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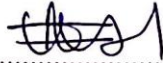
**AN EXAMINATION OF THE EFFECTS OF  
US IMMIGRATION POLICIES ON GHANA  
AND GHANAIAN MIGRANTS (2016-2019)**

**BY  
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**THIS DISSERTATION IS SUBMITTED TO THE UNIVERSITY  
OF GHANA, LEGON, IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF  
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF  
THE MASTER OF ARTS DEGREE IN  
INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS**

**DECLARATION**

I declare that I wrote this dissertation and no part or whole have been presented by me or any other person for any academic award in this or any other institution for the award of a diploma/degree. All references used in this are duly acknowledged



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**DEDICATION**

*I dedicate this work to my mother Adenike Adeoye for her love and support*

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am indebted to God almighty, for the abundant grace he provided me during the course of this study. His protection, guidance and wisdom sustained me throughout this period. Profound gratitude goes to my family, especially my parents, Adeoye Adeola and Adenike Adeoye for the incredible support they have always provide me. May God, replenish in double folds, every investment you make into my education.

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### **LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS**

DACA	-	Deferred Actions against Childhood Arrivals
DHS	-	Department of Homeland Security
DOJ	-	Department of Justice
EU	-	European Union
ICE	-	Immigration and Customs Enforcement
IIRIRA	-	Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act
MPP	-	Migrant Protection Protocols
POTUS	-	President of the United States
UN	-	United Nations
USCIS	-	United States Citizenship and Immigration Services
VOICE	-	Victims of Immigration Crime Engagement
YALI	-	Young African Leaders Initiative

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## ABSTRACT

The United States immigration policies, particularly under President Trump, towards Africa and Ghana has attracted some attention both in scholarship and policy discourse. The Trump administration's deportation of some Ghanaian migrants and the associated tension that ensued between the US and Ghana, over the former's visa restriction on some sections of the Ghanaian populace are important events for intellectual inquiry. This study, therefore, focused primarily on exploring the implications of President Trump's immigration policies towards Ghana and Ghanaian migrants in the US. This study is qualitative research and relied on secondary data including books, journal articles, newspapers, and official websites of state institutions, among others. The study used content analysis to analyze the secondary data obtained. The study found that the major immigration policies of President Obama include Secure Community Programme and Deferred Actions Against Childhood Arrivals – DACA on the one hand, while that of the Trump administration include, the Zero-Tolerance Policy, The Public Charge Act, Victims of Immigration Crime Engagement (VOICE) and the Migrant Protection Protocols (MPP). The study further revealed that Republicans such as President Trump are Restrictionist in nature, thereby generally deprioritizing migrant resettlements. The study showed that there are the two main justifications for the implementation of US' immigration Policies towards Africa under the Trump Administration. The First is to safeguard the national interest of America by protecting the American citizenry and secondly to fulfill a political campaign promise made during 2016 Presidential elections, in order to be re-elected to office in 2020. It was found that Ghana and some other African countries were directly affected by President Trump's immigration policies that placed a US visa ban on some Muslim countries in Africa and visa restrictions for nationals of "recalcitrant countries". The study recommends that an appreciation of US immigration policies, towards Africa, by Ghana is crucial to appreciating the changing trends, causes, effects, and suitable solutions in dealing with the US.

## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1.1 Background to the Study

Arguably, as a global hegemon, the United States has not effectively prioritized U.S foreign policy towards Africa (Katsopoulos & Georg, 2015; Mkandawire, 2010). According to Lawson (2007), during the Cold War period, the United States of America perceived few direct strategic or perhaps economic interests in Africa and thus formed relations with Africa utilizing the Cold War logic which emphasized communist states as enemies and democratic states as allies. This, Lawson (2007), explained occurred during the period of the late 1950s to the late 1980s.

After the cold war, the passing of years saw to the development of two different and very contrasting strategies being adopted by the United States in its dealings with the African continent and its citizens. Lawson (2007) ascribed these two distinct strategies to have been stemmed from the two different phases (the New World Order and the Retreat from Africa) experienced by the global hegemony (United States of America) during the wake of the end of the Cold War. This the author explained served as the motivation promoting the current relations between the United States and America (Lawson, 2007).

In the wake of the New World Order, following the end of the Cold War, United States Presidents George H. W. Bush and Bill Clinton embarked on a positive engagement with the African Continent (Lawson, 2007). During this period, areas such as conflict management, as evidenced in Somalia, interventions in Rwanda and Darfur; Humanitarian crisis assistance as witnessed in Somalia and Political reforms as evidenced by the democratic conditionalities of the US aid policies to Africa (Lawson, 2007).

The period of the Retreat from Africa as defined by Lawson was characterized by the gradual decline of the United States of America's involvement in Africa. A premise to this was the withdrawal of American troops from Somalia in 1994 by the Clinton Administration. According to Lawson (2007), a promoting factor to the United States retreat from Africa was the Presidential Decision Directive 25 (PDD 25), which restricted involvement of the United States in international crisis. The directive mainly brought to light concerns about the threat of insecurity in Africa and the likely threat of engaging in drawn-out conflict which do not serve the interests of the United States of America on the African continent.

Despite these issues, previous presidents of the US have pursued varied foreign policies depending on the global shift of events and the exigencies of the times. At the height of the Cold War, President Lyndon Banes Johnson pursued a confrontational foreign policy in Vietnam. He punctuated that with the 'Domino theory' to halt the spread of Communism\Socialism in Vietnam and the Asia region. George Walker Bush moved towards creating stronger economic and political relations with Latin American countries and Africa while president Barak Obama advanced mix relations with world-particularly, he was more interested in nuclear deals with Iran that he believed will be historic as well as a climate change agreement. Clearly, it has emerged that the US has strategically decided to heal the wounds of the cold war by extending financial assistance to these states. They invested in a lot of economies in sub-Saharan Africa (Kupchan 2007).

The symbolism that characterizes the presidency of the United States transcends its own people, spreading its tentacles around the world. The hegemonic status of the United States was enhanced after the Second World War and more importantly at the height of the cold war. It is important to make the point that the United States' political economic policies were

exported around the world; most especially in peripheries and semi-peripheries (Koehane 2005).

In sub-Saharan Africa, the US attempted to entrench democracy and the rule of law. On the economic front, many lot of economies were restructured through structural adjustment programmes. To suffix, US foothold on the continent increased in the 1980s when many economies and the governance systems experienced great recessions. In fact, the Berg report described this period in Africa as the ‘lost decade’ (Mkandawire 2001).

In this vein, the expectations of a Trump campaign, was to reecho these same values but disappointingly, he chose to trump campaign messages along the lines of protectionism and nationalism. The message “America first, America first” filtered the air in almost all of the rallies he addressed. He stated categorically that he would cut the numbers coming in from Africa to America to compete with natives for jobs, he also promised to withdraw the US VISA lottery- a lottery system that provided a lot Africans the opportunity to get into the United States in search of better economic opportunities (Meica & Kopan, 2017). Trump also threatened to cut aid to many African countries because of their leaders past records of resource mismanagement and inappropriate application to donor support (Sieff, 2017).

Indeed, his messages resonated with a large section of American voters who shared same sentiments with the republican candidate which led to his election as the 45<sup>th</sup> president of the United States of America (BBCNews, 2016). Upon his election as the 45<sup>th</sup> president of the United States of America, his dispositions remained same. His temperance in office as president of the United States was similar to his countenance as a candidate when he was

contesting for the POTUS office, indeed he transitioned into office without any clear roadmap for the African continent.

President Trump, in his speech, at a working lunch at the United Nations General Assembly to some selected African Leaders of Côte d'Ivoire, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, Namibia, Nigeria, Senegal, Uganda, and South Africa, he acknowledged Africa's steady economic rise. He spoke about increasing American trade and investment across diverse industries including agriculture, energy, transportation, health care, travel, and tourism which will further transform lives throughout the continent. However, President Donald Trump did not end the speech without a taking a swipe at African leadership's failure on the fight against HIV AIDS; as well as the continents inability to fight insurgencies adequately (Washington Post, September 20th, 2017).

Trump stirred controversy when he lumped Africa, Haiti, El-Salvador as shithole countries that are lazy and who come to the US to steal and compete with citizens for jobs. These comments were instigated by reports he had on the influx of immigrants to the US. The reactions that greeted Trumps 'Shithole' comment were overwhelming.

There was global widespread outrage and fierce criticism globally. In Haiti, a Reuters report filed by Joseph Guyler Delva captured some comments by the protestors. "Trump is a vulgar racist, and a racist is a very poor-minded person," said Marvel Joseph, holding a Haitian flag. "We don't feel any resentment against the American people, who we know largely; disapprove of Trump's behavior in the White House." (Reuters, 2018).

Even though Trump denied using the word to describe Haiti and African countries during a meeting on immigration, his account was contradicted by others, including Democratic Senator Richard Durbin, who attended the talks. The French president Emanuel Macron also shared the poignant outrage by African leaders when granted the BBC an interview. “It is not a word you can use”. Macron told BBC’s Andrew Marr. “We have to respect all countries” (Politico 2018). His Excellency Nana Akuffo Addo, Ghana’s president also issued a press statement to this effect, expressing his indignation at such an unjust comment made by the US leader (Taylor, 2018).

## **1.2 Problem Statement**

According to the 2017 Fiscal Year US Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) Report, there has been a drop in the total number of deportations or removals since 2016, however the situation does not apply to African migrants in the US (ICE 2017). On the contrary, there has rather been a spike in the number of African migrants sent back home. While the total number of removals by ICE dropped to 226,119 in 2017 from 240,255 in 2016, the number rose for Africans and in many cases, more than doubled from the previous year (ICE 2017). The top ten African countries on ICE’s list deportations or removals jumped to 1815 people in 2017, from 756 in 2016 (ICE, 2017). Somalia policy topped the list of African migrants removed from the US. They were followed by Nigeria, Ghana Senegal, Liberia, Kenya, and Guinea, Morocco, Cameroon and Egypt (ICE, 2017).

This was just one of the many migration reforms or tightened migration policies that the Trump administration was to implement. Presidential Candidate, Trump promised to prevent the entry to the United States, people coming from countries who he thought posed a security threat to the United States (Pierce *et al* 2018). In this line of thought, the US government in January

2017 barred people from seven majority-Muslim countries - Iran, Iraq, Syria, Yemen, Somalia, Sudan and Libya - from entering the US for 90 days. It also halted refugee resettlement for 120 days and banned Syrian refugees indefinitely (Pierce *et al* 2018).

In 2019, the US government adopted a policy that barred anyone from claiming asylum in the U.S. if they first crossed through another nation and failed to apply for asylum there, with some exceptions (Galbraith 2019). Guatemala, Honduras and El Salvador which are countries with the highest number of migrants at the US border accepted this arrangement with the Trump administration so that, if implemented, could lead to them accepting asylum applicants diverted from the U.S. border (Galbraith 2019). In a number of moves that are advanced in subsequent chapters, the Trump administration has adopted several migration policies and also undone some of which were implemented by his predecessor.

Also in 2019, a diplomatic war ensued between Ghana and the United States of America (USA) over the latter's claims of non-cooperation and the lack of responsibility for the deportation of the former's undocumented migrants (Cook 2018). The impasse was specifically over 7000 Ghanaian migrants in the US whom the US government opined were guilty of various immigration offences and had abused the terms of their visas since 2017 (Cook, 2018). This was against the background that in 2017, the United States government in a specially chartered plane removed, through deportation, 108 Ghanaian migrants who were inhumanly treated as they were handcuffed in the US to Ghana (Kodom *et al.*, 2019).

The Government of Ghana (GoG) in a press statement issued by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration (MFARI) noted that they needed ample amount of time to investigate

the authenticity of the nationalities of the intended deportees (MFARI 2019)<sup>1</sup>. It was out of these controversies that the US Secretary of States US Mike Pompeo ordered for visa restrictions on certain categories of visa applicants on the grounds that “ the Government of Ghana has denied or unreasonably delayed accepting their nationals ordered removed from the United States” (Department of Homeland Security, 2019). The delay of the Ghanaian government to cooperate with the US in the removal of Ghanaian migrants who had supposedly violated their visa triggered the selective visa restriction to some Ghanaian officials. The statement issued by the Secretary of Homeland Security, Kirstjen Nielsen also mentioned that without an appropriate posture from the GoG the scope of the visa restrictions could be expanded to cover the general Ghanaian populace (Department of Homeland Security, 2019). On this background the study sought to examine the effect of the United States of America’s major migration policies towards African migrants, but with a specific focus on Ghana and Ghanaian migrants as well as Ghanaians in the diaspora.

### **1.3 Research Questions**

In order to execute this task, the following questions would be asked.

- What are the major immigration policies of the United States government from 2016 to 2019?
- What are the motivations for the administration’s adoption and implementations of these migration policies?
- How migration policies of the Trump administration shaped migration reforms towards Ghana and Ghanaian migrants in particular in the US?

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<sup>1</sup> The Press released is attached as part of the references.

#### **1.4 Research Objectives**

While the chief objective of this study is to examine the major migration policies of the US towards African migrants, but with a focus on Ghana, the specific objectives would be as follows:

- To examine the major immigration policies of the United States government from 2016 to 2019.
- To investigate the motivations for the adoption and implementation of these migration policies.
- To examine how immigration policies of the United States shape migration reforms towards Ghana and Ghanaian migrants in particular in the US.

#### **1.5 Scope**

The study examines how migration policies of the United States government affect Ghana.

The time frame for this thesis is between 2016 and 2019. Given the current deteriorating state of relations between Ghana and the United States in terms of migration policies, this study seeks to investigate the current migration policies of the United States, the differences in migrations between the Obama and Trump administration as well as identify the negative impact it has on the US-Ghana relations as well as Ghanaian migrants living in the USA.

