

Segadlo, Nadine

Working Paper

Navigating through an external agenda and internal preferences: Ghana's national migration policy

Discussion Paper, No. 8/2021

Provided in Cooperation with:

German Institute of Development and Sustainability (IDOS), Bonn

Suggested Citation: Segadlo, Nadine (2021) : Navigating through an external agenda and internal preferences: Ghana's national migration policy, Discussion Paper, No. 8/2021, ISBN 978-3-96021-145-7, Deutsches Institut für Entwicklungspolitik (DIE), Bonn, <https://doi.org/10.23661/dp8.2021>

This Version is available at:

<https://hdl.handle.net/10419/231448>

Standard-Nutzungsbedingungen:

Die Dokumente auf EconStor dürfen zu eigenen wissenschaftlichen Zwecken und zum Privatgebrauch gespeichert und kopiert werden.

Sie dürfen die Dokumente nicht für öffentliche oder kommerzielle Zwecke vervielfältigen, öffentlich ausstellen, öffentlich zugänglich machen, vertreiben oder anderweitig nutzen.

Sofern die Verfasser die Dokumente unter Open-Content-Lizenzen (insbesondere CC-Lizenzen) zur Verfügung gestellt haben sollten, gelten abweichend von diesen Nutzungsbedingungen die in der dort genannten Lizenz gewährten Nutzungsrechte.

Terms of use:

Documents in EconStor may be saved and copied for your personal and scholarly purposes.

You are not to copy documents for public or commercial purposes, to exhibit the documents publicly, to make them publicly available on the internet, or to distribute or otherwise use the documents in public.

If the documents have been made available under an Open Content Licence (especially Creative Commons Licences), you may exercise further usage rights as specified in the indicated licence.



<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/>



Discussion Paper

8/2021

Navigating Through an External Agenda and Internal Preferences

Ghana's National Migration Policy

Nadine Segadlo

Navigating through an external agenda and internal preferences

Ghana's National Migration Policy

Nadine Segadlo

Bonn 2021



Except as otherwise noted this publication is licensed under Creative Commons Attribution (CC BY 4.0). You are free to copy, communicate and adapt this work, as long as you attribute the German Development Institute / Deutsches Institut für Entwicklungspolitik (DIE) and the author.

Die Deutsche Nationalbibliothek verzeichnet diese Publikation in der Deutschen Nationalbibliografie; detaillierte bibliografische Daten sind im Internet über <http://dnb.d-nb.de> abrufbar.

The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie; detailed bibliographic data is available on the Internet at <http://dnb.d-nb.de>.

ISBN 978-3-96021-145-7 (printed edition)

DOI: 10.23661/dp8.2021

Printed on eco-friendly, certified paper

Nadine Segadlo is a researcher on migration and forced displacement at the Institute for Migration Research and Intercultural Studies (IMIS) at Osnabrück University.

Email: nadine.segadlo@uni-osnabrueck.de

Published with financial support from the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ) under the “Contested Mobility” research and advisory project

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 as well as achieving African compliance on return and re-admission. This approach ignores the interests of the countries of origin. It also undermines what countries of origin do to deal with migration in their own 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 history of migration, has experienced different migration trends and is affected by various streams of migration. As little is known about the country's policy responses to migration, 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-making process as well as its determinants. Guided by an analytical framework derived from theoretical considerations of the advocacy coalition framework, the interconnection 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 when deciding to get involved in the policy-making process for the NMP for Ghana, stakeholders tend to be led by their interests and the resources they possess, as these are what their power is based on. The research further reveals that the NMP does not primarily address a perceived problem related to migration within Ghana, that is to say 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 policy formulation process for Ghana's NMP, internal interests were outweighed by the external agenda of the EU.

Acknowledgements

This discussion paper has been supported and inspired by a great number of individuals that I would like to express my gratitude to. The quality of research was made possible through the support given by my supervisor of the master's degree programme in International Development Studies at Utrecht University, Dr Gery Nijenhuis. She was always available for questions and provided me with very constructive feedback during all stages of the research and writing process. Her comments continuously motivated and challenged me. Likewise, I am very grateful to my second supervisor at the Department of Politics and Public Administration at the University of Konstanz, Dr Sonja Grimm, for her inputs to my research proposal and her great feedback.

The field research of this study would not have been possible without the enormous support received from the German Development Institute (DIE). I want to especially express my gratitude to Dr Benjamin Schraven for his trustful, enriching and supportive advice. The quality of this research benefited hugely from his knowledge in the field of migration in West Africa, his personal field work experience in Ghana, his access to information, his contacts and network of migration experts in Ghana. His support opened many doors for me in Accra.

Critical for the preparation of the field research was Dr Stephen Adaawen who put me in contact with staff from the Centre for Migration Studies at the University of Ghana that pointed me in the direction of the most important supporter within Ghana: Dr Delali Badasu. Her in-depth knowledge of and great network in the migration landscape in Ghana contributed immensely to the success of this research. Her guidance, trust and care was the greatest possible backing and encouragement I could get whilst in Accra. Furthermore, I am also very thankful to the staff of the Centre for Migration Studies at the University of Ghana for their hospitality and the provision of office space.

Moreover, I want to express my sincere appreciation and gratitude towards my interview partners. Their knowledge, openness, patience, trust and encouragement is the core pillar of this research. I wish to particularly thank Professor Mariama Awumbila, former head of the Centre for Migration studies, Dr S.O. Archer, former Director Policy Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation (PPME) at the Ministry of Employment and Labour Relation (MoELR), Dr Osman Alhassan of the Institute of African Studies, University of Ghana and Patience Quaye, Assistant Commissioner of Police. I owe a great debt of gratitude to Ato Amoah from Migrant Watch & Skilled Revolution Front and Eric Opoku Ware, Sahara Hustlers Association, for their detailed and honest insights into the realities of irregular migration through the Sahara as well as the challenges faced by small civil society organisations in Ghana.

Eventually, I would like to express my gratitude to the colleagues at DIE for their helpful comments and feedback on prior versions of this discussion paper, Dr Eva Dick, Dr Jana Kuhnt, Dr Jörn Grävingholt, Dr Benjamin Schraven and Dr Stephen Adaawen.

I thank you all very much. Medaase paa!

Bonn, December 2020

Nadine Segadlo

Contents

Abstract

Acknowledgements

Abbreviations

1	Introduction	1
2	Policy-making and stakeholder involvement: an analytical framework	3
2.1	An advocacy coalition framework approach to stakeholder analysis	4
2.2	Institutions in the policy-making process	5
2.3	Developing an analytical framework for this study	5
3	Methodology	7
3.1	Research design and case selection	7
3.2	Data collection and analysis	8
3.3	Reflections on the positionality of the researcher	9
4	Migration and the political context in Ghana	9
4.1	History of migration in Ghana	9
4.2	Contemporary migration trends	10
4.3	Ghana's political history, party system and tradition of policy-making	11
4.4	The National Migration Policy for Ghana	12
5	Stakeholder involvement in Ghana's NMP process: empirical findings	14
5.1	Timeline of the policy-making process	14
5.1.1	First appearance of migration as a topic within the policy arena	14
5.1.2	First ideas towards migration management and policy development	15
5.1.3	Establishment of the Migration Unit	16
5.1.4	Establishment of the Inter-ministerial Steering Committee on Migration and start of National Migration Policy development	17
5.1.5	Policy drafting 2011-2014	17
5.1.6	Meetings with parliament and the cabinet	18
5.1.7	Policy approval and launch	19
5.1.8	Current state of implementation	19
5.2	Actors, their roles and interests in the policy process	22
5.2.1	Government institutions – ministries	22
5.2.2	Government institutions – departments and agencies	23
5.2.3	Academia	25
5.2.4	Development partners	25
5.2.5	Civil society organisations	27

5.2.6	Strengths and weaknesses of the policy	29
5.3	Alliances between stakeholders	30
5.4	Access to and control of resources	32
5.5	Power and leadership capabilities	33
5.5.1	Main driver of the policy	33
5.5.2	Actors' perceived power in the policy process	35
5.6	Formal and informal rules	37
6	Stakeholder involvement in the NMP process: a discussion	38
6.1	Reflections on the policy process	38
6.2	Reflections on the lack of policy implementation	39
6.3	Reflections on the analytical framework	45
7	Conclusion	46
References		49
Appendix A: List of conducted interviews and interview details		57
Figures		
Figure 1:	Analytical framework	7
Figure 2:	Timeline of policy process	21
Figure 3:	Actors in the NMP development process	29
Figure 4:	Interview partners' assessment of driving force behind NMP	34
Figure 5:	Calculated power score for individual actors based on power ranking	35
Tables		
Table 1:	Perceived strengths and weaknesses of NMP by group of actors	30

Abbreviations

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
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
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
MoE	Ministry of Education
MoELR	Ministry of Employment and Labour Relations
MoF	Ministry of Finance
MFA	Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration
MoGCSP	Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Protection
MoH	Ministry of Health
MoI	Ministry of the 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

Migration has become a central topic in EU-Africa cooperation and has gained a strong position in the EU’s foreign and development policies towards the continent. However, collaborations primarily reflect the EU’s focus on preventing migration and repatriating migrants instead of equally taking into consideration African countries’ interests of legal migration pathways and the usage of migration for development. Initiatives ranging from the Cotonou Partnership Agreement (CPA) of 2000, the Global Approach to Migration (GAM), its successor initiative, the Global Approach to Migration and Mobility (GAMM) up to the European Union Trust Fund for Africa (EUTF) are criticised for the prioritisation of European interests over those of African countries (Castillejo, 2017, 2019; Devisscher, 2011; Koeb & Hohmeister, 2010; Martin, 2013). But what view do countries on the African continent take on migration? What do they themselves and within their region do to deal with the phenomenon of human mobility? The encompassing attention on programmes aiming at combating the root causes of migration and flight and the focus on curbing irregular migration undermines African countries’ perspective and work on the issue.

The regional organisation in West Africa, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), together with its member states strongly promotes migration management. Its regional migration governance regime together with an explicit focus on development is the most sophisticated among all regional organisations on the African continent (Castillejo, 2019; Development and Peace Foundation, 2016, p. 28). 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 concerning labour migration as well as an explicit emphasis on the link between migration and development (ECOWAS, 2008). One of its six principles envisages first, the establishment and second, the harmonisation of national migration management and development policies among member states (Devillard, Bacchi, & Noack, 2016, p. 45; Manuh, Benneh, Gebe, Anebo, & Agyei, 2010).

As one of the first ECOWAS member states¹, Ghana introduced its National Migration Policy (NMP) in April 2016 as a reaction to the absence of an encompassing national framework on migration. Ghana has different forms of migration: internal migration, immigration, labour migration, transit migration and emigration both to other African countries and outside of Africa (Awumbila, Manuh, Quartey, Addoquaye Tagoe & Antwi Bosiakoh, 2008). Lately, challenges related to environmentally induced migration have been increasing the internal movement of people because of scarcities of natural resources and rainfall variability (Rademacher-Schulz, Schraven, & Mahama, 2014; van der Geest, Vrieling, & Dietz, 2010). The official aim of the NMP is to “help manage its internal, intra-

1 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 Nigeria, 2015). However, a personal interview has revealed that Ghana was the pioneer in West Africa to adopt the National Migration Policy (Interview, Senior Civil Servant (retired), Ministry of Employment and Labour Relations, 27 April 2018).

regional and international migration flows for poverty reduction and sustained national development" (Government of Ghana, 2016b, p. vii). Following its adoption in 2016, the policy is currently awaiting implementation.

Policy-making in Ghana has so far only been approached by in-depth studies in the field of health and education (Imurana, Haruna, & Kofi, 2014; Nudzor, 2014; Seddoh & Akor, 2012). Little is known about the various stakeholders, their interests and interactions that shape policy-making in the field of migration. Given the strong interest of the EU in addressing migration in African countries, this study focuses on migration policy-making as a specific example of a country in the Global South. Ghana's NMP raises questions about guiding influences from international actors, the regional organisation ECOWAS, and the role of the Government of Ghana (GoG) itself as well as other domestic players in the policy formulation process.

Consequently, this study seeks to examine the process that led to the formulation and adoption of the NMP for Ghana in 2016 as well as stakeholder involvement in that process. The time frame of the analysis spans from the first emergence of the topic of migration in Ghana's policy context at the end of the 1990s to the current stage of implementation. The analysis of this study is guided by two questions: How did the policy-making process of the NMP for Ghana develop? Which factors account for stakeholders' involvement in that process? Therefore, this research looks into reconstructing the policy process that led to the development of the NMP. This study furthermore seeks to identify the key actors involved, their specific interests, what brings them together and how they interact. The identification of one or more guiding actor(s) in migration policy-making and their specific agenda(s) makes it possible to determine consequences to the implementation stage, public recognition, the state's ownership and lastly the success of the policy.

To answer these questions, semi-structured expert interviews with stakeholders in the policy process were conducted during 14 weeks of field work in Ghana from February to May 2018. The interview-based approach was complemented with an analysis of secondary data such as policy documents, annual and strategic plans.

The study is structured as follows: first, it gives an overview of the theoretical background and the literature on public policy-making from which a framework for analysing stakeholder involvement in policy processes is developed. Section 3 details the research design and the methodological approach. Section 4 gives an overview of past and present migration patterns in Ghana, outlines the country's political context and presents a detailed view on the NMP. Section 5 contains the empirical analysis of the policy process leading to Ghana's National Migration Policy, whereas Section 6 discusses stakeholder involvement in the policy process, reflects on the policy's lack of implementation and the applied analytical framework, before Section 7 sums up the main findings, gives an outlook for future research and presents policy implications.

2 Policy-making and stakeholder involvement: an analytical framework

Public policy-making, as defined by Jenkins (1978), comprises of taking decisions in addressing a public problem and the means of achieving these decisions. It is usually conceptualised in a circular arrangement, the so-called policy cycle (Jann & Wegrich, 2007, p. 44). Conventionally, this cycle is undergone in the following order: the definition of the problems (problem definition) and their placement on the agenda (agenda setting); the development, formulation and adoption of policies (policy formulation); their implementation (policy implementation) and finally their evaluation (policy evaluation). Based on their effectiveness and efficiency they are either terminated or redefined. The concept of the policy cycle helps in reducing complexity and the division into different units allows for an isolated analysis of each stage with own models and theories (Howlett, Ramesh, & Perl, 2009, 12f.). However, this specific 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, p. 56).

In addition to structuring policy-making in a circular order, scholars stress the importance of the policy context to understand public policy-making (Brugha & Varvasovszky, 2000; Howlett et al., 2009; Lasswell, 1956; Timmermans & Bleiklie, 1999). Afterall, actions depend on the structures that actors operate within and the ideas they hold (Timmermans & Bleiklie, 1999). Howlett et al. (2009) argue that actors seek to pursue their own interests. However, the political, economic and social structures surrounding them influence their behaviour and their decisions. Moreover, their actions are guided by the ideas they develop about realities and how they define appropriate actions (Howlett et al., p. 52).

A common tool to analyse actors in the policy-making process and to explore the context within which they operate is the stakeholder analysis (Schmeer, 1999; Varvasovszky & Brugha, 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, p. 3). An identified public problem usually includes and influences a diverse range of actors. Schmeer (1999, p. 3) compiles a classification of stakeholders into international/donors, national political (legislators, governors), public (ministries and public agencies), labour (unions, associations), private-sector, non-profit (non-governmental organisations, foundations), civil society and consumers. Therefore, a detailed examination of stakeholders as well as their interests and motivations makes it possible to elaborate on why and how certain policies develop.

Applications of stakeholder analysis in exploring policy processes can, for example, be found in health policies (Ancker & Rechel, 2015; Basaza, O'Connell, & Chapčáková, 2013), social policies (Gil, Polikina, Koroleva, Leon, & McKee, 2010; Sanjeeva, Godakandage, Senarath, Jayawickrama, & Siriwardena, 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 stakeholders' interests, positions, alliances and influence change as well as the political context within which they operate (Brugha & Varvasovszky, 2000).

2.1 An advocacy coalition framework approach to stakeholder analysis

Consequently, Weible (2007) proposes an advocacy coalition framework (ACF) approach as the theoretical basis to conducting 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. Third, the formation of advocacy coalitions is a way to engage with 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 ACF 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 characterised by their specific knowledge. Their special resources enable them to develop actions to deal with a given public problem (Howlett et al., 2009, p. 12). With a few exceptions (Beverwijk, Goedegebuure, & Huisman, 2008; Villamor, 2006), the ACF has mainly been used to explain policy processes in the Global North. However, Koivisto (2014) highlights that, especially in countries in the Global South, external actors, like international organisations and donors, also influence policy-making processes, mainly through the provision of funds. This necessitates their inclusion in the analysis.

The ACF approach hypothesises that stakeholders within a policy subsystem are rational and follow a three-tiered hierarchical belief system. These beliefs range from deep core beliefs via policy core beliefs to secondary beliefs. On another dimension, they range from being fundamental, reaching beyond one policy subsystem and therefore being hard to change, towards focusing on just one component of a policy subsystem, being relatively narrow in scope and very likely to change due to new developments (Sabatier & Weible, 2007, p. 194; 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 then aim to influence the policy-making process (Weible, 2007). That is done through policy-relevant resources that stakeholders use, and involves the formal legal authority to make policy decisions, public opinion supporting a coalition's policy position, information on the problem, mobilisable troops of public supporters, financial resources and skilful leadership (Sabatier & Weible, 2007, p. 201f.).

Various studies have empirically tested the applicability of the ACF (Klaphake & Scheumann, 2006; Villamor, 2006). Weible (2007) and Koivisto (2014) each undertake a stakeholder analysis with an ACF by grouping stakeholders around two policy core beliefs into two coalitions. They find that those coalitions use the resources at their disposal to emphasise their position (Weible, 2007, 109f.) and their power to decide on implementation processes (Koivisto, 2014, p. 53). However, both studies highlight that the ACF for stakeholder analysis needs further specification. For example, Weible (2007) criticises that the ACF approach lacks a theoretical conceptualisation of how institutions affect stakeholder action, their beliefs and coalition building. Furthermore, Beverwijk et al. (2008) call for further refinement of the framework because political systems are not as static as proposed by the ACF.

Nevertheless, the ACF for stakeholder analysis can serve as a reference point for this study because it provides guidance for analysing a policy and the actors involved. Additionally, it outlines some of the explanatory factors responsible for stakeholder involvement in policy processes: (i) policy core beliefs; (ii) advocacy coalitions; (iii) available resources; (iv) available strategies and venues (Sabatier & Weible, 2007; Weible, 2007).

2.2 Institutions in the policy-making process

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

Institutions are conceived of 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. The first assumes that individual actors have a fixed set of preferences, are selfish and want to maximise their benefits. The second highlights the long-term institutional legacies of policy-making and stresses that institutions are embedded in persisting political structures. Thirdly, sociological institutionalism makes use of a cultural approach to understand how institutions influence behaviour.

Various studies have applied the framework of institutions, interests and ideas in its different forms to analyse how and why a public policy emerged and was implemented (Dickinson & Buse, 2008; Koh, Goh, Wee, & Yeoh, 2016; Pojani & Stead, 2014). Work by Keeley and Scoones (2003) on environmental policy-making focuses on three overlapping factors explaining the policy process: First, actors and their connections shape so-called policy narratives, in other words, the perception of a problem, how it has emerged and how it can be tackled. Second, they are influenced by the political context, the underlying power dynamics, and third, the 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 the stakeholders' power, their resources and their ways of cooperation (Koh et al., 2016). A slightly different approach is the framework of policy actors, knowledge and spaces applied by Brock et al. (2002). They 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 their actions. This approach is applied to the poverty reduction policy process in Uganda. As the methodological approach, the authors conduct interviews with involved actors to investigate their knowledge and interactions in the formulation and implementation process.

2.3 Developing an analytical framework for this study

From the theoretical considerations outlined above and the review of the literature, a set of explanatory factors have been identified. As they have potential to explain stakeholder involvement in the policy-making process, they will guide the analysis.

The first aspect found in the ACF for stakeholder analysis are policy beliefs. They can be conceptualised as the **interests** and motives a stakeholder has concerning the policy. It is assumed that the interests of stakeholders shape their involvement in policy processes (Koh et al., 2016; Weible, 2007). The interests in a policy are often closely connected to the advantages and disadvantages that the adoption and implementation of a policy would bring to a stakeholder. Therefore, the interest in a policy also provides insights into the position a stakeholder takes on a policy, whether he or she takes a supportive, opposing or neutral stance on it (Schmeer, 1999).

