AN ANALYSIS OF GHANA'S APPROACHES TOWARDS ADDRESSING IRREGULAR TRANS-SAHARAN MIGRATION TO EUROPE

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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

LEGON   **MARCH 2019**

DECLARATION

I, Gloria Amoh-Asante, hereby declare that this dissertation is entirely my personal work, under the guidance of my supervisor Dr. Amanda Coffie. I further declare that all the works that have been consulted or quoted have been duly acknowledged. I also declare that this dissertation has not been presented either in part or in whole for any other degree elsewhere.

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GLORIA AMOH-ASANTE   **DR. AMANDA COFFIE**

(STUDENT)   **(SUPERVISOR)**

DATE…………………………. **   **DATE……………………………..

DEDICATION

To my dearest hubby, Michael Amoh-Asante, my little princess, Karyn Amoh-Asante and the best mum ever, Theresa Akyiaa Mensah.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Words cannot express my gratitude to the Almighty God for His grace, love, favour and mercy throughout the entire course.

Profound gratitude also goes to my supervisor, Dr. Amanda Coffie whose immense academic knowledge, constructive guidance and contributions assisted me all through my research.

I am also grateful to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration for giving me this opportunity and also to those who supported and encouraged me in diverse ways throughout the course.

Immense thanks also go to the Director of the Legon Centre for International Affairs and Diplomacy, Prof. Henrietta Joy Abena Nyarko Mensa-Bonsu for her encouragement, Research Fellows and the entire staff especially, Mr. Eric Amartey, who in diverse ways assisted me throughout the course.

I am also thankful to Prof. Steve Tonah of the Department of Sociology, University of Ghana, Dr. Mary Boatemaa Sentrana of the Centre for Migration Studies, University of Ghana, Mrs. Belinda Anim of the Ghana Immigration Service, Anita Wadud, Kojo Wilmot, Victoria Serwaah Kankam and Collins Yeboah of the International Organisation for Migration.

I am very much grateful to my family for their continuous support and prayers through my course.

 Finally, to all my colleagues at LECIAD, I say a big thank you for your support.

God bless you all!

ABBREVIATIONS

ACILA	-	Africa Centre for International Law and Accountability
ECOWAS	-	Economic Community of West African States
EDF	-	European Development Fund
EU	-	European Union
GIMMA	-	Ghana Integrated Migration Management Approach
GIS	-	Ghana Immigration Service
GPRS	-	Ghana Poverty Reduction Strategy among others.
GSFP	-	Ghana School Feeding Programme
IMSCM	-	Inter-Ministerial Steering Committee on Migration
IOM	-	International Organisation for Migration
LEAP	-	Livelihood Empowerment Against Poverty
MCC	-	Migration Consultation Center
MIB	-	Migration Information Bureau
MIC	-	Migration Information Centre
NHIS	-	National Health Insurance Scheme
RECFAM	-	Research and Counseling Foundation for African Migrant
TRQM	-	Temporary Return of Qualified Migrants
UNDP	-	United Nations Development Programme
VIS	-	Volunteer for International Development

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ABSTRACT

Many young Ghanaians risk their lives to cross the Sahara-desert and the Mediterranean Sea to seek greener pastures in Europe. By so doing they expose themselves to this dangerous journey, and some even lose their lives. It is for this reason that this dissertation sought to ascertain the causes of and effort made by Ghana to curb irregular migration through the Sahara-desert and the Mediterranean Sea to Europe. The study is qualitative and relied on both primary and secondary data. The study used Czaika and De Haas' conceptual framework designed in their "Effectiveness of Immigration Policies" to analyze the various interventions by Ghana to address the irregular migration from Ghana. The findings identified lack of information/misinformation, limited economic opportunities, strict visa application processes, poverty and lack of agricultural facilities as major causes of irregular migration in general and are also specific to Ghana. It was also found that Ghana in collaboration with some non-state actors primarily the International Organization for Migration uses sensitization and education as the main tool to curb irregular migration from the country. The study's assessment of this measure couple with others indicates that sensitization and education, though an effective strategy, implementation has not resulted in the desired objective of substantially reducing irregular migration from Ghana to Europe through the trans-Saharan route. Addition, the study notes that a major challenge leading to the ineffectiveness of the measures adopted was the short-term approach as well as limited funding and discontinuity of the programs. The study, therefore, recommended the need for continuous sensitization programmes, provision of adequate agricultural facilities, provision of adequate funding to the Ghana Immigration Service, implementation of the National Migration Policy and formalization of migration for unskilled labour through bilateral and multilateral agreements.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0   Background