#### **1.6 Rationale of the Study**

Given the rising tensions between Ghana and the United States concerning immigration, this study seeks to investigate how immigration policies of the US government shapes immigration reforms towards Ghanaians living in the United States as well as bring to light the possible implications of Trump's foreign policy on the US-Ghana relations.

## **1.7 Thesis Argument**

This dissertation argues that the immigration policies of the Trump administration has direct impact on migration reforms towards Ghana and Ghanaian migrants in the US

## **1.8 Literature Review**

International migration has been a major driving force in the social transformations and development of all regions of the globe. According to Castles (2000), this was the case in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and in the second decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, international migration looks to further surge in number.

Europe might have been the largest destination for international migrants, but this status has been challenged over time, between 2000 and 2015, Asia received more international migrants than any other major continent of the world. It accommodated 26 million international migrants during this period, or 1.7 million additional migrants per annum. This was followed by Northern America (14 million, or 0.9 million per year) and Africa (6 million, or 0.4 million per year). The United States is a favorable destination for migrants of all walks of life, whether they are fleeing from political persecution, economic hardship, conflict or whatever push factor. One could immediately also point to the pull factors which could be altogether couched as the American dream that could easily facilitate once social mobility.

Jeffrey Sachs (2016) contended that even though there is an appreciable number of millions of people moving across borders every year, there is a dearth of comprehensive global policies governing migration. One could only find the Global Compact for Migration launched in 2018, which was built on the Global Forum on Migration and Development launched in 2007. It must also be stated that in the preamble of the UN document on Global Compact for Migration it

was clearly indicated that the framework is a non-legally binding, cooperative framework. The political disagreement over migration is acrimonious in many states. Take for instance, the United States and in Europe, Sachs (Ibid) where public opinion is significantly polarized as to the utility or otherwise of migrants, whether they contribute to the growth of the economy or are rather a burden. This lacuna as far as international migration regime is concerned has left states with no choice, but for them to fashion out their own immigration policy. The United States is destination for an estimated number of 11.3 million undocumented migrants who are in limbo and caught in a legal tussle with the US government and like most developed nations of the world and particularly those in the global north have therefore evolved immigration policy as it were to regulate the flow of migrants into the country. In this trend of international migration, the statistics as given above prove a fact corroborated by Meyers (2000), that all countries to which people would like to go restrict entry.

Czaika and Hein de Haas (2013) are of the conviction that the cardinal reason for the establishment of migration policies are to affect behavior of a target population who may be potential migrants in an intended direction. In that sense, there are many policies that may not directly be considered as migration policies but have a significant influence on migration flow. Their effects may in some instances be even more extensive than those of targeted immigration policies. Some of these policies, according to Czaika and Hein de Haas (2013) include labor market, macro-economic, welfare, foreign, military, colonial, and aid policies.

Meyers (2000) remarked that immigration policy could be grouped into two parts. They include immigration strategies or regulation which comprise the rules of selection and admission of foreign citizens. The second part is the conditions provided to resident immigrants conditions, welfare provisions and educational. He continues that immigration control policy deals with

the admission and selection of permanent, temporary migrant workers and refugees as well as attempts to restrict illegal migration

Scholars are widely divided over the effectiveness of immigration policies of states. On the one hand, it is opined that in general states have largely failed to effectively manage migration flows and its effects on society. This to them is substantiated by the sheer persistence and significant number of undocumented migrants despite supposed efforts by states and supranational bodies to control such movements. Bhagwati (2003) posited that the paradox is that there has been rather an increase in the desire of states to control migration while the ability to control migration has actually shrunk. In this analysis the works of Castles (2004 ab) provided evidence to show that when the Australian Federal State was founded in 1901, it enacted and implemented sweeping migration policies that prioritized the immigration of British and Europeans only in what became known as a White Australia Policy into that country as check against Asian teeming millions (Castles 2004a). As this policy looked as though it was failing with the flow of non-Europeans into Australis the government then assured citizens that there were plans to culturally assimilate migrants so they do not alter the Australian culture. By the 1980s the White Australian policy had become a fiasco. The assertion of Castles was restated in his later held thesis work widely held thesis titled *why migration policies fail*. Reasons given for the failure of migration policies in the view of Castles (2004a) include factors motivated by the social dynamics of migratory policies, factors connected to globalization and transnationalism and those within an internal political system of states.

Castles' position could hardly suffice in the face of bewildering evidence in the United States for instance under the Trump Presidency where his barrage of migration policies towards Central American countries seem to be achieving results. Pierce *et al* (2018) reported that an

arrangement made by the Trump administration with Mexico has ensure that undocumented migrants travelling from neighboring central American states have been significantly reduced by 56%. Some experts even speculate that this arrangement is a more effective immigration policy than the popular wall which is a core campaign promise of President Trump.

This point in my opinion contradicts the position of Castles as to the sometimes ineffectiveness of immigration policies. For this reason, there is a counter argument to demonstrate how immigration policy has relatively been successful. Carling (2002) has for instance argued that based on work done in developing world it has become very cumbersome for deprived people to move to wealthy countries because of the introduction of plethora of visa requirements laws and stricter visa restrictions. This point is also validated by Ortega and Peri (2013).

A number of approaches have been raised by scholars to try to theorize the formation of immigration policies of states. Marxist and Neo-Marxist theorization of immigration policy shares some semblance with Immanuel Wallerstein's World Systems Theory. This school of thought argue that immigration is part of the capitalist structure or system in which a class based political group motivated by economic interest shape immigration policy by essentially encouraging migration of surplus labour from developing countries into industrialized regions of the world in order to exert a downward pressure on wages and as such maximize profit (Meyers 2000).

There is also the national identity approach which according to Meyers share some semblance with the constructivist approach. In this approach the immigration policy of states is largely driven or determined by its focus on ideas and identity, as well as its characterization of what Wendt (1992) identifies as interests and identities of state as a product of specific historical.

What it means it that as far as the national identity is concerned the perception of foreigners and policies of citizenship are derived from historical experiences. Quoting Higham and Jones, Meyers (2000) reported that in relation to the national identity approach to immigration policy:

Social cleavages, social unrest and industrial unrest within American society foster fears of losing national identity and of a national breakdown. This, in turn, produces nationalism and nativism (xenophobia). Nativism is then a psychological phenomenon: a decline in American confidence in the country's unity produces nativistic outbursts; an optimistic mood limits nativism.

In reference to national identity, one scholar echoes this point by also arguing that the United States has returned to the 1920 again when nativism marked the immigration policy of that country (Young 2019). Meyers also mentions that domestic politics have significant bearing on migration policies. Societal interest which manifests in the forms of interest groups and parties. In such situations, policy making becomes the product of bargaining and compromises among such interest groups which has considerable influence on state policy. The stronger a group is, the more likely it could affect immigration policy. Boswell (2007) considers this, the political economy of immigration policy. The rational actor model which is from the intellectual umbilical cord of realism has also been summoned to explain the behaviour of some states with regard to the immigration policies. Meyers (2000) maintained that after World War II France decided to encourage immigration for fears of future attacks from Germany and accepted migrants from Italy, Spain and Portugal. The same tactics have been employed by the Israeli states which has encouraged the permanent settlement of the global Jewish community for fear of Arab attacks. The underlying point here is the capacity of states as rational actors whose decision making is characterized by the achievement of national interest.

Meyers (2000) also mentions neoliberalism or liberal institutionalism as an approach to the formation of immigration policy. However, the author is very pessimistic about the efficacy of international organization whether supranational or intergovernmental in affecting the

immigration policies of states it does not occlude the fact that according to neoliberalist institutionalist model argues that regimes help overcome dilemmas of common interests and facilitate collaboration and coordination among countries.

Gadau and Yahaya (2020) in their study, “The impacts of international migration: A case of United States of America and Nigeria”, sought to establish the impact of migration between Nigeria and the United States of America. By conducting a thorough content analysis of past literature, the authors concluded that there have been many reasons advanced by scholars in justifying the reasons as to why people migrate to other countries. This the authors believed was as a result of the growing nature of globalization, it was also established that the pattern of migration varies significantly based on the goals and objectives of migrants.

On the impacts of international migration on rural areas in developing communities, the study conducted by Obi et al. (2020) revealed that, although a direct effect of international migration in the short run included the loss of labour which frequently resulted in the feminization of agriculture and the use of child labour, in the long run, impacts of international migration brought about positive results such as improved livelihoods and increased food security all as a result of remittances. This conclusion was drawn after the review of 44 journal articles from a total of 1544 articles published between 2007 and 2018 using the process of content analysis to analyse the data collected.

Similarly, Hines (2020) sought to address the impact of immigration policies on the relationships of Ghanaian immigrants in her study "Role of Transnational Living on Relationship Quality Among Ghanaian Immigrant Couples". To accomplish this, 24 Ghanaian respondents from New York, Maryland, and Massachusetts in the United States were

interviewed, as well as their Ghanaian spouses. By utilizing a qualitative approach in order to address the 'how' and 'why' questions. The study's findings indicate that transnational couples face numerous relationship strains and stresses as a result of the United States' evolving immigration policies.

Becerra (2020), sought to ascertain the impact of the increasing restrictive immigration policies as well as the coping capacity of migrants when confronted with immigration issues. Interviews were held with 14 respondents were conducted qualitatively in order to gain a better understanding of the impact of the United States' increasingly restrictive immigration policies. Upon investigations being carried out, it was realized that the growing number of restrictive immigration bills in the United States resulted in an increase in fear, stress, and anxiety, as well as an increase in perceived discrimination. While migrants faced these challenges, respondents demonstrated optimism and perseverance in the face of an increasingly difficult socio-political environment.

De Haas et al. (2019), using a qualitative approach, investigated and summarized insights about the effectiveness of migration policies using global data. Upon investigations carried out, it was asserted that restrictive immigration reduces profit level simultaneously with immigration. Additionally, it was explained that whilst immigration restrictions might be effective at reducing migrant activity, they are ineffective at reducing the net migration and migrant population growth.

The literature largely focuses on the on the various stakeholders and motivations behind the formulations and implementation of migration policies of countries. This kind of expositions are necessary for a work such as this to understand the causal mechanisms of migration policies

of states. The motivations and ideas behind the formulations of migration policies provides insight and general information on the interest of receiving states to whom migrants keep moving to. What this study adds is to examine and analyze the motivations and effects US foreign policies on Ghana and Ghanaian migrants.

### **1.9 Conceptual Framework**

The study adopts the concept of national interest as the conceptual framework to conducting this study. It is the aspirations and goals of a sovereign entity in the international arena. National interest is a very vital determinant of foreign policy which substantially shapes the actions of states in their communication with other states (Burchill 2005). Policymakers are controlled by their own national interests. It is a collection of aims and objectives on which a nation acts.

Hans Morgenthau posits that “national interest is the political tradition and the total cultural context within which a nation formulates its foreign policy” (Morgenthau 1951). In his opinion, three key features exist as methods of preservation instigated by a state’s national interest. They are a preservation of physical identity (protection of territory), political identity and cultural identity (maintenance of existing customs and precedents) (Ibid). The concept of national interest grew in popularity in the wake of democracy in political and diplomatic relations. Similar to individuals, states who execute national affairs make decisions based on what is in the interest of the nation as a whole (Brown & Ainley 2009). Therefore, they act in accordance with the national interest to accrue certain benefits to the nation. These benefits, according to Robinson (2010), may possibly be oriented to achieve either economic prosperity, security and safety and survival in which case it is core or primary national interest, or beliefs and values. As Teitelbaum (1994) stated, "it has always been universally recognized that, under the legislation of countries around the world, the right to restrict entry is a foundational right of

states." Mitchell (2019) strongly advocates for the flexibility of migration policy, both domestic and international. This is because such policies will serve as a strategy for dealing with other states whose citizens, whether from Southern America, the Middle East, Asia, or Africa, find the United States an extremely comfortable place to live for a variety of reasons. In this instance, the migration policy of the United States doubles as both a domestic policy and a foreign policy with considerably robust characteristics in terms of aims and objectives. In his work *International Migration, International Relations and Foreign Policy*, Mitchell argued that both sending and receiving states are sometimes conscious of the essence of their bilateral dealings with respect to migration flows and under such circumstance migration loses its traditional image as a as low politics and rather assume a posture of an international policy. In this instance, Mitchell (2019) argued that migration could influence and serve the goals of national foreign policies.

Mitchell continues that in the United States and Europe, for instance, labour migration policies have become a subject of great interest and detailed international dealings with sending states. One has not got to look further than the migration policies of the European Union (EU) with Turkey and with some African countries in the regulations of illegal migrants to Europe and very instructive the US migration policy with Mexico to regulate migration flow from Central America.

In support of the above Teitelbaum (1994) also argued that between 1952 and 1980 American law defined a refugee as a person fleeing from fleeing “from a Communist-dominated country or area, or from any country within the general area of the Middle East”. For all intent and purpose, this definition of refugee in US law would mean that US immigration policy with regards to refugees at the time would obviously be considered as a crucial part of that country’s

foreign policy strategy during the Cold War. It was only in the 1980s that these laws were altered to reflect a less ideological definition according to international law. This corroborates the fact that domestic policies on migration may have an unavoidable international political projections that simultaneously make such migration policies foreign policies as well.

Accordingly, then the pursuit of migration policies of the United States and the EU for example could be undergirded by the ultimate and fundamental principle of national interest in every foreign policy pursuit in whichever way one wants to look at it. Whether for ensuring security of national borders, the state itself, citizens, reduce pressure on national resources or prevent the competition of employment opportunities by nationals with migrants, they are for the pursuit of the national interest of the host state in this case the United States. This as such is the connection this study on migration policies of the US in connection with the Ghanaian state and Ghanaian migrants in US uses national interest as the framework making sense of the migration policies of the US.