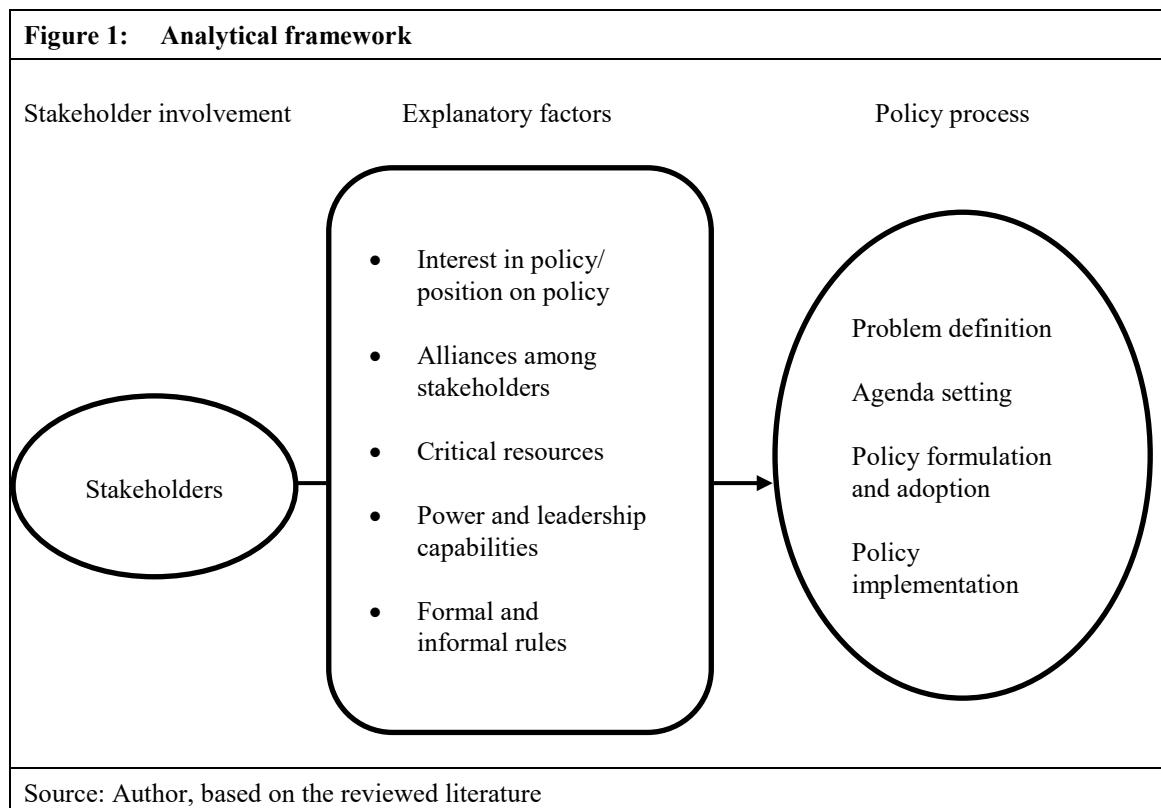
It can be observed that stakeholders form advocacy coalitions with other stakeholders based on their policy beliefs (Koivisto, 2014). Such forms of cooperation can be captured as **alliances** between stakeholders. Special dynamics among them, such as the shared interest in a policy, foster cooperation between two or more stakeholders to achieve the same goal (Schmeer, 1999).

The availability of resources has been identified as a crucial factor to influence policy-making processes (Sabatier & Weible, 2007). Access to and control of resources impacts the degree of influence an actor has. There can be different kinds of **critical resources**: 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.

Closely connected to the resources available to a stakeholder is the ability to mobilise 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 he or she possesses. The power component, however, is connected to the leadership capabilities of a stakeholder. A guiding question is, whether an actor has the power as well as the willingness to initiate a process, start a conversation among actors or lead actions for or against policy implementation (Schmeer, 1999).

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.

The explanatory factors outlined above form the basis for developing an analytical framework for this study. As shown in Figure 1, it first takes into consideration the identification of stakeholders. It then lists the potential explanatory factors identified 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 might have an influence on the implementation of policies.



3 Methodology

3.1 Research design and case selection

To answer the research question, this study employs a qualitative case study approach. The main focus of this research lies on exploring the policy process leading to the adoption of the NMP for Ghana. It constitutes the policy subsystem under investigation. The study seeks to explain stakeholder involvement in the first three stages of the policy-making process and examine its impact on policy implementation. For this purpose, the research will first provide a chronological reconstruction of the policy process. This allows the determination of the main incidents that happened, in order to develop an introductory overview of who participated during the various stages of policy-making. The time frame lasts from the initial consideration of the issue of migration in national development plans in Ghana at the end of the 1990s to its current stage of implementation.

Ghana's NMP offers a great opportunity to study stakeholder involvement in a policy-making process. Chazan (1983, p. 5) described Ghana as a "microcosm of political analysis in Africa". Its comparatively exemplary democratic development and relative stability and peacefulness within the sub-region make Ghana a valuable case to focus on. Comparatively strong economic development rates transformed Ghana into an attractive migrant destination. Apart from that, the country also experiences other migration flows such as emigration and transit migration. These different types of migration attract attention from various stakeholders in migration governance. The fact that it is one of the first ECOWAS member states to adopt a national migration policy justifies focusing on Ghana as a country case study.

3.2 Data collection and analysis

The qualitative approach of this study is based on in-person semi-structured interviews with stakeholders in Ghana and desk research of secondary data sources. During 14 weeks of field research from February to May 2018, a total of 40 interviews were conducted. Interview partners were selected based on studying the NMP, literature research, the researcher's own network, networks of the cooperating partners and the snowball method. 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, anonymised title as well as the date of the interview is summarised in Appendix A. Of the 40 conducted interviews, 29 are classified as official interviews and 11 as background conversations. Official interviews were held based on an interview guide with open ended questions. Background conversations, on the other hand, were characterised by more open and creative interview questions conducted to gather background knowledge from an interview partner who is an expert in a specific field, for example participated in another Ghanaian policy development process, or has, due to his or her position, special insights into contexts necessary to understand migration policy-making in Ghana. The background conversation was usually based on fewer impulses from the researcher and enabled the interview partner to speak based on own emphasis and structure.

Additionally, data was collected through desk research. This included publications, annual and strategic plans as well as policy documents related to migration. A specific focus was put on analysing the newspaper coverage of the policy process for the NMP. In the library of the University of Ghana the researcher accessed the hard copies of the Ghanaian newspapers *Ghanaian Times* and *Daily Graphic* and examined their coverage of the policy process. Together with web research, it made it possible to back-trace public attention on the issue and to identify milestones in the process.

When it comes to data analysis, this study uses the method of qualitative content analysis (Hennink, Hutter, & Bailey, 2010; Mayring, 2015). For this purpose, the interview material was organised in an Excel spreadsheet. 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. This allowed the identification of recurrent patterns, 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 provided by the analytical framework, there followed a summary of the main aspect belonging to each code. Results were described and put in a greater context, before a critical analysis was undertaken (Kuckartz, Dresing, Rädiker, & Stefer, 2008).

3.3 Reflections on the positionality of the researcher

Being a white female researching migration policy-making in Ghana requires a critical reflection upon the positionality from which this research is undertaken as well as the power and privileges associated with that status. The researcher's positionality influences all stages of the research process, including the analysis of the data and the interpretations given to the material. Although the researcher applied a privilege-sensitive approach while interacting with people, institutions and data (Cobb, Hampel, Missbach, Muhammad, & Rodríguez, 2020, p. 30), certain biases ascribed to access and interpretation, stemming from a privileged position have to be taken into consideration when engaging with this study.

Doing research in Ghana from an “outsider” position (Jankie, 2004), as a young female researcher from Europe, allowed easy access to ministries, parliament and even the presidential palace without great effort. As the policy-making landscape in Ghana is widely male-dominated and characterised by hierarchy, the intersection of the white outsider position with the categories age and gender should not be underestimated in the research process. There were situations in which the combination of the intersecting categories posed a challenge to building rapport. However, in the majority of cases it served as an advantage for the researcher who was met with great respect, hospitality and interest.

4 Migration and the political context in Ghana

4.1 History of migration in Ghana

Ghana's past and present history is characterised by various forms of human mobility. During pre-colonial times migration was widely marked by the purpose of transregional trade, the search for new lands for agriculture and cattle herding, pilgrimage and religious education (Awumbila et al., 2008; Bakewell & Haas, 2007). Colonisation changed these patterns of mobility. Internally, north-south migration became dominant as the colonial economy demanded labour for cocoa farming, on plantations and in mines, in the infrastructure and railway sector. The large majority of these economic opportunities were created in the southern part of the country (Scalabrini Institute for Human Mobility in Africa, 2014). The economic opportunities that came with colonial mercantilism, as well as the economic boom in the immediate aftermath of independence, in a way also attracted migrants from neighbouring countries (Anarfi & Kwankye, 2003; Arthur, 1991). This led to a massive population increase in Ghana between 1921 (roughly two million people) and 1960 (about 6.7 million people) (Ghana Statistical Service, 2005, p. xvi).

After independence in 1957, Ghana's thriving economy continued to be an appealing destination for migrants in the region (Awumbila et al., 2008; Bakewell & Haas, 2007). However, due to economic decline in the 1960s, Ghana saw a shift towards increasing emigration. An estimated two million labourers left the country between 1974 and 1981, predominantly to Nigeria and Côte d'Ivoire (Bakewell & Haas, 2007, p. 104). Outward migration was further intensified through military dictatorship and economic recovery policies in the 1980s in which mainly skilled professionals, but also semi- and unskilled young people left for destinations in Western Europe and North America (Anarfi & Kwankye, 2003).

4.2 Contemporary migration trends

Since the beginning of the 1990s, migration patterns diversified and Ghana again became an increasingly attractive destination for migrants (UN-DESA, 2019), with migrants from surrounding West African countries dominating. According to the 2010 Population and Housing Census, around 86 per cent of the foreign population in Ghana were African nationals. 68.3 per cent of the foreign nationals came from other ECOWAS member states (Ghana Statistical Service, 2012, p. 29). But emigration, especially of trained health professionals, has also continued. According to Clemens and Petterson (2008), more than 56 per cent of physicians and 24 per cent of nurses trained in Ghana were working abroad in 2000. As also noted by Quartey (2009), Ghana's skilled emigration rate is posited at 46 per cent. This makes it the country with the second highest skilled migration rate for countries with a population higher than 5 million people in the world, after Haiti.

The Ghana Statistical Service (GSS) defines an “emigrant” as a Ghanaian who has lived outside the country for more than six months (Ghana Statistical Service, 2012, p. 5). The 2010 Population and Housing Census indicated that the largest stock of Ghanaian migrants abroad can be found in Europe (37.7 per cent), followed by other ECOWAS states (25.5 per cent) and the Americas (23.6 per cent) (Ghana Statistical Service, 2012, p. 38). Despite of these figures, it is predominantly migration within the West African sub-region that represents a considerable proportion of the relocation. Estimations show that 84 per cent of international migration in the ECOWAS region happens among member states (Castillejo, 2019, p. 25). This is mainly due to seasonal and temporary migration for socio-economic reasons. Improved economic opportunities and political stability attracts labour migrants from the region, especially from Nigeria, but Ghanaians also move within the sub-region in search of better opportunities (Scalabrini Institute for Human Mobility in Africa, 2014). The main destinations for Ghanaian migrants in the ECOWAS region are Côte d’Ivoire, followed by Nigeria and Togo (Ghana Statistical Service, 2012, p. 38).

The remittances Ghanaian emigrants send home constitute an important part of national development. According to the World Bank, the amount of remittances to Ghana was USD 2.1 billion in 2016 (World Bank, 2017). The Ghana Living Standards Survey reveals that remittances contribute 2.3 per cent to the total household income of Ghanaians (Ghana Statistical Service, 2014, p. 151).

The lack of reliable data makes it difficult to estimate the volume of irregular Ghanaian migrants. EU statistics record 4,660 Ghanaian migrants as being in the EU illegally in 2014 (European Commission, 2016, p. 2). Figures of March 2018 by IOM reveal that 62,422 Ghanaians were in Libya at that time, either in various cities or in detention centres. A large majority of them are irregular migrants who mainly travelled North by using the trans-Saharan route. Given the networks between migrants and Ghanaians at home, Libya gained a reputation as an attractive place for economic opportunities (Bob-Milliar, 2012). However, this perception changed with reports at the end of 2017 about a ‘slave market’ in Libya where migrants were being auctioned. Ghanaian returnees from Libya also reported that some Ghanaians became victims of this modern-day slave trade (GhanaWeb, 2017; 2018). Another migration route that has gained prominence is that 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 destinations and incidents of abuse of migrants

have caused the GoG to issue a temporary ban on recruitment of workers to the Gulf states in May 2017 (Hawkson, 2017).

Refugees and asylum seekers just make up a small proportion of people living in Ghana. Moreover, their numbers have decreased since 2005. Whereas Ghana had hosted almost 60,000 refugees and asylum seekers in the beginning of the 2000s, of which the majority had fled from Liberia's civil war (UNHCR, 2005), this number has decreased to 13,436 people by 2019 (UNHCR, 2020, p. 73). The latest figures from June 2020 indicate that Ghana has a refugee population of 13,319. More than 50 per cent (6 707) of that population comes from Côte d'Ivoire (UNHCR Ghana, 2020).

Migration within Ghana mainly takes the form of rural-rural and rural-urban migration. The north-south migration pattern that had evolved during colonial times continues until today. In the 1960s and 1970s, it was mainly young men moving south seasonally to look for work. Over time, female migration has also gained momentum with many young women working as head porters in transport stations and markets in urban areas, especially in the large cities of Accra, Kumasi and Sekondi-Takoradi. They are referred to as 'kayayei' (Awumbila & Ardayfio-Schandorf, 2008; Awumbila, Owusu, & Teye, 2014).

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

As the first country in Sub-Saharan Africa to become independent from British colonial rule in March 1957, Ghana and its first president Kwame Nkrumah followed a left-socialist political path in which Pan-Africanism played a decisive role. In the years between Nkrumah's eventual ousting from power in 1966 and the beginning of the 1990s, Ghana experienced high levels of political instability and military coups. It was under military leader Jerry John Rawlings, who came to power through a military coup in 1981, that the country returned to democracy. This included the formulation of the 1992 constitution and the establishment of a multi-party system (Gyimah-Boadi, 2008). Rawlings transformed his movement into a political party, the National Democratic Congress (NDC), which won the 1992 elections and made him president. Since then, Ghana has held successful multi-party elections every four years and has experienced three peaceful turnovers.²

Although multiple parties contest in Ghanaian elections, a strong two-party system has formed, in which rule alternates between the NDC and the New Patriotic Party (NPP). In general, the democratic transition in 1992 has also opened avenues for more participation in public policy-making. Whereas it was hitherto widely considered as "exclusionary and elitist" (Mohammed, 2013, p. 118), the 1992 constitution gave room for the participation of civil society organisations (CSO) in policy-making (Government of Ghana, 1992, Art. 37 (2a)). Public participation was fostered through regional and sub-regional forums to elaborate on long-term socio-economic development plans like the Ghana Vision 2020, a development plan aiming at achieving middle-income country status by 2020 (Mohammed 2013, p. 120), the Ghana Poverty Reduction Strategy (GPRS I) in 2000 and the Growth and Poverty

2 In 2001, the New Patriotic Party (NPP) under John Kufuor took over the leadership of the country. After the NPP was re-elected in 2004, the NDC returned to power in 2008. President John Mahama (NDC) handed over to the opposition party leader Nana Akufo-Addo (NPP) after a defeat in the presidential and parliamentary elections in December 2016.

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 to foster ownership (Abdul-Gafaru & Quantson, 2008, p. 129f.). However, studies conclude that, despite 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. CSOs often lack the necessary resources, skills and information for effective engagement. Because of their limited capacities, they are only consulted and not part of joint decision-making processes (Abdul-Gafaru & Quantson, 2008; Mohammed, 2013). Ghana depends to a great extent on external funds and support provided by development partners. In the past Ghana has been called a “donor darling” (Brown, 2017, p. 342) because of its very positive relations with the international development community (Hughes, 2005). The country’s ‘success story’ culminated in achieving the status of a lower-middle income country in 2010 (Kumi, 2020, p. 68). However, the political agenda is said to be heavily influenced by development partners (Whitfield, 2010), causing the GoG to recently call for a shift from aid dependency to a ‘beyond aid’ agenda (Government of Ghana, 2019).

In addition, the role of traditional authorities constitutes an important characteristic of Ghana’s political system. Chiefs played an important role in the local government administration during colonial rule (Asamoah, 2012) and the 1992 constitution guarantees the status and autonomy of that institution. However, it 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 when it comes to policy implementation (Taabazuing, Armah, Dixon, & Luginaah, 2012).

4.4 The National Migration Policy for Ghana

Ghana’s response to migration had over the years been scattered and uncoordinated within national, sub-regional, regional and international legislation and policy frameworks. Therefore, the need for a single encompassing document providing policy guidelines for all migration-related areas became central in academic and public policy debates (Awumbila et al., 2008; Devillard et al., 2016; Government of Ghana, 2010b; Quartey, 2009). As a consequence, Ghana’s authorities started the process of developing a National Migration Policy at the end of the 2000s, which was adopted by the Ghanaian government in April 2016 (see Figure 2). The NMP constitutes an inclusive framework for the management of all forms of migration with the aim of enhancing the sustainable development of the country:

For the first time in the history of Ghana, the GoG has formulated a comprehensive national policy on migration (the NMP) to help manage its internal, intra-regional and international migration flows in favour of poverty reduction and sustained national development (Government of Ghana, 2016b, p. vii).

While emphasis is put on strengthening the potential of migration for Ghana’s development, it also addresses migration related challenges. The policy is embedded in national and international policy frameworks such as the 1992 constitution, Ghana’s National Development Plans, the 2006 African Union Strategic Framework for Migration, the 2008 ECOWAS Common Approach on Migration and the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs).

The NMP provides an overview of the history of migration in Ghana and acknowledges internal migration, immigration and emigration as the three main migration patterns. It lists already existing national laws and policies related to migration in the country as well as adopted or ratified sub-regional, regional and international legal and policy frameworks. The main body of the over-150-page 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 policy deals with internal migration, irregular migration, labour migration, return, readmission and reintegration of emigrant Ghanaians as well as with increased influx of immigrants such as the Fulani pastoralists predominantly in Northern Ghana. All these various issues are discussed in one chapter. The sub-section on irregular migration pays specific attention to human trafficking and smuggling. The chapter on 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 as well as 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 emphasises international labour migration management.

Another focus 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) (Government of Ghana, 2016b, p. 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 insights into contemporary migration trends have highlighted, data availability to provide adequate information on migration flows is a major concern in the Ghanaian context. Consequently, the policy outlines 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.

Next to the forms of migration listed above, 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 an appendix. The Inter-ministerial Steering Committee on Migration (IMSCM) that facilitated the policy development and the Migration Unit (MU) under the Ministry of the Interior (MoI) spearhead the NMP's implementation. The MU is specifically 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, is tasked with migration management in consonance with the NMP and earmarked as the main coordinator of NMP implementation.

The policy speaks about resource mobilisation for implementation and gives a central role to the GoG to provide and mobilise funding. However, this topic is only dealt with very briefly and without any details regarding the acquisition of financial resources. Additionally, a first outline for 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 a time frame for the activities to be carried out and it does not provide a budget with clear responsibilities.

5 Stakeholder involvement in Ghana's NMP process: empirical findings

This section starts with a chronological reconstruction of the policy process from the first idea to its current state of implementation based on a compilation of various information collected on how the NMP came about, followed by a presentation of the actors involved, their roles taken in the policy process and their interests concerning the policy. The section proceeds by analysing each explanatory factor identified in the analytical framework and its role in the NMP for Ghana.

5.1 Timeline of the policy-making process

5.1.1 First appearance of migration as a topic within the policy arena

In the Ghanaian context, migration was initially related to population policies. Over the years, the GoG had adopted several programmes on population management in the 1990s which culminated in the 1994 Revised National Population Policy of Ghana (Background Conversation, Senior Researcher, Institute of African Studies, University of Ghana, 21 May 2018). 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 (Government of Ghana, 1994). In 1996, for the first time, the National Development Planning Commission (NDPC) mentioned migration in its five-year medium-term National Development Plan 1996-2000. 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 urbanisation. It acknowledges that since independence, migration had contributed largely to urban population growth (Government of Ghana, 1996, p. 64) and recognises the significant influence of international migration on Ghana's population since 1969 (Government of Ghana, 1996, p. 8). Its successor document, the Ghana Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (GPRS), 2003-2005, emphasises economic growth and the fight against poverty. It mentions rural-urban migration of young people seeking work as head porters and street vendors (Government of Ghana, 2003, p. 13; p. 29). It further identifies poverty as the main driver of migration from the north and demands policies to tackle poverty in the areas of origin (Government of Ghana, 2003, p. 28). Additionally, the document addresses the topic of emigration of health professionals (Government of Ghana, 2003, p. 111). Apart from policy documents, the GoG under President Kufuor raised awareness of migration by organising the first Homecoming Summit in July 2001. Its objective was to attract Ghanaians from the diaspora to invest in and support the development of Ghana with their skills and potential (Kleist, 2011; Manuh & Asante, 2005).