The human nature is dynamic and receptive to change which could be voluntary or involuntary, therefore, in its quest to ensure that basic needs such as food, shelter and security are guaranteed all efforts are deployed towards the achievement of these goals.[1] As a result, human beings move to the extreme to ensure that their survival is guaranteed even if it means giving up a certain uncomfortable location for another in order to fulfil their needs. [2]

People migrate for complex reasons and often have mixed motives, both for their migration and for their migration destination.[3] Apart from push factors like violent conflicts, gross human rights violations, population pressure, degradation of natural resources and poverty, the major part of current migration is due to external pull factors safety, opportunity, stability and freedom.[4] Thus, young people, threatened by unemployment and lack of perspectives in their home country, are eager to try their luck in Western Europe.[5] Many of them struggle to reach it, in utter disregard of the risks involved, by all means, mostly irregularly.[6] Besides the bad image created for the country, irregular migration has eminent security implications posed by the illegal migrants.

Migration in Latin 'migrare' means to change residence. Irregular migration is a concept that defies one simple or specific definition.[7] Whereas some social scientists have traditionally defined migration as more or less the permanent movement of people across a particular space,[8] migration may also be defined as a temporary or permanent change in the usual place of

residence across space in a given time period.[9] Irregular migration has been described as illegal, undocumented or clandestine movement of people from one country or region to another.[10] It is a cliché principally rejected by scholars due to the criminal connotation attached.[11] Irregular migration connotes a type of migration that occurs outside of the rules and procedures guiding the orderly international movement of people. For the purpose of this study, irregular migration is defined as the process of crossing borders without the request travelling documents or violation of the conditions for entering another country.[12]

The number of international migrants worldwide has continued to grow over the past seventeen years, reaching 258 million in 2017, up from 248 million in 2015, 220 million in 2010, 191 million in 2005 and 173 million in 2000.[13] Between 2000 and 2005, the international migrant stock grew by an average of 2 per cent per year.[14] During the period 2005-2010, the annual growth rate accelerated, reaching 2.9 per cent. Since then, however, it has slowed, falling to around 2.4 per cent per year during the period 2010-2015 and to 2.0 per cent per year during the period 2015-2017.[15]

It is estimated that, approximately 200 million people reside outside their home country; one in every 32 persons in the world is a migrant.[16] Thus, no single country in the world today can claim of not being affected by human mobility, which includes irregular migrants. In Europe, irregular migration has been a subject of increasing and ongoing public debates, with daily reports of unauthorized migrants reaching Mediterranean shores and others tragically losing their lives in the process.[17] Policymakers on both sides of the Atlantic are under political and public pressure to reduce irregular migration. With majorities across countries viewing it as a problem,

as it is commonly believed that irregular migration negatively impacts host communities by undermining the rule of law, fostering labor exploitation, increasing poverty (by taking jobs away from native workers or adding to numbers of poor in a country), and putting pressure on public services.[18] Researchers have noted a dramatic increase in international migration from Sub-Saharan Africa to Europe in the last decade.[19]

According to the 2017 International Migration Report by the United Nations, the number of international migrants worldwide has continued to grow rapidly in recent years, reaching 258 million in 2017, up from 220 million in 2010 and 173 million in 2000.[20] Over 60 per cent of all international migrants live in Asia (80 million) or Europe (78 million). Northern America hosted the third largest number of international migrants (58 million), followed by Africa (25 million), Latin America and the Caribbean (10 million) and Oceania (8 million).[21]

Generally, since 2010, as shown in Figure 1.0, migrant inflows from sub-Saharan African countries into European Union countries have seen a rising tide of migrants from sub-Saharan Africa to Europe.[22]