While national interest might be the drive behind the pursuit of states' foreign and domestic policy whether powerful or less powerful states, the pursuit of foreign policy in the ultimate aim of national interest may sometimes be inimical to internationally accepted norms of behavior in international politics and diplomacy. This is however, not surprising as national interest as a concept flows from the intellectual stream of classical realism which among other tenets reveal that states are unitary and rational actors whose actions are in influenced by the pursuit of national interest. Regardless of this critique, national interest remains suitable as the framework for understanding the migration policy of US from 2008 to 2019.

While national interest is the principal analytical tool that guides this thesis, it is complemented its meta-concept economic nationalism. This is necessitated by the need to explore the research problem in its full manifestation. The concept of nationalism is underpinned by economic motives, largely a function of security. Nationalism is not an abstract concept, it subsists on variables that are tangible, which provides some intellectual support for the former.

Economic nationalism emerged during the early periods after American independence. Pioneering figures of this economic patriotism were Frederich List and Alexander Hamilton, who served as the first Secretary of Treasury honed the idea of economic protection for nascent industries. Frederich List promulgated the infant industry argument that sought to cushion new industries against well-established ones from other competitive economies (Helleiner 2019).

Protectionism, a subset of economic nationalism favours domestic markets, labour, capital formation which even requires trade restrictions such as taxes, embargoes and sometimes, outright bans just to protect the local economy (Fajgelbaum, Goldberg, Kennedy, & Khandelwal, 2020). Protectionism emphasizes the industrialisation; the development of industries and promotion local businesses to create a local set of entrepreneurs who can drive prosperity for the local economy (Evenette 2019). The proponents of the economic protection believe that industry has positive spillover effects on the rest of the economy, enhances the self-sufficiency and political autonomy of the country, and is a crucial aspect in building military power (Irwin 2017). Economic nationalism ensures that the structural impediment of small markets and the high costs of industrialisation could be overcome by states by exploiting the economies of scale available as a result of market protection via common tariff barriers, market and industry-sharing agreements.

A little drawback is that economic nationalists oppose globalization or at least question the benefits of unrestricted free trade, favoring protectionism. To economic nationalists, markets are subordinate to the state, and should serve the interests of the state (such as providing national security and accumulating military power). The doctrine of mercantilism is a prominent variant of economic nationalism. Economic nationalists tend to see international trade as zero-sum, where the goal is to derive relative gains (as opposed to mutual gains) (Pickel 2018).

This concept of economic nationalism complements the principal concept of national interest. This is because literature has shown that economic and labour reasons form the cardinal reasons why people migrant, at least if the pattern shows movement from developing to developed regions. Economic nationalism/protection is an appropriate analytical tool that helped make sense of Trump's protectionist immigration policies.

### **1.10 Study Methodology**

The study employed the use of a qualitative approach in carrying out its investigations. The qualitative approach to research is an inductive, constructive, interpretive and appropriate research design that tends to explore the meanings, attitude, values and beliefs people associate with a particular phenomenon in its attempt to establish an understanding (Bricki & Green, 2007; Cresswell et al., 2009). The selection of a qualitative approach was premised on the findings of Berg and Lune (2012), where it was evidenced that the qualitative approach involves the scientific process of observation in gathering non-numerical data, which seeks to answer the question of "how" and "why" a certain phenomenon occurs rather than how often. The qualitative approach is human sensitive and it is interested in the subjective meaning of people's behaviour and not measurement or evaluation to predict outcome as is the main focus

of a quantitative study. Another insight to the qualitative approach is that it allows for the grasp of people's actions, belief and values of people (Neuman 2014). The qualitative research was thus selected because it allowed for a focus on the interpretation of an occurrence in its naturalistic environment, which provides context in terms of the meaning's individuals ascribe to these contexts thus allowing for a more in-depth analysis of the topic at hand as it allows for a more defined approach in gathering non-numerical data.

### **1.10.1 Data Analysis**

Frankel and Wallen (2003), contend that data analysis involves the systematic synthesizing of information that the researcher gathers through data collection where the researcher draws parallel and logical lines vis-a-vis research questions and objectives. Creswell (2013), confirms these suggestions where he argued that a good data analysis making sense of data collected.

As a prerequisite of qualitative research, data is analysed by means of thematic analysis. Thematic analysis was used to conduct this study. Braun and Clarke (2012) define thematic analysis as the process of methodically recognising, structuring, and providing insight into patterns of meaning throughout a data set. Thematic analysis empowers researchers to grasp collective or shared connotations and experiences by focusing on meaning across a data set (Braun & Clarke, 2012). According to Firth (2011), Thematic analysis, is "interpretive process where data is systematically searched to identify patterns within the data in order to provide an illuminating description of the phenomenon" (Firth 2011, pg.3). Hence, this work adopts the thematic analysis technique to identify common patterns, codes and themes that occurs in the data sources that were reviewed.

Data from secondary sources were analysed by initially combing through to identify information relevant to the research questions, objectives and research topic. The gathered data was then scrutinized to identify any similarities in order to organize into themes to allow for easy reporting. The data analyzed was then presented into themes reflecting the research questions, topic, and objectives.

In this research, themes such as; migration, labour, political economy, national interest, protectionism, refugee, embargo were thematically tracked. These themes, provided the basis for interpretation and analysis.

#### *1.10.2 Validity and Reliability*

Creswell (2013), argues that the level of accuracy of data must be consistent with its validity and reliability. This explains that data and findings must represent the realities of the phenomenon under study and as such, must be consistent, reliable and valid. One of the measures proposed by Creswell (2013), is to engage in prolonged engagement and persistent observation of the data. This was duly done. The researcher thoroughly read the literature on the subject matter; identifying materials that directly related to the phenomenon understudy. It enabled the researcher to appreciate the data found on the subject and gaps that existed. The researcher also adopted the checking strategy according to (Lincoln & Gubar 1985) cited in Creswell (2013).

The checking strategy enabled the researcher to match the data gathered, reviews that emerged from the data sources were accurately captured by the researcher. On the issue of reliability in qualitative study, Creswell (2013), postulates that reliability can be attained when the researcher makes efforts to take field notes in details. This work did not employ primary data.

Nonetheless, the secondary data sources took note of the themes, observations when the literature review was carried out. These records were referred and tracked during the data analysis stage in order to cross check information so that the analysis were done rightly.

### **1.11 Limitations of the Study**

In light of global Covid-19 pandemic and the strict observance of the safety protocols, the US embassy in Ghana was for instance, not formally opened to non-US citizens or non-immigrants and most of its contacts who would have been resource persons are unwilling or unavailable to assist in this regard. The situation is nearly applicable to the other possible institution where resource persons would be consulted. This has largely affected the intended number of respondents whose interviews would have to be conducted through phone. Another limitation to the study involved the sole use of qualitative data. While this approach is suitable with the kind of topic to be studied, the limitation is that statistical analysis which could be sometimes useful in giving clarity to issues are largely ignored. Again, as a limitation, Cartwright and Montuschi (2014) has maintained that qualitative approach may compromise the objectivity of the research findings as the researcher may allow their biases, values and partialities to influence findings of the research. Despite the lack of a quantitative approach to the study, it was ensured that the study was free from biases with the researchers ensuring there was no conflict of interest between the study and the researchers.

### **1.12 Ethical Consideration**

In conducting the research, it was ensured that there was no conflict of interest between the researcher and the study. It was also ensured that the appropriate practices in conducting research was applied and that the research was free from bias.

### **1.13 Sources of Data**

In order to accomplish the aims and objectives of the study, this study employs the use of secondary sources of data. To this end, secondary sources were gathered through the use of a desk research. The desk research involves the collection and use of existing data which is organized and assembled to increase the general usefulness of research (Bhat, 2020). Secondary research employs the use of research reports and similar records made available through governmental and non-governmental bodies, websites, news agencies and journal articles among others. The use of a desk research merited this study as it helps provide a basis of knowledge on what relevant information has already been compiled by other researchers in the past and also its ability to provide information that specifically answers the questions of the research (McCrocklin, 2021). Secondary data was also used in gathering data due to its ready availability as well as its feature for being an economical avenue of data collection and finally its attribute of being less time consuming.

### **1.14 Organization of Study**

This study is organized into four chapters. Chapter one is the Introduction to the study. Chapter Two provides an overview of the immigration policies of United States under the Trump administration. Chapter Three analyzes how migration policies of the United States informs actions towards Ghana and Ghanaian migrants in the US. The chapter seeks to understand the motivations behind the diplomatic row between Ghana and the US government and the visa restrictions act and whether it is a spill over product of the immigration policy of the Trump administration. Chapter Four provides the conclusion, Summary, Recommendations.

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## CHAPTER TWO

### AN OVERVIEW OF THE IMMIGRATION POLICIES OF THE TRUMP ADMINISTRATION

“Obama was, as Trump is now, beholden to an electorate whose views on migration are largely informed by the four perceptions we discussed earlier: that migration is linked to terrorism, uncontrolled population flows worsening economic conditions and international crime”

#### 2.0 Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of the immigration policies of the United States under the Trump administration. If there was ever an issue that animated and dominated the 2016 U.S. Presidential elections one could immediately identify immigration. Oscillating from talk of an “uncontrolled population flow of drug-dealing Latin Americans” and the border wall with Mexico. Republican Candidate, Donald Trump was able to effectively convince his supporters that the US was facing a serious crisis not only at its southern border, but also internally (Hutchinson 2020, p.83). Out of the seven major issues which he campaigned on, two concerned Immigration. Specifically, he promised to have Mexico pay for the construction of the 2,000-mile Mexico-U.S. border wall and deport the country’s 11 million illegal migrants. He made the reduction of unauthorized migration a central theme of his campaign trail (Martin 2017). He promised also to revoke and reverse the executive orders of his predecessor that granted temporary legal status to some unauthorized migrants and to “put American workers first” in migration policy making (Martin 2017).

#### 2.1 US-Africa Relations

The 9/11 terrorist attacks on the United States also impacted its relations with Africa in two directions: the creation of the Combined Joint Task Force – Horn of Africa (CJTF-HOA), which was set up in 2002; and the Pan-Sahel Initiative (PSI), which was also intended to boost

border defense capabilities of countries to the West of the Horn (Ibid). Katsopoulos and Georg (2015) assert that, the policy goals of the United States towards Africa after 9/11, first of all, showed continuity across the different administrations that ruled the country, including the Bush and Obama administrations. Secondly, the policy goals were established under four (4) main pillars, including strengthening democratic institutions; spurring economic growth, trade and investment; advancing peace and security; and promoting opportunity and development (Katsopoulos and Georg, 2015). The Americans sought to achieve this by engaging the youth, empowering marginalized groups and women, and addressing the needs of fragile states and post-conflict states and working with the United Nations and other multilateral actors (Ibid).

Over the years following the 9/11 attacks, some decisions that have indicated deepening relations with Africa, according to Katsopoulos and Georg (2015), include the opening of the US diplomatic missions to the AU in 2006 (housed within the US diplomatic mission to Ethiopia), the establishment of the US-AU annual high-level meeting, which was launched in 2010, and the 2010 Assistance agreement between the US and the AU. According to Katsopoulos and Georg (2015), even though the US mission to the AU lacks personnel and resources to implement continent-wide strategies and programmes, other initiatives such as the creation of the bilateral AGOA, the Young African Leaders Initiative (YALI), and the US-African Leaders Summit, have showed the deepening relations between the US and Africa, providing opportunities for the inclusion of the AU and sub-regional bodies like ECOWAS to maintain relations with the United States.

Regardless of the deepening relations between both bodies, American relations with the African continent remains largely bilateral, focusing more on development assistance through the American official Development Aid (ODA) to various countries on the African continent

(Ibid). According to Katsopoulos and Georg (2015), ODA disbursement to the continent increased by five-fold between 2001 and 2011. Amongst others, the Assistance went towards regional and continental integration, where all of Africa was involved (Ibid).

## 2.2 Trump-Africa Agenda

President Donald Trump transitioned into office without any clear roadmap for the African continent. During his campaign, Trump was abundantly clear: he is not, and neither will his administration be interested in nation-building which, he says, he will bring to a swift and decisive end.

What he did offer in his victory speech was that he plans to put America first and cooperate with those foreign countries that will in turn cooperate with the United States. He is prepared to make deals. There is plenty of scope for negotiation in the mining, agricultural, and tourism sectors. Most African agricultural products and minerals are still exported in their cheap raw state, despite value-addition having been on each country's development agenda since Independence (Serumaga 2017).

There were several platforms he chose to reemphasize his effete and degenerating relationship with Africa. On 20th September 2017. On the 26th January 2018, President Trump took his turn at the World Economic forum to present his address. Among other things he reiterated his policies of nationalism and putting the American dream ahead of any other. "I believe in America. As President of the United States, I will always put America First. Just like the leaders of other countries should put their countries first". (World Economic Forum, 26th January 2018)

Donald Trump's administration faced waves of criticism for not properly staffing the State Department, where dozens of senior posts sit empty. The casualness with which the Trump presidency is handled issues relating to Africa also accounts for his lethargy in appointing an Under-Secretary for African Affairs. Trump hinted to appoint Tibor Nagy, a retired Foreign Service officer with over three decades of experience in diplomatic practice. The Assistant Secretary for the Bureau of African Affairs is the head of the Bureau of African Affairs within the United States Department of State who guides operation of the U.S. diplomatic establishment in the countries of sub-Saharan Africa and advises the Secretary of State and the Under Secretary for Political Affairs (Schraederm1994).

At the time the Secretary of State, Rex Tillerson visited Africa, there was without a substantive under-secretary for African Affairs. One may not be far from wrong in interrogating the real intent of Tillerson's visit, which ended abruptly. His trip was expected to focus on counterterrorism and development. Covertly, it was also to reassure Africa of US long standing relations as China expands its influence on the continent. Clearly any real intention toward Africa is suspicious.