Internationally, with the CPA between the EU and the ACP in 2000, the link between migration and development was increasingly emphasised in policy discussions and frameworks. Thus, it put discussions around the migration-development nexus more prominently on the agenda of African governments in general and the Ghanaian government in particular (van Crikinge, 2010). Towards the end of 2004, Ghana hosted a conference on the topic under the aegis of the UN. The resulting report highlighted the link between migration and development and initiated the idea of creating a bureau that would coordinate the activities of all Ghanaian organisations working on migration (International Centre for Migration Policy Development, s. a.).

5.1.2 First ideas towards migration management and policy development

The idea of developing a policy on migration was first outlined by the NDPC in Ghana's GPRS II, the national development plan for 2006 to 2009. In this document, the development of a migration policy is listed as one strategy under the heading Employment: "Develop policies to address seasonal unemployment and migration for young women and men" (Government of Ghana, 2005, p. 112). Although rather broadly formulated, the document is often referred to as the first step towards policy development related to migration. Ghana's strategy of developing policies to address migration was accompanied by changes in the country, an increase in the number of female head porters in large cities as well as widespread emigration of teachers and nurses (Interview, Senior Civil Servant, National Development Planning Commission, 20 March 2018). During that time (November 2005), Ghana also became a member of the International Organization for Migration (IOM) because it was recognised as "an active partner in the global discussion on migration" (Ministry of the Interior, 2017).

The analysis of interview material reveals three major factors that resulted in the idea of developing a migration policy. The first, most frequently mentioned, is concerned with the benefits of migration towards national development. The increasing emphasis on harvesting migration's positive impacts on development is closely associated with making use of remittances and sound management of migration. Money sent home by the Ghanaian diaspora is estimated to make up a significant part of Ghana's GDP (Mazzucato, van den Boom, & Nsowah-Huamah, 2008). According to a senior researcher at the University of Ghana, the importance of using the benefits of migration took on a new dimension in the 2000s with Ghana's uplift towards middle-income country status: "There are so many migrants outside with resources, skills and networks. They present an important source for development, especially when Ghana was declared a middle-income country. We did not have the support we used to have" (Interview, Senior Researcher, Institute of African Studies, University of Ghana, 21 May 2018). In this context, the development of the NMP is viewed as one step towards the acquisition of alternative (financial) resources for the betterment of the country.

The second factor that was put forward as a reason why the GoG embarked on the journey to develop the NMP was related to the need to address various migration streams affecting the country. This refers to internal migration, but also to the emigration of professionals in the health and education sector and the resulting brain drain. Putting measures in place for the enhancement of brain circulation and brain gain instead, was one goal of the NMP (Interview, Senior Researcher, Centre for Migration Studies, University of Ghana, 7 May

2018). Emigration of mostly unskilled labour to the Gulf countries, partly related to human trafficking, and irregular migration to Europe, mainly by young men using the trans-Saharan route, were further migration streams faced by the country (Interview, Senior (retired) Civil Servant, Ministry of Employment and Labour Relations, 27 April 2018). This is closely linked to the perceived lack of a coordinated migration management approach. Ghana presents a scattered migration landscape with the involvement of a variety of actors. Different documents and a number of laws on migration exist, but there is not one all-encompassing document, which hampers effective coordination and management of migration issues (Interview, Senior Researcher, Department of Economics, University of Ghana, 17 May 2018; Interview, Mid-Level Officer, UNHCR Ghana, 18 May 2018). From these observations, Ghanaian policy-makers deduced the need for a policy to guide the migration landscape in the country.

The third set of factors behind the development of the NMP encompass the issue of international migration to Europe being high on the agendas of development partners. Especially in the 2000s, an increase of the number of Ghanaians migrating to Spain and Italy through irregular migration was observed. This was combined with more and more reports of irregular migrants dying in the Mediterranean Sea on their way to the EU (Interview, Senior Officer, NGO, 10 May 2018). The media took up the topic and “the cries in Europe on illegal migration were at the forefront of discussions” (Interview, Senior Civil Servant, Migration Unit, Ministry of the Interior, 17 April 2018). Consequently, interview partners argue that migration to Europe is a very current topic at the moment when engaging with development partners from Europe (Interview, Senior Researcher, Centre for Migration Studies, University of Ghana, 7 March 2018; Interview, Mid-Level Civil Servant, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration, 14 May 2018). The GoG was prompted by the EU and IOM through their promised support to take up the idea of migration management and develop a migration policy for the country (Interview, Senior Civil Servant, Ghana Refugee Board, 10 May 2018). However, this initial approach was guided by the development partners’ interest in regulating global migration movements. As a result, the policy’s focus was placed on international migration (Interview, Senior Researcher, Centre for Migration Studies, University of Ghana, 7 March 2018).

5.1.3 Establishment of the Migration Unit

Reacting to the GoG’s wish for a centralised migration management body to be able to address the increasing challenges emerging around migration as well as to harvest its potential for development, the IOM supported the establishment of the MU. In 2006, cabinet approval was given for its establishment under the responsibility of the MoI. Due to the lack of office space, this was delayed until 2008. The IOM provided financial and technical assistance for its set up (International Centre for Migration Policy Development, s. a., Section 1, p. 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 (Ministry of the Interior, 2017). There are voices that claim that establishing the MU was a condition for Ghana’s IOM membership (Kleist, 2011, p. 12f.; Vezzoli & Lacroix, 2010, p. 22). The driving role of the IOM in setting up the MU was confirmed by representatives from IOM Ghana. However, they argue that the GoG wanted to have a body for centralised migration management and that, therefore, they

merely followed a demand expressed by their partner (Interview, Mid-Level Officer, IOM Ghana, 5 April 2018).

5.1.4 Establishment of the Inter-ministerial Steering Committee on Migration and start of National Migration Policy development

As coordinator of the migration policy development, the MU put together an IMSCM for that process in 2009. Members were representatives of government institutions dealing with migration. The NMP itself refers to the IMSCM as a “parent body” (Government of Ghana, 2016b, p. x) which played a key role in the facilitation of the NMP’s development. After it was set up by the cabinet in 2009, it started its meetings and drew up terms of reference for a consultancy to draft the policy (Interview, Senior Researcher, Centre for Migration Studies, University of Ghana, 24 April 2018). Likewise in 2009, the National Migration Profile for Ghana was published. As an IOM initiative to support the GoG with a comprehensive policy approach to migration, the National Migration Profile recommended the development of a migration policy as a holistic approach to migration management in Ghana (Quartey, 2009).

Additionally, Ghana’s subsequent National Development Plan, the Ghana Shared Growth and Development Agenda (GSGDA, 2010-2013), published in 2010, emphasised the need for a national migration policy focusing on “Managing Migration for National Development” with the objective of using migration’s positive aspects for development while reducing its negative impacts (Government of Ghana, 2010a, p. 268). However, the document does not name any responsible actor (Government of Ghana, 2010a, p. 268). This observation shows that the problem was identified and broadly outlined in the policy framework for the country. However, responsibilities were not assigned to specific actors.

Nevertheless, the IMSCM itself started with the development of the NMP in the last quarter of 2010 (Interview, Senior (retired) Civil Servant, Ministry of Employment and Labour Relations, 27 April 2018). The Centre for Migration Studies of the University of Ghana had won the contract for the consultancy³ and began its work on a draft of the migration policy in the same year (Interview, Senior Researcher, Centre for Migration Studies, University of Ghana, 7 March 2018). Moreover, the official launching ceremony for the MU was held in March 2010 (IOM, 2010, p. 46).

5.1.5 Policy drafting 2011-2014

The inception of the policy development process with all stakeholders in September 2011 was followed by information gathering, consultations and compilation of the information into a draft policy (Interview, Mid-Level Officer, IOM Ghana, 5 April 2018). The hired consultants started the policy drafting process with a **situational analysis** of migration in

3 The team of consultants was made up of the then Director of the CMS, Professor Mariama Awumbila, a geographer by profession, who led the consulting team. Professor Peter Quartey (Department of Economics), Professor Stephen Kwankye (Regional Institute for Population Studies, RIPS) and Yaw Benneh (School of Law) complemented it (Government of Ghana, 2016b, p. xi).

Ghana with the purpose of identifying the key issues and topics on various migration flows that needed to be addressed by the policy. The aim was to outline a draft to be discussed within the IMSCM. Second, policy developers held a **series of stakeholder meetings** in the country. They went to areas where migration was rife and where much emigration occurs and talked to people who shared with them their experiences and migration stories. They conducted interviews and focus group discussions, spoke to opinion leaders and other key people (Interview, Mid-Level Officer, IOM Ghana, 5 April 2018; Interview, Senior Researcher, Centre for Migration Studies, University of Ghana, 24 April 2018). 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 undertaken, outline the way forward and make the 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 (Interview, Senior Researcher, Centre for Migration Studies, University of Ghana, 24 April 2018; Interview, Senior (retired) Civil Servant, Ministry of Employment and Labour Relations, 27 April 2018).

With the first draft, consultants and members of the IMSCM went to the country for **regional consultations** to receive the people's views on the document. According to a member of the consultancy team, this practice is referred to as "stakeholder buy-in" (Interview, Senior Researcher, Centre for Migration Studies, University of Ghana, 24 April 2018), which involved traditional authorities, NGO representatives, students, civil society, implementers as well as development partners. The process aimed at making all stakeholders aware of what the migration policy is about and collect their feedback. However, comments are non-binding (Interview, Senior (retired) Civil Servant, Ministry of Employment and Labour Relations, 27 April 2018). Following this country-wide feedback, the consultants worked on the **finalisation of the policy draft** and presented it to the IMSCM. A member of the consultancy team described this phase as follows: "Five times we went to the IMSCM and they made comments and we went back to make the necessary changes" (Interview, Senior Researcher, Centre for Migration Studies, University of Ghana, 24 April 2018). 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 (Interview, Senior Researcher, Centre for Migration Studies, University of Ghana, 24 April 2018).

5.1.6 Meetings with parliament and the cabinet

Next, members of the IMSCM held a series of meetings with parliament. They presented and discussed the draft with the Parliamentary Select Committee on Defence and Interior under which the topic of migration management falls (IOM Ghana, 2015). Afterwards the document was sent to the cabinet to get feedback. 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" (Interview, Senior Researcher, Centre for Migration Studies, University of Ghana, 24 April 2018). The report of the committee was brought to parliament and also discussed there (Background Conversation, Member of Parliament and Select Committee on Communications, NDC, 29 May 2018). All comments and feedback

were put together as the draft NMP for Ghana. In December 2014, a two-day validation workshop with representatives from government agencies was held in Koforidua to gain feedback and lay the ground work for cabinet approval. Cabinet was expected to review the policy in the first quarter of 2015 (IOM Ghana, 2014). Additionally, IMSCM members gave a one-day presentation on the policy at the MoI as the minister had to defend the policy in front of the cabinet (Interview, Senior (retired) Civil Servant, Ministry of Employment and Labour Relations, 27 April 2018).

5.1.7 Policy approval and launch

Eventually, the NMP received cabinet approval in October 2015 (GNA, 2015). Afterwards, researchers from the Centre for Migration Studies (CMS) held a training workshop in Ho for policy makers and members of the IMSCM on behalf of the MoI with financial support from the IOM. Media representatives were also present. The five-day workshop aimed at providing policy-makers with the required knowledge for effective policy implementation (Government of Ghana, 2015). On 5 April 2016 the NMP for Ghana was formally launched⁴ in Accra (Yire & Tandoh, 2016). According to an IMSCM insider, the policy was excellently received by various officials in Ghana, but also from other countries. The ECOWAS as well as the AU secretariat congratulated Ghana on its achievements towards migration policy formulation (Interview, Senior (retired) Civil Servant, Ministry of Employment and Labour Relations, 27 April 2018). 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 (Government of Ghana, 2016a).

5.1.8 Current state of implementation

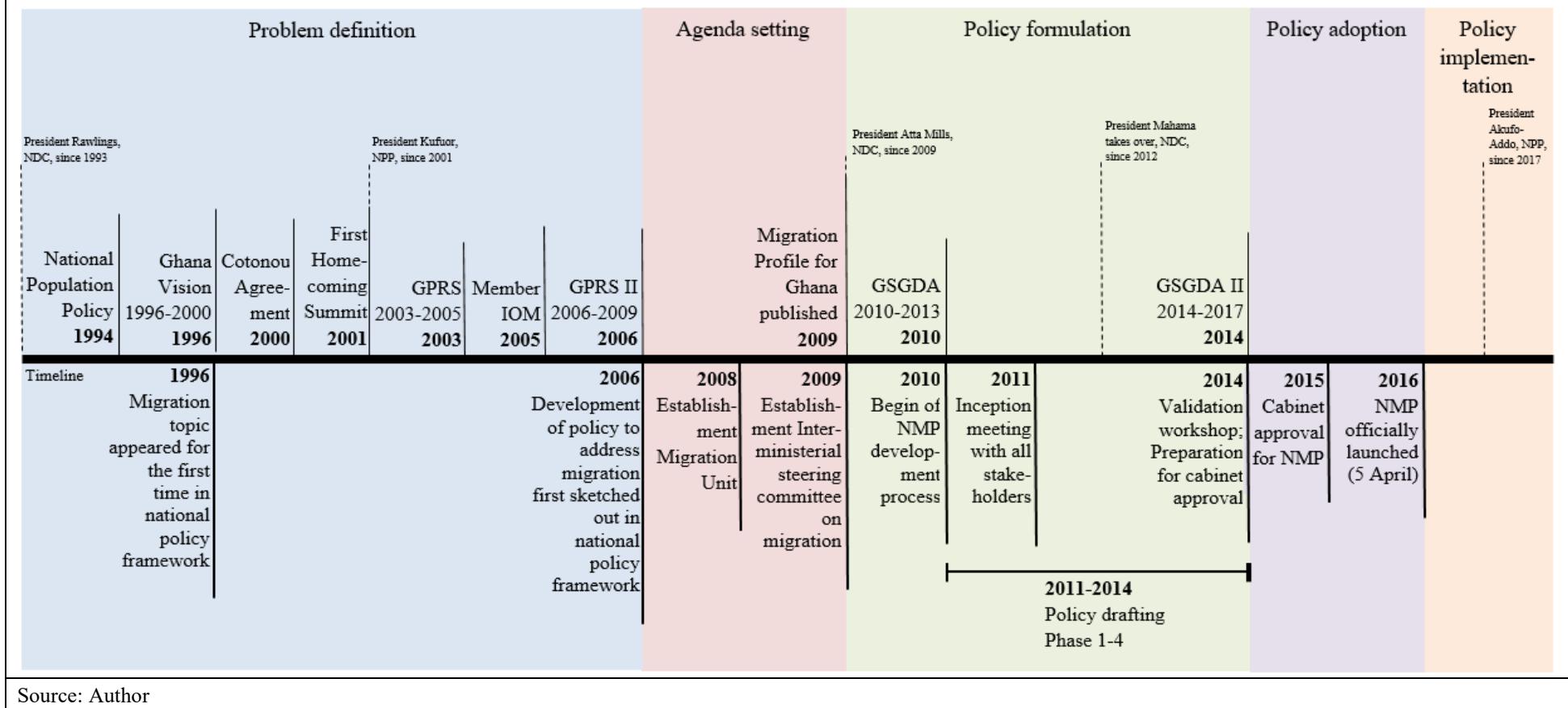
The NMP has not yet been implemented. The migration commission (GNCM), conceived of to spearhead the implementation process, has not yet been established. In January 2017, Ghana underwent a change of government. The NDC, under which a major part of the policy development process had taken place, was voted out of office and the opposition party NPP took over. Different policy priorities on the part of the current government could be one explanation why implementation has been so half-hearted. In a public statement, the think tank African Centre for International Law and Accountability (ACILA) has criticised officials for the implementation not having started yet. One year after the official launch in April 2017, they urged the new government to act quickly and set up the commission for implementation (Yeboah, 2017). A representative from the 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 (Interview, Mid-Level Officer, IOM Ghana, 5 April 2018). The bureau aims at mobilising and including human and financial resources of Ghanaians living in the diaspora into the development of Ghana. This shows that the new government prioritises another aspect related to migration and does not consider setting up the migration commission to be urgently important. Different people have stated that over the past year they have heard from the MoI that the MU is working on forming the commission (Interview, Senior Researcher,

4 In the official parlance in Ghana, the pronouncement of a policy is referred to as its 'launch'.

Centre for Migration Studies, University of Ghana, 7 March 2018; Interview, Insider on Migration Management Ghana, 8 March 2018). The lack of funding for establishing the commission has always been named as a crucial factor for the delay.

Figure 2 provides a summary of the policy process. It begins with first observations leading to problem definition and then illustrates central steps and activities undertaken in the policy process. The events below the timeline depict the main events directly related to and part of the NMP process. The milestones above the timeline integrate the incidents of the NMP process into a wider context of connected policies, national development plans, political changes, related publications and events.

Figure 2: Timeline of policy process



5.2 Actors, their roles and interests in the policy process

The chronological reconstruction of the NMP development process has already provided a vague idea of the variety of actors involved in the policy process. To that end, this section presents the specific actors involved in the policy process, the roles they have taken as well as the interests they have pursued. Moreover, it gives insights into the aspects actors considered strengths of the policy as well as the shortcomings they see in the NMP. For a clearer picture, the actors are grouped into the following categories: government institutions, academia, development partners⁵ and civil society organisations. For government institutions, a differentiation is made between ministries on the one hand and departments and agencies⁶ on the other. With the examination of actors' interests in the policy, this section also delves into the first explanatory factor already identified in the analytical framework.

5.2.1 Government institutions – ministries

A central institution in the policy process was the Ministry of the Interior (MoI) with its Migration Unit (MU). It describes itself as the “host of the policy” (Interview, Senior Civil Servant, Migration Unit, Ministry of the Interior, 17 April 2018). The MU is the government agency tasked with the development of the policy and sees itself as the leading agency in the process (Interview, Senior Civil Servant, Migration Unit, Ministry of the Interior, 17 April 2018). Moreover, it is responsible for the coordination of all activities related to migration in the country (Ministry of the Interior, 2017). The MU had set up the IMSCM to coordinate the drafting of the NMP. The members of the IMSCM established the terms of reference for engaging the consultants (Interview, Senior Researcher, Centre for Migration Studies, University of Ghana, 24 April 2018). The Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration (MFA) looks at migration policy development largely from the diaspora perspective. In the policy process it gathered and provided information through the Ghanaian missions abroad, which operate under its auspices (Interview, Mid-Level Civil Servant, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration, 14 May 2018). In 2012, the MFA founded a Diaspora Affairs Unit to keep record of all Ghanaians living abroad as well as to facilitate diaspora engagement in Ghana (Scalabrini Institute for Human Mobility in Africa, 2014, p. 35). Incorporating labour migration in the NMP document was in the interest of the Ministry of Employment and Labour Relations (MoELR). Addressing youth unemployment in particular is at the core of the ministry's efforts in the process (Interview, Senior (retired) Civil Servant, Ministry of Employment and Labour Relations, 27 April 2018). Furthermore, its mandate tasks the ministry and the Labour Migration Unit operating under it with reintegrating Ghanaian migrants who returned voluntarily or as the result of deportation into the labour market (Scalabrini Institute for Human Mobility in Africa, 2014, p. 35).

⁵ Development partners are understood as governmental aid agencies which include bilateral donors (countries), but also multilateral donors (for example: the EU) and international organisations (for example: the IOM, ILO), as they are mostly financed by governmental aid agencies.

⁶ A ministry is a governmental body presided by a minister. A department is understood as a distinct division or directorate within a ministry. For example, the MU within the MoI. An agency is a governmental bureau or organisation that operates on its own but is subordinated to a ministry, for example, the Ghana Police Service, Ghana Immigration Service are both under the MoI.

Moreover, the chairman of the IMSCM working group on the migration policy came from the MoELR.

