• Existence of policy itself (3)	DPs + CSOs	• Does not sufficiently tackle labour migration (2)	DPs + government institutions

* Number in brackets shows how often the specific code was mentioned.
Source: own data

In contrast to the strength of the NMP which are to be found in various aspects regarding the NMP, the weakness of the policy is first and foremost seen in the lack of an implementation strategy for the policy. This is highlighted by all actors. The Migration Commission has not yet been established which is perceived as a key gap in the policy process. Furthermore, CSOs bring forward the lack of public awareness of the NMP as well as the lack of grassroot involvement:

> "Policy makers did not include the implementers in the planning process. Policy
> makers are not implementers, but the policy looks like as if the policy makers were also

> *the implementers. The grassroots were not considered, not included in the committee. There were intensive consultations but there are not many grassroots in the policy. This is a huge gap.*[104]

Additionally, it is the international actors that criticize that there is no financial plan attached to the policy document. The NMP lacks a budget with a precise overview of the costs involved. This situation makes it difficult for development partners to know where and what they can support.[105] Another weakness identified was the lack of adequately addressing labour migration in the policy. This was put forward by an international actor as well as a government representative.

It should also be noted that depending on their own field of expertise and interest interview partners pinpointed weakness with regard to policy content. In this sense, they criticized the lack of addressing circular migration, reintegration and the topic of readmission which is still discussed with the EU.[106] Furthermore, the lack of focus on internal remittances[107] as well as the lack of addressing diaspora engagement in the NMP was described as weakness.[108] Other shortcomings include an insufficient tackling of international trafficking, the absence of a section on child migration and the lack of extensively addressing migration to Ghana.[109] On top of that an interview partner voiced that problems emerged due to the fact that some parts of the NMP were drafted a long time ago and are not up-to-date anymore. This relates specifically to labour migration aspects related to the discovery of oil and gas. An increase in external companies and their work force, however, has reduced employment opportunities for Ghanaians in these sectors.[110] Another challenge arises from the fact that the NMP is a policy and not a law.[111]

Consequently, the weaknesses mentioned relate very often to own interests in and content of the policy, but also to the structure, e.g. no attached budget, so development partners do not know how to support. CSOs mention lack of awareness and grassroot involvement. This shows their frustration of not being included in the policy process. However, all agree that implementation challenges are the major problem with the current NMP.

5.4.2 Rate of importance of NMP for Ghana and Ghana's development

To be better able to rank actors according to their position on the NMP they were asked to rate the importance of the NMP for Ghana and Ghana's development. The policy itself highlights how the country wants to make use of migration in a positive sense to contribute to its socio-economic development. Interview material shows that this is considered one of the most important aspects of the NMP. Interview partners rated the importance of the NMP for Ghana and Ghana's development specifically on a 5-point Likert Scale from 'not important at all' to 'very important'. From 29 interviews 22 gave their assessment. The results are depicted in Figure 10. A large majority of over 85 % of the interview partners considers the NMP important

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[104] Senior Officer, NGO. Personal Interview. 16.03.2018.
[105] Mid-Level Officer, IOM Ghana. Personal Interview. 05.04.2018.
[106] Insider Migration Management Ghana. Personal Interview. 08.03.2018.
[107] Mid-Level Officer, IOM Ghana. Personal Interview. 05.04.2018.
[108] Senior Officer - NGO. Personal Interview. 10.05.2018.
[109] Representative of Anti-Human Trafficking Unit, Ghana Police Service. Personal Interview. 06.04.2018; Mid-Level Civil Servant, Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Protection. Personal Interview. 17.05.2018.
[110] Senior Officer, EU Delegation to Ghana. Personal Interview. 18.04.2018.
[111] Senior Civil Servant, National Development Planning Commission. Personal Interview. 20.03.2018.

or very important for Ghana and Ghana's development. More than 50 % rates the NMP very important. Only 14 % perceive it as moderately important. No one regards the policy as slightly important or not important at all. On average, the importance of the NMP for Ghana was ranked 4.4 (Table 6).

Disaggregation of the data according to the type of actor reveals a partly different picture. It shows that two-thirds of the actors rating the policy very important are representatives from government MDAs. This is surprising taking into consideration that it was mostly researchers who named the focus on migration's impact on development as a strength of the NMP. It implies that representatives of government institutions are aware of the relevance of the NMP for Ghana and consider it as an important reference point, but that they regard its strength in different aspects like the comprehensiveness of the policy or the specific section on migration and data. It also leads to the assumption that government institutions have high hopes and expectations in the policy. It seems that academia is very much aware of the policy's potential for the country as academia does rather consider the NMP very important than important for Ghana. Development partners and CSO representatives seem to be less enthusiastic. The first consider the policy important on average. The latter are more critical. Their representatives either rate it moderately important or important because it has gaps and the public is not aware of the existence of the policy.[112]

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[112] Founder of NGO. Personal Interview. 25.04.2018; Founder of NGO. Personal Interview. 26.04.2018.

Figure 10: Assessment of importance of NMP for Ghana and Ghana's development on 5-point Likert scale
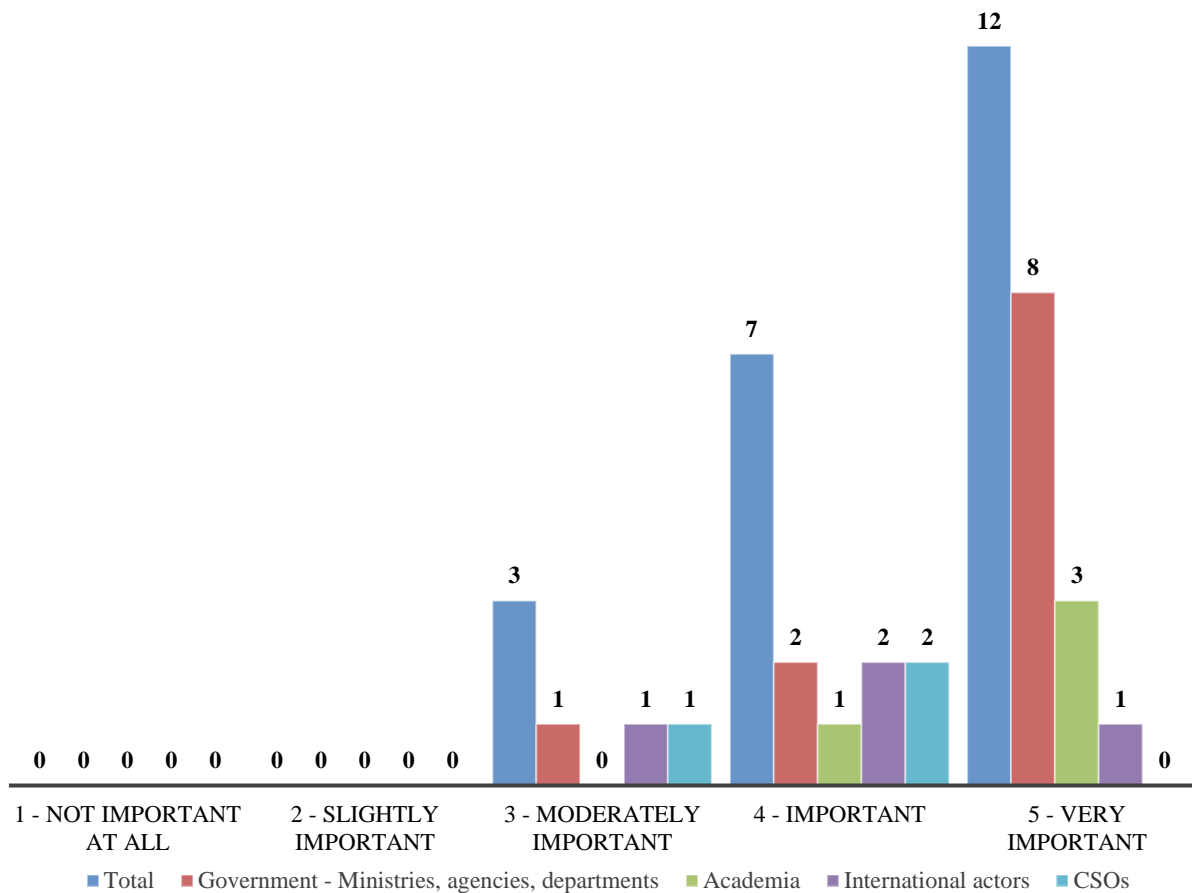
Note: In two cases a ranking of 2.5 and 4.5 was given. This was rounded up to 3 and 5 respectively.
Source: own data

Table 6: Average rate of importance of NMP for Ghana and Ghana's development

Categorization of actor	Average rate
Government	4,6
Academia	4,8
International actors	4,0
CSOs	3,7
Total	4,4

Source: own data

5.5 Alliances between stakeholders

This section analyses cooperation patterns between actors to reveal where alliances have been formed to influence the policy process. Interview partners most often mention to cooperate with the IOM because they are perceived to have great expertise in the field of migration and

migration policy development. IOM is a major cooperation partner of all kind of actors. Second, actors work together with the MoI, specifically its Migration Unit, and the Ghana Immigration Service. The MoI is perceived as the leading governmental institution on migration in the country. With the establishment of the IMSCM it coordinated the policy. It is also all kind of actors that consider the MoI a major cooperation partner. Governmental institutions see in it the leading ministry in the policy development process, academia and CSOs are aware of its mandate and guiding role on migration in Ghana and development partners know that they need a government body as partner to start the policy process and let it be owned by a governmental institution. Third, interview partners highlight a broad cooperation between all stakeholders on the IMSCM. The committee wanted to bring all migration stakeholders in Ghana together. They represent various institutions with different interests. The fact that many actors perceive the members of the IMSCM as cooperation partners leads to the conclusion that although there are different interests involved everybody worked together to achieve their overarching goal. One voice from the NPC stresses that actors had different views on how to approach the topic. The NPC uses advocacy, whereas GIS is specialized in border control. However, everybody agreed on the general view that a policy as guideline to manage migration well is needed.[113] A few representatives from the governmental level also saw the consultants from the CMS as cooperating partners. This implies that a pleasant working atmosphere existed between experts from academia and practitioners from government MDAs.

Otherwise cooperation partners are those actors one has specific ties with because of the nature of one's work. As an example, GIPC, which facilitates investments in Ghana, mainly collaborates with the MoF, the Registrar General, Ghana Revenue Authority (GRA), Bank of Ghana and GIS. Sometimes they also work together with MoI and MoFA.[114] A CSO representative names GIZ as partner which has supported past activities. In this case cooperation is based on financial backing.[115] IOM Ghana considers the MU as main collaborator, whereas the EU Delegation contemplates the IOM as primary cooperation partner. The EU sees in the IOM the bearer of expertise who is consulted if the EU Delegation needs specific knowledge in the field of migration. Likewise, the EU regards the MoF as an important cooperation partner as the ministry is the one through which financial support to the GoG is channeled.[116]

Remarkably, interview partners have hardly revealed information on those actors it was difficult to work with on migration and NMP issues. They rather highlighted the positive aspects of cooperation and mentioned that the NMP process was characterized by bringing all stakeholders in the field of migration together. The only incident of non-cooperation was brought forward by a CSO representative who could not speak positively about the IOM as an ally in the NMP development process. "At IOM they don't appreciate our work. They want our input to report on but they don't invite us."[117] The CSO representative expected IOM to consult him as his CSO can provide important information on issues on the ground. He does not feel recognized if he is only asked to send in a written report. He rather wants to be invited to

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[113] Senior Civil Servant, National Population Council. Personal Interview. 14.05.2018.
[114] Mid-Level Civil Servant, Ghana Investment Promotion Centre. Personal Interview. 12.04.2018.
[115] Founder of NGO. Personal Interview. 26.04.2018.
[116] Senior Officer, EU Delegation to Ghana. Personal Interview. 18.04.2018.
[117] Founder of NGO. Personal Interview. 25.04.2018.

stakeholder and IMSCM meetings to provide his expertise and engage in discussions. That is how he pictures a good cooperation between the IOM Ghana and CSOs.

This section paints the picture of the IOM who is seen as the main cooperation partner of almost all actors. The organization brings in expertise, but at the same time managed well to put in place a government ministry as the coordinator of the policy. With this step the IOM achieved that all actors on the IMSCM worked well together and that they perceive their cooperation as fruitful and pleasant.

5.6 Access to and control of resources

The data reveals that everybody considers financial resources necessary to influence the national migration policy-making process. The provision of funds to carry out activities is regarded very critical. Who holds financial resources? Interview partners agree that it is first and foremost the development partners who have financial resources available. There is wide recognition that the IOM plays the significant role in terms of funding provision. It was called "financial pillar" among IMSCM members.[118] The other development partners whose financial resource provision was acknowledged are EU and GIZ. A few interview partners are more nuanced on the IOM's financial contribution and recognize that funding was channeled from the EU to IOM. The representative of the EU Delegation to Ghana interviewed emphasizes this procedure. "We finance IOM."[119] There is only one actor that insists on the MoI's role as the financing institution of the NMP. The NDPC representative defends this view vehemently.[120]

The holding of technical resources is threefold. On the one hand, there is IOM providing expertise and specific knowledge through its huge information pool and best practice examples. However, there are others who stress that the main ideas for the policy did not come from the international actors, specifically the IOM, but from the Ghanaian consultants and the members of the IMSCM. Consequently, the policy is referred to as "home-grown policy".[121] Members of the IMSCM from government MDAs highlight that they supported with technical input and expertise form their field.[122] The NDPC specifically mentions their work in terms of technical backstopping.[123]

Government institutions also provided the necessary human resources. Here all stakeholders and their personnel played an important role. However, a critical aspect related to human resources is the mobility and fluctuation of key staff within the civil service and also in international organisations. It poses a challenge to policy-making and implementation.[124] Most officials do not stay in their position very long and as soon as they leave their post, they leave with the knowledge gained in the policy-making process. Their successors need time to make themselves familiar with the topic and have already missed important steps in the process. Organisational knowledge is not sufficiently stored and therefore, the human resource aspect is critical as the frequent change in staff complicates a sound policy-making and implementation process.