Also, Trump's disposition towards immigration equally undermined any hidden sincerity around the Trump presidency. A White House document listed how many immigrants had received visas to enter the United States in 2017. More than 2,500 were from Afghanistan, a terrorist haven, the president complained. Haiti had sent 15,000 people. They "all have AIDS," he grumbled, according to one person who attended the meeting and another person who was briefed about it by a different person who was there. Forty thousand had come from Nigeria, Mr. Trump added. Once they had seen the United States, they would never "go back to their

huts” in Africa, recalled the two officials, who asked for anonymity to discuss a sensitive conversation in the Oval Office (Prokop 2018).

At the bilateral level, where most of the relations are focused, many countries on the continent have developed relations with the United States, including Ghana, as discussed in the sections that follow.

### **2.3 US-Ghana Relations**

United States (US) interest in Ghana as a major recipient of diplomatic, commercial and military engagements positions Ghana as a partner in her regional humanitarian and peace-keeping operations; and as such considers Ghana as a critical staging point for humanitarian and military operations (Sullivan, 2001). The choice of Ghana dovetails into the US government’s recognition of Ghana as a democratic state, economic reforms and Ghana’s commitment and long-run of participation in sub-regional, regional and global peace support missions (Sullivan, 2001). Ghana is an example of a stable democracy in a conflict ridden sub-region and was identified by the United States as an ally in carrying out military operations in the sub-region.

Ghana a country of 28 million people in the West African region, confronted with diverse developmental challenges is built on a robust democracy notable for its consistent peaceful turnovers of executive power since a transition into the multiparty system in the early 1990s (Cook, 2018). Since the achievement of independence in 1957, Ghana has had amicable relations with the United States. In 2008, the then President of the United States of America, George W. Bush visited Ghana to showcase US aid programs on trade, entrepreneurship, health, education, and the country’s first ever Millennium Challenge Compact. 2009 was

highlighted by the visit of President Barack Obama of the United States who travelled to Ghana. In his speech, the 44<sup>th</sup> president of the United States of America advocated for the continued partnership between the United States, Ghana and Africa as a whole (Slack, 2015).

Ghana – US relations have been described by Cook (2009) and the Obama administration as close, as evidenced by the growing number of African-Americans who have permanently settled in Ghana. This close relationship, according to the Obama Administration, can be attributed to Ghana's stability and democracy, as well as its position as one of the most trusted partners of the United States in recent years (Cook, 2009). This ideology, as stated by Cook (2009), has been echoed by other U.S. administrations, such as the Bush Administration.

During the Trump administration, however, relations have occasionally soured, as shown by the United States' visa sanctions on Ghana that took place in January 2019. (Cook, 2019). As a result of a lack of cooperation on the part of Ghana in receiving Ghanaian nationals who were ordered to be deported from the United States, the visa sanctions were implemented (Cook, 2019). With respect to countries who refuse to cooperate with the Trump administration, the issue of immigration was a significant problem, and this was consistent with the Trump administration's overall attitude towards countries who don't cooperate. As Goodman (2019) predicts, the visa sanctions could lead to U.S. tourism, investment, and other businesses to be negatively affected. In Ghana's diplomatic ties with the United States, one notable focus has been on governance, in addition to various other fields such as international aid, economic growth, and national security. The concepts addressed in the sections that follow are covered in further detail in the sections that follow.

## **2.4 Governance**

Ghana's foreign policy has centered around governance issues with the United States. According to Cook (2009), the U.S. government has supported decentralization by a great deal. The United States government has backed up Ghanaian endeavours to decentralize governance by funding projects that have sought to engage citizens in all levels of governance. It has also provided political support for the Ghanaian Parliament's capacity to draft legislation and perform oversight functions (Cook, 2009). Also, it has helped empower civil society organizations to advocate for a more inclusive government and decentralization laws at the federal level as well as at the local level (Cook, 2009).

“Furthermore, the United States government has committed to assisting anti-corruption reform efforts by supporting measures such as increasing asset declaration requirements for public officials, increasing public support for the development of conflict of interest policies, and expanding information-sharing amongst accountability institutions.” (Cook, 2009) A key effort by the US government has been to assist the Coalition of Democratic Elections Observers (CODEO) in their efforts to increase electoral governance in Ghana by providing training to CODEO, in cooperation with the Center for Democratic Development (CDD) in Ghana and the National Democratic Institute (Cook, 2009). The US government has trained the CODEO observers in Ghana to identify signs of electoral malpractice and violence before, during, and after the elections.

## **2.5 Aid and Assistance**

As a result of US government investment in activities and projects, through the USAID, the people of Ghana are benefitting like never before (Cook, 2009). USAID has led activities that have sought to address the HIV/AIDS epidemic, malaria, maternal health, child mortality, and

malnutrition, among other problems. In addition, it has worked to make sure that all of the necessary infrastructure is in place for excellent education, health, and sanitation (Cook, 2019). United States aid to Ghana, during the Obama administration and administration was primarily provided under the USAID (Cook, 2018) and was tuned to effecting global presidential development initiatives. The aid to Ghana included the Feed the Future, the Global Health Initiative, the Global Climate Change Initiative and several other Africa-specific initiatives.

Investing in Ghana through the Young African Leaders Initiative (YALI) is another way the U.S. has assisted the people of Ghana (Cook, 2019). The Young African Leaders Initiative (YALI) was unveiled by the Obama administration as an effort to develop and empower African youth for leadership roles. Notably, one of the perks of the project is that it allowed Ghana to host the YALI Regional Center for West Africa, which serves as a regional coordination body for all YALI-sponsored projects.

Ghana also hosts a USAID Regional Mission and benefits from several of the agency's programs, including the West African Trade Hub, which assists in the development of regional trade and investment capacities and the expansion of African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA) exports (Cook, 2019). Furthermore, between 2009 and 2019, the number of volunteers that the USAID Regional Mission employs has increased from 117 to 139, with a focus on improving education, health, and agricultural conditions (Cook, 2019).

Extra support and assistance to Ghana has come from the US State Department, USAID regional programs, other US Departments' periodic short-term programs, and special regional and global initiatives such as the African Peace Keeping Rapid Response Partnership (Cook, 2019). In 2018, assistance from the State Department and USAID totaled approximately 143

million USD, with the Trump administration requesting a reduction of 62.8 million USD (approximately 56 percent) in aid and assistance to Ghana through the State Department and USAID (Cook, 2019). This demonstrates the United States' continued relationship with Ghana in terms of aid and assistance.

## **2.6 Economic Growth**

The US government has identified Ghana's economy as a significant challenge in its relations with the country, and has assisted in addressing its shortfalls. The United States' Millennium Challenge Corporation compact is one of the most significant programs that has positively impacted Ghana's economy.

Ghana completed a 536 million USD Millennium Challenge Corporation (MCC) compact between 2007 and 2012, focusing on agricultural development, road and ferry investments, rural banks, education, water and sanitation, and power service delivery (Cooks, 2019). Ghana signed another five-year compact in 2014, following the conclusion of the initial five-year period. The compact was worth 498 million dollars, with the Ghanaian government contributing 37.4 million dollars (Cook, 2019). The funds were intended to be used entirely for the development of public-private electrical system capacity building, with the goal of meeting current and future energy demands, stimulating economic growth, and alleviating poverty (Cook, 2019). The second MCC compact, which is set to expire in 2019, was intended to "improve the technical and governance capabilities of the Electricity Company of Ghana (ECG), partially privatize the company, and strengthen its commercial viability." Ghana was also considered a possible beneficiary of a concurrent MCC compact aimed at enhancing and promoting cross-border trade, economic integration, commerce, and collaboration within the sub-Saharan region in 2018. (Cook, 2019).

Apart from the MCC compact, USAID has did contribute to Ghana's economic growth over the years by providing economic aid focused on agricultural marketing and export potential, small business capacity building, and market liberalization mechanism reforms (Cook, 2019). Additionally, USAID has backed policy reforms aimed at "improving macroeconomic stability by liberalizing agricultural input markets and strengthening policymaking capacities in finance, labor and land regulations, energy, management of natural resources, and information and communication technology" (Cook, 2019). Additionally, it has been involved in agricultural trade and investment programs aimed at scaling up previous USAID initiatives to strengthen commercial ties between producer organizations and buyers, as well as expanding assistance to smallholder farmers, particularly those growing high-value horticulture crops (Cook, 2019). The US-Ghana relationship has also emphasized food security, with successive administrations focusing on "enhancing market-based production, processing, transportation, marketing, and trade of food products, as well as enhancing the balance between food supplies and demand" in the West Africa sub-region (Cooks, 2019). It has spearheaded a global initiative known as the US Global Food Security Response (GFSR) program, which Ghana benefits from. Among other things, the program has provided "trade and export-related technical assistance through USAID's Regional African Global Competitiveness Initiative" (Cook, 2019).

## **2.7 From Candidate to President; the Evolution of Trump's Immigration Policies**

As a president, just within five days in office, Donald Trump issued a series of executive orders promising major changes in US immigration system. In a very recent publication Waslin (2020) revealed that so far, president Trump has the highest number of Executive Orders (Eos) and Proclamations related immigration. He writes that by far and in a sharp contrast to previous presidents, a much more significant share of Trump's EOs and Proclamations have been substantive policy-making documents with the ultimate intentions to not only deport illegal

migrants, but also restrict admission of legal immigrants and increase enforcement along the border and in the interior of the United States (Ibid).

President Trump has managed to frame immigration as a threat to the economic security and public safety and when newly sworn in office on January 25, 2017 his first two executive orders concerned border security and immigration enforcement in the US interior (internal security) (Castañeda 2017). These two dimensions would largely be the concentrated areas for President Trump's Immigration policies. The Department of Homeland Security (DHS) is directly in charge of issues concerning migration, but it has departments whose operations and functions reflect border security and immigration enforcement of the interior. The immigration policies of the United States is cardinal to the country's internal politics and foreign policy decision making. Domestically, presidential candidates and indeed in their tenure have rallied around the sensitive issue of immigration to galvanize support for the election and re-election to office. While this may be viewed as constituting a personal gain for candidates, such immigration agenda is mostly couched to reflect a national interest imperative in the formulation of the US foreign policy decision making.

The ubiquitous presence and sensitivity of immigration issues to domestic politics and foreign policy in the United States make both dimensions, two sides of the same coin and this observation is amplified as literature from this chapter reveals. It is the contention of some scholars that generally, the contemporary global migration regime has assumed a more restrictive nature and the creation of categories of people, whose vulnerability to punitive action by states to which they are not citizens, have become more common as such people do not have greater resources to defend themselves against these receiving states (Castañeda 2018; Brotherton 2018) Thus, both in the US and in other regions of the world, there is generally a

states of distrust, vigilance, and in some instance institutionalized violence against migrants (Castañeda 2018). Sometimes systems are built to easily criminalize and punish others solely for their migration status (Ibid).

This general characteristic of contemporary global migration regime seems to have manifested in the formulation of immigration policies of some countries of the developed world. In this regard, the Global Compact on Migration which is a proposed United Nations Commitment intended to regulate the global flows of migrants for instance have been revoked by a number of some member states of the European Union and the US. EU member states such as Hungary, Austria, Poland, Bulgaria, Latvia, the Czech Republic and Slovakia have all revoked the Compact (Gatti 2018). By doing so, they merely emulated the president of the United States, Donald Trump, who quit the Global Compact in December 2017. The justification by the US Permanent Representative at the UN was that “our decisions on immigration policies must always be made by Americans and Americans alone. We will decide how best to control our borders and who will be allowed to enter our country. The global approach in the New York Declaration is simply not compatible with U.S. sovereignty” (Daugirdas & Mortenson 2018).

This trend as is witnessed in this chapter is very glaring upon a deeper reflection into the immigration policies of the Trump administration. It must be stated from the onset too that what looks like a restrictive immigration policy under the Trump presidency is not unique to that administration. His was a continuation of a policy and a system which had already taken a particular form and shape from the administrations of Presidents Clinton, Bush Jnr., and Obama, forms which some called a deportation regime and which was amplified by events of 9/11. Events of 9/11 heightened the fear of US governments of foreigners as “it was foreign nationals who entered the country through travel channels” (Hutchinson 2020, p.87).

The concept of homeland security that emerged in the aftermath of the 9/11 attacks shifted immigration to the US from largely an economic issue to one of national security. According to Hutchinson (2020), this created an impetus for the securitization of migration in the US (both internally and as a foreign policy) and strengthened an already existing deportation regime (Hutchinson 2020; Aptekar 2016). Even at this nascent stage of this chapter it is not difficult to identify the fluidity of America's immigration policy as both part of its domestic and foreign policy. The September 11 attacks were therefore a precipitating event for a justification of a whole new exceptional attitude and approach to immigration, best described as securitized immigration policies couched in the cloak of national interest (security) (Rudolf 2017; Hutchinson 2020). Immigration policies were therefore implemented to reflect a certain conviction that immigrants as connected to terrorism, uncontrolled population flows worsening economic conditions and international crime. Hutchison (2020) captures it better when he wrote that "Trump, a figure unapologetically opposed to immigration, has done little more than apply nativist rhetoric to an immigration policy framework that was already oriented around deportation" (p.92). Undoubtedly, President Trump has a proven record of how his rhetoric offers a glimpse to his anti-migration policies. Cuisson-Villazor and Johnson (2019) wrote that during a January 2018 bipartisan meeting about immigration, the POTUS in reference to African migrants commented that "why are we having all these people from shithole countries come here?" he continued that that people from Haiti must be left out of any immigration relief deals, reportedly saying, "Why do we need more Haitians? . . . . Take them out" (p.102), but added that the US must rather admit more people from countries like Norway (Ibid).

## **2.8 Border Security Enforcement**

As far as border security is concerned it is the Customs and Border Protection (CBP) agency within the DHS that regulates immigration at the country's borders both at and in between ports

entry and it was President Trump's Border Security Order (Executive Order 13767, January 25, 2017) that provided sweeping powers for his immigration policies on border control (Castañeda 2017). Mostly talks of US's border security involves the country's territorial borders particularly the Southwest land border with Mexico. It has been President Trump's key campaign promise to build a wall along the entire stretch of the southern borders, and to have Mexico pay for the wall (the latter which never happened). Therefore in pursuit of the 2017 Executive Order, he ordered the Department of Defense to deploy significant number of members of the National Guard to the borders from 4000 troops in 2017 to 2,100 in 2019 (Pierce 2019). There was also in that same year significant increase in the number of border patrol officers along the US-Mexico borders. With an already existing number of 19,500 an executive order was signed in 2017 to hire an additional 5000 border patrol officers (Pierce et al 2018).