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 for the NMP to address children- and gender-related aspects of migration (Interview, Mid-Level Civil Servant, Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Protection, 17 May 2018). The Ministry of Finance (MoF) was part of the IMSCM to develop an understanding of the topic. Being informed about the ministries' priorities helps them to better comprehend their budget plans (Background Conversation, Mid-Level Civil Servant, Ministry of Finance, 9 May 2018). Further ministries involved in the IMSCM were the Ministry of Justice (MoJ) which saw its role in advocating for the legal and human rights aspects of migration-related issues (Interview, Mid-Level Civil Servant, Ministry of Justice, 7 May 2018), the Ministry of Education (MoE) to foster educational mobility for Ghanaians and foreigners, the Ministry of Health (MoH) to prevent the emigration and ensure the reintegration of health professionals in the country, the Ministry of Trade and Industry (MoTI) to attract investments from the Ghanaian diaspora as well as the Ministry of Tourism, Culture and Creative Arts (MoTCCA) to promote tourism and entice the diaspora to visit or return to Ghana (Government of Ghana, 2016b; Scalabrini Institute for Human Mobility in Africa, 2014).

5.2.2 Government institutions – departments and agencies

The National Development Planning Commission (NDPC) 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 its development, which are then translated into policies, programmes and projects by the various governmental sectors as well as regional and district authorities (National Development Planning Commission, 2015). The NDPC is also responsible for monitoring of policies and the adherence to national development plans and their evaluation in annual progress reports (Interview, Senior Civil Servant, National Development Planning Commission, 20 March 2018). In the case of the NMP, the NDPC understands itself as a “policy initiator” (Interview, Senior Civil Servant, National Development Planning Commission, 20 March 2018). According to the information gathered, the NDPC has analysed the situation in Ghana and as a consequence focused on migration: “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” (Interview, Senior Civil Servant, National Development Planning Commission, 20 March 2018). The NDPC considers itself very influential and sees its role in the NMP process in supporting the MoI in the policy development with technical input (Interview, Senior Civil Servant, National Development Planning Commission, 20 March 2018).

The 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 of 2000). Its strategic objectives are migration management in the national interest, defence against irregular migration and enhancing national security (Ghana Immigration Service, 2010, p. 13). The GIS has been operating a Migration Information Bureau (MIB) since 2006. The aim is to sensitise potential migrants,

provide counselling on safe migration and warn about the dangers of irregular migration (Manuh et al., 2010). Refugees and asylum seekers coming into the country are given advice and are often passed on to the Ghana Refugee Board (GRB). The representative of the GIS interviewed considers the role of the GIS as very pivotal in the NMP development process. This is because the GIS is mainly concerned with international migration and population control and brings these aspects into policy preparations (Interview, Senior Civil Servant, National Development Planning Commission, 20 March 2018). In its Strategic Plan 2011-2015, the GIS acknowledges the lack of a comprehensive migration policy for Ghana and lists its contribution to the NMP formulation as one project for this time frame (Ghana Immigration Service, 2010, p. 66). In the 2016 annual report, the GIS reflects on the support given to the drafting and implementation of the NMP. Moreover, an Action Plan for implementation has been worked out and stakeholder sensitisation for that plan was carried out (Ghana Immigration Service, 2016, p. 18).

The Diaspora Unit which was established around 2012 at the MFA has an interest in the NMP development, because the unit aims to use the benefits of the Ghanaian diaspora for the development of the country and therefore advocates for having the various potentials of migration addressed in the policy (Interview, Insider on Migration Management Ghana, 8 March 2018). Apart from encouraging diaspora engagement for national development, the unit maintains a database of Ghanaians living outside of the country and collaborates with other government institutions to foster diaspora investment (Scalabrini Institute for Human Mobility in Africa, 2014, p. 35f.). One of these agencies is the Ghana Investment Promotion Centre (GIPC) which works towards creating an enabling environment for investments and provides information on investment opportunities in the country, while also keeping a link to Ghanaians in the diaspora (Interview, Mid-Level Civil Servant, Ghana Investment Promotion Centre, 12 April 2018).

The GRB, another agency under the MoI, is mandated with coordinating all refugee-related activities in Ghana which include the management of refugee camps and advice to government on refugee issues. Moreover, it is the only agency responsible for assigning refugee status to asylum seekers. It closely cooperates with UNHCR Ghana. The board was an integral part of the policy formulation process and advocated for addressing asylum and refugee issues within the NMP (Interview, Senior Civil Servant, Ghana Refugee Board, 10 May 2018).

Further departments and agencies involved were the Anti-Human Trafficking Unit of the Ghana Police Service. Its representative on the IMSCM served as the person responsible for issues related to human trafficking in the policy development process (Interview, Representative of the Anti-Human Trafficking Unit, Ghana Police Service, 6 April 2018). The Ghana Statistical Service (GSS) is the government agency tasked with the provision of data. Consequently, the GSS was eager to include the topic of migration data in the NMP (Interview, Representative of the Anti-Human Trafficking Unit, Ghana Police Service, 6 April 2018). The Labour Department ensured the incorporation of labour migration aspects (Interview, Senior Civil Servant, Labour Department, 27 April 2018), whereas the National Population Council (NPC) advocated for migration from the population perspective (Interview, Senior Civil Servant, National Population Council, 14 May 2018). 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).

5.2.3 Academia

The Centre for Migration Studies (CMS) was the leading academic institution in the policy development process. A reason for this constellation can be attributed to the distinct setup of the CMS. It is not only mandated with conducting research, teaching students and training practitioners in the field of migration, but also with policy formulation. The CMS was established in 2007 within the University of Ghana. With its staff from different disciplines, it approaches migration issues from various angles (Interview, Senior Researcher, Centre for Migration Studies, University of Ghana, 7 March 2018).

A researcher at the CMS highlights that the initial focus of the migration policy was solely 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 people trafficking, smuggling and irregular migration addressed. To that end, they pushed for policy development. This approach neglected other migration flows, especially internal migration within Ghana (Interview, Senior Researcher, Centre for Migration Studies, 7 March 2018; Interview, Senior Researcher, Centre for Migration Studies, 24 April 2018). But using their position as advisors in the policy process, the CMS shifted the policy focus to also include 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 introduced issues of internal migration, rural-urban migration. That was a problem” (Interview, Senior Researcher, Centre for Migration Studies, University of Ghana, 7 March 2018). As a result, an interdisciplinary team of researchers from the CMS, who won the contract to develop the NMP after having submitted a concept to the IMSCM, advocated for a more encompassing policy.

5.2.4 Development partners

The IOM, founded in 1951, is an intergovernmental organisation whose work is guided by the assumption that migration, if managed well, can make a positive contribution to society and the migrants themselves. Migration policy stands for one of its fields of work through which the IOM supports and facilitates the development of national, regional and global migration policies and strategies (IOM, 2017). The GoG and the IOM have been collaborating since 1987. Initially, the IOM supported the return of highly qualified Ghanaians living in the diaspora to help in the development of the country. At the beginning of the 2000s, it expanded its activities from programmes to counter trafficking to voluntary return and reintegration projects related to migration and health. In doing so, it collaborates with the responsible government MDAs and civil society stakeholders (IOM, 2011, p. 18f.).

The IOM supported the GoG in centralising its migration management, which resulted in the setup of the MU at the MoI. IOM further assisted the MU with the development of a migration policy for Ghana (Interview, Mid-Level Officer, IOM Ghana, 5 April 2018). This activity is part of the IOM's initiative of “Developing a Migration Policy to integrate Migration into the National Development Framework for Ghana” (IOM Ghana, 2015). The IOM Ghana's Strategic Plan 2011-2015 provides a list of interventions on this project, first and foremost the development of the policy itself. Other interventions include assistance to the IMSCM, the setting up of a national migration database, the incorporation of migration into national development plans and the supply of technical support to MDAs working on

migration. The project is funded by the IOM Development Fund (IDF) with a budget of USD 550,000 as part of the Strategic Plan 2011-2015 (IOM, 2011, p. 54).

In the NMP development process, the IOM served as a facilitator. It 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 for workshops and meetings of the IMSCM outside of Accra. After the finalisation of the policy draft in 2014, the IOM provided further assistance through a follow-up project with a funding of USD 150,000 from August 2014 to April 2016. Along with the adoption of the 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 sensitisation 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 registers the policy launch as an achievement in 2016 (IOM Ghana, 2017, p. 41).

The EU provided support to the elaboration of the migration policy through the 10th European Development Fund (EDF). One effort undertaken by the EU to control migration is setting up programmes to introduce migration policies in countries in which large migration flows occur. It serves as a strategy to make sure that states are able to improve the conditions of migrants at the places of origin, guarantee their treatment in accordance with human rights and allow that refugees and victims of human trafficking are treated adequately (IOM Migration Research Division, 2011). In the case of Ghana's NMP, the EU recommended and invited experts to the policy development process. Moreover, the EU assisted financially in logistical matters, such as the hotel accommodation for meetings. In general, the EU largely provides funds to the IOM to finance its activities. The IOM then functions as implementing agency (Interview, Senior Officer, EU Delegation to Ghana, 18 April 2018). The EU has a strong interest in addressing irregular migration, especially regarding the return and readmission of Ghanaians irregularly staying on EU territory (European Commission, 2016, p. 5). Cooperation between the EU and Ghana on migration started in 2007 with the discussion of readmission agreements between the two parties (Koeb & Hohmeister, 2010; van Crieginge, 2010). However, negotiations regarding readmission have not been successful. The resulting statement rather focused on a holistic framework of migration management (Interview, Insider on Migration Management Ghana, 8 March 2018). Consequently, the EU provided financial support through the EDF and the Aeneas programme.⁷ Implementation on the ground has been taken over by the IOM and the UNDP (van Crieginge, 2010). In many cases the EU relies on the IOM's expertise and experience in the field to push its migration control agenda in non-EU states (Pécoud, 2018).

The EDF is the funding instrument for EU development cooperation. It is an intergovernmental fund outside of 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 through the EDF is the development of the NMP.

⁷ The "Aeneas" programme is a thematic instrument of the European Commission to finance migration-related projects in third countries from 2004 to 2006 (European Commission, 2004).

German International Cooperation (GIZ) has been cooperating with the GoG since 1983. Although its focal areas in Ghana are agriculture, governance and sustainable economic development, GIZ Ghana is also active under the Migration for Development programme which is implemented in 24 partner countries. The programme includes one component on migration policy advice which aims at developing migration strategies with governments and organisations (GIZ, 2020). Consequently, GIZ was part of the IMSCM working group as an observer. The representatives were allowed to raise their opinions but not to vote. Furthermore, GIZ provided financial support for some workshops in the policy development process (Interview, Senior Officer, GIZ, 19 March 2018).

Additionally, the International Labour Organization (ILO) was also part of the IMSCM to make sure that decent working conditions are mainstreamed in the migration policy for Ghana (Interview, Senior Officer, ILO, 15 May 2018). Moreover, UNDP facilitated some first meetings of migration experts in Ghana towards the beginning of the NMP formulation process and contributed financially, but withdrew in the course of the process (Interview, Senior Researcher, Centre for Migration Studies, University of Ghana, 24 April 2018; Background Conversation, Senior Researcher, Regional Institute for Population Studies, University of Ghana, 23 February 2018). Finally, the acknowledgements of the NMP document mention the Department for International Development (DFID) as having provided financial support to stakeholder consultation workshops during the NMP development (Government of Ghana, 2016b, p. xii).

5.2.5 Civil society organisations

The level of inclusion of civil society organisations in the policy process varied greatly. The research revealed that the Research & Counselling Foundation for African Migrants (RECFAM) was the only CSO to be part of the IMSCM. Other CSOs were only partially consulted to contribute their specific first-hand knowledge during stakeholder meetings and consultations within the country.⁸ Reactions towards these different forms of civil society inclusion were twofold. One side highlights that civil society was sufficiently involved: “There were avenues for civil society to join the process” (Interview, Senior Civil Servant, Migration Unit, Ministry of the Interior, 17 April 2018). However, CSO representatives voiced their dissatisfaction with the way the grassroots organisations were widely left out of 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” (Interview, Founder, NGO, 26 April 2018). The reason for the partial consideration of CSOs is ascribed to their lack of capacity and the fact that they are “not properly constituted to obtain involvement in the process” (Interview, Senior Officer, NGO, 16 March 2018). CSOs focusing on migration are among those criticised because of their lack of capacity and professionalism:

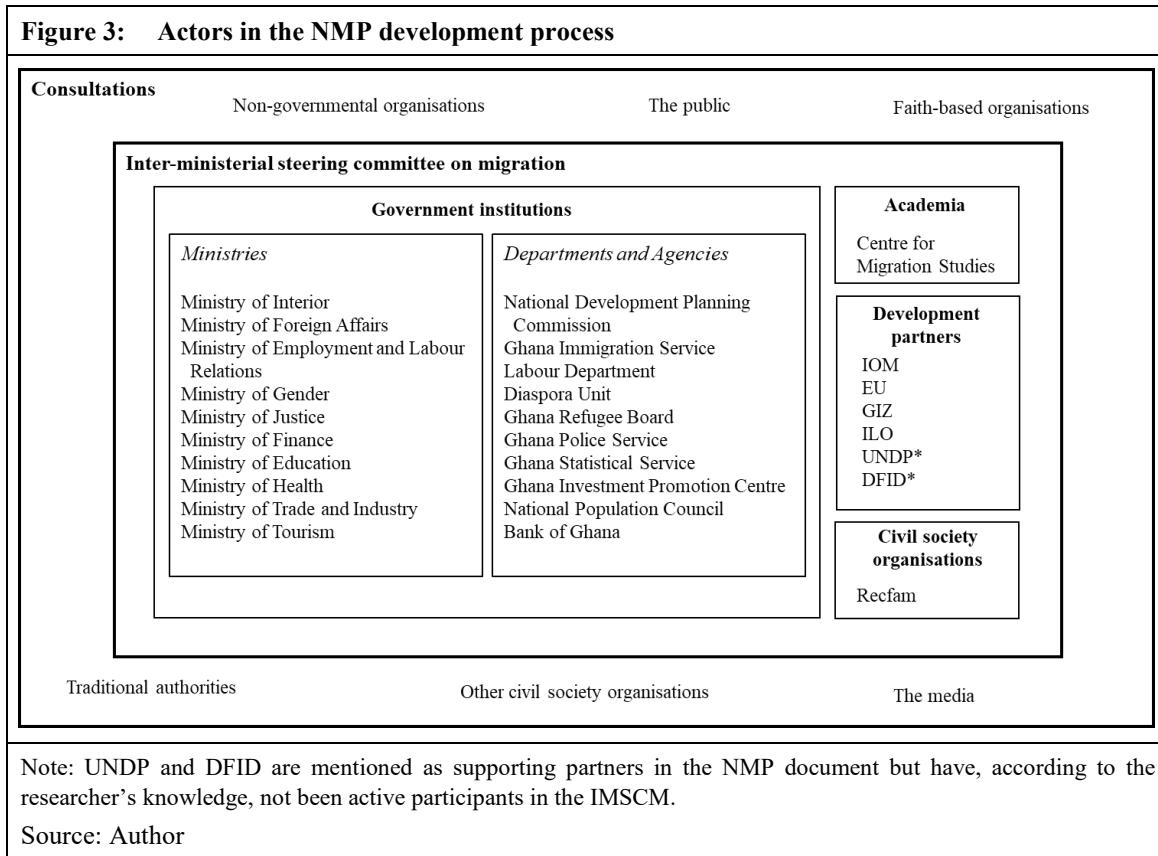
They do not have a lot of capacity but they bring real life experience together. Most of them are not well educated. They travelled and then they felt they must organise themselves to sensitize their colleagues. But beyond that nothing more to good policy contributions. (Interview, Insider on Migration Management Ghana, 8 March 2018)

⁸ Observers and partly consulted CSOs were 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.

The quote hints at organisations founded by returnees. Some Ghanaians who embarked on the journey to Libya through the Sahara and then to Europe came back with the intention of educating the public on the dangers of irregular migration. They started organisations to raise awareness and carry out projects. One of their major challenges, which also other CSOs with different backgrounds face, is funding. Without financial resources, CSOs in the field of migration in Ghana lack support to develop the necessary capacities. Therefore, a CSO representative advocates for more donor support: “Development partners, like GIZ, should also look at support they want to provide to non-state actors on implementation. [...] Development aid should consider funding civil society for it to be within the framework of a policy” (Interview, Senior Officer, NGO, 4 April 2018).

RECFAM, on the other hand, was part of the IMSCM. The representative at RECFAM described it as a privilege to have been invited to the policy process: “We are known at the state level” (Interview, Senior Officer, NGO, 10 May 2018). This indicates that RECFAM possesses relevant resources. It also shows that special access via personal connections is important to be included within the policy-making process.

Figure 3 presents an overview of the actors involved in the NMP process. The core shows the members of the IMSCM known to the researcher. It comprises “representatives of key MDAs dealing with migration” (Government of Ghana, 2016b, p. x) and representatives from the CMS at the University of Ghana. In addition, the IOM and GIZ had two seats but they did not have voting rights (Interview, Senior Officer, GIZ, 19 March 2018). Moreover, one CSO was present due to its special connection to government institutions and development partners. Other CSOs, traditional authorities, faith-based organisations, the media and the wider public 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 3.



5.2.6 Strengths and weaknesses of the policy

The examination of the actors involved in the policy has shown that each has its own interest in the policy and this interest links back to the actors' take on the topic of migration from their respective perspectives. To obtain more detailed insights into actors' views on the NMP, the following section investigates what they consider to be strengths and weaknesses of the policy.

Many actors perceive the NMP's focus on the potential of migration for development as an asset of the policy. It was one of the aspects most frequently mentioned by interview partners. The frequency was determined by grouping interview codes relating to the same aspect together and identifying how often the code occurred throughout the entire material. Table 1 gives an overview of the results. The emphasis on migration's potential for development includes minimising the risks associated with migration as well as the focus on remittances and diaspora engagement in the policy. It is striking that it was mostly representatives from academia who highlighted this aspect as most important. Furthermore, the encompassing and comprehensive nature of the policy which uses simple and clear language as well as precise definitions was identified as a strength by all actors. Mostly government representatives, however, emphasised the policy's usefulness as a guide and framework for all stakeholders involved. The section on migration data management was also regarded as an asset by government MDAs. International actors and CSOs consider the existence of the policy itself a huge achievement.

Table 1: Perceived strengths and weaknesses of the NMP by group of actors

Most important aspects of the NMP	Brought forward by	Main problems with/omissions in the NMP	Brought forward by
Highlighting migration's potential for development (7)	Academia	Lack of implementation strategy (13)	Various
Encompassing and comprehensive policy (7)	Various	Lack of public awareness of policy (4)	CSOs
Provides guidance and an encompassing framework for all migration stakeholders (4)	Government institutions	Lack of grassroots 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 address labour migration (2)	DPs + government institutions

Note: The number in brackets shows how often the specific code was mentioned.

Source: Author

By contrast, and as highlighted by all actors, the weakness of the policy is mainly seen in the lack of an implementation strategy for the policy. The failure to establish the Migration Commission is perceived as a key shortcoming of the policy process. Furthermore, CSOs bring forward the lack of public awareness of the NMP as well as the lack of grassroots involvement:

Policy-makers did not include the implementers in the planning process. Policy-makers are not implementers, but the policy looks 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 shortcoming. (Interview, Senior Officer, NGO, 16 March 2018)

Additionally, international actors criticise the lack of a financial plan attached to the policy document. The NMP does not include a budget with a precise overview of the costs involved, which is necessary for the design of adequate support mechanisms (Interview, Mid-Level Officer, IOM Ghana, 5 April 2018). Another weakness identified by an international actor, as well as a government representative, was the inadequate focus on addressing labour migration in the policy.

5.3 Alliances between stakeholders

This section analyses cooperation patterns between actors to reveal where alliances have been formed to influence the policy process. First, interview partners mentioned the need to cooperate with the IOM because the organisation is perceived to have great expertise in the field of migration and migration policy development. Second, actors work together with the MoI, specifically the MU, and the Ghana Immigration Service. Governmental institutions consider 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 a partner to start the policy process. Third, interview partners highlighted a broad cooperation between all stakeholders on the IMSCM.

The fact that many actors perceive the members of the IMSCM as cooperating partners leads to the conclusion that, although there are different interests involved, everybody worked together to achieve an overarching goal. One voice from the NPC stresses that despite different views on how to approach the topic, there was general consensus that a policy is needed as a guideline to manage migration well (Interview, Senior Civil Servant, National Population Council, 14 May 2018). In specific terms, cooperating partners are those actors one has specific ties with because of their field of work. As an example, the IOM considers the MU as its main collaborator, whereas the EU delegation sees the the IOM as primary cooperating partner. The IOM is considered as an expert that is consulted when specific expertise on migration is needed. Likewise, the EU regards the MoF as an important cooperating partner, because it is the ministry through which financial support to the GoG is channelled (Interview, Senior Officer, EU Delegation to Ghana, 18 April 2018).