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[118] Senior (ret.) Civil Servant, Ministry of Employment and Labour Relations. Personal Interview. 27.04.2018.
[119] Senior Officer, EU Delegation to Ghana. Personal Interview. 18.04.2018.
[120] Senior Civil Servant, National Development Planning Commission. Personal Interview. 20.03.2018.
[121] Senior Researcher, Centre for Migration Studies, University of Ghana. Personal Interview. 07.05.2018.
[122] Mid-Level Civil Servant, Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Protection. Personal Interview. 17.05.2018.
[123] Senior Civil Servant, National Development Planning Commission. Personal Interview. 20.03.2018.
[124] Senior Officer, NGO. Personal Interview. 16.03.2018.

The access to and control of resources has important implications as it determines the degree of influence an actor can have. The most important and influential resource identified is funding. Controlling the funds and being able to distribute them drives the policy process as highlighted by senior civil servant in a government agency: "Funding is key, I believe, and it came from outside to push for it [the NMP]."[125] Development partners funded the policy, so they are able to influence it, whether this is wanted by the Ghanaian government or not. If one looks at it from the other side, one can assume that development partners fund activities because they have an underlying interest in it. A representative from the MoGCSP provides some elaborations:

> "It is not only migration, most of our programs and activities. International partners are involved because of funding and they always have an interest. [...] Donors have an agenda. Their influence goes beyond support and opinion."[126]

It follows that actors, in the NMP case the development partners, are involved in the policy process if they provide funding because then they are able to push their own agenda. A researcher from the University of Ghana provides an example for this:

> "There are still lots of people from Ghana and Nigeria on their way through the Sahara. The development partners know, our policies neglect young people. They don't address the concerns on migration. It is obvious that Europe takes a role if young people embark on the journey. For several years Europe has had a problem with African migrants now. Certainly there is a direct interest. [...] The development partners are helping to reduce the number of people moving. That is directly in their benefits."[127]

However, one has to keep in mind that IOM but also the Ghanaian experts provide technical resources. The latter changed the focus of the NMP also towards internal migration.[128] The large emphasis on international migration shows the influence of development partners and their interest in the fight against international irregular migration, but government actors with backing from academia were not completely powerless. They re-directed the policy's focus to also include their interests.

5.7 Power and leadership capabilities

The description of actors and their interests in the migration policy at the beginning of this chapter showed that every ministry, department and agency from the government's side, as well as academia and development partners had an own interest they pursued in the policy process. It leads to the question who was the main driver behind the NMP that pushed it on the political agenda. This is closely connected with the possession and exercise of power but also with the above outlined access to specific resources. The following section aims at shedding light on both aspects.

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[125] Senior Civil Servant, Ghana Refugee Board. Personal Interview. 10.05.2018.
[126] Mid-Level Civil Servant, Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Protection. Personal Interview. 17.05.2018.
[127] Senior Researcher, Institute of African Studies, University of Ghana. Personal Interview. 21.05.2018.
[128] Senior Researcher, Centre for Migration Studies, University of Ghana. Personal Interview. 07.03.2018.

5.7.1 Main driver of the policy

Interview partners' assessments of the main driver behind the policy revealed a pattern according to which their views were grouped in either seeing the Government of Ghana (driven from within) or the international community (outside driven) responsible for pushing the topic on the political agenda. The results are depicted in Figure 11. 29 interview partners gave their assessment. 14 see the Government of Ghana as main driver behind the NMP and 11 consider the international community to be the driving force in the policy development. Three interview partners mentioned a combination of both, the government (MoI) and international actors (IOM), and one interview partner sees NGOs as driver behind the NMP. Breaking down this evaluation in who regards whom as main driver, it is striking that the majority of those seeing the GoG behind the NMP are representatives from government ministries, departments and agencies (8 times). Two times each was the government mentioned as main driver by interview partners categorized as development partners, academia and CSO representatives. The picture of those who perceive the NMP to be driven from the outside is more mixed. Here representatives from academia (4), government actors (3) and civil society representatives (3) viewed the international community behind the migration policy.

Figure 11: Interview partners' assessment of the driving force behind the NMP*
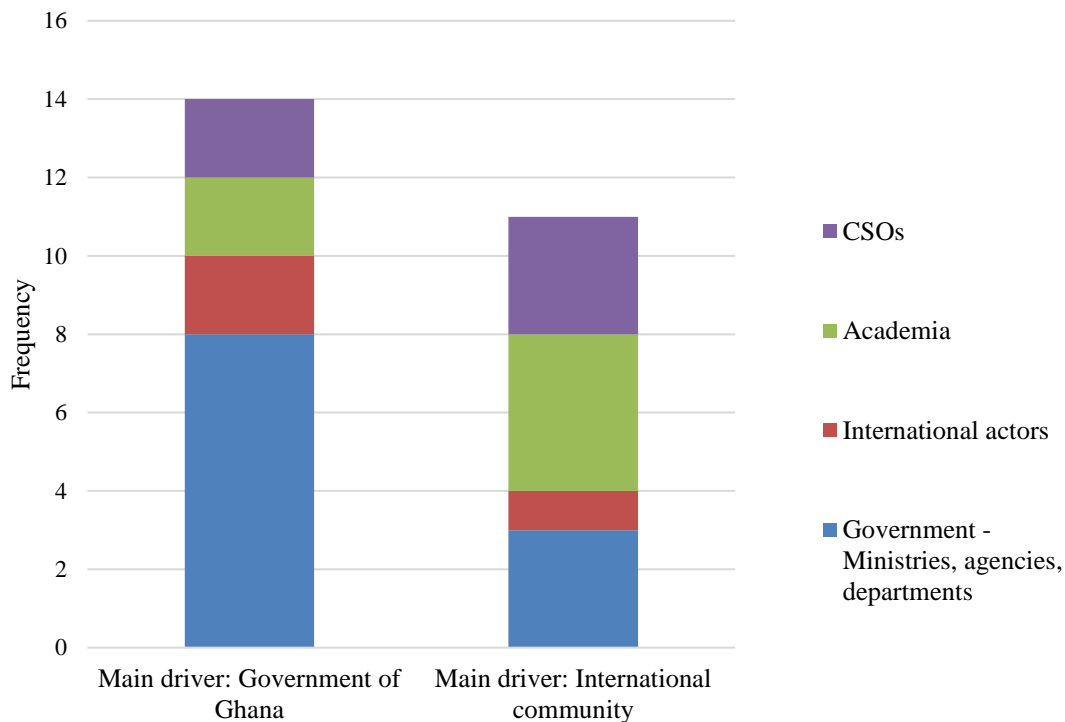
* In total 29 interview partners gave their assessment. Four answers could not be grouped in the graph because three considered the MoI and IOM both as main drivers of the policy (IOM presentative, GSS representative and CSO representative and one mentioned NGOs as main drivers behind the NMP (senior researcher at KNUST).
Source: own data

A detailed evaluation of the interview material shows that those answers grouped under international community highlighted eight times the IOM as main driver in the policy process. In the other cases words like international partners, international development partners and international community were used. The GoG rubric was specified in MoI in 11 cases. Each the

MoELR and the MoFA were mentioned once together with the MoI as main drivers of the policy. In the case of the MoELR by a representative from that ministry and in the case of the MoFA by a representative who works closely with that ministry. The representative of the NDPC considered the NDPC as the main driver.

It follows that in terms of numbers the GoG and specifically the MoI are more frequently perceived as the main driver behind the NMP. However, it cannot be neglected that it is first and foremost government representatives who, in interviews with an outsider, highlight the leading involvement of the government in the policy process. There are government MDA representatives who see a guiding role in the international community's involvement in the NMP. Specifically, interview partners from the academic sphere emphasize the international community's role. Consequently, the perception is that both MoI and IOM drove the policy process, but with different influences. The MoI was required by the international actors as a partner as "you need a government agency to pull the bull by the horns".[129] However, the IOM had the necessary funding and is therefore a key player. A senior researcher acknowledges:

> *"The IOM was to a large extent behind 'like an invisible hand'. It had to be a national policy, not a donor policy. So the IOM did it from the background. The Government of Ghana drove it, but it was pushed from behind."[130]*

A CSO representative sees the constellation in the following way:

> *"The migration policy topic had been on board of the Government of Ghana for years. Then the IOM came on board and compelled them to act."[131]*

These statements lead to the conclusion that the IOM pushed the NMP topic on the agenda and was very careful in winning the government as a partner, taking up their needs and even giving it the impression to drive the process itself. The government is needed as partner to push any policy process in the country. A senior researcher from the University of Ghana summarizes the situation as following:

> *"The IOM as the main driver? That depends on who is talking. [...] There are still lots of policies that are actually influenced by our development partners. They drive a lot of these processes and policies but they also drive it because left to the governments alone, they would not have reacted today."[132]*

5.7.2 Actors' perceived power in the policy process

After examining the main driver behind the NMP this part looks at the perception of power ascribed to actors and the way power and leadership are exerted. Here the observations on actors in the policy process and their assumed power from section 5.2 can be confirmed. Asking interview partners to sketch the scene and name the most powerful actors in the policy process enabled to calculate a power score for each individual actor. It is based on the rank assigned to each actor starting with the most powerful. Correspondingly, scores are allocated in descending order. The result can be seen in Figure 12. The basis for this figure, the power ranking from all interview partners, is depicted in Appendix E.

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[129] Mid-Level Officer, IOM Ghana. Personal Interview. 05.04.2018.
[130] Senior Researcher, Department of Economics, University of Ghana. Personal Interview. 17.05.2018.
[131] Founder of NGO. Personal Interview. 25.04.2018.
[132] Senior Researcher, Institute of African Studies, University of Ghana. Personal Interview. 21.05.2018.

Figure 12: Calculated power score for individual actors based on power ranking
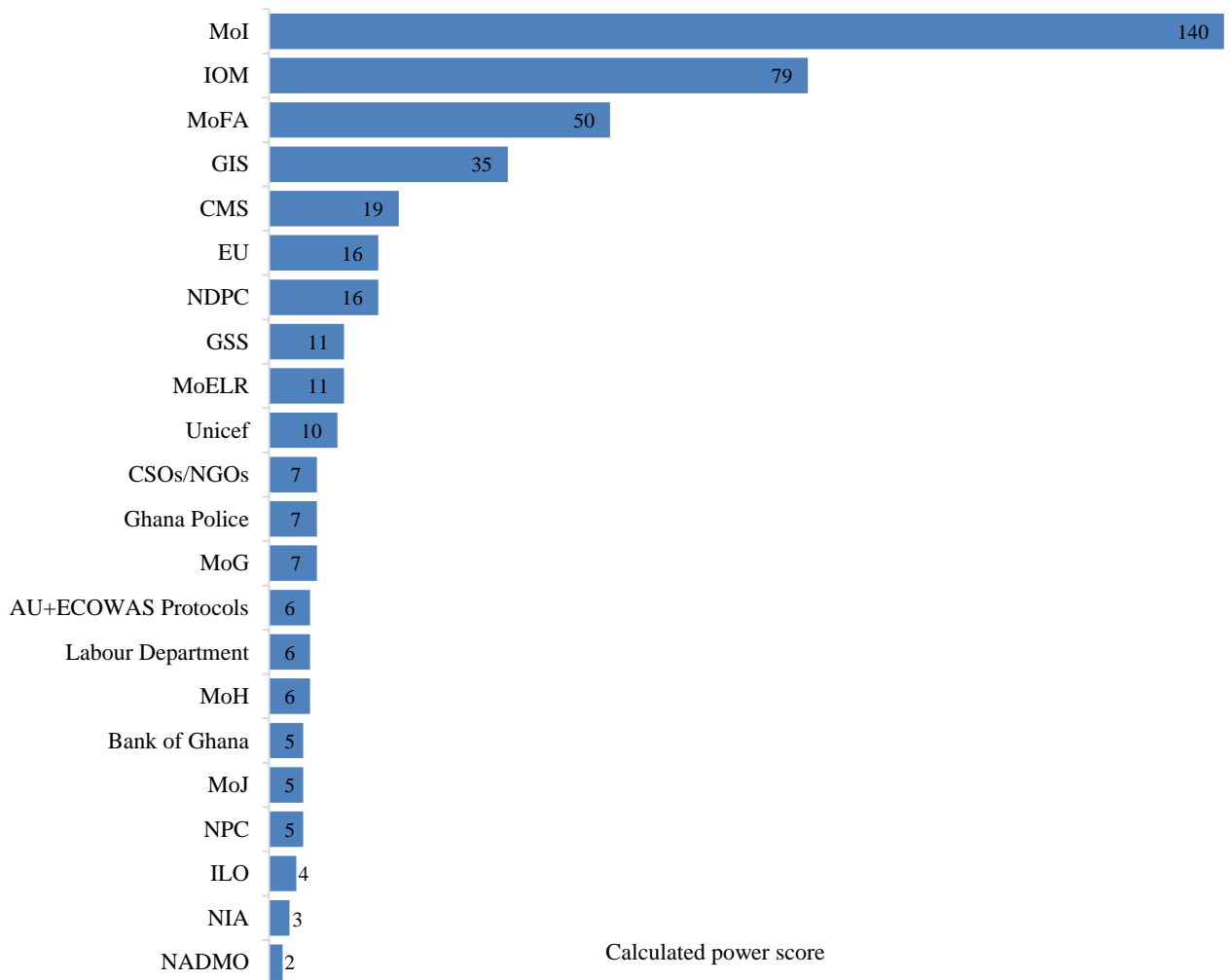
Source: own compilation based on interview material

The MoI is widely perceived as the most powerful actor in the NMP process. It reaches the highest power score and was placed on the first positions by almost all interview partners. Almost half of the interview partners put the MoI on the first rank, no matter what kind of actor they represent. However, it is mostly representatives from government institutions and CSOs that ranked the MoI first (Appendix E). The IOM has the second highest power score, although it has almost just half of the MoI's score. In way lesser cases but also still remarkable the IOM received the placement as most powerful actor, again by interview partners from all backgrounds. The MoFA received the third highest power score, although it was just in one case perceived as most powerful actor. Many interview partners considered the ministry second most powerful. The forth position on the power score is taken by GIS, another institution working under the MoI. The CMS, the EU and the NDPC follow on the power score; the NDPC because it was placed as the most powerful player in two cases.