An even more strict immigration policy called the Zero-Tolerance policy kicked start in April 6, 2018 (Ibid). Under this policy the Department of Justice (DOJ) instructed federal prosecutors to prioritize the prosecution of immigration crimes such as illegal entries and repeated offenses, transportation of undocumented immigrants, immigration fraud, and attacks on immigration officials. In May 2018 the DOJ announced that the DHS would refer all individuals arrested while illegally crossing the Southwest border to the Justice department for prosecution (Pierce et al 2018). It was the implementation of this measure that led to the draconian acts of family separations which came into effect on May 7, 2018 (Ibid). Children of migrants who fell victim to the zero tolerance policy and for that matter were arranged for prosecution were separated from their parents. Over 2,700 thousand children were separated from their parents and placed under government custody. This action of the Trump administration attracted quite a substantive public outcry both internally and from the allies of the US to such an extent that

President Trump issued an Executive Order ending this on 20th June 2018. The Trump administration has also increased investigations to family units along the US-Mexico border and the intention to scrutinize family relations arriving on the Southern borders to identify fake families posing as genuine ones through DNA testing and to stamp out human smuggling operations (Pierce 2019).

President Trump's famous wall construction along the Southern border with Mexico became a reality when Congress approved and appropriated an amount to the tune of 1.68 billion dollars for repair or for new construction of physical barrier. The funds facilitated the construction of 34 miles of replacement walls and fences by January 2019. It is recalled that in February 2019, the Trump administration declared a state of emergency just so an amount to the tune 3.6 billion dollars in funds from military construction projects could be accessed when the Congress approved just 1.37 billion dollars for border barrier construction that was very well short of President Trump's request for 3.7 billion dollars (Pierce 2019). It should be mentioned that border security and construction of border fence with Mexico in sections that had been identified as priority pursuant to the Secure Fence Act of 2016 was approved and completed during the Bush administration (Argueta, 2016).

## **2.9 Interior Enforcement of Immigration Policy**

In the internal enforcement of immigration policies of the US, it is the Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) that is responsible for investigations, detentions, deportation of unauthorized immigrants (Pierce 2019). Perhaps it is important here to provide a little context to the enforcement of Immigration policy within the confines of the US. The Obama administration oversaw more deportations than any other U.S. president in the country's history (Martin 2020). Indeed, President Obama acquired the notorious title of the "deporter-in-chief"

from immigration advocates (Martin 2020). Under his watch the DHS formally removed more than three million noncitizens, compared to two million during George W. Bush's tenure and about 900,000 under the Bill Clinton administration (Ibid). It was he who rekindled and implemented to the fullest the Secure Community Programme initiated by the Bush administration, yet with traces of President Clinton's Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act (IIRIRA) (Castañeda 2017).

Secure Communities is a Federal Government program initiated in 2008. By law it requires local law enforcement agencies to share information regarding people who have been arrested with the ICE. The intention was to allow ICE to check the residency of anybody brought into the custody of local enforcement agency. This then easily makes it possible to identify the immigration status and criminal history of detainees for easy deportation. (Castañeda, 2015). It is this Secure Community programme that more than anything facilitated the removal of more than 3 million people during the Obama administration, the largest number in any administration (Martin 2017). The Secure Community Programme was suspended only in the second term of the Obama administration. A widely held impression is that Obama administration prioritized the deportation of irregular migrants with criminal records. While this is may be the case it is also true that migrants with very low-level-offenses or no criminal records were deported. Clearly, according to Hutchinson (2020) what the Trump administration has done is expanded the scope of migrant criminality to include the entire non documented population of the U.S through his immigration policies.

As far as internal policies on immigration is concerned, President Trump on January 2017 signed as executive order that significantly expanded the class of non-citizens who then became priorities for removal and directing agencies to execute US immigration laws against what he

termed “removable aliens” (Castañeda, 2017). The implication of this order was that immediately, it abandoned the prosecutorial guidelines used by the ICE under President Obama, which among other things prioritized the removal of undocumented migrants who had criminal records, were recent illegal borders or had recently been ordered to remove.

In April of 2017, the DHS created for the ICE the Office of Victims of Immigration Crime Engagement (VOICE). This was Section 13 of President Trump’s Executive Order on Internal Security (Castañeda, 2017). VOICE mandated the recording of crimes committed by migrants through a weekly report. Hotlines were made available to report offenses committed by undocumented immigrants (Pierce et al 2018). VOICE is to be used to support—with data and statistics—the notion that migrants are suspicious neighbors. The Trump administration went ahead to limit the privacy rights for non-immigrants and unauthorized immigrants so that local law enforcement agencies only extend the Privacy Acts to US citizens and lawful permanent residents (Pierce 2019). This policy provided the DHS to access and share information of unauthorized migrants.

The Trump administration also as part of the January 25th Executive Order in 2017 reinstated the Secure Communities Programme which was used and truncated by the Obama administration (Pierce 2019). As was effective during the Obama administration in the removal of undocumented migrants, so too perhaps did the Trump administration find it very useful. Mentioned earlier, the Secure Communities programmes is policy that allows for a system in which a federal-state-information where the fingerprints of individuals booked into the state or local law enforcement (for any crime committed) and then flags them for enforcement if they are found removable (Hutchinson 2020). By the end of the 2017 fiscal year over 43,000 non-immigrant with criminal convictions had been removed under Secure Community Act (Ibid).

Relatedly, the Security Communities Acts was revived under President Trump, prompted some states and cities to declare themselves to be “sanctuaries” for unauthorized migrants and on that grounds refuse to share information with ICE or to detain migrants for ICE unless they committed violent crimes (Pierce 2019). These became known as Sanctuary states (Ibid). In response the Trump administration as part of the 2017 executive order in interior enforcement directed that federal grants should be denied those states that considered themselves sanctuary jurisdictions (Ibid)

President Trump’s persistent expression of concern about the scale of refugee resettlement was addressed when upon assuming office he suspended refugee admission for 120 days and specifically from seven predominantly Muslim nations which included Iran, Iraq, Libya, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, and Yemen (Pierce 2019). This took effect after he signed his March 2017 executive order titled “Protecting the Nation from Foreign Terrorist Entry Into the United States”. This Executive Order was in line with President Trump’s belief that migrants from particular countries pose security risks. It was for the same purpose that October 2017, the Trump administration deprioritized resettlement application of refugees from these countries which according to the US government were considered high risk to national security. After this ban which was considered largely a Muslim ban was challenged by the U.S Court of Appeal, the original ban was replaced with a narrower version. In September 2017, the Trump administration issued a “Presidential Proclamation Enhancing Vetting Capabilities and Processes for Detecting Attempted Entry Into the United States by Terrorists or Other Public-Safety Threats,” (Villazor & Johnson 2019, p.113). This Proclamation barred entry into the United States of nationals from Chad, Iran, Libya, North Korea, Somalia, Syria, Venezuela, and Yemen. The last and final variant of the travel ban was augmented and two predominantly

non-Muslim countries (North Korea and Venezuela) was added while Iraq and Sudan were removed from the list of nations subject to the first two versions (Ibid).

President Trump has actively deployed policy solutions with the intentions to deter asylum seekers from trying to enter the United States, limit how many can apply and ultimately restrict how many can receive it. Most significantly, the Migrant Protection Protocols (MPP) also known as remain in Mexico which was signed on January 2019 demands that individuals entering the US from Mexico and who cross the borders illegally or have no proper documentation as well as asylum seekers may now be returned to the Mexico for such time during their immigration process (Pierce 2019).

In another dimension, the Trump administration even tightened and reduced the chances or possibilities of immigrants acquiring legal status (and for that matter Green Card) when he signed and introduced the Public Charge Act (Ibid). The Public Charge Act is defined by the DOS and DHS to mean reliance on any public assistance by the noncitizen or someone in the noncitizen's household. The implication of this act is that any immigrant in search of legal status, but who has been a primary dependent on any of the US public assistance programme may be denied legal permanent residence. To avoid the grounds of public charge, noncitizens must submit an affidavit in which the immigrant's sponsor agrees to the financial support the noncitizen annually up to not less than 125% of the poverty level and to while the same time agrees to reimburse the government for "means-tested" public benefits upon which the noncitizen relies (Pierce 2019).

It was one of President Trump's key campaign messages to rescind the now Obama implemented DACA (Deferred Actions Against Childhood Arrivals). Implemented in 2012 by

the Obama administration DACA permits young people who were brought to the U.S. illegally as children under the age of 16 to stay in the country and work without being deported (Pierce 2019). DACA beneficiaries commonly referred to as Dreamers have to renew this permit every two years. Immediately after assumption to office, the Trump administration insisted on the end to the programme and in effect halted acceptance of new DACA applicants except only for renewals and October 5, 2017 the USCIS stopped accepting all DACA renewals (Gonzalez 2020). President Trumps' attempt faced backlash as three federal district blocked the termination of the programme on January 2018. Unsatisfied with the decisions of the federal judges, the Trump administration appealed the case to the Supreme Court which agreed to hear the case during the 2019/2020 term and so it did in June in 2020 (Gonzalez 2020). On this said date the Supreme Court hat President Donald Trump's rationale for canceling the DACA program was "arbitrary and capricious" and was in violation of federal law.

The Covid-19 global pandemic and its most devastating effects of the US triggered sweeping immigration restriction by the US also mostly motivated by President' Trump's campaign promise of preserving America jobs for Americans (Garcini et al 2020). On 22nd June 2020, the Trump administration announced that it was to suspend certain visas that allowed foreigners to move into the US temporarily to work. The intent according the administration was to protect American workers especially during the pandemic. The list of categories included J-1 visas for au pairs and cultural exchange (with no effects to professors and scholars) H-1B, H-2B, as well as visas for spouses of those who already hold these visas. L-visas for companies to relocate employees to the US (Baros 2020).

## **2.10 Africa and Immigration Policies of the Trump Administration**

Apart from the so-called Muslim ban which had some African states therein, the next immigration policy of the Trump administration that had a direct impact on some Africa states in general and Ghana in particular and puts this proposed topic in perspective was the limits of visas for nationals of recalcitrant countries. As an on-going process, this is part of President Trump's executive order on interior enforcement. At his behest, the State Department agreed to refuse to grant visas to nationals of countries which were labeled as recalcitrant because those countries systematically refuse or delay cooperation on the return of their nationals who had been ordered removed or were to be returned. (Pierce 2019). By the end of the 2018 fiscal year the number of these states reduced from twenty three to ten. Even under concerns of the dire consequences for some of these migrants their return back home, the Mauritania embassy in the US under duress from this policy initiative began to issue travel documents so its citizens in the US could return to Mauritania (Pierce et al 2018).

In a similar move the DHS announced the implementation of visa restrictions on countries in a bid pressure such countries to accept their nationals ordered removed in the states. Such countries included Sierra Leone, Cambodia, Eritrea, and Guinea (Pierce 2019). The visa sanctions on recalcitrant countries was applied to certain government officials from Laos and Myanmar. On the grounds of identity-verification and information-sharing rules (Ibid). From all indications Africa has not been spared from the Trump administration's tightened immigration policies. Some of these restrictions witnessed the US no longer providing immigrant visas that offer a path to permanent residency and citizenship to Nigerian and Eritrean nationals (Ibid). Tanzania and Sudan have been omitted from the list of countries eligible to partake in US' visa diversity lottery scheme. The US has defended its decision with claims that the affected countries fell short of its security standards, including passport

technology, and failed to share information on criminals and terrorist suspects. (Ibid). On 31st January 2019 when the DHS provided and filled a Federal Register on which countries whose nationals were not eligible to acquire H-2A and H-2B non-immigrant worker programmes were noticed, Ethiopia was removed from that list on the grounds of non-compliance with the deportation efforts of the ICE since 2016 (Pierce 2019). The Department of Homeland Security announced on 31st January 2018 the imposition of visa sanctions for certain section of the Ghanaian populace in an effort to push the government of Ghana to accept its nationals ordered from removal from the US (Pierce 2019). The then Secretary of Homeland Security, Kirstjen Nielsen insisted that without an appropriate posture from the GoG the scope of the visa restrictions could be expanded to cover the general Ghanaian populace (Department of Homeland Security, 2019). This was against the background that as early as 2017, the United States government in a special chartered plane deported through removals 108 Ghanaian migrants to Ghana (Kodom et al 2019).

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## CHAPTER THREE

### AN ANALYSIS OF PRESIDENT TRUMP'S IMMIGRATION POLICIES ON GHANA AND GHANAIAN MIGRANTS IN THE US

#### 3.0 Introduction

This Chapter discusses how migration policies of the United States under the Donald Trump's administration has informed actions towards Ghana and Ghanaian migrants in the US. The Chapter discusses the factors influencing the adoption and implementation of specific US' immigration policies towards Africa under the Trump administration. In addition, the Chapter discusses how immigration policies of the United States has shape migration reforms towards Ghana and Ghanaian Migrants in the US in particular, differences in immigration policy towards Ghana and Ghanaians in the US. While the focus of the study is on the Trump administration and it immigration policies, reference to that of President Obama's is made to provide context for the study. The chapter also does an assessment of the positive implications of Trump's migration policies towards Africa in his first term and finally, the negative implications of Trump's migration policies towards Ghana and Ghanaians in the U.S. The analysis in this chapter was done using content analysis from secondary data including books, journal articles, working papers, official documents from both the UN and Ghanaian Governments and newspaper sources. The analysis as indicated was aided with the concept of National Interest to provide a better insight into appreciating US immigration policies and to generate the required findings which informed the conclusions and recommendations of this study.