Remarkably, interview partners have rarely revealed which actors it was difficult to work with. Instead, they highlighted the positive aspects of cooperation and mentioned that the NMP process was characterised by bringing all stakeholders together. The only incident of non-cooperation was mentioned by a CSO representative who was unable to say something positive about the IOM as an ally in the NMP development process: "At the IOM they do not appreciate our work. They want our input to report on but they do not invite us" (Interview, Founder, NGO, 25 April 2018). The CSO representative had expected the IOM's consultation of their CSO to go beyond requesting a written report. Because of the IOM acting in this way, the CSO representative did not feel sufficiently recognised.

One alliance, however, is specifically noteworthy: the cooperation between government institutions and the CMS. Although interview partners only rarely mentioned the CMS as cooperating partner (Interview, Senior (retired) Civil Servant, Ministry of Employment and Labour Relations, 27 April 2018; Interview, Founder, NGO, 25 April 2018; Interview, Mid-Level Civil Servant, Ministry of Justice, 7 May 2018), the examination of the entire 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 cannot 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. (Interview, Senior Researcher, Centre for Migration Studies, University of Ghana, 24 April 2018)

In this case, the CMS supported the GoG in 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 the GoG and the CMS reflects coalition building between stakeholders based on similar policy core beliefs (Weible, 2007). The GoG and the CMS display the same policy-related values. Both are aware of the impacts of internal migration, and therefore strive for action to address this issue. Hence, their collaboration can be read as a process of forming an advocacy coalition according to Weible (2007) because both aim at influencing the policy based on their policy core beliefs. However, it has to be taken into consideration how independent the CMS itself is from the GoG and outside funding. It was established to also assist with policy formulation (Centre for

Migration Studies, 2014) and donors provided financial support for setting it up (Interview, Senior Researcher, Centre for Migration Studies, University of Ghana, 24 April 2018). Therefore, one can assume that the GoG has a direct interest in collaborating with the CMS on policy formulation, especially to foster their specific interests.

5.4 Access to and control of resources

All actors regard financial resources as very critical in influencing the national migration policy-making process. Interview partners agree that it is mainly the development partners who have such financial resources. There is wide recognition among IMSCM members that the IOM that provided funding, was a ‘financial pillar’ (Interview, Senior (retired) Civil Servant, Ministry of Employment and Labour Relations, 27 April 2018). A few interview partners were more nuanced on the IOM’s financial contribution and recognise that funding was channelled from the EU to the IOM. The representative of the EU Delegation to Ghana interviewed emphasises this procedure: “We finance the IOM” (Interview, Senior Officer, EU Delegation to Ghana, 18 April 2018). Nevertheless, the NDPC representative insists on the MoI’s role as the financing institution of the NMP (Interview, Senior Civil Servant, National Development Planning Commission, 20 March 2018).

Technical resources are said to be, first, held by the IOM that provides expertise and specific knowledge through its best practice examples. Second, however, there are actors stressing that the main ideas for the policy did not come from international actors and the IOM, but from the Ghanaian consultants and the members of the IMSCM. Consequently, the policy is referred to as a “home-grown policy” (Interview, Senior Researcher, Centre for Migration Studies, University of Ghana, 7 May 2018). Third, government MDAs highlight that they supported by providing technical input and expertise from their field (Interview, Mid-Level Civil Servant, Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Protection, 17 May 2018). The NDPC specifically mentions their work in terms of technical backstopping (Interview, Senior Civil Servant, National Development Planning Commission, 20 March 2018).

Furthermore, government institutions provided the necessary human resources. In this context, the mobility and fluctuation of key staff within the civil service and also within international organisations is influential. It poses a challenge to policy-making and implementation (Interview, Senior Officer, NGO, 16 March 2018). Most officials stay in their position for a few years and when they leave their post, they take the knowledge gained in the policy-making process with them. Their successors need time to make themselves familiar with the topic. During the interview process it became clear that organisational knowledge is not sufficiently preserved. Therefore, human resources are critical, because the frequent change in staff complicates a sound policy-making and implementation process.

The most important resource identified is funding. Controlling and distributing the funds drives the policy process, as highlighted by a senior civil servant: “Funding is key, I believe, and it came from outside to push for [the NMP]” (Interview, Senior Civil Servant, Ghana Refugee Board, 10 May 2018). As development partners funded the policy, they are able to influence it. And the funding of activities usually goes hand-in-hand with an underlying interest. A representative from the MoGCSP provided some elaborations: “It is not only migration, [but] most of our programmes 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" (Interview, Mid-Level Civil Servant, Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Protection, 17 May 2018).

It follows that in the case of the NMP, development partners provided funding to push their own agenda, as exemplified by a researcher from the University of Ghana:

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 do not address the concerns on migration. It is obvious that Europe takes a role if young people embark on the journey. For several years now, Europe has had a problem with African migrants. Certainly, there is a direct interest. [...] The development partners are helping to reduce the number of people moving. That is directly to their benefits. (Interview, Senior Researcher, Institute of African Studies, University of Ghana, 21.05.2018)

However, despite of the development partners' guidance, the Ghanaian experts also provided technical resources and with that expanded the NMP's focus on internal migration (Interview, Senior Researcher, Centre for Migration Studies, University of Ghana, 7 March 2018). The strong emphasis on international migration and combatting irregular migration shows development partners' influence. But government actors, especially with backing from academia, were not without means. They re-directed the policy's focus to also include their focus areas.

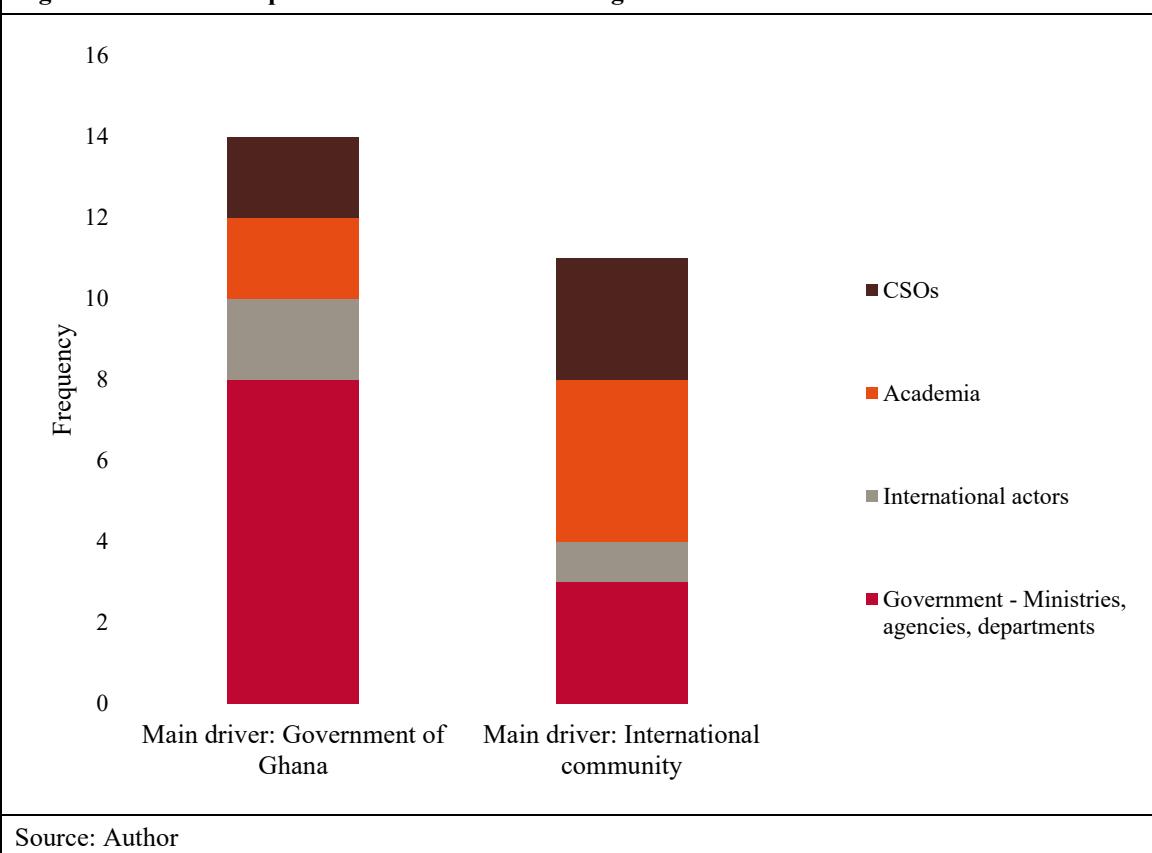
5.5 Power and leadership capabilities

The following section examines the ability of actors to influence the policy process through power and/or leadership capabilities. Therefore, it investigates which actors were perceived to take on a guiding and driving role in the policy process. This is closely connected to having and exercising power, but also to the access to specific resources outlined above.

5.5.1 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 GoG (driven from within) or the international community (outside driven) as being responsible for pushing the topic onto the political agenda. Out of a total of 29 interview partners who gave their assessment, 14 perceived the GoG as the main driver behind the NMP, while 11 others considered the international community to be the driving force.⁹ The results are displayed in Figure 4. It is striking that it is mainly representatives from government MDAs and international actors that see the GoG behind the NMP, whereas academia and CSOs mostly perceive the NMP to be driven by the international community.

⁹ Of the remaining four interview partners, three mentioned a combination of both, the government (MoI) and international actors (IOM) ((IOM representative, GSS representative and CSO representative), and one considers NGOs as main driver behind the NMP (senior researcher at KNUST)).

Figure 4: Interview partners' assessment of driving force behind NMP

A detailed evaluation of the interview material shows that by mentioning the international community, interview partners mainly referred to the IOM as the main driver in the policy process (eight times). When speaking about the GoG as the main driver, it was mainly the MoI that was specified (in 11 cases). However, the results are purely descriptive.

It follows that in terms of numbers, the GoG and specifically the MoI are most 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, however, also government MDA representatives who see a guiding role in the NMP played by the international community. Specifically, interview partners from the academic sphere emphasise the international community's influence. Consequently, it seems that both MoI and IOM drove the policy process, but with different influences. The MoI was required by the international actors as a partner because "you need a government agency to pull the bull by the horns" (Interview, Mid-Level Officer, IOM Ghana, 05 April 2018). However, with its financial and technical resources, the IOM is also 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 (Interview, Senior Researcher, Department of Economics, University of Ghana, 17 May 2018).

A CSO representative sees the constellation in the following way: “The migration policy topic had been on the agenda of the Government of Ghana for years. Then the IOM came on board and compelled them to act” (Interview, Founder, NGO, 25 April 2018).

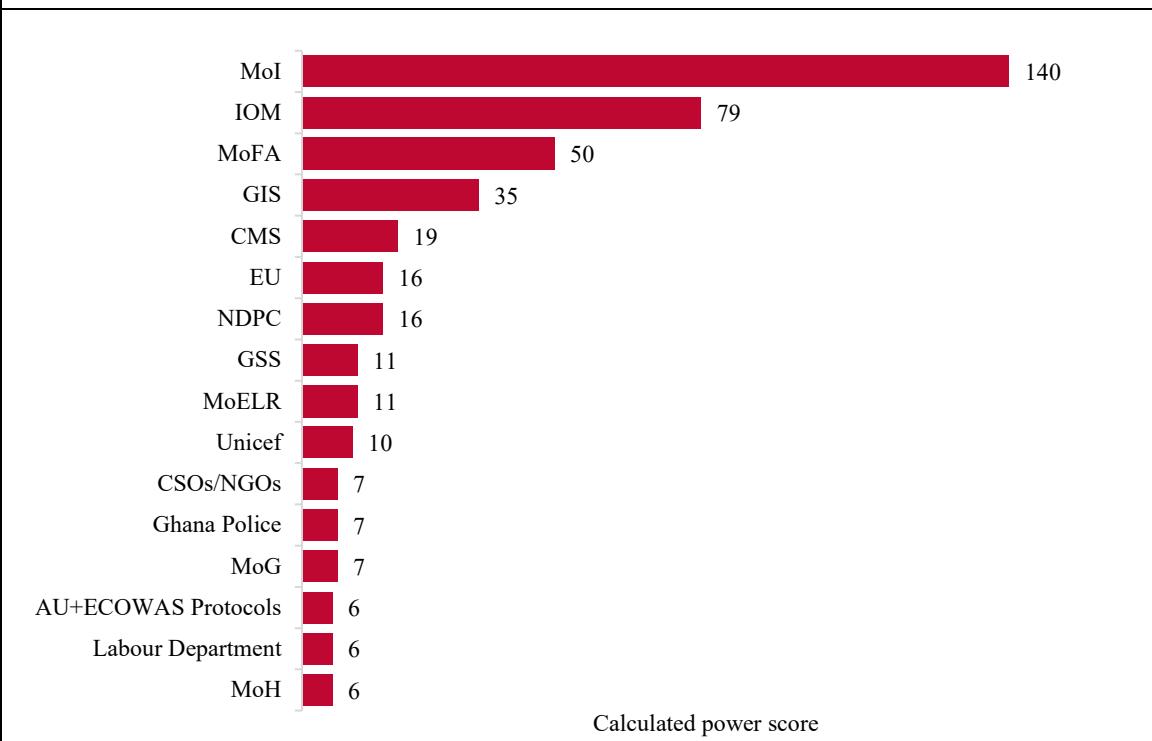
These statements lead to the conclusion that the IOM pushed the NMP topic onto the agenda and needed to win a government ministry as a partner to push the policy process. A senior researcher from the University of Ghana summarises the situation as following:

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 (Interview, Senior Researcher, Institute of African Studies, University of Ghana, 21 May 2018).

5.5.2 Actors' perceived power in the policy process

This part focuses on the perception of power ascribed to actors. Asking interview partners to name the most powerful actors in the policy process made it possible to calculate a power score for each individual actor. The result can be seen in Figure 5.

Figure 5: Calculated power score for individual actors based on power ranking



Notes: The power score is calculated on the basis of a power ranking by all interview partners assessing how frequently an actor was mentioned as the most powerful, second powerful etc. actor. In total, up to eight actors were mentioned in descending order. For example the power score for the MoI is calculated in the following way: $(12 \times 8) + (3 \times 7) + (3 \times 6) + 4 + 1 = 140$. This means that in 12 cases it was ranked as most powerful, in three cases as second powerful, in another three cases as third powerful, once as 5th powerful and once as least powerful of all mentioned actors.

Power scores of five and less are not depicted in this figure.

Source: Author, based on interview material

The MoI is widely perceived as the most powerful actor in the NMP process. It reaches the highest power score. The IOM received the second highest power score, albeit just over half as strong as the MoI. The MFA ranks third. This ranking can be explained by the leading and coordinating role ascribed to the ministry and its entities in the field of migration. Some interview partners emphasised that the MoI is of course the most powerful actor. Actually, in some cases it is listed as the only powerful actor. Others explained that the head and leader of the policy process has to be at the ministerial level, and because of its expertise on the topic the MoI takes this role (Interview, Senior Civil Servant, Ghana Immigration Service, 2 May 2018). The IOM representative and the NDPC itself consider the planning authority NDPC to be the most powerful actor. Looking at its mandate of initiating policy directions, the commission seems very powerful on paper. However, information gathered during interviews paints a different picture. They claim that, instead of the NDPC preparing national development plans, in practice it is rather the other way around: Ministries and various stakeholders bring their ideas to the NDPC which then formulates the plans (Interview, Senior Researcher, Centre for Migration Studies, University of Ghana, 24 April 2018). It follows that the role of the NDPC in policy-making seems overestimated.

In contrast, the IOM was considered very powerful because “[it] had the funding for the migration policy and that is the critical component in this” (Senior Civil Servant, Ghana Refugee Board, Interview, 10.05.2018). This shows that power is closely associated with the access to financial resources. Another explanation is the IOM’s continuity in the process, while governments and leaders in key ministries changed. It was stressed that during the policy process from 2008 to 2016, the MoI was led by approximately eight different ministers. Also, the head of the MU changed four times in that period which is an obstacle to a continuous working atmosphere (Interview, Senior Researcher, Centre for Migration Studies, University of Ghana, 24 April 2018). Remarkably, two interview partners refused to take part in the ranking because they stated all actors were partners of equal rank and no one was more powerful than any other (Interview, Senior Researcher, Centre for Migration Studies, University of Ghana, 7 May 2018; Interview, Mid-Level Civil Servant, Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Protection, 17 May 2018). This is consistent with the observations made regarding alliances.

The perception of actors’ power in the policy process corresponds to the examination of the driving actor behind the NMP (see 5.5.1). In both cases the MoI is seen as the lead actor. Whereas representatives from government institutions mostly perceived the ministry as the main driver of the policy, all kinds of actors considered it as the most powerful actor. Nevertheless, the above analysis has shown that different categorisations of power exist. There is power ascribed to the MoI based on its mandate and role as leading institution, host of the IMSCM and in the policy process. But there is also power linked to the access to financial resources which the IOM can provide. Moreover, the organisation benefits from its expertise and continuous involvement in the policy process. The chronological reconstruction of the policy process has shown that the provision of funding started and drove NMP development. But the IOM managed to create a certain level of ownership on the side of the government. Ownership is understood in line with Whitfield (2009, p. 5) as control over the policy process. The data reveals that at least a perception of ownership existed, as the GoG, and the MoI in particular, are considered as the main drivers and most powerful actors concerning the policy. At the same time, the IOM pulls the strings behind the scenes “like an invisible hand” (Interview, Senior Researcher, Department of Economics, University of Ghana, 17 May 2018). Other policy formulation processes in

Ghana reveal similar approaches, for example Ghana's PRSP in the early 2000s. Although the PRSP were preconditions of 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 (Mohammed, 2013; Whitfield, 2005). Whitfield (2005, p. 652) described the relationship between the GoG and development partners on the PRSP as “[the] government in the driver's seat but donors trying to steer the car”. This metaphor comes close to describing the relationship between the two actors during the NMP process.

5.6 Formal and informal rules

Interview partners identified two main structures guiding policy-making in Ghana: a leading institution and social consensus. The concept of a leading institution entails one government actor in the policy process initiating and driving it. On the one hand, the NDPC is referred to in this context. According to the Ghanaian constitution, it is the guiding institution that advises the president on policy planning (Government of Ghana, 1992, Art. 87). On the other hand, the leading institution is perceived as the one under whose thematic competence a specific policy falls. In the case of the NMP, this role is taken over by the MoI. For the National Population Policy, however, the NPC was the leading institution and for the National Youth Policy, the Ministry of Youth and Sports (MoYS) acted as driving force (Interview, Senior Civil Servant, National Population Council, 14 May 2018).

Equally important in policy-making in Ghana seems to be a social consensus. This means that decisions made within the policy process are to be based on dialogue with all stakeholders, civil society and the public. A senior civil servant describes this procedure as “the policy is a ‘buy-in’ for all kind of actors” (Interview, Senior (retired) Civil Servant, Ministry of Employment and Labour Relations, 27 April 2018). Closely connected to consensus building is consulting with traditional leaders as part of policy processes, which is essential for implementation on the ground (Interview, Senior Officer, GIZ, 19 March 2018; Interview, Senior Officer, NGO, 10 May 2018). However, examples were given in which the consultative nature of policy-making was described as limited. This refers to the already mentioned lack of CSO involvement and the ignorance of diaspora organisations. It also relates to the exclusion of certain groups, such as market women who said they were not invited for consultative meetings. Therefore, the policy-making process was sometimes referred to as non-inclusive (Interview, Mid-Level Civil Servant, Ghana Investment Promotion Centre, 12 April 2018) and characterised by elite capture (Interview, Senior Officer, NGO, 16 March 2018). Two critical voices highlighted that policy development in Ghana is driven by donor guidance – as will be elaborated on in the following chapter. Governments start projects, such as the development of a policy, as soon as funds are available, no matter their interest in them (Interview, Insider on Migration Management Ghana, 08 March 2018).

6 Stakeholder involvement in the NMP process: a discussion

6.1 Reflections on the policy process

The analysis shows that the actors in the policy process have different views and interests on migration depending on their position. The various government MDAs all advocated for including their specific approach on migration. A general position of the Ghanaian government with its leading institution regarding migration, the MoI and its MU, can be formulated as follows: Using the potential of migration for the development of the country. This takes two forms: first, combating and managing internal migration from deprived to less deprived areas and second, encouraging the engagement of the diaspora in Ghana through the promotion of remittance transfers. The Ghanaian academic community largely supports this interest by emphasising migration's potential for development, whereas CSOs were to a large extent absent from the policy process.