The reason for this kind of ranking in the case of the MoI is the leading and coordinating role ascribed to the ministry and its entities in the field of migration. The MoI is perceived as central actor in migration in Ghana and interview partners partly gave the impression that it is out of question that the MoI is of course the most powerful actor. This is the reason why in some cases the MoI is listed as the only powerful actor (Appendix E). With great matter of course an

interview partner who placed the MoI in the most powerful position explained that the guide and leader of the policy has to be at the ministerial level. Because of its expertise on the topic, the MoI takes this role.[133] These explanations lead to the conclusion that the MoI was ranked the most powerful actor because of the institutional role ascribed to the ministry.

The IOM representative and the NDPC itself consider the planning authority NDPC the most powerful actor (Appendix E). Looking at their mandate of initiating policy directions of the country, the commission seems very powerful in theory. However, practical observations show that its role is not much considered in the political system. According to interview information, the NDPC prepares the national development plans. But in practice it is rather the other way around. The ministries and various stakeholders bring their ideas to the NDPC which then formulates the plans.[134] Furthermore, an interview partner questions whether the national development plans are really worked with as they are not referred to in political campaigns.[135] It follows that the role of the NDPC in policy-making seems overestimated.

In contrast, the IOM was placed at the forefront of the powerful actors because "IOM had the funding for the migration policy and that is the critical component in this."[136] Here the provision of funding is linked back to the access to resources. Consequently, also the EU which is mentioned by the EU Delegation itself as most powerful actor can be subsumed under the most powerful actors providing financial support. Another explanation is the role of IOM as sustaining factor in the process as governments and leaders in key ministries changed. A researcher at the CMS stressed that during the policy process from 2008 to 2016 the Ministry of Interior was led by approximately eight different ministers. Also the head of the Migration Unit changed four times in that period which is an obstacle to a continuous working atmosphere.[137]

Two interview partners refused to rank actors in terms of power as they stated that all actors were partners of equal level and no one was more powerful than the other.[138] This connects with the observations made under alliances. Everyone was pulling together with the aim of formulating a migration policy. A powerplay would have hindered reaching the common goal. Another important aspect is that in one case AU and ECOWAS protocols were perceived as powerful and leading in the policy-making process.[139] This hints at the embeddedness of the policy in sub-regional and regional frameworks. However, it is remarkable that an international actor brought up this aspect. The government side does not seem to consider it influential which leads to the conclusion of a limited awareness of the presence and significance of regional protocols.

The perception of actors' power and leadership in the policy process corresponds with the perceptions of who was the main driver behind the NMP. In both cases the MoI is seen as guide and driver. Whereas it was mostly representatives from government institutions that perceive the MoI as main driver of the policy, all kinds of actors considered the ministry as most

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[133] Senior Civil Servant, Ghana Immigration Service. Personal Interview. 02.05.2018.

[134] Senior Researcher, Centre for Migration Studies, University of Ghana. Personal Interview. 24.04.2018.

[135] Senior Officer - NGO. Personal Interview. 10.05.2018.

[136] Senior Civil Servant, Ghana Refugee Board. Personal Interview. 10.05.2018.

[137] Senior Researcher, Centre for Migration Studies, University of Ghana. Personal Interview. 24.04.2018.

[138] Senior Researcher, Centre for Migration Studies, University of Ghana. Personal Interview. 07.05.2018; Mid-Level Civil Servant, Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Protection. Personal Interview. 17.05.2018.

[139] Senior Officer, EU Delegation to Ghana. Personal Interview. 18.04.2018.

powerful actor. And if they did not rank it on first, then at least on second or third position. Despite this fact, the above examination has shown that there are different categorizations of power. There is the power ascribed to the MoI based on its mandate and role given to it as leading institution, host of the IMSCM in the policy process. But there is also power linked to the access to financial resources the IOM can provide. The organization has further assets in its expertise and its connection to the policy process from the beginning to the end. The perception of the MoI as main driver and most powerful actor also links back to the concept of 'owning the policy' which the IOM follows (Whitfield 2009). It gives the involved actors the impression that they are driving and influencing the policy, whereas the IOM steps back and guides the process from behind.

5.8 Formal and informal rules

The setting in which policy-making takes place and the rules and regulations that structure actors' behavior in the policy process were further examined. The analysis of data reveals that interview partners see two main structures that guide policy-making: a leading institution and social consensus. The concept of a leading institution entails that one actor in the policy process pushes for a certain agenda. It initiates and drives the policy process. This leading institution "is always a working body within the government".[140] A closer look at the data shows that interview partners connect two different interpretations with the concept of a leading institution. On the one hand, the leading institution in policy-making is the NDPC which sets the agenda for government[141] and acts as "policy initiator".[142] Based on the Ghanaian constitution it is the guiding institution when it comes to policy-making in the country. It formulates development plans and makes sure that the plans are translated in policies. Afterwards it monitors the implementation of the policies. On the other hand, the leading institution is perceived as the one institution that pushes for a specific policy. In the case of the NMP the leading institution is the MoI. In the case of the National Population Policy the NPC took over that role and for the National Youth Policy the Ministry of Youth and Sports (MoYS) was the driving force.[143] Depending on the policy area the one institution with the mandate for that area takes over the leading role.

An equally important formal rule in policy-making in Ghana seems to be social consensus. This means that decisions made within the policy process are based on a dialogue with all stakeholders, civil society and the public in Ghana. Everybody gets the chance to be heard. That is why a policy process takes so much time. It has to go through several instances where consensus is built before it is adopted. A senior civil servant describes this procedure as "the policy is a 'buy-in' of all kind of actors".[144] It relates to the value of democracy on which policy decisions are based.[145] Closely connected to consensus building is the consultation with

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[140] Senior Researcher, Centre for Migration Studies, University of Ghana. Personal Interview. 07.05.2018.
[141] Senior Civil Servant, Migration Unit, Ministry of Interior. Personal Interview. 17.04.2018.
[142] Senior Civil Servant, National Development Planning Commission. Personal Interview. 20.03.2018.
[143] Senior Civil Servant, National Population Council. Personal Interview. 14.05.2018.
[144] Senior (ret.) Civil Servant, Ministry of Employment and Labour Relations. Personal Interview. 27.04.2018.
[145] Senior Researcher, Centre for Migration Studies, University of Ghana. Personal Interview. 07.03.2018.

traditional leaders in policy processes.[146] Without consulting the traditional system no step towards implementation can be taken on the ground.[147]

However, in other cases the consultative nature of policy-making was described as limited. People were not aware of consultative meetings and people on the ground, e.g. market women, were not invited for such interactions. Therefore, the policy-making process was referred to as non-inclusive[148] and characterized by elite capture.[149] The grassroots are not considered. In contrast to this view, which was brought forward by a CSO representative, the opinion of a senior civil servant is that policy-making in Ghana is shaped by civil society involvement.[150] It becomes clear that the position actors have shape their perceptions. Whereas civil society consultations for the one is already equaling involvement in the policy process, the other does not feel adequately considered through this procedure.

Two critical voices highlighted that policy development in Ghana is driven by donor guidance. Governments go for a specific project, the development of a policy, if money is available, no matter their interest in it. As soon as all the money has been used, they look for funds for the next project:

> *"There is money for a migration policy. So we go and take it and we say 'we are doing it'. When the money is finished we say 'okay, where is the next money?' The next money is here. Then we go and take it. We shelf the other and we continue with this one. That is how our policy development process is."[151]*

Another actor restricts this procedure to issues of international dimension where international entities spearhead and push for policies in their interest.[152]

Path dependency plays a role as well in policy-making in Ghana. Policy development is described as incremental. Changes are marginal and policies built on each other. From the NMP the need for a Diaspora Engagement Policy was derived as well as the need for a Labour Migration Policy.[153] (Another dependency is connected to the colonial legacy. The British colonial system has influenced the way policy documents are written and actions are taken.[154]

5.9 Implications for implementation

The constellation of actors, their interests, relations, resources and power as well as the duration of the policy process and the rules of the game impact the implementation of the NMP. It is a fact that nothing has been done from the GoG side to implement the policy. The following section looks at reasons and examines the challenges actors encounter in this after-launch phase. The main obstacle hindering implementation of the NMP is perceived to be the lack of funding available to set up the GNMC. Its establishment is the crucial first step towards implementation as the commission is the responsible body for coordinating the activities outlined in the NMP action plan. The commission setup requires the necessary logistics of where to establish the commission, a timeframe for staff recruitment and the funds for salaries of the commission's

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[146] Senior Officer, GIZ. Personal Interview. 19.03.2018.
[147] Senior Officer - NGO. Personal Interview. 10.05.2018.
[148] Mid-Level Civil Servant, Ghana Investment Promotion Centre. Personal Interview. 12.04.2018.
[149] Senior Officer, NGO. Personal Interview. 16.03.2018.
[150] Senior Civil Servant, Ghana Statistical Service. Personal Interview. 21.05.2018.
[151] Insider Migration Management Ghana. Personal Interview. 08.03.2018.
[152] Senior Civil Servant, Ghana Refugee Board. Personal Interview. 10.05.2018.
[153] Senior Researcher, Centre for Migration Studies, University of Ghana. Personal Interview. 07.03.2018.
[154] Insider Migration Management Ghana. Personal Interview. 08.03.2018.

staff (Yeboah 2017). The government agency tasked with establishing the migration commission is the Migration Unit. It is described by a number of actors to suffer from a lack of funding and a lack of capacity.[155] The GoG responsible for equipping the unit with adequate resources does not provide the necessary financial commitment. Furthermore, the low capacity of the unit's staff is highlighted. It lacks sufficient background knowledge and continuity in leadership. Throughout the process the MU had four different heads.[156] One observer goes as far to claim that "the only capacity they [MU] have, they get from IOM".[157] Different actors explain that the current director of the MU has emphasized in bilateral conversations that they are working on the commission's setup.[158] The director also stressed in the interview "I really want to set up this commission."[159] It seems that the will in the MU is there. However, the actors in the unit are constrained by their dependency on the GoG to resource them properly.

This observation leads to a second obstacle in the NMP implementation: the lack of commitment of the Ghanaian government. A number of interview partners see that the GoG does not get active regarding resource mobilization for the NMP as they lack interest in the policy and prioritization of the topic.[160]

> *"The policy is not a priority for government. It doesn't foster strong commitment to ownership. Whilst migration is a real problem for Europe, African states don't see the same urgency. I mean both see it as a problem, but on the list of to-do's probably Europe sees it more as urgent matter. Ideally, we should expect Ghana to implement the National Migration Policy with the same level of urgency, but the problem has to be owned. There are different priorities."[161]*

It is stressed that the Ghanaian government might not feel responsible for the policy because first, they do not regard the issue as relevant for them as for European states to which most international illegal migrants want to go. Second, they are less interested as it was primarily Europe which pushed the policy topic on the Ghanaian agenda. It was nothing the government would have reacted upon based on an own initiative.[162] One interview partner argues that internal migration is much more important for the government than international migration, but the whole impression of the way the NMP was set up and pushed by the IOM and EU is that it tackles international migration flows to Europe. Consequently, the commitment towards the policy is low.[163] Third, the government knows that development partners will step in if they want to have the policy implemented in Ghana. They expect external funding for the dissemination of the policy and held meetings with GIZ on that.[164] The IOM has allocated some

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[155] Senior Researcher, Centre for Migration Studies, University of Ghana. Personal Interview. 24.04.2018; Mid-Level Officer, IOM Ghana. Personal Interview. 05.04.2018; Senior Officer - NGO. Personal Interview. 18.05.2018.

[156] Senior Researcher, Centre for Migration Studies, University of Ghana. Personal Interview. 24.04.2018.

[157] Senior Officer - NGO. Personal Interview. 18.05.2018.

[158] Mid-Level Officer, IOM Ghana. Personal Interview. 05.04.2018; Insider Migration Management Ghana. Personal Interview. 08.03.2018.

[159] Senior Civil Servant, Migration Unit, Ministry of Interior. Personal Interview. 17.04.2018.

[160] Representative of Anti-Human Trafficking Unit, Ghana Police Service. Personal Interview. 06.04.2018; Senior (ret.) Civil Servant, Ministry of Employment and Labour Relations. Personal Interview. 27.04.2018; Senior Officer - NGO. Personal Interview. 10.05.2018.

[161] Senior Officer, NGO. Personal Interview. 04.04.2018.

[162] Senior Officer - NGO. Personal Interview. 18.05.2018.

[163] Senior Civil Servant, Ghana Refugee Board. Personal Interview. 10.05.2018.

[164] Senior Officer, GIZ. Personal Interview. 19.03.2018.

funds for the implementation of activities (IOM Ghana 2018). Moreover, attention has already shifted towards other policies as development partners are allocating funds for a Diaspora Engagement and Labour Migration Policy for Ghana.

Part of the explanation for implementation challenges is also the change in government after the launch of the policy. A new administration follows own priorities and does not necessarily take up predecessor government's work.[165] Further obstacles identified are a lack of an implementation strategy as pointed out by a senior researcher at KNUST: "We don't know how to bring it from paper into action."[166] The only step talked about is setting up the commission, but which other areas should be addressed in the short-term is not an issue of discussion. The action plan does not prioritize any activity and it does not set any timeframe. On top of that, the policy lacks a framework for progress assessment to examine any improvements made towards implementation.[167]

6. DISCUSSION

This chapter provides concluding remarks on the explanatory factors identified to account for actors' involvement in the policy process that led to the NMP for Ghana. It aims at summarizing the most important facts concerning each factor, providing remarks on the hypotheses and answering the research questions. Furthermore, it elaborates upon the impacts of stakeholder involvement on NMP implementation. The following critical reflection on the analytical framework discusses its flaws and proposes a revised version of it. The last section points out limitations of this study.