#### 3.1 Factors Influencing the Adoption and Implementation of Specific US Migration Policies towards Africa from 2016-2019) under the Trump Administration

There are two main justifications given for the implementation of US' Immigration Policies towards Africa (i.e. from 2016-2019) under the Trump Administration. The First reason is to

safeguard the national interest of America by protecting the America citizenry and the second is to fulfil a political campaign promise before the 2016 Presidential elections and for consideration ahead of the 2020 elections.

There are a couple of factors which motivated the election of President Trump as the 45th President of the US. Paramount among the factors include his Immigration policy, foreign policy, the idea of bringing back jobs for Americans, and revisiting the Health care issue, all this wrapped in his “America First” policy. Happenings in the international system at any point in time influences the extent to which states inter-relate with each other and this is captured in a state’s foreign policies (Williams, 2012). America’s foreign policy is determined by factors including the state of the economy; the strength of the military; the competence and expertise of the men and women working at the US Department of State; as well as the country’s soft-power in the areas of election management, democracy and good governance, and her credentials for promoting global peace-keeping (Gilpin, 2016). These attributes are significant in the effective formulation and implementation of US’ foreign policy. The US has always been seen to be more influential and active in international affairs when the economy is doing well (Fukuyama, 2012).

However, the foreign policy agenda by any President of the US can be constrained by both domestic and international factors, some of which transcends beyond the control of the president (McElroy, 2014). These include conflict between the president’s vision and the agenda of Senate on matters of external relations which has the potential of derailing the President’s foreign policy (McElroy, 2014). Moreover, conflict between the president’s agenda and the core values of the US also makes it difficult, if not impossible, for the president to get

his foreign policy implemented. Furthermore, the global political economy has great influence on the US' foreign policy (McElroy, 2014).

According to Harris (2018) that the main motivation for the implementation of the immigration policies of the Trump Administration is to safeguard the national interest of Americans. Foreign policy and national interest are inextricably linked, but national interest should drive foreign policy not the other way around. National interest is always mission critical. Harris (2018), remarked that if the homeland is secure, all Americans are protected from all threats, anticipated and unexpected including that which might be external to the state and undertaken by foreign nationals of the receiving states.

As Teitelbaum (1994, p.429) has stated "It has always been universally acknowledged ever since the state system arose in its modern form that, under the laws of nations, the right to regulate entry is a fundamental concomitant of states" The fluidity of migration policy as both domestic and foreign strongly is supported by Mitchell (2019). This is because such policies of the United States will then be a strategy with which to deal with other states whose nationals whether from Southern America, Middle East, Asia and Africa find the United States very comfortable for various reasons to live. In this instance, the migration policy of the United States doubles as both a domestic policy and a foreign policy with considerably very strong characteristics in terms of aims and objectives. In his work *International Migration, International Relations and Foreign Policy*, Mitchell argued that both sending and receiving states are sometimes conscious of the essence of their bilateral dealings with respect to migration flows and under such circumstance migration loses its traditional image as a as low politics and rather assume a posture of an international policy. In this instance, Mitchell (2019, p.682) argued that migration could influence and serve the goals of national foreign policies.

Mitchell continues that in the United States and Europe for instance, labour migration policies have become a subject of great interest and detailed international dealings with sending states. One has not got to look further than the migration policies of the European Union (EU) with Turkey and with some African countries in the regulations of illegal migrants to Europe and also very instructive the US migration policy with Mexico to regulate migration flow from Central America.

In support of the above Teitelbaum (1994, p. 430) also argued that between 1952 and 1980 American law defined a refugee as a person fleeing from fleeing “from a Communist-dominated country or area, or from any country within the general area of the Middle East”. For all intent and purpose, this definition of refugee in US law would mean that US immigration policy with regards to refugees at the time would obviously be considered as a crucial part of that country’s foreign policy strategy during the Cold War. It was only in the 1980s that these laws were altered to reflect a less ideological definition according to international law. This corroborate the fact that domestic policies on migration may have an unavoidable international political projections that simultaneously make such migration policies foreign policies as well.

Bellamy & Hunt (2015), identifies that the first and foremost responsibility of the President of the United States is to protect the American people which includes transforming the military’s force structure to focus on 21st-century challenges. These include reducing security threats not only with better technology, but with better human intelligence, harnessing the energy and talents of the American people to advance American values and understanding that comprehensive immigration reform is both an economic and a national security imperative. Even though President Trump has been taking extremely unpopular decisions (such his migration policies towards Africa) and creating some diplomatic incidents (such as enhancing

diplomatic relations with North Korea and other countries), one has to admit that he is thoroughly focused on Americans immediate interest, he is feeding the will of those who elected him, the "people who make decisions" in the US.

Muzergues (2019), also points out that the implementation of Trump's migration policies especially towards Africa is to score political points ahead of 2020 Presidential elections in the US. It is worth mentioning that according to US Department of State, Formal Diplomatic relations between the United States and Africa began in 1958, which subsequently encouraged trade relations between the two partners (Francis, 2010). Consequently, the trade relations between the US and Africa has been strong since 1958, but has been strong yet marred with some nuances and intricacies. Throughout his campaign, candidate Trump in his America First Agenda promised to revise the US' Immigration policies on a number of foreign migrants including African migrants to the US. Following this, Trump upon becoming President deported or applied restrictions to some African migrants to the US (particularly, Nigerians and Ghanaians) who enter illegally or are living in the US without proper immigrations documents to permit them do so (Okoronkwo, 2020). Therefore, the implementation of the US' Immigration Policies towards Africa (i.e. from 2016-2019) under the Trump Administration is part of an unfolding reality of Donald Trump to fulfil his campaign promises and score political points ahead of 2020 Presidential elections for a second term in office as President and also to safeguard the US' National Interest by limiting the volume of illegal migrants who either reside or migrates to the US as discussed in the second chapter.

### **3.2 How Migration Policies of the United States Shape Migration Reforms Towards Ghana and Ghanaian Migrants in the US**

Ghana, a country of about 30 million people on West Africa's Atlantic coast, is confronted with diverse development and security challenges, but has strived to maintain robust democracy notable for consistent peaceful change of executive power since a transition to multiparty rule in the early 1990s. Ghana has also made significant strides toward a considerable number of socio-economic and good governance outcomes which successive U.S. administrations have desired to implement or achieve in Africa. Therefore, most U.S. Governments and Policymakers perceive Ghana as a beacon for good governance and economic growth and hence, a reliable U.S. partner in an often volatile region. Substantial U.S. bilateral relations and migration policies between the US and Africa has anchored on and arguably contributed to Ghana's generally positive development trajectory.

Since 1950, there have been strong "people-to-people" relations, especially in the form of exchange educational visits scientific and academic institutions, and this has led to several Ghanaians been educated in the United States as a result. There are close cultural ties, notably between Ghanaians and African-Americans; there is a substantial African-American expatriate community in Ghana. In addition, there have been peaceful diplomatic relations between the U.S and Ghana since 1957 when Ghana gained independence to date.

For instance, in 1998, President Clinton embarked on an 11-day trip to six African countries in 1998 including Ghana, Uganda, Rwanda, South Africa, Botswana and Senegal to reiterate his attention of promoting development and security on the continent (Schraeder, 2000). His visit was perceived by many as the most credible effort for years to develop a comprehensive set of US policies toward Africa. Susan Rice has asserted that, Clinton's administration dedicated

more attention and effort to Africa than any of his predecessors (Schraeder, 2000). Similarly, in 2008, then-President George W. Bush visited Ghana to showcase U.S. aid programs on education, health, trade, entrepreneurship and Ghana's first Millennium Challenge Corporation (MCC) Compact (Iddris, 2018). Also, in 2009, then-President Barack Obama traveled to Ghana to project the nation as a democratic model for other African countries (Iddris, 2018).

Notwithstanding the above US' foreign policy direction towards Ghana by previous governments, the Trump Administration has pursued a significant strategic shift in policy toward Ghana, which has caused bilateral ties to recently come under strain. In Trump's Presidential agenda; "Make America Great Again," he intends to concentrate more on domestic issues which inure to the interests of Americans than focusing on external issues. As such, he highlighted series of foreign policy agenda which may have ramifications on Africa. Paramount among these include deportation of illegal migrants in America which included Africans, the disinterest to engage in the domestic politics of African countries unless it impinged on American national interests and also Protectionist tendencies which might affect The African Growth and Opportunity Act AGOA, which came into effect 17 years ago, aimed at expanding US trade and investment with sub-Saharan Africa.

During his 2016 presidential campaign, Donald Trump offered little insight into his foreign policy plans but promised to put America First and be a better president than his predecessor; Barack Obama. Donald Trump assumed office at the height of numerous security challenges to U.S' interests in Africa due to the threat posed in North Africa by ISIS militants regrouping in Libya, and activities of groups such as Boko Haram, Al Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb and Al-Shabaab who threaten American interests (Dombrowski & Reich, 2017). As such, Donald Trump has an unprecedented opportunity to deepen relations with Africa and make a mark on

the security front. In view of this, the main intention of this section is geared towards the assessment of the Foreign Policy agenda of Donald Trump's first term in office, with special emphasis on his migration policies and agenda towards Africa, with special focus on Ghana. This assessment is very crucial because it appears that the recognition of the role of Africa in the international system given its geostrategic importance, is losing its weight since the arrival of President Trump who has denounced America's past propensity to see compelling synergies between its vital interests and the responsibilities of international leadership as misguided, and responsible for America's diminished weight in the world.

As a result, President Trump has advocated for an 'America First' policy where American interests are given priority. However, Africa - U.S. relations have been in place since the authorization of the creation of a separate Bureau of African Affairs within the State Department by President Dwight D. Eisenhower Administration in 1958 (Grimm, 2013). This marked a turning point in the U.S.-African relations and has influenced American foreign policy including security and migration issues towards the continent to date. The bigger question to deliberate on is whether or not Donald Trump will maintain the status quo with respect to US-Africa foreign policy where the focus will be on migration policies, with specific focus on Ghana.

President Donald Trump upon taking office, vowed to deport all illegal immigrants and immigrants in the US, including Ghanaians with criminal records as part of their immigration laws to be rolled out. Consequently, more Ghanaians have deported from the US from 2017 to date. For instance, upon Trump's victory in the November, 2016, Presidential elections, the US deported 108 Africans, 54 of them were Ghanaians and The United States ambassador to Ghana, Robert Jackson revealed that the Trump administration was in the process of deporting

over 7000 illegal Ghanaians living in the US due to visa-related offences including staying illegally and over staying their visas (Effah, 2017). Following this, the U.S. Department of Homeland Security in February, 2019, imposed selected visa sanctions on Ghanaian nationals due to Ghana's non-cooperation with U.S. immigration law enforcement proceedings and deportation orders by not interviewing or providing travel documents to Ghanaians being deported from the United States (Pierce, 2019). In such cases, the United States pays for charter flights to effect removals.

Consequent to the above, the U.S consular officials in Ghana begun restricting the issuance of certain U.S visa to some section of the Ghanaian population to travel to the U.S, which lasted for nearly a year (Pierce, 2019). To deepen for compliance by the Ghanaian Government, the Trump Administration proposed a sharp cut in aid as way of reducing its assistance to African states, including Ghana, which could significantly affect bilateral relation between Ghana and the U.S. This is because the restrictions affected significantly some business, politicians and tourist visitors from Ghana who wished to travel to the US from gaining visas. However, in January, 2020, the US lifted visa restrictions on Ghana after agreeing a process for deporting its nationals (Yomi, 2020). This suggests a restoration in enhanced migration relations once again between Ghana and the US, following the visa ban restrictions on Ghana and the deportation of several Ghanaians from the US which occurred between 2017 to 2019.

However, with regards to migration reforms in the U.S towards Ghana and Ghanaians in the US is largely influenced by Americans and the major political parties (i.e. the Democrats and Republicans). Both Democrats and Republicans believe migrations policies which allow migrants to come and enrich themselves and develop American is in sync with the national interest of the U.S. Nonetheless, for the past three decades, immigration and policies of the US

towards African states (such as Ghana) and African citizens in the US (including Ghanaians), have largely been bipartisan. Republicans such as Donald Trump appear to be more Restrictionist in nature, thereby restricting more travels into the US and deporting more illegal migrants from the US whilst Democrats such as Obama appear to be Admissionist, and as such favor more immigrants settling and avoid mass deportations of African citizens such as Ghanaians even without proper documentations. Consequently, during electioneering periods, one can usually hear chants such as “Build that Wall” at Republican rallies and “abolish ICE” at Democratic rallies, perhaps marking a new era in US immigration.

Concerning the US Immigration policies under President Trump, he signed as executive order in January, 2017, that significantly expanded the class of non-citizens who then became priorities for removal and directing agencies to execute US immigration laws against what he termed “removable aliens” (Castañeda et al., 2019). The implication of this order was that immediately, it abandoned the prosecutorial guidelines used by the ICE under President Obama, which among other things prioritized the removal of undocumented migrants who had criminal records, were recent illegal borders or had recently been ordered to remove.

In relation to the above, it could be inferred that US’ Migration policy towards Africa depicts one of the clearest differences between Democratic and Republican candidates for upcoming 2020 Presidential elections. Most Democratic candidates in their migration policies seeks to decriminalize illegal entry, making such entries misdemeanors that can lead to fines rather than felonies than can lead to prison, hence not a strong ground for deportation if migration are living and abiding by the laws of the US. Consequently, Obama endorsed legalization for unauthorized migrants, especially DACA youth and those with US-born children or other US

roots, and Obama allowed all US residents, including unauthorised migrants, to participate in their proposed universal health care programs (Chacón, & Davis, 2018).