Figure 1.0: Asylum of Applicants to Europe
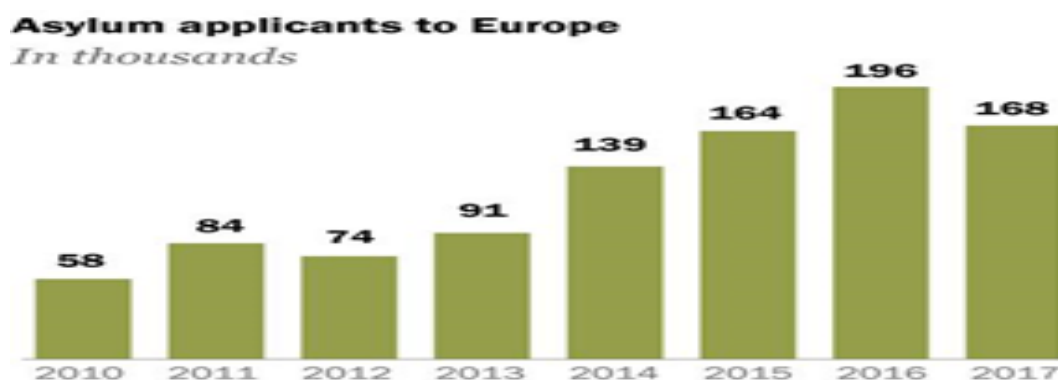
Asylum applicants to Europe
In thousands

Year	Value
2010	58
2011	84
2012	74
2013	91
2014	139
2015	164
2016	196
2017	168

Source: Pew Research Center. At Least a Million Sub-Saharan Africans Moved to Europe Since 2010. Available at http://www.pewglobal.org/2018/03/22/at-least-a-million-sub-saharan-africans-moved-to-europe-since-2010/

Ghana and Nigeria are also major sources of migrants to the EU. However, compared with the U.S., sub-Saharan migrants to Europe arrive from a more diverse set of origins, with more than half of migrants living in Europe born in South Africa, Somalia, Senegal, Angola, the Democratic Republic of Congo and Cameroon, in addition to Nigeria, Ghana and Kenya as shown in Figure 2.0.[23]

Figure 2.0:
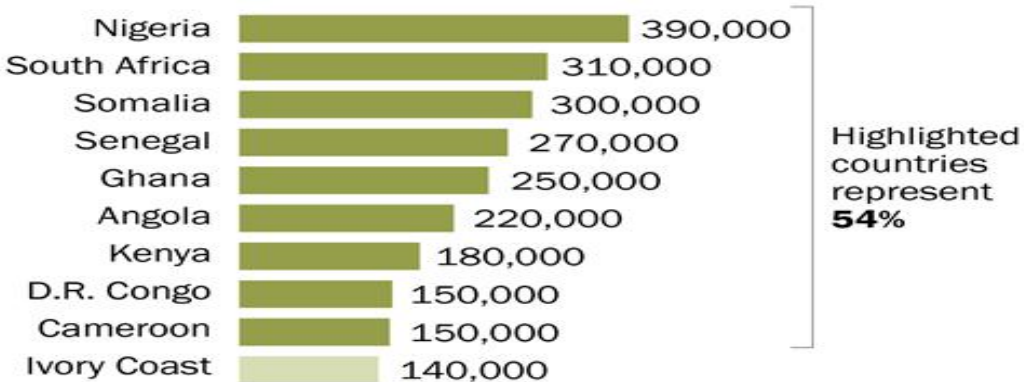
Source: Pew Research Center. At Least a Million Sub-Saharan Africans Moved to Europe Since 2010. Available at http://www.pewglobal.org/2018/03/22/at-least-a-million-sub-saharan-africans-moved-to-europe-since-2010/

According to a 2017 Pew Research Center survey in sub-Saharan countries such as Nigeria, Ghana, Senegal and Kenya which are among the top ten origin countries for sub-Saharan

countries to Europe, at least four-in-ten in each of the countries answered yes, including roughly three-quarters of those surveyed in Ghana (75%) and Nigeria (75%) when asked if they would want to live in another country, indicating their willingness to migrate.