6.1 Reflections on explanatory factors

A variety of actors has taken part in the policy process which can be grouped into representatives from government institutions, academia, development partners and civil society organisations. The analysis shows that they have different views and interests on migration depending on their position. The various government ministries, departments and agencies all advocated for bringing in their specific approach on migration. A general position of the Ghanaian government with its leading institution concerning migration, the Ministry of Interior and its Migration Unit, can be formulated in the following way: using the potential of migration for development of the country. This takes two forms. First, combating and managing internal migration from deprived to less deprived areas. Second, encouraging the engagement of the diaspora in Ghana through the promotion of remittance transfers. The Ghanaian academic community largely supports this interest by emphasizing migration's potential for development. The development partners in the field of migration, led by the EU as main financer and driver of a migration agenda, aim at establishing a migration management scheme which under the guise of the migration-development nexus largely serves the purpose of migration control of

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[165] Senior Officer, NGO. Personal Interview. 04.04.2018; Insider Migration Management Ghana. Personal Interview. 08.03.2018.
[166] Senior Researcher, Department of Planning, KNUST. Background Talk. 20.04.2018.
[167] Senior Officer, EU Delegation to Ghana. Personal Interview. 18.04.2018.

irregular and low skilled migrants to Europe. The signing of readmission agreements with the GoG has proven difficult since 2007. Therefore, the EU engaged in a more holistic approach towards migration management and met the demands of the Ghanaian government, which is interested in migration's positive impact on development, with support of the migration policy formulation (van Criekinge 2010). The IOM serves as main implementer of a huge majority of migration-related EU projects on the ground. It has, therefore, gained an important role as cooperation partner of the Ghanaian government on all migration-related issues and projects (ibid.). The EU withdraws itself from practical implementation and regards the IOM as its main cooperation partner.[168] Consequently, IOM engaged with the Ghanaian stakeholders to start the policy formulation process by focusing on stemming international migration.

Diverging interests on the migration topic between the EU and an African partner country have been observed elsewhere. Castillejo argues that the EUTF largely contains European interests:

> *"The EU prioritises containing irregular migration flows, reducing arrivals, and ensuring African compliance on returns and readmission. Meanwhile, African countries prioritise facilitating legal migration into Europe, building resilience and employment, and harnessing remittances for development." (Castillejo 2017: 2)*

The same opposing agenda is reflected by the different interests in the NMP for Ghana outlined above. To sum up, the findings on the 'interest in the policy' factor are in line with the relationship assumed in Hypothesis 1. The involvement of the GoG and the development partners EU and IOM in the policy process is largely based on the interest both sides have in the policy. But their interests are diverging, so that eventually additional factors account for leadership in the policy process.

Although different interests prevailed in the policy process, it is remarkable that separate alliances between specific actors did not play a huge role during policy development. It is rather the case that all actors worked together to achieve the goal of formulating a NMP for Ghana. Interviews have shown that the incorporation of all kind of views and reaching consensus is an important feature of policy-making in Ghana. This was achieved through the inclusion of all relevant government institutions in the whole policy process. Civil society representatives, however, did not feel adequately considered.

Nevertheless, almost all actors identified the IOM as main cooperation partner. This is due to the fact that the organisation has established itself in this role. Over the years IOM has worked in close cooperation on projects with all stakeholders on migration on the national and international level in Ghana. Van Criekinge (2010: 22) argues that this is the result of the EU reducing its direct involvement with the GoG and rather giving way to the practical implementation agency IOM on the ground. The perception of all actors working fruitfully together was then achieved through the IOM's move of placing the MoI as coordinating agency of the policy. Consequently, the IOM followed well the common set up of policy-making in Ghana, namely a government institution as leader in the policy process or as expressed by an IOM representative: "You need a government agency to pull the bull by the horns."[169]

One alliance, however, is specifically noteworthy: the cooperation between government institutions and the Centre for Migration Studies. Although interview partners only barely

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[168] Senior Officer, EU Delegation to Ghana. Personal Interview. 18.04.2018.
[169] Mid-Level Officer, IOM Ghana. Personal Interview. 05.04.2018.

mentioned the CMS as cooperation partner[170], the examination of the whole policy process shows that the GoG and the CMS, comprised of Ghanaian researchers, cooperated to also include the issue of internal migration in the policy. A researcher at the CMS and member of the consultant team describes this process in the following way:

> *"The initial Terms of Reference were very narrow. They only focused on international migration outside Africa, not migration inside Africa, transregional or internal migration. So we checked back with the IOM because if you want an encompassing policy, you can't only look at one migration flow. There are links between all forms, internal, transregional, international. We commented a lot and eventually they expanded the Terms of Reference."[171]*

In this case the CMS supported the GoG with pushing their interests on the agenda and making sure that a topic very pivotal for Ghana as a country, internal migration, is also addressed within the policy. The cooperation between GoG and CMS reflects coalition building between stakeholders based on similar policy core beliefs (Weible 2007). GoG and CMS reveal the same policy-related values. They are both aware of the impacts of internal migration on their country and therefore, strive for action to tackle this issue. Hence, their collaboration can be read as forming an advocacy coalition according to Weible (2007) because both aim at influencing the policy based on their policy core beliefs.

But the question needs to be asked how independent the centre itself is from the GoG and outside funding. It was established not only to do research and teaching, but also to assist with policy formulation (CMS 2014). Furthermore, the setup of the centre was financed with donor money.[172] Its website states that one of its key objectives is "advise on, and inform the formulation of a national policy on migration through the provision of relevant data on migration and related issues" (ibid.). As a result, one can assume that the centre depends largely on other agendas. The GoG has a direct interest in collaborating with the centre on policy formulation, especially to foster their interests.

Despite of the collaboration between GoG and CMS, the analysis has shown that alliances between actors were not at the core of stakeholder involvement in the policy process because consensus building and cooperation between all involved actors determined the policy process. It follows that Hypothesis 2 does not seem to hold.

The analysis of the critical resources in the policy formulation process uncovers that financial, technical and human resources played a role in the NMP development. However, financial resources are considered to be the most influential as the provision of funding enables actors to drive processes based on their interests. As highlighted above, holding technical resources as the researchers of the CMS do also allow to shape the policy in a certain way. Therefore, the resource factor needs to be closely examined together with the power actors possess because the better the access to critical resources, the greater the power actors can exert in the policy process. And the greater their power, the more they can influence the agenda and pursue their own interests. Nevertheless, Hypothesis 3 can be confirmed.

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[170] Senior (ret.) Civil Servant, Ministry of Employment and Labour Relations. Personal Interview. 27.04.2018; Founder of NGO. Personal Interview. 25.04.2018; Mid-Level Civil Servant, Ministry of Justice. Personal Interview. 07.05.2018.
[171] Senior Researcher, Centre for Migration Studies, University of Ghana. Personal Interview. 24.04.2018.
[172] Senior Researcher, Centre for Migration Studies, University of Ghana. Personal Interview. 24.04.2018.

The Government of Ghana, mainly in form of the Ministry of Interior, is perceived as the main driver of the NMP as well as the most powerful actor. Although some restrictions have to be considered, like the fact that mostly representatives from government MDAs regard the MoI as main policy driver, the result is clear: the Ministry of Interior played a very influential role. The IOM was ranked second in terms of most powerful position. An explanation is the provision of financial resources through IOM. The chronological reconstruction of the policy process has shown that the provision of funding started and drove the NMP development. Without the funding from the EU, implemented through IOM, the policy process would not have started. Consequently, the common saying 'money is power' has once again proven true. The fact that the provision of financers enables the providers to pursue their interests is acknowledged by a senior researcher: "The development partners funded literally all of it. They will always want it to go in the way they want it to go."[173] With their financial resources the IOM could lead the policy in the direction they wanted it to go, but they did well in pulling the strings in the back because the involved actors perceive the MoI as most powerful agency. The MoI could bring their priorities in, also due to the technical expertise from CMS consultants, but without the IOM's push the policy would not have been formulated and adopted today. Therefore, Hypothesis 4 can be confirmed as the possession of power is crucial to influence the policy process.

Two main aspects were identified under formal and informal rules to shape policy-making in Ghana: a leading institution and social consensus. Both aspects have been reflected on during the examination of the other factors. The leading institution that guides, coordinates and initiates a policy has often been seen in the MoI, also in terms of main driver and most powerful actor. The aspect of social consensus has been discussed with regard to getting all actors to support the policy through 'stakeholder buy-in': the collection of different views and opinions and the presentation of the policy to the public. The importance of social consensus has led to the consultation of various stakeholders during meetings across the country. However, the analysis has shown that the consultation processes have flaws. Associations like diaspora organisations were not considered, whereas most of the civil society organisations wished for more inclusion and not only for the invitation to a few meetings. Therefore, it can be concluded that in line with Hypothesis 5 the formal and informal rules identified impact stakeholder involvement, but are not as influential to guide their participation in the policy process as interests, resources and power.

Figure 13 provides a summary of the explanatory factors and displays the degree to which they account for actors' involvement in the policy-making process of the NMP for Ghana. The size of the box around each explanatory factor depicts hereby the assumed level of influence of each factor that was concluded from the previous analysis.
Alliances as well as formal and informal rules were identified to impact the way actors shape the policy-making process. However, their degree of influence is quite low compared to the other factors. It is remarkable how the interaction between government institutions led by the MoI cooperated with the CMS from academia to shift the focus of the policy more towards their interests. It is also noteworthy how the majority of actors established a good relationship with

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[173] Senior Researcher, Institute of African Studies, University of Ghana. Personal Interview. 21.05.2018.

the MoI and the IOM while keeping the focus of an overarching goal of writing a NMP for Ghana. Additionally, the activities during the policy process are shaped by the formal and informal rules of policy-making in Ghana, guidance by a leading institution and social consensus.

More explanatory power for actors' involvement in the policy process can be ascribed to the interest of actors and their position on the policy. The analysis has shown that views and interests of actors involved differed greatly. Everybody approaches the migration topic from its point of view. Striking hereby are the discrepancies between the GoG's focus and development partners' views, first and foremost EU and IOM. Although the GoG, most often represented through its leading ministry on the topic, the MoI, was perceived as guiding actor in terms of influence and power in the policy process, the role of the IOM has to be viewed equally important. This is due to the specific access to critical resources both actors have: the one (MoI) mostly in terms of technical resources through the CMS and the other (IOM) in terms of financial resources and technical expertise due to its mandate and its financing institution, the EU. This leads to the notion that the access to resources relates closely to the power position an actor can take. That is why both boxes are displayed in an overlapping manner.

Figure 13: Explanatory factors and the degree to which they account for stakeholder involvement in the NMP development process
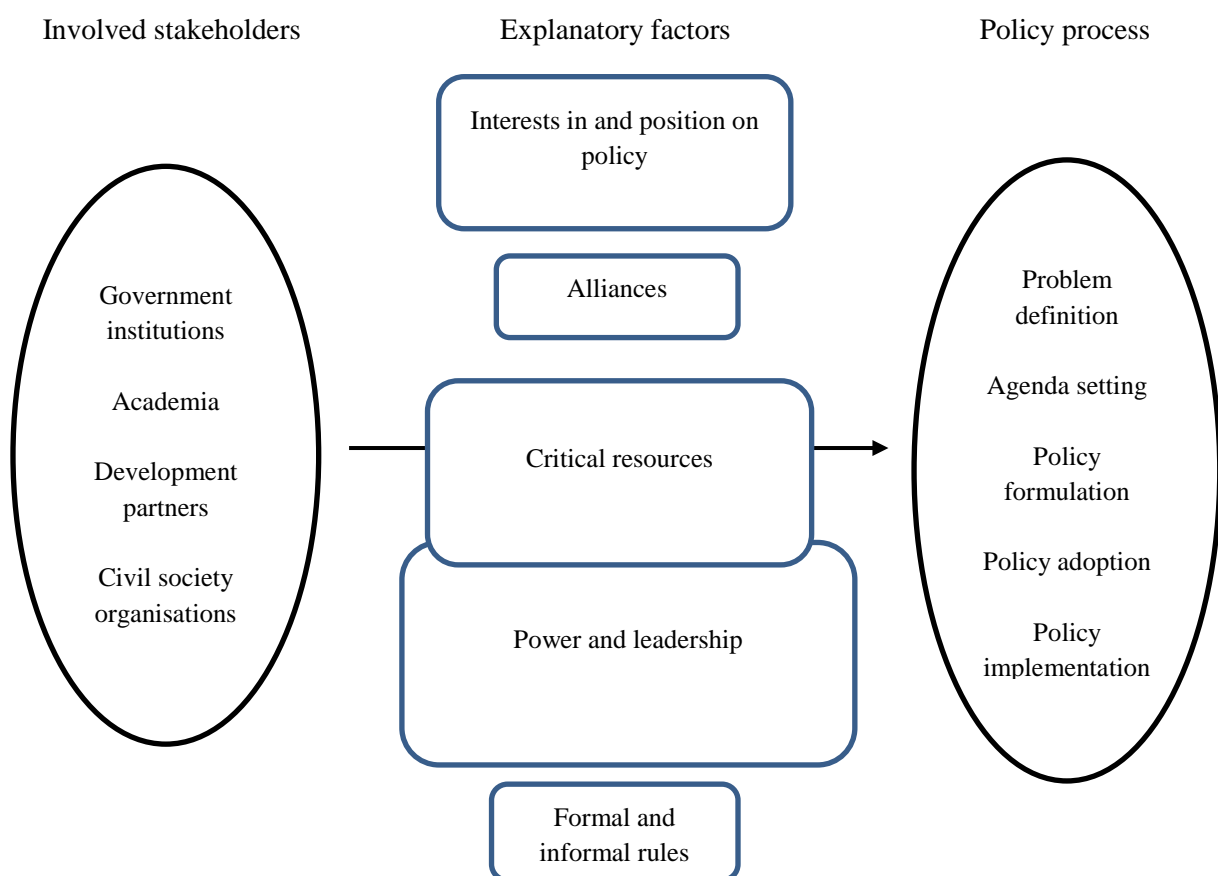
Source: own compilation

To answer the posed research question one can conclude that all five explanatory factors account for stakeholders' involvement in the policy-making process of the NMP for Ghana to

a certain extent. However, their level of influence varies and the most explanatory power can be ascribed to the interest a stakeholder has on the policy as well as to the power that actor possess to influence the policy process. Power is closely linked to the resources an actor holds and can bring in to policy development.