On the other hand, Republicans are likely to emphasize the dangers of unauthorized entries and to continue to call for a border wall and more enforcement to detect and remove unauthorized migrants (Chacón, & Davis, 2018). For instance, Trump opposes legalization for most unauthorized migrants in the US and wants to reorient legal immigration away from low-skilled family unification and toward high-skilled migrants selected via a point system that rewards applicants for youth, education, knowledge of English, and a US job offer (Martin, 2020).

### **3.3 Differences in Immigration Policy towards Ghana and Ghanaians in the US, between Obama and Donald Trump**

The United States is guided by its core interests in sub-Saharan Africa, even as it helps the region address these problem, i.e. ensuring the security of the United States, its citizens, allies and partners; promoting democratic states that are economically vibrant and strong partners of the United States on the world stage; expanding opportunities for U.S. trade and investment; preventing conflict and mass atrocities; and fostering broad-based, sustainable economic growth and poverty alleviation (Karis, 2009).

Barack Obama's speech which he delivered at the Parliament House, during his visit to Ghana in July 2009, pretty much sums up his foreign policy strategy for sub-Saharan Africa. Obama remarked in his speech in front of the Ghanaian Parliament that "Africa is a fundamental part of our interconnected world", and called for a partnership with Africa that is "grounded in mutual responsibility and mutual respect," (Obama, 2010, p.g 1). In light of this, Obama's Foreign policy direction towards Africa reinforces this vision calls for partnership with African

nations as they grow their economies and strengthen their democratic institutions and governance, was released in May 2010. President Obama later approved the Presidential Policy Directive that outlines his vision with respect to U.S. policy toward sub-Saharan Africa in June 2012 (Eluke, 2015). There are five pillars that make up the very foundation of United States policy toward Africa:

- Strengthening Democratic Institutions;
- Supporting African economic growth and development;
- Advancing Peace and Security;
- Promoting Opportunity and Development.
- Working with African nations on transnational issues such as drug smuggling, money laundering, illicit arms, and trafficking in persons.

Under Obama's administration, the United States of America has supported democratic development in the West African sub-region. This he did by strengthening institutions and challenging leaders, whose actions threaten peaceful political transitions, including in Cote d'Ivoire. He has also advanced peace and security by playing an integral role in the birth of South Sudan, supporting the African Union Mission in Somalia, and working with regional partners to counter the predatory Lord's Resistance Army (Mangu, 2013).

Economically, the Obama administration acknowledges the fact that sub-Saharan African economy is one of the fastest growing economies. Technology and urbanisation are further helping grow the sub-Saharan African economy. In addition to this, young people are becoming increasingly more interested in the politics and national interest of their countries, and making their voices heard (Mangu, 2013). More African governments are actively taking steps in addressing pertinent issues concerning their politics and security.

Despite these achievements, the Obama administration also acknowledges that sub-Saharan Africa still has a lot to do, considering the fact that there are still several countries where democracy is still fragile, and where peaceful transition from one political party to another is not very stable (Mangu, 2013). Many sub-Saharan countries are also plagued with corruption and weak institutions, which greatly hinder the progress of the economic and political stability of these countries. Poverty is still rife in many sub-Saharan countries. The Obama administration has therefore sought to expand African membership in the Open Government Partnership and the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative, which promote sound governance, transparency, and accountability (Carothers, 2009).

Economically, the Obama administration acknowledges the fact that sub-Saharan African economy is one of the fastest growing economies. In harmony with the National Export Initiative, the US under the Obama's administration developed a "Doing Business in Africa Campaign" to harness the resources of the United States' Government to assist U.S. businesses in identifying and seizing opportunities in Africa. The US also engages with members of the Sub-Saharan African Diaspora in the United States, who are showing an increasing level of interest in investing in their countries of origin.

In addition to this, Obama also acknowledges that young people are becoming increasingly more interested in the politics and the national interests of their countries, and as such, making their voices heard. Towards this end, the Young African Leadership Initiative (YALI) was introduced where potential African leaders between the ages of 25 to 35 years are invited through an application to meet Obama personally and be trained for a year through leadership programs, to develop their leadership potentials and return to their home countries to aid and facilitate socio-political development processes (Adenle, 2017). In fact, most Africans are

wondering if the Trump administration will continue to be the beacon of hope, friendship, and opportunity that it has traditionally been to many on the continent. Most Sub Saharan African countries including Ghanaians are beneficiaries of YALI. This appears as if Obama's migration policies would be much flexible and favorable to Ghana and Ghanaians as compared to those of Trump.

On the contrary, although President Obama supports setting a path to citizenship for many illegal immigrants, his administration deported a record 1.5 million of them in his first term from the US, representing a record highest number of deportees any President of the U.S has ever done in his first term (Corey, 2012). However, much of such immigrant deportees focused on criminals such as repeat violators of immigration laws, felons, those who pose a national security threat and people who have recently crossed U.S. borders illegally (Corey, 2012). Therefore, despite former President Barack Obama's push for immigration reforms, a record 2 million deportations were executed during his 8 years in office under the Secure Community Programme, including, 108 Ghanaians as at 2016 (Chacón, 2016).

Secure Communities is a Federal Government program initiated in 2008. By law it requires local law enforcement agencies to share information regarding people who have been arrested with the ICE. The intention was to allow ICE to check the residency of anybody brought into the custody of local enforcement agency. This then easily makes it possible to identify the immigration status and criminal history of detainees for easy deportation. (Castañeda, 2015). It is this Secure Community Programme that more than anything facilitated the removal of more than 3 million people during the Obama administration, the largest number in any administration (Martin 2017). The Secure Community Programme was suspended only in the second term of the Obama administration. A widely held impression is that Obama

administration prioritized the deportation of irregular migrants with criminal records. Clearly, according to Hutchinson (2020) what the Trump administration has done is expanded the scope of migrant criminality to include the entire non documented population of the U.S through his immigration policies.

Donald Trump appears not be too much interested in the Affairs of Africa as witnessed by his predecessors and as such has had little contact or bilateral relations with African leaders. Consequently, Trump is the most recent president of the US to complete a first term without visiting an African state (Okoronkwo, 2020). Also, at a lunch he hosted with nine African heads of state on the margins of the U.N. General Assembly in September, 2017, Trump repeatedly referred to the southern African country of Namibia as “Nambia” and startled those in attendance by celebrating the extractive potential of the continent (Karimi, 2017). He remarked that: “I have so many friends going to your countries trying to get rich,” he said. “I congratulate you, they’re spending a lot of money.” (Karimi, 2017, p.1). Trump made no reference to human rights or strengthening democracy in Africa, usual themes in presidential remarks about the continent.

The Trump administration has shown little attention to the expertise that reside at the Departments of State and Defense, within the intelligence community, and within the academic and policy communities. Important African diplomatic posts remain unfilled, and domestic positions concerned with Africa have been filled only very slowly. For his meetings with African heads of state on the margins of the U.N. General Assembly, career State and Defense officials were not invited to be present.

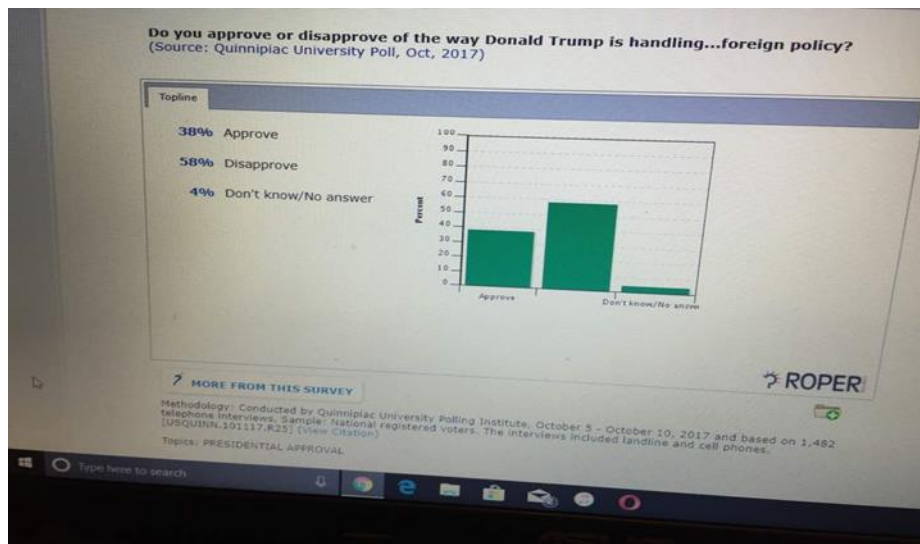
In his 'America First' Agenda towards election, Donald Trump on the other hand, promised with regards to his foreign policy, especially on security issues that he was not going to intervene in any external wars including Africa, if it would not directly be beneficial to the US (Norrlof, 2018). He also promised to withdraw troops in conflict/war stricken zones including Africa, if the mission would not be beneficial directly to the US and he was also not going to give aids and engage in trade deals especially to African states if they would not be directly beneficial to the US (Norrlof, 2018).

In a research conducted by Kriner and Shen, on the topic Battlefield Casualties and Ballot Box Defeat: Did the Bush-Obama Wars Cost Clinton the White House, they explained that for over 15 years now, America has been engaged in continuous external wars and these have resulted in high military casualties for some young men and women who had devoted and sacrificed their lives to service in the military, just to keep the American influence and dream alive on the international scene (Kriner & Shen, 2017). Consequently, states or communities which record high military casualties supported and embrace the Agenda of Trump not to intervene or engage in wars especially in Africa if it would not be directly beneficial to the US. Such communities or states believe Trump's Agenda will help reduce military casualties, hence saving the lives of loved ones and families in the military. Typical among such states included Pennsylvania, Michigan, and Wisconsin (Kriner & Shen, 2017). This means Trump's foreign policy agenda does not give priority to Africa states including Ghana, which is also reflected in his migration policies towards Ghana.

Trump upon assuming office in 2016, made it clear rather than subtle, his intentions to deport about 3 million immigrants from the US, including, some 7000 Ghanaians living in the US illegally. However, Ghana's Minister of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration, Ms Shirley

Ayorkor, indicated that as at July, 2020, only 125 Ghanaians have been deported from the US so far (Agyeman, 2020). This suggests that though Obama's migration policy led to a record deportation of about 3 million migrants, it favoured Ghana and Ghanains living in the US, more than Trump's migration policy. This is because the number of Ghanaian deportees from the US as at 2016 under the Obama's administration, was 108, whilst Trump in his first term alone has already deported 125 Ghanaians, as at July, 2015.

**Figure 3.1: Approval/Disapproval of Trump's Foreign Policy (especially migration policy towards Africa) in his first term.**



Source: Quinnipiac University Polling Institute (October, 5, 2017).

Data from the above opinion polls suggest that majority of Americans are not happy or do not approve of how President Donald Trump is handling his foreign policy agenda since he took office in November, 2016. Out of a total of 100 %, a public American opinion poll conducted by the Quinnipiac University Polling Institute on October, 5, 2017 suggested 58% disapproval rate against 38% approval rate (Quinnipiac University Polling Institute, 2017). The poll also revealed that Trump's recently reported comments on immigration from certain African

countries are believed to be racist by 58% of American voters (Quinnipiac University Polling Institute, 2017). Based on approval/disapproval ratings of the first term into office, research reveals that Trump is the most unpopular president since at least Harry Truman, especially with regards to handling foreign policy issues, with specific reference to migration policies towards African states such as Ghana and African citizens, including Ghanaians living in the US. This shows that Trump has not been very effective in his foreign policy especially, with regards to his migration policies towards Africa and citizens of African states living at the US currently, according to data from Quinnipiac University Polling Institute.

### **3.4 The Negative Implications of Trump's Migration Policies towards Ghana and Ghanaians in the US**

Though President Trump's migration policies towards Ghana and Ghanaians in the US could be perceived as safe guarding the US' National Interest, it had some negative implications with regards to relations between Ghana and the US. This is because such policies did foster a mutually acceptable solution among all stakeholders during implementation. The long standing bilateral cordial relations which existed between the two states since 1958 was not considered. Notwithstanding the cooperation and mutual understanding which had existed between the states over the years, Donald Trump's migration policy towards Ghana and Ghanaians in the US rather appeared to be coercive, led to mistrust, appeared to affect future cooperation, affected deterrence and led to the escalation of tensions. At that moment, what mattered most to the Trump administration was safeguarding US national interest, not satisfying any know bilateral interest

First, Donald Trump's migration policies towards Ghana and Ghanaians in the US lead to efforts by the US to coerce Ghana to abide by the interest or demands of America. Gompert and Binnendijk assert that: coercion is the exploitation of potential force (Gompert &

Binnendijk, 2016). Coercion has the whole complexion of the US' Migration Policy towards Ghana into a conflict situation where the US wish to achieve its desire by all means with little consideration to its relation with Ghana over the years. This is actually in sync with the popular US Axiom, "Permanent Interest, no Permanent Friends." This was evident when the US adopted coercive means to suppress Ghana to accept her citizens after deportation or to comply by force to the migration policies of the US. The US government also advised that it is in the Ghanaian government's best interests to adhere to US' immigration decision to evacuate and accept illegal Ghanaian deportees from the US, the opposite of which would attract more visa travel restrictions that affected an expansive population to the US (Agyeman, 2020). In the event where Ghana refused to adhere to the demands of the US, it resulted in imposition of sanctions such as visa restrictions by the US on some section of the Ghanaian population.

Secondly, Donald Trump's migration policies to Ghana and Ghanaians in the US appears to have led to mistrust between the US. Donald Trump's immigration policies has affected to a very large extent the trust and confidence that existed between the two states, especially with respect to travel restrictions for some government officials and diplomats to travel to the US (Agyeman, 2020). As such, it will be difficult for Ghana to be willing or ready to enter into favourable migration negotiation with the Trump Administration. Knowing the military capabilities and technologies of the US and its axiom, "Permanent interest, Not Permanent Friends." This could even affect the extent to which Ghana will allow dominance of the US military presence in the country with regards to the US military base in Ghana.