The development partners in the field of migration, led by the EU as the main financer and driver, aim at establishing a migration management scheme which under the guise of the migration-development nexus largely serves the purpose of controlling migration of 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, by supporting the process of migration policy formulation (van Crieginge, 2010). The IOM serves as main implementer of a large majority of migration-related EU projects on the ground. It has, therefore, gained an important role as cooperation partner of the Ghanaian government for all migration-related issues and projects (van Crieginge, 2010). Consequently, the IOM engaged with the Ghanaian stakeholders to start the policy formulation process by focusing on stemming international migration. Diverging interests on the topic of migration between the EU and African countries have been observed in various partnerships and instruments. This exemplifies that the EU focuses on combating irregular migration and gaining African countries' cooperation on return and readmission, whereas African countries' interests lie in legal migration pathways to Europe and using remittances for development (Castillejo, 2017; Crush, 2015; Zanker, 2019). The same opposing agenda is reflected in the different interests in the NMP for Ghana outlined above.

The regional organisation ECOWAS does not take an active part in the policy-making process. Given the ECOWAS Common Approach on Migration and the well-developed regional migration governance regime, it was expected that ECOWAS would be more actively involved. But according to the perception of the majority of interview partners, ECOWAS did not play a very prominent role. The ECOWAS Common Approach and the ECOWAS Free Movement protocol as well as the AU policy on migration merely served as reference points.

Although different interests prevailed in the policy process, it is remarkable that separate alliances between specific actors did not play a major role. Instead, it was the case that all actors worked together to achieve the goal of formulating a NMP for Ghana. However, almost all actors identified the IOM as main cooperation partner. It positioned the MoI as coordinating agency of the policy, thereby following the common procedure of policy-making in Ghana, namely a government institution as leader in the process.

One alliance, however, is specifically noteworthy: the cooperation between government institutions and the CMS. Although interview partners only rarely mentioned the CMS as cooperating partner (Interview, Senior (retired) Civil Servant, Ministry of Employment and Labour Relations, 27 April 2018; Interview, Founder, NGO, 25 April 2018; Interview, Mid-Level Civil Servant, Ministry of Justice, 7 May 2018), the examination of the entire policy process shows that the GoG and the CMS cooperated to also include the issue of internal migration in the policy. The cooperation between the GoG and the CMS reflects coalition building between stakeholders based on similar policy core beliefs (Weible, 2007). The GoG and the CMS hold the same policy-related values. They are both aware of the impacts of internal migration on their country, and therefore strive for action to address this issue. Afterall, the CMS was set up with the objective of assisting with policy formulation (Centre for Migration Studies, 2014). Therefore, it needs to be asked how independent the CMS itself is from the GoG.

The analysis of critical resources in the policy formulation process uncovers that financial, technical and human resources played a role in 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, technical resources, as held by the researchers of the CMS, also allow shaping the policy. It becomes clear that the resource factor needs to be examined in combination with the power actors have, 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.

The GoG, mainly in the form of the MoI, played a very influential role in driving the policy process. The IOM was ranked second in terms of most powerful position mainly because of its provision of financial resources. The chronological reconstruction of the policy process has shown that NMP development started with the provision of funding. With their financial resources, the IOM was able to push the policy in the direction they wanted it to go, while pulling the strings from behind the scenes and placing the MoI to be perceived as the most powerful agency.

Two main factors were identified under formal and informal rules to be shaping policy-making in Ghana: a leading institution and social consensus. The MoI has widely been seen as the leading institution that guides, coordinates and initiates policy process, 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 had flaws. Associations such as diaspora organisations were not considered, whereas most of the CSOs wished for more encompassing inclusion.

6.2 Reflections on the lack of policy implementation

The above outlined constellation of actors, their interests, relations, resources and power has an impact on the implementation of the NMP. So far, it has not been implemented. The following section discusses possible reasons.

The chronological reconstruction of the policy process revealed that the process started because international support was made available. To continue with implementation after policy adoption, a former civil servant at the MFA stresses, the GoG is “[...] now waiting for another support to do the dissemination” (Interview, Insider on Migration Management Ghana, 8 March 2018). This quote shows that the government heavily relies on international partners for support in the policy process. The interview partner continues by generally describing policy development in Ghana as follows:

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 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 [...]. 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 is it. (Interview, Insider on Migration Management Ghana, 08 March 2018)

This quote points out three major aspects regarding the policy development process that will be reflected on below as potential reasons for the lack of NMP implementation: the shift of attention to other policies, the dependency on external resources for policy development in general and implementation in particular, and the lack of commitment from the government.

First, the shift of attention towards a new policy can be observed in the case of the NMP: After its finalisation, the GoG is involved in the formulation of a Diaspora Engagement and a Labour Migration Policy. Donors provided funding for the Diaspora Engagement Policy in 2015 and 2016. Topics included diaspora investments, costs of remittances, data of Ghanaian migrants, collaborations with hometown associations¹⁰ and the integration of returnees (Interview, Senior Researcher, Institute of African Studies, University of Ghana, 21 May 2018). The policy development process was similar to that of the NMP. The MFA and its Diaspora Unit were the leading governmental institution and the CMS drafted the policy (Interview, Senior Researcher, Centre for Migration Studies, University of Ghana, 7 March 2018). Input was even collected abroad from diaspora organisations and put together in a draft after regional consultations were conducted (Interview, Mid-Level Civil Servant, Ghana Investment Promotion Centre, 12 April 2018). Resources for the policy were channelled through ECOWAS which received funding for this project from the EU and the Spanish government (Interview, Senior Researcher, Centre for Migration Studies, University of Ghana, 7 May 2018; Background Conversation, Senior Researcher, Regional Institute for Population Studies, University of Ghana, 23 February 2018). The IOM worked as implementer on the ground, providing technical support and encouraging the GoG to start the process. A GIPC representative describes the procedure as follows: “[The] IOM

10 Hometown associations are groups in which Ghanaians in the diaspora organise themselves based on the place where their ancestors or they themselves were born, to which they tend to feel a strong connection. Ghanaian hometown associations have formed in many large European and North American cities with Ghanaian communities. They 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 from their members. Through these initiatives, schools, hospitals and roads in Ghana could be built and upgraded (Mazzucato & Kabki, 2009).

managed to get funding to get us through [...]” (Background Conversation, Senior (retired) Civil Servant, Ghana Investment Promotion Centre, 18 April 2018). However, the policy was not passed before the NDC government left office in December 2016. It is currently waiting to be approved by the cabinet.¹¹

In addition to that, the process of formulating a Labour Migration Policy for Ghana had 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” (Interview, Senior Civil Servant, Labour Department, 27 April 2018). Support to Free Movement of Persons and Migration in West Africa (FMM West Africa), an initiative jointly funded by the EU and ECOWAS, and implemented by the IOM, ILO and ICMPD, fosters this policy process. A first workshop to start policy development was held in April 2018 (FMM West Africa, 2018). It is argued that the need for a policy on labour migration stems from the insufficient recognition of labour migration in the NMP (Interview, Senior Officer, ILO, 15 May 2018).

It follows that 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 a lack of commitment to the NMP and its potential. The GoG has already shifted its focus to new projects for which money is made available, thereby neglecting already existing work and re-fragmenting the policy landscape on migration in Ghana. This can result in a devaluation of the NMP which was formulated as a comprehensive policy including all forms of migration affecting Ghana.

Second, the NMP suffers from a lack of resources for implementation. Setting up the GNMC is regarded as a crucial first step in this regard as the commission is intended to coordinate the activities outlined in the NMP action plan. The MU is tasked with establishing the migration commission. However, interview partners describe it as suffering from a lack of funding and a lack of capacity because the GoG is not properly resourcing it (Interview, Senior Researcher, Centre for Migration Studies, University of Ghana, 24 April 2018; Interview, Mid-Level Officer, IOM Ghana, 5 April 2018; Interview, Senior Officer, NGO, 18 May 2018). Others highlight the low capacity of the MU's members of staff, which are said to lack sufficient background knowledge and suffer from discontinuity. Over the duration of the process, the MU had four different heads (Interview, Senior Researcher, Centre for Migration Studies, University of Ghana, 24 April 2018). One observer went so far to claim that “the only capacity they [the MU] have, they get from the IOM” (Interview, Senior Officer, NGO, 18 May 2018). Different actors explained that the current director of the MU had emphasised in bilateral conversations that they were working on setting up the

11 According to one 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 restart the policy process for a Diaspora Engagement Policy (Background Conversation, Senior (retired) Civil Servant, Ghana Investment Promotion Centre, 18 April 2018). However, as part of a background conversation, a representative of the newly formed Diaspora Affairs Bureau at the presidency stressed that his agency is currently working on getting the Diaspora Engagement Policy ratified (Background Conversation, Senior Civil Servant, Diaspora Affairs Bureau, Office of the President, 20 March 2018).

commission (Interview, Mid-Level Officer, IOM Ghana, 05 April 2018; Interview, Insider on Migration Management Ghana, 8 March 2018). The director himself also stressed that he wants to set up the commission (Interview, Senior Civil Servant, Migration Unit, Ministry of the Interior, 17 April 2018). It seems that the MU is willing to go ahead with NMP implementation, but it is constrained by its dependency on the GoG to resource it properly.

Third, implementation is lacking because of the GoG's half-hearted interest in and lack of commitment to the policy, as highlighted by a number of interview partners (Interview, Representative, Anti-Human Trafficking Unit, Ghana Police Service, 6 April 2018; Interview, Senior (retired) Civil Servant, Ministry of Employment and Labour Relations, 27 April 2018; Interview, Senior Officer, NGO, 10 May 2018; Interview, Senior Officer, NGO, 4 April 2018.). On the one hand, it is stressed that the Ghanaian government might not feel responsible for the policy because they do not regard the issue as being as relevant to themselves as it is to Europe, the destination of most international irregular migrants. On the other hand, as stressed by a senior NGO officer, their interest might be limited because the topic was pushed onto the Ghanaian agenda by international partners (Interview, Senior Officer, NGO, 18 May 2018). One interview partner argues that internal migration is much more important to the GoG, but the overall impression was that the NMP was set up and pushed by the IOM and the EU in order to address international migration flows to Europe. Consequently, the commitment towards the policy is weak (Interview, Senior Civil Servant, Ghana Refugee Board, 10 May 2018).

Despite the apparent lack of commitment, the GoG has been aware of migration issues for years. But it never addressed the topic prominently, for instance in state of the nation addresses. If migration was talked about, for example as part of The Coordinated Programme for Economic and Social Development Policies, the country's seven-year development plan presented by the president to parliament, then mostly in terms of internal and rural-urban migration under the aspect of urbanisation and population (Government of Ghana, 2010a; 2007; 2017). The two more recent plans also mentioned using the potential of migration for Ghana's development (Government of Ghana, 2010a; 2017). However, no funds were made available or it was not considered a priority by the government in power.

Explanations of the lack of commitment to act can be found in a recurrent pattern that can be observed in the interviews: the view on migration in Ghanaian society. "Travelling is part of our culture" (Interview, Insider on Migration Management Ghana, 8 March 2018) is a common description of the way the history of migration in Ghana and West Africa influences current migration patterns. 'Travelling outside' is a phrase used in Ghana when referring to emigration. In other West African languages, 'travel' or 'adventuring' is used when talking about migration (Graw, 2012, p. 39). In the West African context, including Ghana, migration is very important for a person's social status (Nieswand, 2014). It brings prestige and positive reputation, as an insider illustrated by the following example:

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 back. [...] If you need a nice lady you are interested in, the 'Libya'-tag gives you some 40 per cent jump ahead of your competitors (Interview, Insider on Migration Management Ghana, 8 March 2018).

Ghanaian society is characterised by the omnipresent perception that migration is almost the only road to success. A Twi proverb says 'high birth is not food; money is all that

matters" (cited in Akyeampong, 2000, p. 187). It illustrates the importance of the material wealth that the successful migrant comes home with. He or she is then considered as an 'upper class citizen' who gets a lot of respect (Akyeampong, 2000; Bob-Milliar, 2012). Consequently, it is not easy for a government to put restrictions to the social phenomenon of travelling, as it will affect votes (Interview, Senior Officer, EU Delegation to Ghana, 18 April 2018). Moreover, countries like Ghana have little interest in restricting migration because emigration reduces pressure on the internal labour market and generates remittances (Haas, 2006). Demographic pressure caused by a growing generation of young people and youth unemployment is a widespread phenomenon in Sub-Saharan Africa (Kihato, 2018). Therefore, an interview partner stressed, "[...] 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." (Interview, Insider on Migration Management Ghana, 8 March 2018).

Therefore, the background of why the government is careful when addressing the issue of migration has to be taken into consideration when talking about the perceived lack of commitment of the GoG on migration and the NMP. It shows that socio-historical constellations impact decision-making and need constant reflection.

It is into this constellation that the IOM pushes forward, being funded by the EU. Whereas many domestic discussions highlight the benefits of migration for development, the EU increasingly focuses on migration control and the securitisation of migrants (Kohnert, 2007; Zanker, 2019). But for Ghana to become interested in closer collaboration with the EU on migration management, attention has to be on a comprehensive approach to migration that focuses on the development aspect (van Crieckinge, 2010, p. 18). Although it is not in line with the GoG's primary interest of addressing internal migration, common ground for cooperation is found which makes use of the potential of migration for development. As development partners fund and initiate the policy process, the GoG takes it up. This finding is confirmed by van Crieckinge's (2010) case study on the cooperation between the EU and Ghana regarding migration in which she concludes that "[i]n Ghana, policy processes and outcomes tend to be much more externally-driven, rather than government-owned" (van Crieckinge, 2010, p. 23). Researchers argue that the purpose of policy formulation processes for donors is to have a document on paper that can be presented, that legitimises their agendas and is in line with their priorities (Hänninen, 2014; Mosse, 2005; van Quarles Ufford, Kumar, & Mosse, 2003). Hänninen (2014, p. 248) concludes that donor involvement in policy-making serves their purposes and ideas. As the EU funds policy development on migration in the ECOWAS region, its influence on agenda setting and policy processes can also be observed here, especially as EU objectives largely differ from ECOWAS' priorities (Bisong, 2019). For the NMP for Ghana this implies that the agenda of migration control is an underlying feature of the policy formulation process. The policy document can then be presented as a success story of EU activities towards migration control from West Africa to Europe. In addition, Hänninen (2014) argues that policy formulation initiated by donors is a way for the recipient government to secure funding. For example, it works in favour of their goal of staying in power and supporting their clientele or patronage-based networks (Hänninen, 2014, p. 248). Thus, it can be assumed that the Ghanaian government benefited from the financial allocations.

Furthermore, the case of migration policy-making in Ghana has also illustrated that participation is based on consultation. In contrast to the policy cycle model that supposes that

actors within and outside of the government try to get attention for their perceived problem and work towards putting it on the political agenda (Jann & Wegrich, 2007), in the NMP process the ordinary citizenry and the majority of CSOs did not or were not able to articulate the need for the policy. For public participation, ‘stakeholder buy-in’ meetings were held. Gould (2005) argues that, if policies are funded by development partners, they also organise and fund consultations. She criticises that the public, which is affected by policy decisions, cannot voice their opinion through elections or referendums, but, if it is possible at all, only through “donor-sponsored workshopping” (Gould, 2005, p. 11). This way of public consultation could also be observed during the NMP process. Regional consultations and meetings with key stakeholders, funded by development partners, were the typical mode of engaging the wider public. CSOs were generally treated as observers. However, this approach has also been seen in other cases of public policy-making in Ghana, for example during the development of Ghana’s Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (Mohammed, 2013; Whitfield, 2005). Thus, Hänninen (2014, p. 250) describes such policy-making processes as a “game” between development partners and the government, in which “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, p. 250). In this context, the GoG was able to include its own priorities. Its close collaboration with the team of consultants from the CMS allowed for changing the focus of the policy towards a more encompassing approach to migration, to also include internal and transregional migration.

This wider constellation poses challenges for implementation. At first glance, it would seem that the GoG does not show enough interest in the policy to get it implemented. However, the GoG has already been playing the game of policy-making between development partners and government actors several times. They know that development partners will step in, if they want to have the policy implemented. If not, they will propose a new project with new funds, as has already been the case with the Diaspora Engagement and Labour Migration Policy. The call for donor support for implementation has been voiced by a number of interviewed actors. Even the critical NDPC representative said: “Resources from [development partners] are needed to support the policy, to support implementation. It is just we want to determine our own priorities” (Interview, Senior Civil Servant, National Development Planning Commission, 20 March 2018). But obviously 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 and jointly implemented by the IOM and GIS from 2014 to 2017. Based on discussions as part of the NMP development process, the project was set up to already implement a few aspects raised in the context of the NMP (Interview, Mid-Level Officer, IOM Ghana, 05 April 2018). This shows that the EU had started a project to implement parts of the NMP that aligned with their interests even before the official launch of the policy. The GIMMA project comprises three components: 1. Enhancing the operational capacities of law enforcement officers to effectively manage borders. 2. Promoting safe and legal migration. 3. Strengthening migration data management for evidence-based policy-making (IOM Ghana, 2016). Especially for components 1 and 2, it can be argued that the EU has a heightened interest in supporting Ghana in more effectively controlling its borders to prevent irregular migration and raising awareness on its dangers.

Additionally, the provision of financial resources by development partners for policy formulation influences the GoG’s attention to policy areas for which funding is made

available. The formulation of the Diaspora Engagement Policy and the recent start of the Labour Migration Policy process illustrate these shifts in focus. The representative of the MU at the MoI argued that the attempts of formulating other migration-related policies will undermine the role of the NMP (Interview, Senior Civil Servant, Migration Unit, Ministry of the Interior, 17 April 2018). On top of that, it creates a new, more scattered migration policy landscape. But in a context where policy-making is largely driven by donor guidance, several policies on a similar topic tend to be the rule rather than the exception (Interview, Insider on Migration Management Ghana, 8 March 2018).

The approach of reacting to external funding for policy development illustrates another facet of the policy-making game between development partners and government actors as well as shedding light on the weak commitment by the GoG. Over the years, development partners' involvement in internal affairs has created a structure that provides funds for policies that in the majority of cases primarily serves their own interests. This is rooted in (post-)colonial dependencies and has been exacerbated by structural adjustment programmes. This dependency is also reflected in the NMP for Ghana: Development partners have pushed through their agendas and now have a policy on paper that they can present. Meanwhile the Ghanaian government was able to slightly shape this policy in a direction favourable to them and at the same time benefit from the provided funds.

6.3 Reflections on the analytical framework

The empirical findings of this research reveal that the analytical framework needs further specification to adequately capture all aspects identified in relation to stakeholder involvement in policy-making. A first area for adaptation is the interplay between resources an actor holds and the power he or she can exert. While both were initially identified as separate explanatory factors, the empirical findings illustrate how the access to resources relates closely to an actor's power. Consequently, this connection requires further specification in theoretical considerations. Sabatier and Weible (2007) argue that policy-relevant resources include a variety of factors such as formal legal authority to make policy decisions, public opinion supporting a policy position, financial resources and skilful leadership. Schmeer (1999) defines power as "the combined measure of the amount of resources a stakeholder has and his or her capacity to mobilize them" (Schmeer, 1999, p. 16). Consequently, an analytical framework has to capture the different shapes resources can take and understand them as the foundation for power.

In line with previous research, this study chose an actor-centred approach (Koivisto, 2014; Villamor, 2006; Weible, 2007). However, following the empirical analysis, the significance of the structural setting for policy-making becomes evident (John, 1998). The case of the NMP for Ghana has shown the importance of considering social and historical policy-making structures that actors are a part of, which also impact policy implementation. This became obvious from the realisation of the specific view on migration inherent in the Ghanaian society, but also from the historical roots of interaction between government actors and development partners. The reflections in Section 2 mostly emphasise political structures that influence actors' behaviour (Howlett et al., 2009; Keeley & Scoones, 2003). Consequently, this is what the concept of formal and informal rules applied in this study mostly focuses on. However, this view neglects the socio-historical context in which policy-making takes place. Hence, a revised analytical framework would 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, such as dependencies based on (post-)colonial structures, as well as the social aspects related to the topic under investigation, in this case migration.

7 Conclusion

This study investigated migration policy-making in Ghana. It aimed at reconstructing the policy-making process leading to the NMP and identifying the factors that determine stakeholder involvement in the policy formulation process. Based on qualitative expert interviews in Ghana, this research finds that interests in the policy, together with the possession of financial and technical resources, are critical to stakeholder involvement. The analysis further reveals that the access to and the ability to use resources forms the foundation of stakeholders' power in the policy process.