The consequences for implementation and the success of the NMP derived from the analysis are discussed in the next section. The results paired with the findings on the explanatory factors will then provide room for a reconsideration of the analytical framework.

6.2 Stakeholder involvement's impact on policy implementation

> *"The migration policy topic had been on board of the Government of Ghana for years. Then the IOM came on board and compelled them to act."*[174]

This is a summary a CSO representative gave of how the NMP for Ghana came about. It mentions the two main actors in the policy development process. Although the topic of the low level of commitment for the NMP from the GoG's side runs throughout the analysis, the above quotation suggests that the GoG had been aware of the migration issue for years. The NDPC representative stressed this assumption by emphasizing that the planning commission had observed internal migration movements and the *kayayei* phenomenon in the country already for a long time.[175] However, migration was never addressed very prominently from the government side, like in state of the nation addresses. If it was talked about, e.g. in The Coordinated Programme for Economic and Social Development Policies, the country's 7-year development plan presented by the president to parliament, it was mainly related to internal and rural-urban migration from the urbanization and population point of view (GoG 2007, 2010b, 2017). The two more recent plans also mention in addition the use of the potential of migration for Ghana's development (GoG 2010b, 2017). Despite of the internal migration focus and the potential of migration for development, no funds were made available from the government's side for addressing this issue of migration management. This shows that although the GoG is aware of the topic, it does not consider it important enough to take further actions. The lack of resources and the lack of commitment from the government have been identified as explanation in Chapter 5.

However, another recurrent pattern in the interview material not captured by the explanatory factors presented in the analytical framework provides further insights: the view on migration in the Ghanaian society. It impacts the low level of commitment for the NMP implementation. "Travelling is part of our culture"[176] is a common description of the way the history of migration in Ghana and West Africa influences current migration patterns. 'Travelling outside' is the common phrase used in Ghana when referring to (out-)migration. In the societal context it is very important for a person's social status. It brings prestige and positive reputation as an insider in the field of migration in Ghana explains:

> *"There are communities in Ghana where if you have not travelled before, you might not get a girlfriend. So everybody tries to go to Libya. At least go to Libya and come*

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[174] Founder of NGO. Personal Interview. 25.04.2018.
[175] Senior Civil Servant, National Development Planning Commission. Personal Interview. 20.03.2018.
[176] Insider Migration Management Ghana. Personal Interview. 08.03.2018.

> *back. [...] If you need a nice lady you are interested in, the 'Libya'-tag gives you some 40% jump ahead of your competitors."[177]*

The Ghanaian society is characterized by the omnipresent perception that migration is the only road to success. A Twi proverb says "high birth is not food; money is all that matters" (cited in Akyeampong 2000: 187). It illustrates the importance of material wealth which the successful migrant returns home with. S/he is then considered as an "upper class citizen" who receives a lot of respect (Akyeampong 2000; Bob-Milliar 2012). Consequently, it is not easy for a government to put restrictions to this social phenomenon of travelling as it will affect votes. An EU representative gives an example:

> *"If the Ghanaian government is talking, they speak about the need to create employment for young people. They wouldn't say 'we need to create employment to not let them go to Europe."[178]*

The background of why the government treats the migration topic with care has to be taken into consideration when talking about the perceived low commitment of the GoG on the NMP. It shows that socio-historical constellations impact decision-making and actions taken by the GoG. Consequently, such influencing ideas cannot be neglected when it comes to policy formulation and implementation as well as to analysing stakeholder involvement in the policy process.

In this constellation IOM enters with funds and a mission from the EU. The international agenda at the beginning of the 2000s highlights on the one hand the benefits of migration, but has on the other hand also an underlying emphasis on migration control (van Criekinge 2010). But without addressing this agenda directly, the EU together with IOM chose a more hidden and encompassing approach. According to van Criekinge (2010), this happened because the EU realised that for Ghana to become interested in migration management, the focus had to be on taking up a comprehensive approach that focuses on the development aspect (2010: 18). Although this is not in line with the GoG's primary interest of tackling internal migration, one finds a common base which is using the potential of migration for development. The GoG takes it up because financial incentives are provided.

Available funding points at an initiation of the policy process from development partners and them driving policy formulation. Different from the theoretical implications of policy-making, where a perceived problem causes domestic mobilisation for a policy initiative, the case of the NMP for Ghana shows that the point in question stems from development partners and therefore European interests. Furthermore, the solution to the problem is also defined outside and not within the country (Hänninen 2014). Researchers argue that the purpose of policy formulation processes for donors is to have a document on paper that can be presented, that legitimizes their agendas and fosters their priorities (van Quarles Ufford et al. 2003; Mosse 2005; Hänninen 2014) Hänninen (2014: 248) concludes that donor involvement in policy-making serves their purposes and ideas. For the NMP for Ghana this implies that the agenda of migration control, pushed forward by the EU, stands like a mantra behind the policy formulation process. The policy document is needed to meet domestic demands in the EU and can be presented as a success story of EU activities towards migration control from West Africa to Europe.

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[177] Insider Migration Management Ghana. Personal Interview. 08.03.2018.
[178] Senior Officer, EU Delegation to Ghana. Personal Interview. 18.04.2018.

Hänninen (2014) argues further that policy formulation under donor guidance is a way to secure funding for the recipient government. Through this it pursues own interests, like staying in power and supporting its clientele or patronage based networks (2014: 248). The Ghanaian government certainly benefited from the financial allocations. However, apart from the funding aspect, the GoG was able to guide the policy process to also partially fit their interests. The GoG's close collaboration with the consultant team from the CMS allowed for changing the focus of the policy towards a more encompassing approach on migration including also internal and transregional migration.

The policy process is to a large extent a bargain between the GoG and its institutions and the development partners. The regional organisation ECOWAS does not actively appear in the policy-making process. Given the ECOWAS Common Approach on Migration and its influential position towards governing migration in the whole of Sub-Sahara Africa (SEF 2016), it was expected that the regional organisation would guide the policy development process more. But according to the perception of the majority of interview partners, ECOWAS' role was not very prominent. However, the Common Approach, the ECOWAS free movement protocol and the AU policy on migration served as reference points. Interview partners describe the ECOWAS protocol as one of the reasons why the NMP appeared on the political agenda[179], as guide during policy formulation[180] and as one of the most powerful actors.[181] However, there were no funds channelled through ECOWAS during the NMP process. This is different in the more recent policy processes of the Diaspora Engagement and Labour Migration Policy where ECOWAS acts as financer among other institutions (FMM West Africa 2018). The idea for the NMP had already started before the Common Approach was adopted in 2008 and one can argue that strengthening ECOWAS to promote migration governance is related to EU support for this agenda in the recent past.

Also, local government actors did not play a very active role in the policy-making process leading to the NMP for Ghana. Actually one would assume that due to internal migration forced by socio-economic deprivation and the effects of environmental changes in certain areas in Ghana there is an increased debate on the migration topic among actors from the local government level. Once could even expect that there is awareness raised for these issues from local governments, so that the topic is pushed on the political agenda (Jann & Wegrich 2007). However, interview information shows that local governments were only included during sensitization activities for the policy.[182] They did not play a role in previous stages of the policy process, which was also confirmed by additional talks with experts on decentralization and local government.

Despite of development partners' initiative in policy formulation, the IOM managed to create a certain level of ownership from the government's side. Ownership is here understood according to Whitfield (2009: 5) "as the degree of control recipient governments are able to

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[179] Senior Officer, ILO. Personal Interview. 15.05.2018; Mid-Level Civil Servant, Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Protection. Personal Interview. 17.05.2018; Senior Researcher, Centre for Migration Studies, University of Ghana. Personal Interview. 07.05.2018.
[180] Senior Civil Servant, Migration Unit, Ministry of Interior. Personal Interview. 17.04.2018.
[181] Senior Officer, EU Delegation to Ghana. Personal Interview. 18.04.2018.
[182] Senior Officer, GIZ. Personal Interview. 19.03.2018.

secure over policy design and implementation". The data reveal that at least the perception of ownership was there as the GoG, and the MoI in particular, are seen as the main drivers and most powerful actors concerning the policy. It follows that IOM's strategy of pulling the strings at the back was quite successful on the surface. Nevertheless, insiders are aware of the role IOM played as underlined by a senior researcher:

> *"The IOM was to a large extent behind 'like an invisible hand'. It had to be a national policy, not a donor policy. So the IOM did it form the background. The Government of Ghana drove it, but it was pushed from behind."[183]*

Other policy formulation processes in Ghana like Ghana's PRSP at the beginning of the 2000s reveal similar approaches. Although the PRSP originated from the World Bank and IMF to be eligible for further concessional lending and debt relief, an examination of the policy formulation process shows that the Ghanaian government drove the process and development partners supported with logistics and technical inputs (Whitfield 2005; Mohammed 2013). Lindsay Whitfield described the relationship between GoG and development partners on the PRSP "as government in the driver's seat but donors trying to steer the car" (Whitfield 2005: 652). That is a similar way as interview partners described the relation between the two during the NMP process.

With its role and function the IOM takes an ambivalent position. As an intergovernmental organisation, it is formally ruled by its member states. But as the case of Ghana's NMP shows, if IOM gains some autonomy, it can influence the policy process. Therefore, Pécoud (2018) argues IOM can be considered as an own political actor. Whether this position has contributed to an extension of the terms of references for the NMP to also include other migration flows, is speculation. On the contrary, one can also view IOM's role as "embedding political interventions in a humanitarian and development-friendly framework" (Pécoud 2018: 1629). Independent of which angle one takes, the IOM constitutes a very influential actor in migration policy-making in Ghana.

The case of the migration policy in Ghana has also illustrated that participation is based on consultation. It is contrary to the theory of the policy cycle that proposes problem recognition through citizen activism or the political opposition. The theory claims that actors within and outside the government try to get attention for their perceived problem and seek to put it on the political agenda (Jann & Wegrich 2007). In the NMP process the ordinary citizenry and all forms of civil society organisations did not or were not able to articulate the demand for the policy. It is clearly a topic either driven by a government actor or a development partner. To build consensus meetings of "stakeholder buy-in" take place, but it seems they just serve as a justification for public participation in the policy process as proposed changes are not binding for policy makers. For cases in which policies are funded by development partners Gould (2005) argues that consultations are likewise organised and funded by the development partners. She criticizes that the public which is affected by policy decisions cannot voice their opinion through the ballot or referendum, but, if it is possible, only through "donor-sponsored workshopping" (2005: 11). The same way of consulting the public could be seen during the NMP process. Regional consultations and meetings with key stakeholders, funded by development partners, were the typical mode of engaging the wider public. This left CSOs

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[183] Senior Researcher, Department of Economics, University of Ghana. Personal Interview. 17.05.2018.

widely as unsatisfied observers in the policy process. However, this approach has also been observed in other cases of public policy-making in Ghana, like the development of Ghana's Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (Whitfield 2005; Mohammed 2013).

Policy processes solely driven by development partners and government actors are described by Hänninen (2014) in the following way:

> *"When policy making is a game between the donors and the governmental (bureaucratic) agencies, there is no interest for a real policy change. Instead, the donors wish to legitimise their policy priorities in the country, and the governmental agencies try to manoeuvre to their best, to gain benefits for either the officials, or the agency." (Hänninen 2014: 250).*

This constellation poses challenges for implementation. On first sight, it seems the GoG does not show enough interest in the policy to get it implemented. An observer tries to make sense of the low level of commitment of the GoG towards policy implementation:

> *"Why is it shelfed? The policy has been printed, even dissemination. The state is expecting external funding to do the dissemination. So there are people in Kumasi who have no idea that we have a National Migration Policy. There are people in Accra in ministries, directors in policy, people who have no idea what is in there, you understand. If the state considers it relevant, then it had been passed. You know, in our parliaments they can recall them back from holidays to come and pass budgets. It means the budget is really needed to do something. So if the policy has been funded and you can't do the dissemination, for me I take it to mean maybe the political relevance of the policy is reducing."[184]*

The NMP process reveals a heavy dependency on donor funds and guidance in policy development and implementation. This finding is confirmed by Tine van Criekinge's (2010) case study on the cooperation between the EU and Ghana on migration. She concludes that "In Ghana, policy processes and outcomes tend to be much more externally-driven, rather than government-owned." (van Criekinge 2010: 23). The game of policy-making between development partners and government, already experienced several times in the past, has made the GoG to lean back. They know that development partners will step in, if they want to have the policy implemented. If not, they will propose a new project, as they have already done with the Diaspora Engagement and Labour Migration Policy through which new funds can be obtained. The call for donor support for implementation has been voiced by a number of interviewed actors. Even the critical NDPC representative says: "Resources from DPs are needed to support the policy, to support implementation. It's just we want to determine our own priorities."[185] Another interview partner also highlighted that the MU hopes for external support due to funding constraints. A potential avenue for support could be the Chinese government. A senior officer from the MoELR revealed that he was shown an explicit document at the MU stating that the MoI and China are in the process of agreeing on Chinese support for the NMP implementation.[186] China is definitely a new actor in the field of migration in West Africa, but it has in recent years become an important Ghanaian trade, development and economic

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[184] Insider Migration Management Ghana. Personal Interview. 08.03.2018.
[185] Senior Civil Servant, National Development Planning Commission. Personal Interview. 20.03.2018.
[186] Senior (ret.) Civil Servant, Ministry of Employment and Labour Relations. Personal Interview. 27.04.2018.

cooperation partner (Frimpong 2012). Just in April 2018, the two countries signed a new agreement on an infrastructure development project at the Jamestown port. In this context the Chinese representative to Ghana called China "Ghana's largest trading partner" (GNA 2018). This partner might be interested to delve into new spheres of cooperation.