Thirdly, the US' Migration policies towards Ghana and Ghanaians in the US could have facilitate improved cooperation between the two states in resolving the immigration crisis which confronts the US, with respect to illegal Ghanaian migrants in the US. This is because,

the US under the Trump administration has already deported 125 Ghanaians, with some 7000 more Ghanaians to be deported (Agyeman, 2020). Thus, president Trump's immigration policies towards Ghana and Ghanaians in the US appeared to hinder any chances of this in the foreseeable future with all factors held constant because of the lack of trust from the point view of Ghana and Ghanaians in the US.

Fourthly, Trump's migration policies towards Ghana and Ghanaians in the US is to ensure deterrence by Ghanaians from refraining from illegal migration into the US. However, the deterrence goal of the Migration policy could be affected. Deterrence is a strategy intended to dissuade an adversary from taking an action not yet started, or to prevent them from doing something that another state desires (Tolga, 2018). This is because, illegal Ghanaian migrants in the US will go into hiding and not willing to be deported for the fear of not returning to the US ever again. In addition, other Ghanaians who wish to enter the US, but without the approved documents will resort to other illegal means such as illegal migration through dangerous routes rather than resorting to initiatives such as YALI as promoted by the Obama administration.

Finally, Donald Trump's migrations policies towards Ghana and Ghanaians in the US could further lead to the escalation of tensions as already ensuing between the two states (Agyeman, 2020). The tension could further be escalated especially in the area of implementing strict immigration policies against each other's citizens. This could lead to retaliatory strict migration policies by the Ghanaian Government against US citizens also in Ghana in the future.

### **3.5 Conclusion**

In conclusion, Donald Trump's victory in 2016 made him the 45th President of the United States. Donald Trump's presidential character described by many as controversial and

unexpected, has thwarted all the prognosis of the media in recent times with regards to dealing with both American domestic policies and foreign policies. Subsequently, President Donald Trump has imposed his style on the White House and on the international scene, and getting used to it is not easy at all. If one thing is sure with Trump's presidency, it is that everything is possible and should be expected (Cavari et, al, 2016). The reasons that motivated the election of President Trump are numerous but, paramount among them include his Immigration policy, foreign policy, the idea of bringing back jobs for Americans, and revisiting the Health care issue, all this wrapped in his “America First” policy.

The Chapter revealed that there are two main justification given for the implementation of US’ Migration Policies towards Africa (i.e. from 2016-2019) under the Trump Administration. The First reason is to safeguard the national interest of America by protecting the America citizenry and the second is to fulfil a political campaign promise before the 2016 Presidential elections and for consideration ahead of the 2020 elections.

The Chapter also uncovered that with regards to how migration policies of the United States shape migration reforms towards Ghana and Ghanaian migrants in the US, immigration and policies of the US towards African states (such as Ghana) and African citizens in the US (including Ghanaians), have largely been bipartisan. Most Democratic candidates in their migration policies seeks to decriminalize illegal entry, making such entries misdemeanors that can lead to fines rather than felonies than can lead to prison, hence not a strong ground for deportation if migration are living and abiding by the laws of the US. Consequently, Obama endorsed legalizations for unauthorised migrants, especially DACA youth and those with US-born children or other US roots, and Obama allowed all US residents, including unauthorised migrants, to participate in their proposed universal health care programs Republicans, on the

other hand, is likely to emphasize the dangers of unauthorised entries and to continue to call for a border wall and more enforcement to detect and remove unauthorised migrants. Therefore, Trump has approved the building of a huge wall which separate the US from Mexico.

Consequently, Republicans such as Donald Trump appear to be more Restrictionist in nature, thereby restricting more Ghanaian travels into the US and deporting more illegal Ghanaian migrants from the US whilst Democrats such as Obama appear to be Admissionist, and as such favor more Ghana immigrants travels and avoid mass deportations of African citizens such as Ghanaians even without proper documentations. Consequently, during electioneering periods, one can usually hear chants such as “Build that Wall” at Republican rallies and “abolish ICE” at Democratic rallies, perhaps marking a new era in US immigration.

In addition, the chapter showed that in comparing the immigration policy between the Obama and Trump administrations towards Ghana and Ghanaians in the US, the Obama administration supported setting a path to citizenship for many illegal immigrants, yet his administration deported a record 1.5 million of them (with respect to all illegal migrants) in his first term from the US, representing a record highest number of deportees any President of the U.S has ever done in his first term (Chacon 2016). As was demonstrated in chapter two President Obama was referred to by his critics as “deporter-in-chief”. However, much of such immigrant deportees focused on criminals such as repeat violators of immigration laws, felons, those who pose a national security threat and people who have recently crossed U.S. borders illegally. Therefore, despite former President Barack Obama’s push for immigration reforms, a record 2 million deportations were executed during his 8 years in office under the Secure Community Programme, including, 108 Ghanaians as at 2016. This has been expansively discussed in chapter two.

President Trump upon assuming office in 2016, made it clear rather than subtle, his intentions to deport about 3 million immigrants from the US, including, some 7000 Ghanaians living in the US illegally (Agyeman 2020). However, Ghana's Minister of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration, Miss Shirley Ayorkor, indicated that as at July, 2020, only 125 Ghanaians have been deported from the US so far. This suggests that though Obama's migration policy led to a record deportation of about 3 million migrants, it favoured Ghana and Ghanaians living in the US, more than Trump's migration policy. This is because the number of Ghanaian deportees from the US as at 2016 under the Obama's administration, was 108, whilst Trump in his first term alone has already deported 125 Ghanaians, as at July, 2015.

Consequent to the above, in an assessment of the positive implications of Trump's foreign policy (especially migration policies towards Africa) in his first term, shows that Trump has not been very effective in his foreign policy especially, with regards to his migration policies towards Africa and citizens of African states living at the US currently, according to data from Quinnipiac University Polling Institute. More so, the Chapters showed that Donald Trump's migration policies towards Ghana and Ghanaians in the US appeared to be coercive, led to mistrust, appeared to affect future cooperation, affected deterrence and led to the escalation of tensions, as negative implications of Trump's harsh migration policies towards Ghana and Ghanaians in the U.S. Therefore, the next Chapter will provide some recommendations on the topic with respect to avoiding the negative implications of harsh US' migration policies towards Ghana and Ghanaians in the US.

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## CHAPTER FOUR

### SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

#### 4.0 Introduction

Donald Trump's victory in 2016 made him the 45th President of the United States. The reasons that motivated the election of President Trump are numerous but, paramount among them include his Immigration policy, foreign policy, the idea of bringing back jobs for Americans, and revisiting the health care issue, all this wrapped in his "America First" policy. Towards this end, this particularly study utilized the theory of National Interest to explore the general objective of the study (i.e. the implications of President Trump's migration policies towards Ghana and Ghanaians living in the US). The specific objectives were to investigate the major migration policies of the United States government from 2016 to 2019, investigate the motivations for the adoption and implementation of these migration policies and finally, to examine how migration policies of the United States shape migration reforms towards Ghana and Ghanaian migrants in particular in the US.

#### 4.1 Summary of Major Research Findings

The following are summaries of the major findings from the study based on the research objectives.

- To address Objective 1, on the major migration policies of the United States government from 2016 to 2019, the study revealed that there are two main strategies by which the United States Government has implemented its migration policies from 2016 to 2019. These strategies are the Border Security Enforcement and Interior Enforcement of Immigration Policy and these have led to the implementation of policies including Secure Community Programme and Deferred Actions Against Childhood Arrivals – DACA by President Obama and the Zero-

Tolerance Policy and The Public Charge Act Victims of Immigration Crime Engagement (VOICE) by President Trump.

- In response to Objective 2, on the motivations for the adoption and implementation of these migration policies, the study revealed that there are two main justification given for the implementation of US' Migration Policies towards Africa (i.e. from 2016-2019) under the Trump Administration. The First reason is to safeguard the national interest of America by protecting the America citizenry and the second is to fulfil a political campaign promise before the 2016 Presidential elections and for consideration ahead of the 2020 elections.
- To address Objective 3, concerning how migration policies of the United States shape migration reforms towards Ghana and Ghanaian migrants in particular in the US, the study showed that immigration and policies of the US towards African states (such as Ghana) and African citizens in the US (including Ghanaians), have largely been bipartisan. Most

Democratic candidates in their migration policies seeks to decriminalize illegal entry, making such entries misdemeanors that can lead to fines rather than felonies than can lead to prison, hence not a strong ground for deportation if migration are living and abiding by the laws of the US. Consequently, Obama endorsed legalisation for unauthorised migrants, especially DACA youth and those with US-born children or other US roots, and Obama allowed all US residents, including unauthorised migrants, to participate in their proposed universal health care programs. Republicans, on the other hand, is likely to emphasise the dangers of unauthorised entries and to continue to call for a border wall and more enforcement to detect and remove unauthorised migrants. Therefore, Trump has approved the building of a huge wall which separate the US from Mexico.

In addition, the chapter showed that in comparing the migration policy between the Obama and Trump administrations towards Ghana and the Ghanaian in the US, in practice, although President Obama supports setting a path to citizenship for many illegal immigrants, his administration deported a record 1.5 million of them in his first term from the US, representing a record highest number of deportees any President of the U.S has ever done in his first term. However, much of such immigrant deportees focused on criminals such as repeat violators of immigration laws, felons, those who pose a national security threat and people who have recently crossed U.S. borders illegally. Therefore, despite former President Barack Obama's push for immigration reforms, a record 2 million deportations were executed during his 8 years in office under the Secure Community Programme, including, 108 Ghanaians as at 2016.

Trump upon assuming office in 2016, made it clear rather than subtle, his intentions to deport about 3 million immigrants from the US, including, some 7000 Ghanaians living in the US illegally. However, Ghana's Minister of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration, Ms Shirley Ayorkor, indicated that as at July, 2020, only 125 Ghanaians have been deported from the US so far. This suggests that though Obama's migration policy led to a record deportation of about 3 million migrants, it favoured Ghana and Ghanaians living in the US, more than Trump's migration policy. This is because the number of Ghanaian deportees from the US as at 2016 under the Obama's administration, was 108, whilst Trump in his first term alone has already deported 125 Ghanaians, as at July, 2015.

Consequent to the above, in an assessment of the effectiveness of Trump's foreign policy (especially migration policies towards Africa) in his first term, shows that Trump has not been very effective in his foreign policy especially, with regards to his migration policies towards Africa and citizens of African states living at the US currently, according to data from

Quinnipiac University Polling Institute. More so, the Chapters showed that Donald Trump's migration policies towards Ghana and Ghanaians in the US could have achieved a mutually acceptable solution among all stakeholders, considering the long standing bilateral cordial relations which has existed between the two states since 1958.

Contrary to the above, Donald Trump's migration policy towards Ghana and Ghanaians in the US rather appeared to be coercive, led to mistrust, appeared to affect future cooperation, affected deterrence and led to the escalation of tensions, as negative implications of Trump's harsh migration policies towards Ghana and Ghanaians in the U.S.

## **4.2 Contribution of the Study to Theory, Policy Making and Practice**

### **4.2.1 Contribution to Theory**

- This study contributes to theory by revealing how the theory of National Interest could be utilised in explaining the influence of US' migration policies on African states and African citizens in the US, with specific reference to US' migration policies on Ghana and Ghanaians in the U.S. It appears to be one of the few studies to have utilised the theory of National Interest to show the relational order that could be maintained by states to show the effective synergy between migration policies and states' cooperation. The theoretical application of this study is very essential because it helps in understanding the benefits and challenges of US' migration policy on African states and citizens of African states living in the US, with special focus on Ghana.

## **4.3 Conclusions**

It is concluded from the study that foreign policy in migration aspects play a significant role in influencing US-Ghana relations as deduced from findings of the study. The study also

concludes that there are great prospects for Ghana and Ghanaians living in the US if they could take full advantage of the perceived benefits and influences of relying on US ‘migration policies as an effective strategy method for promoting cooperation as identified in this study. This could help Ghana and Ghanaians living in the US to meet their vision and mission of achieving optimal cooperation with the US with reference to the latter’s migration policies. The study finally concludes that migration policies of the Trump administration could impact migration reforms towards Ghana and Ghanaian migrants in the US. This is due to the fact that evidence from the study revealed how Trump appears as Restrictionist in nature, thereby restricting more Ghanaian travels into the US and deporting more illegal Ghanaian migrants from the US.

#### **4.4 Recommendations**

Based on findings from this study, the following key recommendations are proposed:

- There should be increase sensitization, advocacy and education to create increasing awareness both in Ghana and the US about the new US’ migration policy towards Ghana and Ghanaians living in the US under the Trump Administration to deter more Ghanaians from considering illegal migration to the US.
- There should also be effective cooperation and strategic bargaining between the US and Ghana to ensure that the deportation of illegal Ghanaian migrants in the US does not generate tensions between the two states.
- Also, all stakeholders including officials of the foreign Ministry, Immigration officers and Government officials of both US and Ghana, among others, should take conscious efforts towards minimizing and totally eliminating or preventing the negative implications of Trump’s harsh migration policies towards Ghana and Ghanaians in the U.S. This will help allay the fears which confronts most Ghanaians in the US in utilizing

the opportunities and prospects which comes with abiding by the new migration policies of the US, under the Trump Administration.

- Further researches should also be carried out on the influence of US' foreign policy, particular migration policies towards the entire Africa continent, and not only a specific state as evident in the case of Ghana in this study. This will enable African leaders to use the outcomes of such researches as planning tools to know the changing trends of the causes, effects and suitable solutions for solving the lapses, inefficiencies and snags in dealing with the US' foreign policy, particularly, the new migration policies of the US, under the Trump Administration.
- The US should also try and support the efforts of Ghanaian Government towards curbing the increasing phenomenon of illegal migration from Ghana to the US. This could help curb the incidence of mass deportation of Ghanaians from the US and its associated tensions or strain in relation between the US and Ghana.

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