Additionally, this research shows that the NMP is not primarily a response 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. Nevertheless, together with the development aspect of migration, these are the two main issues of concern related to migration for the Ghanaian government. This differs greatly from the development partners' interests. As major financer of the NMP, the EU is focused on addressing the root causes of irregular migration to Europe. However, in finding a common approach to migration management, the GoG and the EU found common ground in developing a migration policy that emphasises the potential of migration for Ghana's development. The EU, through the IOM as its leading implementing agency, provided the necessary financial resources for this project, which served as an incentive for the GoG to start the policy process. Policy-making driven by donor guidance via financial incentives attached to it, has been identified as a characteristic feature of Ghana's policy developments. Nevertheless, by providing technical expertise in the form of the consultants from the CMS at the University of Ghana, the GoG managed to formulate an encompassing policy for Ghana which focuses not only on international migration but also takes internal movements into consideration.

Taking these results into account, this research argues that the purpose of the NMP is to a large extent not to respond to a perceived problem in Ghana, as for example constituted by internal migration. Engaging with interview partners, own observations and careful estimates have revealed that internal migration within Ghana is much greater in scope and extent than international irregular migration to Europe. Therefore, without the European agenda to foster migration control, curbing internal migration movements, for example due to economic hardship and climate-induced changes, would actually be at the centre of attention. Although the GoG and the MoI, are perceived as the driving forces behind the NMP and as the most powerful actors by interview partners, the IOM largely shaped the policy-making process. Development partners, mainly the IOM, were always ranked second in terms of power and influence. The analysis that took into consideration donor guidance in policy processes in Ghana, the view on migration in society and the weak position of CSOs in policy-making reveals that the government only appears to be the guiding actor. In fact, the IOM, as acting force of the EU, was behind the policy 'like an invisible hand' and

a 'financial pillar'. They bring to bear their interests and money which is the directing incentive for the policy formulation process. Securing additional funding then becomes the main interest of the Ghanaian government as a response to the terms and conditions set by the development partners.

The challenges resulting from diverging interests on the topic can now be seen in the implementation phase. The agenda pushed by the development partners reduces the government's commitment to implementation. Furthermore, the continuous experience of receiving financial support for projects had resulted in a dependency on outside funds. On top of that, the perception of migrating outside of the country as being prestigious and related to an increase in social status as well as the importance of remittances for the country's economy make restrictions on migration highly unpopular. Therefore, the GoG is very reluctant to openly advocate for migration control.

Limitations of this study include the high level of staff fluctuation, especially in government institutions and development partner organisations, that hindered access to 'experts' on the policy-making process. 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. This reduces the accuracy of some information. Furthermore, the positionality of the researcher obviously impacts access to potential interview partners as well as influencing the interview situation itself and needs to be critically taken into consideration when drawing conclusions.

Nevertheless, the findings point to several avenues for future research. First, the applicability of the proposed modifications of the analytical framework need to be tested in other settings. Especially the inclusion of the history of policy-making and the history of relationships between the involved actors as well as the social aspects related to the topic under investigation is expected to provide further insights in policy-making processes. Looking at migration policy-making in other African countries will make it possible to compare and contrast the findings of the Ghana case study. The case of Senegal has shown opposition to EU-imposed projects on migration and the development of an own strategy to voice the country's demands related to migration issues (van Crikinge, 2010). Furthermore, Senegal appears to be much more critical of the IOM's influence compared to Ghana (Trauner, Jegen, Adam, & Roos, 2019). Together with previous studies (Castillejo, 2019, p. 8f.), this study has shown the need for more research on the phenomenon of migration in African countries. The bulk of research focuses on irregular migration to Europe, whereas the majority of African migrants moves within their region or the continent. As this study has pointed out the importance of the socio-historical background in which policy-making takes place, in-depth explorations of African migration realities will lead to a better understanding of actors' behaviours, commitment and decisions in policy processes. Moreover, it serves as a prerequisite to designing better policy responses to migration dynamics on the African continent.

Consequently, policy implications from the results and observations of this study are that an approach on migration management in cooperation with countries in Africa has to take the socio-historical constellations as well as the country's view on migration into account. This requires a more honest exchange of positions. It equally has to take African countries' priorities in terms of the possibility of legal migration to Europe and the utilisation of remittances for development into consideration. Only careful attention to interests and priorities of government institutions will ensure ownership, implementation and eventually

the success of the policy. Furthermore, a better coordination of development partners' projects is needed. In the case of Ghana, the formulation of additional policies in the area of migration had undermined the initial efforts taken with the NMP. Moreover, the results suggest that public awareness and recognition needs to be raised to enable an increased civil society involvement in the policy process. At the same time, this requires strengthening and supporting CSOs, so that they can play a more active role in policy-making as well as implementation.

References

Abdul-Gafaru, A., & Quantson, R. (2008). The changing role of CSOs in public policy making in Ghana. *Ghana Social Science Journal*, 5 & 6(1 & 2), 114–151.

Akyeampong, E. (2000). Africans in the diaspora: The diaspora and Africa. *African Affairs*, 99(395), 183–215.

Anarfi, J., & Kwankye, S. (2003). *Migration from and to Ghana: A background paper* (Working Paper C4, December 2003). Brighton: University of Sussex, Development Research Centre on Migration, Globalisation and Poverty. Retrieved from <https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/media/57a08d2040f0b652dd001790/WP-C4.pdf>

Ancker, S., & Rechel, B. (2015). HIV/AIDS policy-making in Kyrgyzstan: A stakeholder analysis. *Health Policy and Planning*, 30(1), 8–18.

Arthur, J. A. (1991). Interregional migration of labor in Ghana, West Africa: Determinants, consequences and policy intervention. *Review of Black Political Economy*, 20(2), 89–103.

Asamoah, K. (2012). A qualitative study of chieftaincy and local government in Ghana. *Journal of African Studies and Development*, 4(3), 90–95.

Awumbila, M., & Ardayfio-Schandorf, E. (2008). Gendered poverty, migration and livelihood strategies of female porters in Accra, Ghana. *Norwegian Journal of Geography*, 62, 171–179.

Awumbila, M., Manuh, T., Quartey, P., Addoquaye Tagoe, C., & Antwi Bosiakoh, T. (2008). *Country Paper: Ghana*. Paper prepared as part of the African Perspectives on Human Mobility Programme. Retrieved from University of Ghana website: <https://www.imi.ox.ac.uk/files/news/ghana-country-paper-2008.pdf>

Awumbila, M., Owusu, G., & Teye, J. (2014). *Can rural-urban migration into slums reduce poverty? Evidence from Ghana* (Working Paper 13, April 2014). Brighton: University of Sussex, Migrating out of Poverty. Retrieved from <https://opendocs.ids.ac.uk/opendocs/bitstream/handle/20.500.12413/14825/wp-13---awumbila-owusu-teye-2014-can-rural-urban-migration-into-slums-reduce-poverty-final.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=>

Bakewell, O., & de Haas, H. (2007). African migrations: Continuities, discontinuities and recent transformations. In P. Chabal, U. Engel & L. de Haan (Eds.), *African alternatives* (pp. 95–117). Leiden: Koninklijke Brill NV.

Basaza, R. K., O'Connell, T. S., & Chapčáková, I. (2013). Players and processes behind the national health insurance scheme: A case study of Uganda. *BMC Health Services Research*, 13(1), 357.

Beverwijk, J., Goedegebuure, L., & Huisman, J. (2008). Policy change in nascent subsystems: Mozambican higher education policy 1993–2003. *Policy Sciences*, 41(4), 357–377.

Bisong, A. (2019). Trans-regional institutional cooperation as multilevel governance: ECOWAS migration policy and the EU. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 45(8), 1294–1309.

Bob-Milliar, G. (2012). *Rescuing migrants in Libya: The political economy of state responses to migration crises – The case of Ghana* (DIIS Working Paper 2012: 16). Copenhagen: Danish Institute for International Studies. Retrieved from https://pure.diis.dk/ws/files/56074/WP2012_16_Rescuing_migrants_in.Libya_web.pdf

Brock, K., McGee, R., & Ssewakiryanga, R. (2002). *Poverty knowledge and policy processes: A case study of Ugandan national poverty reduction policy* (Research Report 53, August 2002). Brighton: University of Sussex, Institute of Development Studies. Retrieved from <http://www.eldis.org/document/A13508>

Brown, S. (2017). Foreign aid and national ownership in Mali and Ghana. *Forum for Development Studies*, 44(3), 335–356.

Brugha, R., & Varvasovszky, Z. (2000). Stakeholder analysis: A review. *Health Policy and Planning*, 15(3), 239–246.

Castillejo, C. (2017). *The European Union Trust Fund for Africa: What implications for future EU Development Policy* (Briefing Paper 5/2017). Bonn: German Development Institute / Deutsches Institut für Entwicklungspolitik (DIE).

Castillejo, C. (2019). *The influence of EU migration policy on regional free movement in the IGAD and ECOWAS regions* (Discussion Paper 11/2019). Bonn: German Development Institute / Deutsches Institut für Entwicklungspolitik (DIE).

Centre for Migration Studies (2014). *Introducing CMS*. Accra, Ghana: University of Ghana: Retrieved from <http://cms.ug.edu.gh/introducing-cms-0>

Chazan, N. (1983). *An anatomy of Ghanaian Politics: Managing political recession, 1969-1982*. Boulder: Westview Press.

Clemens, M., & Petterson, G. (2008). New data on African Health professionals abroad. *Human Resources for Health*, 6(1), 1–11.

Cobb, M., Hampel, A., Missbach, A., Muhammad, D., & Rodríguez, F. (2020). “*Insiders*” and “*Outsiders*”: *Reflections on hierarchies, privileges and positionalities in academic research* (ABI Working Paper No. 15). Freiburg: Arnold-Bergstraesser-Institut. Retrieved from <https://www.arnold-bergstraesser.de/insiders-and-outsiders-reflections-on-hierarchies-privileges-and-positionalities-in-academic>

Cobbina, J. N. Y. (2012). Ghana to introduce National Migration Policy soon. *Modern Ghana*. Retrieved from <https://www.modernghana.com/news/422082/1/ghana-to-introduce-national-migration-policy-soon.html>

Crush, J. (2015). The EU-ACP migration and development relationship. *Migration and Development*, 4(1), 39–45.

D’Alfonso, A. (2014). European Development Fund. Joint Development Cooperation and the EU Budget: Out or In?: In-Depth Analysis. [European Parliament Research Service Blog]. Retrieved from <https://epthinktank.eu/2014/11/06/european-development-fund-joint-development-cooperation-and-the-eu-budget-out-or-in/>

Development and Peace Foundation. (2016). *Regional migration governance in the African continent. Current state of affairs and the way forward*. Bonn: Development and Peace Foundation / Stiftung Entwicklung und Frieden (SEF). Retrieved from https://www.sef-bonn.org/fileadmin/SEF-Dateiliste/04_Publikationen/Weitere_Publikationen/Sonderpublikationen/sb_studie-2016_en.pdf

Devillard, A., Bacchi, A., & Noack, M. (2016). *A survey on migration policies in West Africa*. Vienna, Dakar: International Centre for Migration Policy Development, International Organization for Migration. Retrieved from https://publications.iom.int/system/files/pdf/survey_west_africa_en.pdf

Devisscher, P. (2011). Legal migration in the relationship between the European Union and ACP countries: The absence of a true global approach continues. *European Journal of Migration and Law*, 13, 53–94.

Dickinson, C., & Buse, K. (2008). *Understanding the politics of national HIV policies: The roles of institutions, interests and ideas* (Technical Approach Paper, October 2008). Durban: University of KwaZulu Natal. Retrieved from <http://www.hivpolicy.org/Library/HPP001555.pdf>

ECOWAS. (2008). *ECOWAS common approach on migration*. Ouagadougou: Author.

European Commission. (2004). *Aeneas Programme. Programme for financial and technical assistance to third countries in the area of migration and asylum: Overview of projects funded 2004-2006*. Retrieved from https://migration-control.info/wp-content/uploads/docs/eu/EU_AENAS_%20projects%20funded%20to%20third%20countries%202004%20-%202006_eng.pdf

European Commission. (2016). Joint Commission EEAS non paper on enhancing cooperation on migration, mobility and readmission with Ghana. Brussels: Author. Retrieved from https://migration-control.info/archive/wp-content/uploads/docs/ghana/EU_Ghana_Strategic%20Paper_2016.02.24_eng.pdf

FMM West Africa. (2018). Ghana develops its first National Labour Migration Policy. Retrieved from <https://fmmwestafrica.org/news/ghana-develops-first-national-labour-migration-policy/>

Ghana Immigration Service. (2010). *Strategic plan 2011 to 2015*. Accra: Author.

Ghana Immigration Service. (2016). *Annual report 2016*. Accra: Author.

Ghana Statistical Service. (2005). *Population data analysis report: Volume 1. Socio-economic and demographic trends analysis*. Accra: Author.

Ghana Statistical Service. (2012). *2010 population & housing census. Summary report of final results*. Accra: Author.

Ghana Statistical Service. (2014). *Ghana Living Standards Survey Round 6 (GLSS 6). Main Report*. Accra: Author.

GhanaWeb. (11 December 2017). Ghanaians involved in slave trade – Libya returnee. *GhanaWeb*. Retrieved from <https://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/NewsArchive/Ghanaians-involved-in-Slave-Trade-Libya-returnee-608531>

GhanaWeb. (8 March 2018). Ghanaians ‘killing’ Ghanaians in Libya - Minister reveals. *GhanaWeb*. Retrieved from <https://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/NewsArchive/Ghanaians-killing-Ghanaians-in-Libya-Minister-reveals-632334>

Gil, A., Polikina, O., Koroleva, N., Leon, D., & McKee, M. (2010). Alcohol policy in a Russian region: A stakeholder analysis. *European Journal of Public Health*, 20(5), 588–594.

GIZ (Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit). (2020). *Ghana*. Accra: Author. Retrieved from <https://www.giz.de/en/worldwide/324.html> (15 December 2020)

GNA (Ghana News Agency). (2015). Cabinet approves National Migration Policy. *MG. Modern Ghana*. Retrieved from <https://www.modernghana.com/news/650761/1/cabinet-approves-national-migration-policy.html>

Gould, J. (2005). *The new conditionality. The politics of poverty reduction strategies*. London, New York: Zed Books.

Government of Ghana. (1989). *PNDC Law 226*. Accra: Author.

Government of Ghana. (1992). *Constitution of the Republic of Ghana*. Accra: Author.

Government of Ghana. (1994). *National Population Policy, Revised edition 1994*. Accra: Author.

Government of Ghana (1996). *Ghana vision 2020: The first step 1996-2000*. Accra: Author.

Government of Ghana (2003). *Ghana Poverty Reduction Strategy 2003-2005: An agenda for growth and prosperity. Volume I: Analysis and policy statement*. Accra: Author. Retrieved from <https://www.ircwash.org/sites/default/files/GPRS-2003-Agenda.pdf>

Government of Ghana. (2005). *Growth and Poverty Reduction Strategy (GPRS II) (2006-2009)*. Accra: Author.

Government of Ghana. (2007). *The Coordinated Programme for Economic and Social Development of Ghana, 2007-2015*. Accra: Author.

Government of Ghana. (2010a). *The Coordinated Programme of Economic and Social Development Policies, 2010-2016: An Agenda for Shared Growth and Accelerated Development for a Better Ghana*. Accra: Government of Ghana.

Government of Ghana. (2010b). *Medium-Term National Development Policy Framework: Ghana Shared Growth and Development Agenda (GSGDA), 2010-2013: Volume I: Policy framework*. Accra: Author. Retrieved from http://eeas.europa.eu/archives/delegations/ghana/documents/eu_ghana/ghana_shared_growth_and_development_agenda_en.pdf

Government of Ghana. (2 November 2015). *IOM organizes training for policy makers on national migration policy*. Accra: Government of Ghana Press Release. Retrieved from <https://allafrica.com/stories/201511031606.html>

Government of Ghana. (13 July 2016a). *Ghana hosts Botswana on migration policy development*. Accra: Government of Ghana Press Release. Retrieved from <https://allafrica.com/stories/201607150672.html>

Government of Ghana. (2016b). *National migration policy for Ghana*. Accra: Author.

Government of Ghana. (2017). *The coordinated programme of economic and social development policies, 2017-2024: An agenda for jobs: Creating prosperity and equal opportunity for all*. Accra: Author.

Government of Ghana. (2019). *Ghana beyond aid charter and strategy document*. Accra: Author. Retrieved from <https://thinknovate.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/Ghana-Beyond-Aid-Charter-and-Strategy-Document.pdf>

Graw, K. (2012). On the cause of migration: being and nothingness in the African-European border zone. In K. Graw & S. Schielke (Eds.), *The global horizon. Expectations of migration in Africa and the Middle East* (pp. 23–42). Leuven: Leuven University Press.

Grimble, R., & Wellard, K. (1997). Stakeholder methodologies in natural resource management: A review of principles, contexts, experiences and opportunities. *Agricultural Systems*, 55(2), 173–193.

Grindle, M., & Thomas, J. (1991). *Public choice and policy change: The political economy of reform in developing countries*. Baltimore, London: John Hopkins University Press.

Gyimah-Boadi, E. (2008). *Ghana's Fourth Republic: Championing African democratic renaissance?* (Briefing Paper, Volume 8, Number 4, January 2008). Accra: CDD-Ghana. Retrieved from <https://www.cddgh.org/vol-8-no-4-ghanas-fourth-republic-championing-the-african-democratic-renaissance-by-e-gyimah-boadi/>

Haas, H. de (2006). *Trans-Saharan migration to North Africa and the EU: Historical roots and current trends*. Brussels: Migration Policy Institute, Migration Information Source. Retrieved from <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/trans-saharan-migration-north-africa-and-eu-historical-roots-and-current-trends>

Hall, P., & Taylor, R. (1996). *Political science and the three new institutionalisms* (MPIFG Discussion Paper 96/6). Cologne: Max-Planck-Institut für Gesellschaftsforschung.

Hänninen, E. (2014). *Legitimizing aid: Donors and policy making in the rural water supply and sanitation sector in Nepal* (Academic Dissertation). University of Helsinki.

Hawkinson, E. (2017). Recruitment of domestic servants to work in Gulf states. *Graphic Online*. Retrieved from <https://www.graphic.com.gh/news/general-news/recruitment-of-domestic-servants-to-work-in-gulf-states-suspended.html>

Hennink, M., Hutter, I., & Bailey, A. (2010). *Qualitative research methods*. London: SAGE Publications.

Howlett, M., Ramesh, M., & Perl, A. (2009). *Studying public policy: Policy cycles & policy subsystems*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hughes, T. (2005). Ghana: A donor success story. *South African Journal of International Affairs*, 12(2), 75–93.

Imurana, B., Haruna, R., & Kofi, A. (2014). The politics of public policy and problems of implementation in Africa: An appraisal of Ghana's National Health Insurance Scheme in Ga East District. *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science*, 4(4), 196–207.

International Centre for Migration Policy Development. (n.d.). *Guide on the use of migration data in Ghana*. Brussels: Author. Retrieved from <https://www.rabat-process.org/images/RabatProcess/Documents/guide-use-migration-data-mali-rabat-process.pdf>

IOM (International Organization for Migration). (2011). *IOM Ghana. Strategic Plan 2011-2015*. Accra, Geneva: Author. Retrieved from <http://www.iom.int/jahia/webdav/shared/shared/mainsite/activities/countries/docs/ghana/IOM-Ghana-Strategic-Plan-2011-2015.pdf>

IOM. (2017). *IOM snapshot 2017*. Geneva: Author. Retrieved from https://www.iom.int/sites/default/files/about-iom/iom_snapshot_a4_en.pdf

IOM Development Fund. (2017). *Review of migration policy funded projects 2007-2016*. Geneva: Author. Retrieved from <https://developmentfund.iom.int/sites/devfund/files/documents/Migration%20Policy%20Projects%20Review.PDF>

IOM Ghana. (2014). *Ghana paves way for new migration policy*. Accra: Author. Retrieved from <https://www.iom.int/ghana-paves-way-new-migration-policy>

IOM Ghana. (2015). *Developing a migration policy to integrate migration into the national development framework for Ghana*. (Info Sheet MD5/0115). Accra: Author. Retrieved from <https://www.iom.int/sites/default/files/country/docs/ghana/IOM-Ghana-Mainstreaming-Migration.pdf>

IOM Ghana. (2016). *Ghana integrated migration management approach*. Accra: Author. Retrieved from <https://www.iom.int/sites/default/files/country/docs/ghana/GIMMA-Information-Sheet-January-2016.pdf>

IOM Ghana. (2017). *IOM Ghana annual report 2016*. Accra: Author. Retrieved from <https://www.iom.int/sites/default/files/country/docs/ghana/IOM-Ghana-2016-Annual-Report.pdf>

IOM Migration Research Division. (2011). *Migration profiles: Making the most of the process*. Geneva: International Organization for Migration (IOM). Retrieved from http://publications.iom.int/system/files/pdf/migrationprofileguide2012_1oct2012.pdf

IOM Nigeria. (2015). Nigeria adopts national migration policy. Abuja: Author. Retrieved from <https://www.iom.int/news/nigeria-adopts-national-migration-policy>

Jankie, D. (2004). 'Tell me who you are': Problematizing the construction and positionalities of "insider"/"Outsider" of a "native" ethnographer in a postcolonial context. In K. Mutua & B. B. Swadener (Eds.), *Decolonizing research in cross-cultural contexts: critical personal narratives* (pp. 87–106). New York: State University of New York Press.