However, it has to be kept in mind that the reliance on donor guidance and funds leads, first, to the fact that development partners will support what is close to their interest. The Ghana Integrated Migration Management Approach (GIMMA) provides an example. The project was funded by the 10th EDF of the EU and jointly implemented by IOM and GIS from 2014 to 2017. Based on discussions within the NMP development, the project was set up to implement already some of the issues raised in the NMP document.[187] It follows that the EU already started a project to implement parts of the NMP that correspond with their interests before the official launch of the policy. The GIMMA project comprises of three components: Enhancing the operational capacities of law enforcement officers to effectively manage borders (Component 1); Promoting safe and legal migration (Component 2); Strengthening migration data management for evidence based policy making (Component 3) (IOM Ghana 2016). Especially for component 1 and 2 it can be argued that the EU has a heightened interest in supporting Ghana to more effectively control its borders to prevent irregular migration and raise awareness on the dangers of illegal migration.

Second, the provision of financial resources by development partners for policy formulation influences the GoG's attention to policy areas for which funding for policy development is made available. The formulation of the Diaspora Engagement Policy and the recent start of the Labour Migration Policy process illustrate these focus shifts. The representative of the Migration Unit at the MoI is certainly right in arguing that the attempts of writing other migration-related policies will undermine the role of the NMP.[188] Having all policies on migration under one umbrella might strengthen the importance and assertiveness of the topic. On top of that, it creates a new scattered migration policy landscape. But in a context where policy-making is largely driven by donor guidance, several policies on a similar topic are rather the rule than the exception as an interview partner explains:

> *"There is money for migration policy. So we go and take it and we say 'we are doing it'. When the money is finished, we say, 'okay, where is the next money'. The next money is here. Then we go and take it. We shelf the other one and we continue with this one, you know. That is how our policy development process is, they have gained their directions which is unfortunate. Even for the migration policy the state's commitment is very low, beyond public servants appearing for meetings and consultants working and explaining, no financial commitment. And once there is no financial commitment to it, then you know what happens. We don't really feel responsible. That's it."[189]*

The approach of reacting towards external funding for policy development illustrates another facet of the policy-making game between development partners and government actors and it provides an answer to the question why the GoG does not "really feel responsible"[190]. Over the

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[187] Mid-Level Officer, IOM Ghana. Personal Interview. 05.04.2018.
[188] Senior Civil Servant, Migration Unit, Ministry of Interior. Personal Interview. 17.04.2018.
[189] Insider Migration Management Ghana. Personal Interview. 08.03.2018.
[190] Ibid.

years, rooting in the colonial system and exacerbated through structural adjustment programmes, development partners' involvement in internal affairs has created dependency by providing funds for policies that in the majority of cases primarily serve their interests. This dependency is also reflected by the NMP for Ghana. Development partners have pushed their agendas and have left the Ghanaian government in a constellation where they can shape policies a bit in their direction. But the possession of financial resources is the greatest incentive in policy formulation processes

6.3 Reflections on the analytical framework

The analytical framework for this study was built upon the advocacy coalition framework for stakeholder analysis, the institutions, interests, ideas framework and a literature review. It identified five explanatory factors to explain stakeholder involvement in a policy-making process.

The empirical findings of this research reveal that the analytical framework needs further development to adequately capture all aspects identified related to stakeholder involvement in policy-making. A first area for adaption is the recognized interplay between resources an actor holds and the power s/he can exert. The theoretical considerations in Chapter 2 have identified both as own separate explanatory factors. The empirical findings, however, illustrate that both factors influence each other. Consequently, this connection needs further specification, already during the theoretical considerations. It has to be elaborated on how the access to resources leads to power in the policy process. Sabatier and Weible (2007) argue that policy-relevant resources include formal legal authority to make policy decisions, public opinion supporting a policy position, information on the problem, mobilizable troops of public supporters, financial resources and skilful leadership. An analytical framework has to capture the different forms resources can take. Schmeer (1999) recognizes the various types of resources and defines power as "the combined measure of the amount of resources a stakeholder has and his or her capacity to mobilize them" (Schmeer 1999: 16). Consequently, resources have to be understood as the basis for power.

With the applied approach the research chose an actor-centred approach in which institutions are only partially looked at. Formal and informal rules were the envisaged concept to capture the institution aspect. The implications of formal and informal rules were examined by asking interview partners about what traditions shape policy-making in Ghana. A leading institution and social consensus were identified as guiding structures in policy-making, but their overall role was found to be less important when it comes to explain stakeholder involvement in policy-making as shown in sections 5.8 and 6.1. However, after the empirical analysis one can question the appropriate operationalisation of formal and informal rules in this study and whether the whole range of the institution aspect is adequately covered by this approach. John (1998) emphasizes the importance of the structure of the system in which actors operate in for analysis. As a result, the sufficient examination of the role of institutions is a second area for reconsidering the appropriateness of the analytical framework.

Whereas this study has also highlighted the centrality of actors in policy-making, as underlined elsewhere (Villamor 2006; Weible 2007; Koivisto 2014), the impact of the structure of the system in which policy-making takes place cannot be neglected because it influences relationships between actors and has implication for policy implementation.

The case of the NMP for Ghana has shown the importance of considering social and historical structures of policy-making actors are interwoven in. This became evident through the finding of the specific view on migration in the Ghanaian society, but also through the history of interaction between government actors and development partners that shape policy development, decision making and implementation. The Global South context in general and Ghana in particular, where dependency on outside forces was enshrined in colonial power and reinforced through structural adjustment programs, needs a deeper look into historical aspects and developments. The findings have shown that for the migration topic the view on migration in society that shapes decisions of the GoG is pivotal. Likewise, the historical features that guide relations between actors impact stakeholder involvement in policy-making. However, the applied analytical framework does not capture these socio-historic characteristics. Chapter 2 stresses the role of the structures actors operate in the policy-making process, but the theory mostly emphasizes political structures that influence their behaviour (Keeley & Scoones 2003; Howlett et al. 2009), not socio-historical structures. Consequently, the concept of formal and informal rules applied in this study mostly focused on these political structures. But their focus neglects the socio-historical context that created the basis for stakeholder involvement, actions and power in the policy-making process. Taking the social and historical features actors are interwoven in into consideration would therefore shed some additional light on stakeholders' involvement in policy-making.

Hence, a revised analytical framework would take the form depicted in Figure 14. It suggests to look at stakeholder involvement in policy processes within the socio-historical context. This includes, deduced from the findings of this study, the history of policy-making, the history of relationships between the involved actors, like dependencies from colonial and post-colonial structures, and the social aspects related to the topic under investigation, in this case migration. Formal and informal rules are then, as the other explanatory factors, examined within the socio-historical structures. The role of resources is studied as the basis for power.

Figure 14: Proposed revised analytical framework

Source: own compilation
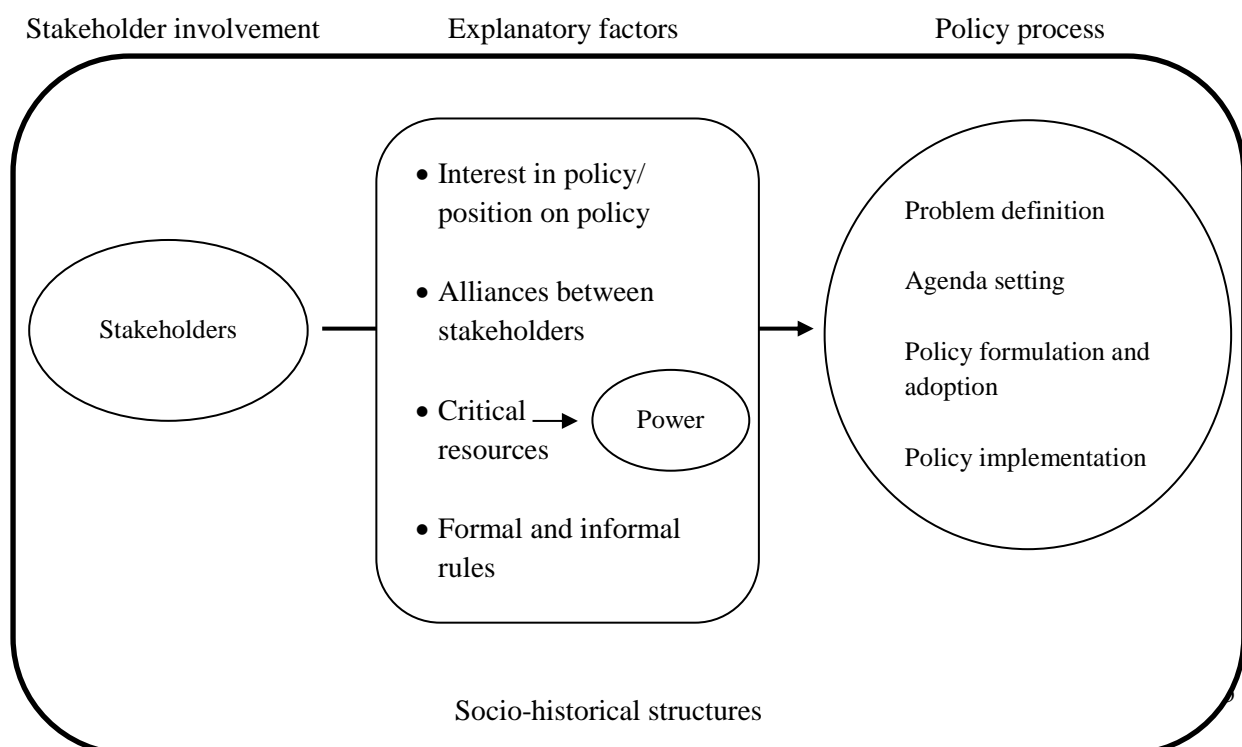
6.4 Further limitations of this study

The qualitative approach of this research was found suitable for answering the research question. The main method of conducting and analysing semi-structured interviews allowed to gain inside knowledge from experts in the policy-making process which would not have been possible to obtain from quantitative data. However, a main constraint of this qualitative study is its lack of generalizability. The NMP constitutes a country-specific case and it is therefore difficult to generalize the findings for other case studies. Based on the empirical results of this research it is therefore assumed that findings will vary based on different country characteristics and historical relationships between government actors and development partners. Despite of that, the revised analytical framework based on findings from the Ghanaian case as depicted in Figure 14 has potential to be applicable to other contexts. Ghana's specific role as forerunner of political developments in West Africa and even the whole of Sub-Sahara Africa was highlighted in this study. Chazan described Ghana in 1983 as "microcosm of political analysis in Africa" (Chazan 1983: 5). This observation provides room for generalizing the results of this study also today beyond the single case, especially for other Sub-Sahara African countries where discussions concerning migration evolve around similar topics.

Despite of that, the validity and reliability of the collected qualitative data are aspects of further limitations of the study. The above given reflections have already pointed at the way formal and informal rules of policy-making have been operationalized. As this is a very theoretical construct, interview situations have shown that getting interview partners to understand what is meant by the tradition that shapes policy-making prove difficult in the field. A lot of explanations and examples had to be provided by the researcher which shaped the answers in certain directions and often evolved around the examples the researcher provided. Given the constraints of validity specifically concerning this explanatory factor has also contributed to the revision of the analytical framework and the proposition of tackling the aspects of formal and informal rules through social and historical structures that shape policy-making.

Additionally, the analysis of the qualitative data obtained poses constraints for data reliability. After conducting the interview, the interview information were structured in an Excel sheet according to the specific interview question. From there the researcher coded the data. The process from conducting the interview to coding involved several stages of interpretation. First, the interview questions were interpreted by the interview partner who came in almost all cases from a different socio-cultural background and spoke a different mother tongue than the researcher. Second, the researcher gave meaning to the answer and applied codes which was another way of interpreting the data and reducing their reliability.

Furthermore, the aspect of providing socially-desirable answers has to be taken into consideration. The researcher, an obvious outsider from the Ghanaian context, asked government officials about the NMP process and inquired issues of the government being the driver behind the policy. In some cases representatives from government institutions obviously did not want to put themselves in a bad light and highlight the enormous dependency on outside funds in the policy process. As an example, the NDPC representative claimed that the financial resources for the policy came from the Ministry of Interior and not from development partners.[191] The issue of socially-desirable answers paired with the fact that the researcher was

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[191] Senior Civil Servant, National Development Planning Commission. Personal Interview. 20.03.2018.

an outsider from another country impacts the research results and has to be taken into consideration when drawing conclusions from the findings.

7. CONCLUSION

Based on field work in Ghana, this study aimed at changing the perspective and approach the topic of migration management not from a European angle, which is focused on efforts to curb illegal migration, but from the point of view of a country of origin. Ghana has a long migration history, has experienced different migration trends and is affected by various migration streams. It faces emigration within and outside Africa, but also immigration from other countries in the West African sub-region as well as internal and transit migration. It was one the first ECOWAS member states to introduce a National Migration Policy in 2016. Consequently, with the method of semi-structured expert interviews and intensive desk research, this study investigated migration policy-making in Ghana. Its intention was to find out which factors determine stakeholder involvement in the policy formulation process leading to the NMP for Ghana.

With an analytical framework derived from theoretical considerations of the advocacy coalition framework (Sabatier 1988; Sabatier & Weible 2007), the framework of institutions, actors and ideas (Howlett et al. 2009) and an extensive literature review, five factors accounting for stakeholder involvement in the policy-making process of the NMP for Ghana were identified: interest in the policy, alliances between stakeholders, critical resources, power and leadership capabilities as well as formal and informal rules. The data, derived out of 29 semi-structured expert interviews, 11 background talks and a study of secondary sources, like development plans, annual reports, newspapers and legal documents, during 14 weeks of field research in Ghana, finds that interests in the policy together with the possession of financial and technical resources are critical for stakeholder involvement. The analysis further reveals that the access to and the ability to use resources forms the basis for stakeholders' power in the policy process. Additionally, this research discloses that the NMP does not primarily respond to a perceived challenge related to migration in Ghana: the internal migration flows from deprived rural areas in Northern Ghana to the economically prosperous areas in the South. However, together with the development aspect attached to migration, these are the two main issues of concern related to migration for the Ghanaian government. This differs greatly from the development partners' interests. The EU as main financer of the NMP has since the beginning of intensified EU-Africa cooperation on migration with the Cotonou Partnership Agreement in 2000 focused on migration control instead. Since 2005, the EDF has allocated some assistance to migration-related areas in so-called 'sending countries' (van Criekinge 2010). And the EUTF was designed to address the root causes of irregular migration and improve migration management, among others (EC 2015a).

However, in finding a common approach to migration management, the GoG and the EU met on developing a migration policy that emphasizes the potential of migration for Ghana's development. The EU, through the IOM as its leading implementing agency on the ground, provided the necessary financial resources for this project which served as an incentive for the Ghanaian government to start the policy process. Policy-making driven by donor guidance

because of the financial incentives attached to it, has been identified by interview partners as well as the literature as a characteristic of Ghana's policy developments (van Criekinge 2010). But the policy's focus which, from the development partners' side, intended to be on international migration, was shifted by the MoI in cooperation with the CMS at the University of Ghana. The CMS provided the consultants for the policy development process and therefore also the technical expertise. It managed to formulate an encompassing policy for Ghana that also addresses internal migration. Apart from that no other special alliances were formed between stakeholders to influence the policy-making process. Interview partners highlighted the good relationship created with the MoI and IOM to achieve everybody's goal of developing a NMP for Ghana. This relates to Ghana's tradition of policy-making that is shaped by forming consensus among all involved actors. Only CSOs were not satisfied with their consideration in the NMP formulation process. They wished for closer involvement than just invitations to stakeholder consultations.

In conclusion, the analysis of the data shows that it is first and foremost the interests in the policy, the resources stakeholders possess and their resulting power from these resources that account for stakeholders' involvement in the policy-making process of the NMP for Ghana. In contrast, alliances between actors and formal and informal rules that shape policy-making do not have as much explanatory power for stakeholder involvement.

Taking the results of this study into account, this research argues that the purpose of the National Migration Policy for Ghana is to a large extent not to respond to a perceived problem in the country, as for example constituted by internal migration, and to provide a solution for it, but to serve the interest of the EU and therewith the European agenda to foster migration control. The GoG and its leading institution on the migration topic, the MoI, are perceived as driving forces behind the NMP and as most powerful actors by interview partners. Development partners, mainly the IOM, always follow on second position. However, the detailed analysis that took into consideration donor guidance in policy processes in Ghana, the view on migration in society and the weak position of civil society organisations in policy-making reveals that the government as guiding actor only resembles the surface. In fact, the IOM, as acting force of the EU, was behind the policy "like an invisible hand"[192] and a "financial pillar"[193]. They bring to bear their interests and money which is the directing incentive for the policy formulation process. Securing additional funding becomes then the main interest of the Ghanaian government as a response to the set terms and conditions by the development partners.

It follows that the National Migration Policy for Ghana is another case where development partners, under the auspices of development cooperation, pursue their own interests. The NMP was financed with allocations made under the 10th EDF which is the main EU mechanism for providing development aid to the Global South (EC 2014). What would really benefit Ghana as a country in the migration field remains unaddressed. Engaging with interview partners, observations and careful estimates have revealed that in Ghana internal migration is much greater in scope and extent than international irregular migration to Europe. Therefore, curbing internal migration movements due to economic hardship and climate-induced changes would

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[192] Senior Researcher, Department of Economics, University of Ghana. Personal Interview. 17.05.2018.
[193] Senior (ret.) Civil Servant, Ministry of Employment and Labour Relations. Personal Interview. 27.04.2018.

actually be at the centre of attention, if development cooperation in the field of migration management was based on the altruistic motive of addressing Ghana's needs on that issue.

The resulting challenges from diverging interests on the topic can be seen now in the implementation phase. The constellation of development partners' agendas pushed in the own country reduces the government's commitment for implementation. Furthermore, the continuous experience of receiving financial support for projects had led to a dependency on outside funds before starting action. Much more influential is, however, the importance migration outside the country has for the country itself. In Ghana migration is considered as road to success that brings prestige and an increased social status (Akyeampong 2000). Additionally, although largely unspoken, countries like Ghana have little authentic passion in restricting emigration because emigration reduces pressure on the internal labour market and produces remittances (De Haas 2006). An interview partner stressed this perception:

> *[…] the country is committed to curbing irregular flows but what is the level of commitment? So, once in a while the people escape and the pressure goes down. That is the hard truth."*[194]

Consequently, this study shows that a different approach on migration management and migration governance in cooperation with countries in Sub-Sahara Africa is necessary. This approach has to take the socio-historical constellations in a country and its specific take on the migration topic into account. Additionally, it needs a more honest exchange of priorities and a move away from a unilateral pursuit of interests. It has to take African countries' priorities in terms of legal migration possibilities to Europe and the utilization of remittances for development into consideration as well. Furthermore, a better coordination of development partners' project is inevitable. The formulation of additional policies in the area of migration undermines initial efforts taken with the NMP. Moreover, public awareness and recognition needs to be raised, so that an increased civil society involvement in the policy process is possible. Another aspect of consideration is the provision of support to civil society organisations, so that they can play an active role in policy implementation. On top of that, this different approach needs to acknowledge that it is not sufficient to have a government ministry or government agency as driving force of a policy, if interests and priorities on it still originate from external development partners. Instead, the interests and priorities of the government institutions need to be followed to ensure ownership, implementation and eventually the success of the policy.

These observations also have theoretical implications. They point out that the socio-historical context in which policy-making takes place provides answers to stakeholders' behaviour and their involvement in policy processes. As a result, this study argues further that in order to analyse stakeholders' involvement in the NMP process, the structure of the system in which policy-making happens needs to be examined. The theoretical part of this study has largely focused on the political structures that shape actors' behaviour (Keeley & Scoones 2003; Howlett et al. 2009). However, the empirical results suggest that on top of that also the social and historical features actors are interwoven in need to be considered in future research. This aims at the history of policy-making, the history of relationships between the involved actors

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[194] Insider Migration Management Ghana. Personal Interview. 08.03.2018.

and the social aspects related to the topic under investigation, in this case migration. Their inclusion will shed more light on the specific socio-historical environment actors operate in and its implications for policy-making and policy implementation.

This study presents the results of a single case study of policy-making in the field of migration in Ghana. Whereas the applied method allowed to gain deep insights into the specific case and to uncover the dynamics surrounding the development of the NMP for Ghana, the study suffers from a lack of generalizability. Although Ghana has since independence taking a forerunner role in terms of political developments in Sub-Sahara Africa (Chazan 1983; Nugent 1995), and it is the first country to adapt and make a national migration policy publicly available, future research has to show whether the findings of this study hold in other contexts.
Furthermore, the findings of this research have to be interpreted with care as socially desirable answers might have influenced the results. Despite of an encompassing preparation and adaption to the Ghanaian contexts, the researcher's appearance as a foreigner studying migration policy-making in Ghana has had impacts on the collected data.

Future research should therefore test the applicability of the revised analytical framework in different settings. Looking at migration policy-making in other Sub-Sahara African countries will allow to compare and contrast the findings of the Ghanaian case study. Whereas one has in general seen two different agendas on migration confronting each other between the EU on the one side and the African countries on the other side (Castillejo 2018), in-depth research on other cases shows that relationships differ. For the case of Senegal van Criekinge (2010) finds that a non-compliance approach with EU imposed projects on migration and a more strict promotion of own interests has created a room where only mutually beneficial activities are undertaken. Apart from that, another area of investigation is policy-making in other fields in Ghana to find out whether the processes that led to other policies like the National Youth Policy or the National Urban Policy Framework reveal the same dynamics of stakeholder involvement as the NMP. Furthermore, this study has shown the need for more anthropological studies of the migration phenomenon in so-called 'sending countries'. As this research has pointed out the importance of the socio-historical background in which policy-making takes place, in-depth explorations of the meaning of migration in a society will lead to a better understanding of actors' behaviours, commitment and decisions in policy processes. Moreover, it serves as a prerequisite to design better policy responses to observed phenomena.

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APPENDIX

Appendix A: List of secondary data sources

Policies:
The Revised 1994 National Population Policy
National Development Plan (Ghana Vision 2020)
Vision 2020: The First Step 1996-2000
Ghana Poverty Reduction Strategy (GPRS): An Agenda for Growth and Prosperity, 2003-2005
Growth and Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (GPRS II), 2006-2009
Ghana Shared Growth and Development Agenda (GSGDA), 2010-2013
Ghana Shared Growth and Development Agenda II (GSGDA II), 2014-2017
National Migration Policy for Ghana, 2016
Government of Ghana. Long-term National Development Plan of Ghana (2018-2057)
Government of Ghana. The Coordinated Programme of Economic and Social Development Policies (2017-2024). An Agenda for Jobs: Creating Prosperity and Equal Opportunity for All (President Akufo-Addo)
Government of Ghana. The Coordinated Programme of Economic and Social Development Policies (2014-2020). An Agenda for Transformation (President Mahama)
Government of Ghana. The Coordinated Programme of Economic and Social Development Policies (2010-2016). An Agenda for Shared Growth and Accelerated Development for a Better Ghana (President Atta Mills)
Government of Ghana. The Coordinated Programme for the Economic and Social Development of Ghana (2007-2015)
Government of Ghana. The Coordinated Programme for the Economic and Social Development of Ghana (2003-2012)
ECOWAS Treaty and ECOWAS Protocol on Free Movement of Persons, Right of Residence and Establishment, 1979
AU Migration Policy Framework for Africa, 2006
ECOWAS Common Approach on Migration, 2008

State of the Nations Addresses:
State of the Nation Address, President Akufo-Addo, 2018
State of the Nation Address, President Akufo-Addo, 2017
State of the Nation Address, President Mahama, 2016
State of the Nation Address, President Mahama, 2015
State of the Nation Address, President Mahama, 2014
State of the Nation Address, President Mahama, 2013
State of the Nation Address, President Atta Mills, 2012
State of the Nation Address, President Atta Mills, 2011

Annual Reports and Plans:
Ghana Immigration Service. Annual Report 2016

Ghana Immigration Service. Performance Report 2016
Ghana Immigration Service. Strategic Plan 2011 to 2015
IOM Ghana. Annual Report 2016
IOM Ghana. Strategic Plan 2011-2015
National Development Planning Commission. Together we build…, 2015

Info Sheets:
IOM Ghana. About IOM and the Diaspora Engagement Project
IOM Ghana. Mainstreaming Migration. Developing a Migration Policy to Integrate Migration
        into the National Development Framework for Ghana
IOM Ghana. Ghana Integrated Migration Management Approach

Additional Documents:
The Ghana Diaspora. January – March 2018 Edition
Diaspora Relations Office. Office of the President. Mobilising Ghanaian Resources in the
        Diaspora for Development. Brochure

Appendix B: Semi-structured interview guide

Date:
Time:
Duration: (expected duration of interview ca. 45-60 minutes)

Background information:
Organisation:
Function:
Name:

Opening questions: own role and perceptions on policy process leading to National Migration Policy for Ghana
1. How would you describe your own position in your organisation/institution?
    What is your background? Since when are you on this position?
2. Did your organisation/institution play a role in the policy process leading to the formulation and adoption of the NMP? And if yes, how would you describe that role?
3. How did the NMP for Ghana come about? / Which factors led to seeing the idea of developing a NMP for Ghana?
    When was this idea realised? Was there a specific incident that started the process or a specific actor?
4. When did the NMP appear for the first time on the political agenda in Ghana? When did it gain importance?
5. Who pushed the NMP onto the political agenda?
6. From your point of view, which actors were (mainly) involved in the migration policy-making process? How would you describe them (international/external/donor, national government, public, non-profit, civil society)? Were there all involved since the beginning or did some join later or even left during the process?

Interest in policy and position
7. What are the most important aspects of the NMP from your point of view?
8. What are the main problems with/gaps in the current NMP?
9. How would you rate the importance of the NMP for Ghana (and Ghana's development) on a scale from 1 to 5 (not important at all → very important)?

Alliances between stakeholders
10. Could you name the actors you mainly cooperate and/or hold similar views with on migration/NMP issues in Ghana? *Why did you cooperate with these named actors?*
    What form does this cooperation take? Since when? How would you describe this cooperation?
11. Please also mention those actors with different views and/or those it was difficult to work together with on migration/NMP issues in Ghana. *Why did you perceive cooperation with the named actors as challenging?*
12. (Did cooperation patterns change over time?)

Access to and control of resources

13. Which resources do you consider necessary to influence the national migration policy-making process and which of these resources does your organisation/institution had/have available in the policy process (political, financial, technical, human resources)?

14. From your point of view, which were the most important resources actors possessed in the policy-making process? Which actor held such resources?

Power and leadership

15. Which actors did you perceive to take over a guiding role in the policy process? → Can you name stakeholders and rank them from most powerful to least powerful?

Formal and informal rules

16. What tradition shapes policy-making in Ghana according to your view? (e.g. path dependency, leading institutions, social consensus)

17. Which values, norms and practices do you base policy decisions on in your organisation/institution? *Do other actors in the NMP process follow similar or different values, norms and practices?*

Closure: implications for implementation

18. If you look at the whole process of how the NMP developed, what is your opinion on the implementation success of the NMP? *Where do you see challenges and why?*

19. Do you think that the involvement of certain actors positively and/or negatively affect the current implementation process? How?

20. Anything else you would like to add?
21. Anything you consider important to ask in the interview I did not mention?
22. Whom would you recommend to definitely talk to get more insights into the policy process leading to the formulation and adoption of the NMP?