Jann, W., & Wegrich, K. (2007). Theories of the policy cycle. In F. Fischer, G. Miller, & M. Sidney (Eds.), *Handbook of public policy analysis: Theory, politics, and methods* (pp. 43–62). Boca Raton: CRC Press.

Jenkins, W. (1978). *Policy analysis. A political and organizational perspective*. New York: St. Martin's Press.

John, P. (1998). *Analysing public policy*. London: Cassell.

Keeley, J., & Scoones, I. (2003). *Understanding environmental policy processes. Cases from Africa*. London: Earthscan Publications Ltd.

Kihato, C. W. (2018). *The 'Containment Compact': The EU migration 'crisis' and African complicity in migration management* (Occasional Paper 288). Johannesburg: Southern African Institute of International Affairs. Retrieved from <https://www.africaportal.org/publications/containment-compact-eu-migration-crisis-and-african-complicity-migration-management/>

Klaphake, A., & Scheumann, W. (2006). *Understanding transboundary water cooperation: Evidence from Africa* (Working Paper on Management in Environmental Planning 014/2006). Berlin: Technical University of Berlin. Retrieved from https://www.landschaftsoekonomie.tu-berlin.de/fileadmin/a0731/uploads/publikationen/workingpapers/WP_14_2006_Klaphake_Scheuman_Transboundary_Wat_.pdf

Kleist, N. (2011). "Let us rebuild our country": *Migration-development scenarios in Ghana* (DIIS Working Paper 2011: 30). Copenhagen: Danish Institute for International Studies. Retrieved from https://pure.diis.dk/ws/files/56086/WP2011_30_Let_us_rebuild_our_country_web.pdf

Koeb, E., & Hohmeister, H. (2010). *The revision of Article 13 on Migration of the Cotonou Partnership Agreement.: What's at stake for the ACP?* Maastricht, Brussels: European Centre for Development Policy Management. Retrieved from <https://ecdpm.org/wpcontent/uploads/2013/11/Revision-Article-13-Migration-Cotonou-Partnership-Agreement-ACP2010.pdf>

Koh, C., Goh, C., Wee, K., & Yeoh, B. (2016). *The dynamics of policy formulation and implementation: A case study of Singapore's mandatory weekly day off policy for migrant domestic workers* (Working Paper 36). Brighton: University of Sussex, Migrating out of Poverty. Retrieved from <http://migratingoutofpoverty.dfid.gov.uk/files/file.php?name=wp36-koh-et-al-2016-the-dynamics-of-policy-formulation-and-implementation.pdf&site=354>

Kohnert, D. (2007). *African migration to Europe: Obscured responsibilities and common misconceptions* (GIGA Working Papers Nr. 49). Hamburg: German Institute of Global and Area Studies (GIGA). Retrieved from https://www.giga-hamburg.de/de/system/files/publications/wp49_kohnert.pdf

Koivisto, J. E. (2014). A stakeholder analysis of the disaster risk Reduction policy subsystem in Mozambique. *Risk, Hazards & Crisis in Public Policy*, 5(1), 38–58.

Kuckartz, U., Dresing, T., Rädiker, S., & Stefer, C. (Eds.) (2008). *Qualitative evaluation. Der Einstieg in die Praxis*. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften.

Kumi, E. (2020). From donor darling to beyond aid? Public perceptions of 'Ghana beyond aid'. *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 58(1), 67–90.

Lasswell, H. (1956). *The decision process: Seven categories of functional analysis*. College Park: University of Maryland Press.

Manuh, T., & Asante, R. (2005). Reaping the gains of Ghanaians overseas: An evaluation of the home coming summit of 2001. In T. Manuh (Ed.), *At home in the World? International migration and development in contemporary Ghana and West Africa* (pp. 292–310). Accra: Sub-Saharan Publishers.

Manuh, T., Benneh, Y., Gebe, Y., Anebo, F., & Agyei, J. (2010). *Legal and institutional dimensions of migration in Ghana* (Migration Studies Technical Paper Series, Technical Paper No. 4). Accra: University of Ghana, Centre for Migration Studies.

Martin, M. (2013). *The global approach to migration and mobility: The state of play* (Statewatch Analyses, No 06/13). London: Statewatch. Retrieved from <http://www.statewatch.org/analyses/no-215-gamm-state-of-play.pdf>

Mayring, P. (2015). *Qualitative Inhaltsanalyse. Grundlagen und Techniken*. Weinheim, Basel: Beltz.

Mazzucato, V., & Kabki, M. (2009). Small is beautiful: The Micro-Politics of transnational relationships between Ghanaian hometown associations and communities back home. *Global Networks*, 9(2), 227–251.

Mazzucato, V., van den Boom, N., & Nsowah-Huamah, N. (2008). Remittances in Ghana: Origin, destination and issues of measurement. *International Migration*, 46(1), 103–122.

Ministry of the Interior. (2017). *Migration Unit (MU)*. Accra: Author. Retrieved from <https://www.mint.gov.gh/directorates/migration-unit-mu/>

Mohammed, A. (2013). Civic engagement in public policy making: Fad or reality in Ghana? *Politics & Policy*, 41(1), 117–152.

Mosse, D. (2005). *Cultivating development: An ethnography of aid policy and practice*. London: Pluto Press.

National Development Planning Commission. (2015). *Together we build...* Accra: Author.

Nieswand, B. (2014). The burgers' paradox: Migration and the transnationalization of social inequality in southern Ghana. *Ethnography*, 15(4), 403–425.

Nudzor, H. P. (2014). An analytical review of education policy-making and implementation processes within the context of "Decentralized System of Administration" in Ghana. *SAGE Open*, 4(2), 1–11.

Pécoud, A. (2018). What do we know about the international organization for migration? *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 44(10), 1621–1638.

Pojani, D., & Stead, D. (2014). Ideas, interests, and institutions: Explaining Dutch transit-oriented development challenges. *Environment and Planning a: Economy and Space*, 46(10), 2401–2418.

Quartey, P. (2009). *Migration in Ghana. A country profile 2009*. Geneva: International Organization for Migration (IOM). Retrieved from <https://publications.iom.int/books/migration-ghana-country-profile-2009-0>

Rademacher-Schulz, C., Schraven, B., & Mahama, E. (2014). Time matters: Shifting seasonal migration in Northern Ghana in response to rainfall variability and food security. *Climate and Development*, 6(1), 46–52.

Sabatier, P. (1988). An advocacy coalition framework of policy change and the role of policy-oriented learning therein. *Policy Sciences*, 21, 129–168.

Sabatier, P., & Weible, C. (2007). The advocacy coalition framework. Innovations and clarifications. In P. Sabatier (Ed.), *Theories of the policy process* (pp. 189–220). Boulder: Westview Press.

Sanjeeva, S., Godakandage, U., Senarath, H., Jayawickrama, I., & Siriwardena, S. (2017). Policy and stakeholder analysis of infant and young child feeding programmes in Sri Lanka. *BMC Public Health*, 17(2), 93–105.

Scalabrini Institute for Human Mobility in Africa. (September 2014). *Migration profile: Ghana*. Cape Town: Author. Retrieved from http://sihma.org.za/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/Migration-Profile_Ghana.pdf

Schmeer, K. (1999). *Guidelines for conducting a stakeholder analysis*. Bethesda, MD: Partnerships for Health Reform. Retrieved from <https://www.who.int/management/partnerships/overall/GuidelinesConductingStakeholderAnalysis.pdf>

Seddoh, A., & Akor, S. A. (2012). Policy initiation and political levers in health policy: Lessons from Ghana's health insurance. *BMC Public Health*, 12(1), 1-11.

Taabazuing, J., Armah, F., Dixon, J., & Luginaah, I. (2012). The relationship between traditional authorities and decentralized structures in Ghana: Conflicting roles or a struggle for power and legitimacy. *International Journal of Development and Conflict*, 2(3).

Timmermans, A., & Bleiklie, I. (March 1999). *Institutional conditions for policy design: Types of arenas and rules of the Game* (Paper presented at the ECPR Joint Sessions of Workshops Mannheim, 26-31 March 1999).

Trauner, F., Jegen, L., Adam, I., & Roos, C. (2019). *The International Organization for Migration in West Africa: Why its role is getting more contested* (Policy Brief Number 03, 2019). Brussels: United Nations University, Institute on Comparative Regional Integration Studies. Retrieved from <https://cris.unu.edu/sites/cris.unu.edu/files/PB-2019-3.pdf>

UN-DESA (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs). (2019). *International migrant stock 2019: Country profile Ghana*. Retrieved from <https://www.un.org/en/development/desa/population/migration/data/estimates2/countryprofiles.asp>

UNHCR (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees). (2005). *UNHCR Global report 2005 – Ghana*. Geneva: UNHCR. Retrieved from <https://www.unhcr.org/449267640.html>

UNHCR. (2020). *UNHCR Global trends: Forced displacement in 2019*. Geneva: UNHCR. Retrieved from <https://www.unhcr.org/5ee200e37.pdf>

UNHCR Ghana. (2020). *UNHCR Ghana fact sheet July/August 2020*. Retrieved from <https://www.unhcr.org/gh/wp-content/uploads/sites/83/2020/09/UNHCR-Ghana-Factsheet-July-August-2020.docx.pdf>

Van Crijkinge, T. (2010). *The EU-Africa Migration Partnership: A case study of the EU's migration. Dialogue with Senegal and Ghana*. Florence: European University Institute, EUI Migration Working Group.

Van der Geest, K., Vrieling, A., & Dietz, T. (2010). Migration and environment: A cross-district analysis of human mobility and vegetation dynamics. *Environment & Urbanization*, 22(1), 107–124.

Van Quarles Ufford, P., Kumar, A., & Mosse, D. (2003). Interventions in development towards a new moral understanding of our experiences and an agenda for the future. In P. van Quarles Ufford & A. Giri (Eds.), *A moral critique of development: In search of global responsibilities* (pp. 3–43). London: Routledge.

Varvasovszky, Z., & Brugha, R. (2000). A stakeholder analysis. *Health Policy and Planning*, 15(3), 338–345.

Vezzoli, S., & Lacroix, T. (2010). *Building bonds for migration and development. Diaspora engagement policies of Ghana, India and Serbia* (Research Report) Eschborn: Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit (GTZ), International Migration Institute. Retrieved from <https://halshs.archives-ouvertes.fr/halshs-00820771v2/document>

Villamor, G. (2006). The rise of protected area policy in the Philippine forest policy: An analysis from the perspective of advocacy coalition framework (ACF). *Forest Policy and Economics*, 9, 162–178.

Weible, C. (2007). An advocacy coalition framework approach to stakeholder analysis: Understanding the political context of California marine protected area policy. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, 17(1), 95–117.

Whitfield, L. (2005). Trustees of development from conditionality to governance: Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers in Ghana. *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 43(4), 641–664.

Whitfield, L. (2010). The state elite, PRSPs and policy implementation in aid-dependent Ghana. *Third World Quarterly*, 31(5), 721–737.

World Bank (2017). Migration and remittances: Annual remittances data (updated as of Oct. 2017). Inflows. Washington, DC: Author. Retrieved from <http://www.worldbank.org/en/topic/migrationremittancesdiasporaissues/brief/migration-remittances-data>

Yeboah, I. (27 April 2017). One year after launch, National Migration Policy not implemented – ACILA Graphic Online. Retrieved from <https://www.graphic.com.gh/news/general-news/one-year-after-launch-national-migration-policy-not-implemented-acila.html>

Yire, I., & Tandoh, K. (2016). Ghana launches National Migration Policy. *Modern Ghana*. Retrieved from <https://www.modernghana.com/news/684519/ghana-launches-national-migration-policy.html>

Zanker, F. (2019). Managing or restricting movement? Diverging approaches of African and European migration governance. *Comparative Migration Studies*, 7(17), 1–18.

Appendix

Appendix A: List of conducted interviews and interview details					
Interview code	Form of interview	Category of stakeholder	Organisation/institution	Anonymised title	Date
I_1	Background Conversation	Academia	Regional Institute for Population Studies, University of Ghana	Senior Researcher	23.02.2018
I_2	Interview	Academia	Centre for Migration Studies, University of Ghana	Senior Researcher	07.03.2018
I_3	Interview	National government – ministry	Former civil servant	Insider on Migration Management Ghana	08.03.2018
I_4	Interview	Civil society organisation	Media Response	Senior Officer	16.03.2018
I_5	Interview	International actor	GIZ	Senior Officer	19.03.2018
I_6	Background Conversation	National government – presidency	Diaspora Affairs Bureau, Office of the President	Senior Civil Servant	20.03.2018
I_7	Interview	National government – department or agency	National Development Planning Commission (NDPC)	Senior Civil Servant	20.03.2018
I_8	Background Conversation	International actor	Embassy of Spain, Accra	Senior Officer	04.04.2018
I_9	Interview	Civil society organisation	Africa Centre for Law & Accountability	Senior Officer	04.04.2018
I_10	Interview	International actor	International Organisation for Migration (IOM)	Mid-Level Officer	05.04.2018
I_11	Interview	National government – department or agency	Anti-Human-Trafficking Unit, Ghana Police	Representative of Anti-Human Trafficking Unit	06.04.2018
I_12	Interview	National government – department or agency	Ghana Investment Promotion Centre (GIPC)	Mid-Level Civil Servant	12.04.2018
I_13	Interview	National government – ministry	Migration Unit (Ministry of the Interior)	Senior Civil Servant	17.04.2018
I_14	Interview	International actor	Delegation of the European Union to Ghana	Senior Officer	18.04.2018
I_15	Background Conversation	National government – department or agency	Insider on diaspora engagement Ghana, formerly GIPC	Senior (retired) Civil Servant	18.04.2018
I_16	Background Conversation	Academia	Department of Planning, KNUST	Senior Researcher	20.04.2018
I_17	Interview	Academia	Centre for Migration Studies, University of Ghana	Senior Researcher	24.04.2018

I_18	Interview	Civil society organisation	Migrant Watch & Skilled Revolution Front	Founder of NGO	25.04.2018
I_19	Interview	Civil society organisation	Sahara Hustlers Association	Founder of NGO	26.04.2018
I_20	Interview	National government – ministry	Ministry of Employment and Labour Relations	Senior (retired) Civil Servant	27.04.2018
I_21	Interview	National government – department or agency	Labour Department	Senior Civil Servant	27.04.2018
I_22	Interview	National government – department or agency	Ghana Immigration Service	Senior Civil Servant	02.05.2018
I_23	Interview	Academia	Regional Institute for Population Studies, University of Ghana	Senior Researcher	07.05.2018
I_24	Interview	National government – ministry	Civil Division, Ministry of Justice and Office of Attorney General	Mid-Level Civil Servant	07.05.2018
I_25	Background Conversation	National government – ministry	Ministry of Finance	Mid-Level Civil Servant	09.05.2018
I_26	Interview	National government – department or agency	Ghana Refugee Board	Senior Civil Servant	10.05.2018
I_27	Interview	Civil society organisation	Research & Counselling Foundation for African Migrants (RECFAM)	Senior Officer – NGO	10.05.2018
I_28	Interview	National government – department or agency	National Population Council	Senior Civil Servant	14.05.2018
I_29	Background Conversation	National government – department or agency	National Population Council	Senior Civil Servant	14.05.2018
I_30	Interview	National government – ministry	Ministry of Foreign Affairs	Mid-Level Civil Servant	14.05.2018
I_31	Interview	International actor	International Labour Organization	Senior Officer	15.05.2018
I_32	Background Conversation	National government – ministry	Ministry of Education	Senior Civil Servant	17.05.2018
I_33	Interview	National government – ministry	Ministry of Gender	Mid-Level Civil Servant	17.05.2018
I_34	Interview	Academia	Department of Economics, University of Ghana	Senior Researcher	17.05.2018
I_35	Interview	International actor	UNHCR Ghana	Mid-Level Officer	18.05.2018

I_36	Interview	Civil society organisation	Rideo (Returnees Diaspora Integrated Development Organization)	Senior Officer – NGO	18.05.2018
I_37	Interview	National government – department or agency	Ghana Statistical Service	Senior Civil Servant	21.05.2018
I_38	Background Conversation	Academia	Institute of African Studies, University of Ghana	Senior Researcher	21.05.2018
I_39	Background Conversation	National government	Politician, Member of Parliament	Member of Parliament and Select Committee on Foreign Affairs, NPP	29.05.2018
I_40	Background Conversation	National government	Politician, Member of Parliament	Member of Parliament and Select Committee on Communications, NDC	29.05.2018
Source: Author					

Publications of the German Development Institute / Deutsches Institut für Entwicklungspolitik (DIE)

Discussion Papers

7/2021 Fiedler, Charlotte, & Christopher Rohles. *Social cohesion after armed conflict: A literature review* (40 pp.). ISBN 978-3-96021-144-0. DOI:10.23661/dp7.2021.

6/2021 Sommer, Christoph. *The impact of patient capital on job quality, investments and firm performance: Cross-country evidence on long-term finance* (46 pp.). ISBN 978-3-96021-143-3. DOI:10.23661/dp6.2021.

5/2021 Schlumberger, Oliver. *Puzzles of political change in the Middle East: Political liberalisation, authoritarian resilience and the question of systemic change* (109 pp.). ISBN 978-3-96021-142-6. DOI: 10.23661/dp5.2021.

4/2021 Klöble, Katrin. *A behavioural perspective on the drivers of migration: Studying economic and social preferences using the Gallup World Poll* (64 pp.). ISBN 978-3-96021-141-9. DOI:10.23661/dp4.2021.

3/2021 Burchi, Francesco, & Federico Roscioli. *Can integrated social protection programmes affect social cohesion? Mixed-methods evidence from Malawi* (28 pp.). ISBN 978-3-96021-140-2. DOI:10.23661/dp3.2021.

2/2021 Srigiri, Srinivasa Reddy, & Ines Dombrowsky. *Governance of the water-energy-food nexus for an integrated implementation of the 2030 Agenda: Conceptual and methodological framework for analysis* (29 pp.). ISBN 978-3-96021-139-6. DOI:10.23661/dp2.2021

1/2021 Peinhardt, Katherine. *Resilience through placemaking: Public spaces in Rotterdam's climate adaptation approach* (57 pp.) ISBN 978-3-96021-138-9. DOI:10.23661/dp1.2021.

23/2020 Pegels, Anna, Stefanie Heyer, David Ohlig, Felix Kurz, Lena Laux, & Prescott Morley. *How sustainable is recycling? Reconciling the social, ecological, and economic dimensions in Argentina* (47 pp.). ISBN: 978-3-96021-137-2. DOI: 10.23661/dp23.2020.

22/2020 Serraglio, Diogo Andreola. *The LFDD – human mobility nexus in Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean: A review of national policy and legal frameworks* (56 pp.). ISBN 978-3-96021-136-5. DOI:10.23661/dp22.2020.

21/2020 Pahl, Stefan, Clara Brandi, Jakob Schwab, & Frederik Stender. *Cling together, swing together: The contagious effects of COVID-19 on developing countries through global value chains* (28 pp.). ISBN: 978-3-96021-133-4. DOI: 10.23661/dp21.2020.

20/2020 von Haldenwang, Christian. *Digitalising the fiscal contract: an interdisciplinary framework for empirical inquiry* (28 pp.). ISBN: 978-3-96021-132-7. DOI: 10.23661/dp20.2020.

19/2020 Fischer, Roger A. *How the G7 reviews its work on development: A case study of internal accountability* (47 pp.). ISBN 978-3-96021-130-3. DOI: 10.23661/dp19.2020.

18/2020 Römling, Cornelia, & Sarah Holzapfel. *Monitoring in German bilateral development cooperation: A case study of agricultural, rural development and food security projects* (49 pp.). ISBN 978-3-96021-129-7. DOI:10.23661/dp18.2020.

17/2020 Laudage, Sabine. *Corporate tax revenue and foreign direct investment: Potential trade-offs and how to address them* (46 pp.). ISBN 978-3-96021-128-0. DOI:10.23661/dp17.2020.

[Price: EUR 6.00; publications may be ordered from the DIE or through bookshops.]

For a complete list of DIE publications:
www.die-gdi.de