Appendix C: List of conducted interviews and interview details

Inter-view code	Form of interview	Category of stakeholder	Organisation/institution	Anonymized title	Date
I_1	Background talk (notes)	Academia	Regional Institute for Population Studies, University of Ghana	Senior Researcher	23.02.2018
I_2	Interview (transcript)	Academia	Centre for Migration Studies, University of Ghana	Senior Researcher	07.03.2018
I_3	Interview (transcript)	National government - ministry	Former civil servant	Insider Migration Management Ghana	08.03.2018
I_4	Interview (notes)	Civil society organisation	Media Response	Senior Officer	16.03.2018
I_5	Interview (notes)	International actor	GIZ	Senior Officer	19.03.2018
I_6	Background talk (notes)	National government - presidency	Diaspora Affairs Bureau, Office of the President	Senior Civil Servant	20.03.2018
I_7	Interview (notes)	National government - department or agency	National Development Planning Commission (NDPC)	Senior Civil Servant	20.03.2018
I_8	Background talk (notes)	International actor	Embassy of Spain, Accra	Senior Officer	04.04.2018
I_9	Interview (notes)	Civil society organisation	Africa Centre for Law & Accountability	Senior Officer	04.04.2018
I_10	Interview (notes)	International actor	International Organisation for Migration (IOM)	Mid-Level Officer	05.04.2018
I_11	Interview (notes)	National government - department or agency	Anti-Human-Trafficking Unit, Ghana Police	Representative of Anti-Human Trafficking Unit	06.04.2018
I_12	Interview (notes)	National government - department or agency	Ghana Investment Promotion Centre (GIPC)	Mid-Level Civil Servant	12.04.2018
I_13	Interview (notes)	National government - ministry	Migration Unit (Ministry of Interior)	Senior Civil Servant	17.04.2018
I_14	Interview (notes)	International actor	Delegation of the European Union to Ghana	Senior Officer	18.04.2018
I_15	Background talk (notes)	National government - department or agency	Insider diaspora engagement Ghana, formerly GIPC	Senior (ret.) Civil Servant	18.04.2018
I_16	Background talk (notes)	Academia	Department of Planning, KNUST	Senior Researcher	20.04.2018
I_17	Interview (notes)	Academia	Centre for Migration Studies, University of Ghana	Senior Reseracher	24.04.2018
I_18	Interview (notes)	Civil society organisation	Migrant Watch & Skilled Revolution Front	Founder of NGO	25.04.2018
I_19	Interview (notes)	Civil society organisation	Sahara Hustlers Association	Founder of NGO	26.04.2018

I_20	Interview (notes)	National government - ministry	Ministry of Employment and Labour Relations	Senior (ret.) Civil Servant	27.04.2018
I_21	Interview (notes)	National government - department or agency	Labour Department	Senior Civil Servant	27.04.2018
I_22	Interview (notes)	National government - department or agency	Ghana Immigration Service	Senior Civil Servant	02.05.2018
I_23	Interview (notes)	Academia	Regional Institute for Population Studies, University of Ghana	Senior Researcher	07.05.2018
I_24	Interview (notes)	National government - ministry	Civil Division, Ministry of Justice and Office of Attorney General	Mid-Level Civil Servant	07.05.2018
I_25	Background talk (notes)	National government - ministry	Ministry of Finance	Mid-Level Civil Servant	09.05.2018
I_26	Interview (notes)	National government - department or agency	Ghana Refugee Board	Senior Civil Servant	10.05.2018
I_27	Interview (notes)	Civil society organisation	Research & Counselling Foundation for African Migrants (Recfam)	Senior Officer - NGO	10.05.2018
I_28	Interview (notes)	National government - department or agency	National Population Council	Senior Civil Servant	14.05.2018
I_29	Background talk (notes)	National government - department or agency	National Population Council	Senior Civil Servant	14.05.2018
I_30	Interview (notes)	National government - ministry	Ministry of Foreign Affairs	Mid-Level Civil Servant	14.05.2018
I_31	Interview (notes)	International actor	International Labour Organization	Senior Officer	15.05.2018
I_32	Background talk (notes)	National government - ministry	Ministry of Education	Senior Civil Servant	17.05.2018
I_33	Interview (notes)	National government - ministry	Ministry of Gender	Mid-Level Civil Servant	17.05.2018
I_34	Interview (notes)	Academia	Department of Economics, University of Ghana	Senior Researcher	17.05.2018
I_35	Interview (notes)	International actor	UNHCR Ghana	Mid-Level Officer	18.05.2018
I_36	Interview (notes)	Civil society organisation	Rideo (Returnees Diaspora Integrated Development Organization)	Senior Officer - NGO	18.05.2018
I_37	Interview (notes)	National government - department or agency	Ghana Statistical Service	Senior Civil Servant	21.05.2018
I_38	Background talk (notes)	Academia	Institute of African Studies, University of Ghana	Senior Researcher	21.05.2018

I_39	Background talk (notes)	National government	Politician, Member of Parliament	Member of Parliament and Select Committee on Foreign Affairs, NPP	29.05.2018
I_40	Background talk (notes)	National government	Politician, Member of Parliament	Member of Parliament and Select Committee on Communications, NDC	29.05.2018

Source: own compilation

Appendix D: National, sub-regional, regional and international legislation and policies on migration in Ghana

National policies and legislation on migration

1963	**Alien Act of 1963 (Act 160)** First post-independence legal instrument to regulate entry, stay and employment of foreign nationals; Introduced quota system for foreign nationals and limited their access to certain sectors of economy
1992	**1992 Constitution** Guides integration and acquisition of Ghanaian citizenship; <u>Chapter 5:</u> Mandates all agencies and agents of state to respect and uphold fundamental human rights of all persons in Ghana, including foreign nationals who are legally or illegally in Ghana
1992	**Refugee Law 1992** Grants refugee status in accordance with the UN 1951 Convention, the 1967 Protocol and the OAU (AU) 1969 Convention; Law addresses definition of refugee, matters relating to the presence of refugees in Ghana, granting of refugee status, rights and duties of refugees and detention and expulsion of refugees; Establishes Ghana Refugee Board to manage all activities related to refugees in Ghana
1994	**The Revised 1994 National Population Policy** One of first policy documents to recognise role of migration for Ghana's development; Document observes that Ghana has been transformed from country of immigration to country of emigration; One of key objectives: monitor international migration and stem 'brain drain' of professionals and other skilled people leaving the country
2000/2001	**Immigration Act of 2000 (Act 573) and Immigration Regulations, 2001 (L.I. 1691)** Major piece of legislation on immigration in Ghana: provides for admission, residence, employment, removal of foreign nationals and related matters; <u>Part 1:</u> provisions on entry into and departure of persons from Ghana; <u>Part II:</u> deals specifically with labour migration; <u>Sect. 27:</u> provision for establishment of Immigrant Quota Committee: inter-ministry institution, considers work permit applications and submits recommendations to MoI which issues the permit (quotas are set on individual basis, refer to right granted by committee to specific employer to employ certain number of migrant workers); Act 573 introduced *Indefinite Residence* status and *Right of Abode* status; *Right of Abode* will be granted to "a Ghanaian by birth, adoption, registration or naturalisation.... who by reason of his acquisition of a foreign nationality has lost his Ghanaian citizenship; and ... a person of African descent in the Diaspora" (Act, Sect. 17). Those individuals are understood as those "whose immediate forebears have resided outside the African Continent for at least three generations but whose origin, either by documentary proof or by ethnic characteristics is African" (Act, Sect. 56).

2000/2001	**Citizenship Act, 2000 (Act 591) and Citizenship Regulations, 2001 (L.I. 1690)**
	Guides integration and acquisition of Ghanaian citizenship;
	Act introduced dual citizenship rights for Ghanaians abroad and foreign nationals residing in Ghana
2003	**Labour Act, 2003 (Act 651)**
	Consolidate all labour laws in one act, therefore, also important for foreign nationals working in Ghana;
	Sect. 14 (e) explicitly prescribes discrimination in employment against anyone on grounds of race, colour, nationality and other forms of discrimination
2005	**Human Trafficking Act, 2005 (Act 694)**
	Includes definition of crime of trafficking, procedural steps regarding its prosecution, penalties and provisions dedicated to protection of victims;
	Art. 20 to Art. 27 foresees institution of Human Trafficking Fund for implementation of protection measures;
	Art 28 to Art. 33 foresees institution of Human Trafficking Management Board, inter-ministerial institution, which is assigned responsibility of providing policy guidance and assistance with regard to prevention, prosecution and protection
2006	**Representation of the People (Amendment) Act, 2006 (Act 699)**
	Introduction of absentee voting rights
2010	**The National Youth Policy, 2010**
	Policy recognizes challenges of unemployment, rural-urban migration and urbanisation; recognizes the youth propensity for internal migration and emigration
2012	**The National Urban Policy Framework, 2012**
	Provides a comprehensive framework to facilitate and promote sustainable development of Ghanaian urban centres
	Immigration Amendment Act, 2012 (Act 848)
	Amended Immigration Act, 2000 and prohibits migrant smuggling
2013	**Ghana National Climate Change Policy, 2013**
	Serves as guide to deal with climate change and its impact on migration

Sub-regional and regional legislation and policies on migration

1969	**OAU (now AU) Convention Governing the Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa**
1979	**ECOWAS Treaty**
	Art. 27: Community citizens shall be exempted from holding visitors' visas and residence permits
	ECOWAS Protocol on Free Movement of Persons, Right of Residence and Establishment
	Wants to achieve visa-free entry and stay in another country for maximum of 90 days;
	Was to be implemented in three phases, each lasting approximately five years, but having led to several application and implementation challenges;
	(i) first phase, providing for Right of Entry, became effective in 1980, and guarantees to community citizens in possession of valid travel documents or international peace certificates admission to other member states without any visa requirements for maximum of 90 days; (ii) second phase, started in 1986,

	grants the Right of Residence to community citizens in member states and to be employed in accordance with municipal laws of the country of residence; (iii) third phase, provided for Right of Establishment of Business Ventures by community citizens in member states
1981	**African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights**
1990	**African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child**
1997	**Revised ECOWAS Treaty** In Art. 3 (1) document promotes the removal of obstacles to free movement of persons, goods, services and capital and right of residence and establishment
2001	**ECOWAS Political Declaration and Regional Plan of Action against Trafficking in Persons**
2006	**AU Migration Policy Framework for Africa** Policy document aims at assisting governments in the formulation of their own national and regional migration policies and their implementation; It identifies nine key migration issues and gives policy recommendations: (i) labour migration; (ii) border management; (iii) irregular migration; (iv) forced displacement; (v) human rights of migrants; (vi) internal migration; (vii) migration data; (viii) migration and development; (iv) inter-state cooperation and partnerships
2008	**ECOWAS Common Approach on Migration** Regional framework with necessary policy guidelines for migration management in West Africa; Based on six principles: (i) Free movement of persons within ECOWAS zone is one of fundamental priorities of integration policy of ECOCWAS member states; (ii) Legal migration towards other regions of world contributes to ECOWAS member states' development; (iii) Combating human trafficking is moral and humanitarian imperative; (iv) Harmonizing policies, among other national migration management policies with sector development policies; (v) Protection of rights of migrants, asylum seekers and refugees; (vi) Recognizing the gender dimension of migration
2009	**African Union Convention for the Protection and Assistance of Internally-Displaced Persons in Africa (Kampala Convention)**

Ratified international instruments on migration management

1948	**UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights**
1951	**UN Convention relating to the Status of Refugees**
1967	**UN Protocol on the Status of Refugees**
1990	**Convention on the Protection of the Rights of Migrant Workers and Members of their Families** **UN Convention on the Rights of the Child**

| 2000 | UN Convention against Transnational Organized Crime (and supplementary protocols)
 Protocol against the Smuggling of Migrants by Land, Sea and Air
 Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, especially Women and Children |

Source: own compilation based on GoG (2016), Devillard et al. (2016), Manuh et al. (2010), Awumbila et al. (2008), AU (2006), Anarfi & Kwankye (2003).

Appendix E: Interview partners ranking of most powerful actors in the policy process

Interview partner	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.
Representative of Anti-Human Trafficking Unit, Ghana Police Service	IOM	MoGCSP	MoI	CNS	IOs (Unicef, IOM, ILO)	NGOs		
Senior Civil Servant, Migration Unit, Ministry of Interior	MoI	MoELR	MoH	MoJ	MoFA			
Senior Civil Servant, National Development Planning Commission	NDPC	CMS	MoI	MoFA	CSOs			
Senior Civil Servant, National Population Council	MoI	IOM	GIS	NPC	CMS			
Mid-Level Civil Servant, Ministry of Justice	GIS	Ghana Police						
Senior Civil Servant, Ghana Refugee Board	IOM	GIS						
Mid-Level Civil Servant, Ghana Investment Promotion Centre	MoI	MoFA						
Senior Civil Servant, Ghana Immigration Service	MoI							
Senior Civil Servant, Ghana Statistical Service	MoI							
Senior (ret.) Civil Servant, Ministry of Employment and Labour Relations	MoI							
Mid-Level Civil Servant, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration	MoI							
Mid-Level Civil Servant, Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Protection	*"There was no most powerful actor"*							
Senior Officer, EU Delegation to Ghana	EU	IOM	AU + ECOWAS protocols	MoFA	MoI			
Senior Officer, GIZ	IOM	MoFA	MoI					
Mid-Level Officer, IOM Ghana	NPDC	MU/MoI						
Senior Officer, ILO	MoI							
Senior Researcher, Centre for Migration Studies, University of Ghana	MoI	MoFA	Labour Department	GSS				

Senior Researcher, Department of Economics, University of Ghana	MoFA	MoI	GIS					
Senior Reseracher, Centre for Migration Studies, University of Ghana	IOM	MoI						
Senior Researcher, Institute of African Studies, University of Ghana	GIS	MoFA						
Senior Researcher, Regional Institute for Population Studies, University of Ghana	IOM							
Senior Researcher, Centre for Migration Studies, University of Ghana	*"No actor was more powerful than the other"*							
Founder of NGO. Personal Interview. 25.04.2018.	MoI	IOM	GSS	Bank of Ghana	MoELR	NIA	NADMO	MoI
Founder of NGO. Personal Interview. 26.04.2018.	MoI	CMS	IOs (IOM, Unicef)					
Senior Officer, NGO. Personal Interview. 16.03.2018.	MoI							
Senior Officer - NGO. Personal Interview. 10.05.2018.	DPs (IOM + EU)							

Source: own compilation based on interview material