Figure 3.0: indicates the percentage that would like to live in another country if they had the means and opportunity. [24]
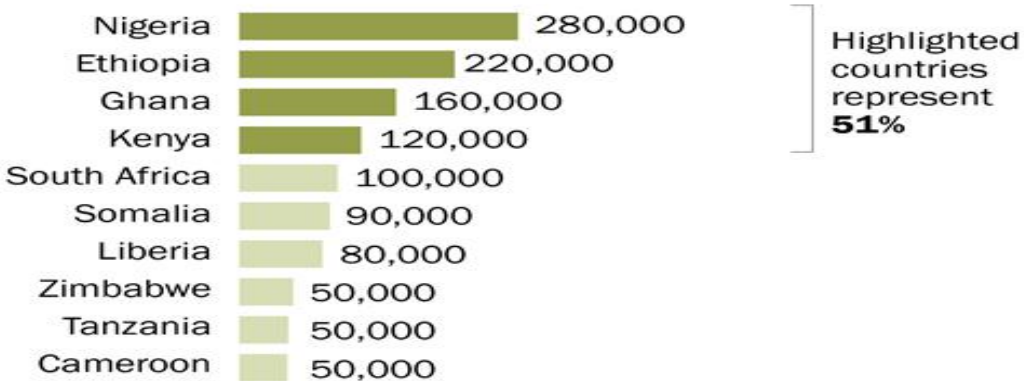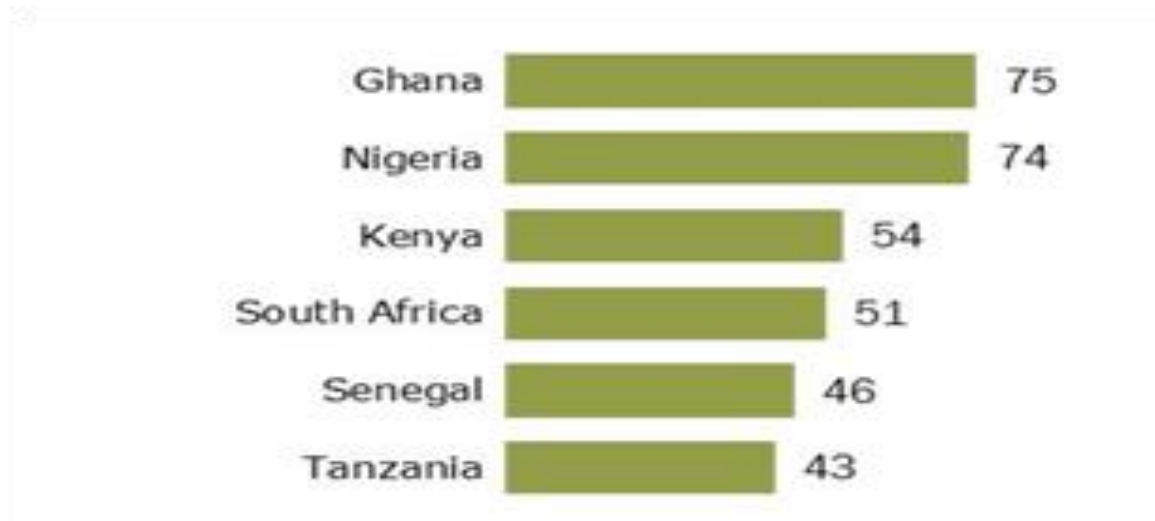

Source: Pew Research Center. At Least a Million Sub-Saharan Africans Moved to Europe Since 2010. Available at http://www.pewglobal.org/2018/03/22/at-least-a-million-sub-saharan-africans-moved-to-europe-since-2010/

The desire to migrate is so eminent in Ghana that in 2015, about 1.7 million Ghanaians or 6% of Ghana's population, applied for the U.S. diversity lottery even when only 50,000 people worldwide are permitted to move each year to the U.S. through this visa program. In the same year, other sub-Saharan African countries, such as the Republic of Congo (10%), Liberia (8%) and Sierra Leone (8%) saw high numbersof their populations apply for the lottery. Irregular migration happens to be the fastest growing form of migration globally, and for many destination countries, irregular presents a serious challenge.[25]

Also, the year 2015, according to the Ghana Immigration Service 2015 Annual Report, saw the deportation of One Thousand Two Hundred and Seventy-Eight (1,278) Ghanaians from various countries abroad to Ghana for failing to comply with the laws of those countries. This figure includes two hundred and seventy-four (274) Ghanaian nationals who opted for voluntary repatriation from abroad.[26] According to the same report, seventy-five (75) persons, all Ghanaians, were arrested or intercepted for attempting to Stowaway to destinations abroad. This study, therefore, seeks to examine Ghana's approaches (policies, strategies and programs) towards addressing irregular trans-Saharan migration to Europe.[27]

The route through Libya to Italy is characterized by mixed migratory flows mostly from Sub-Saharan Africa to Europe, whereby refugees and migrants use the same routes and methods to arrive at their intended destination. Both refugees and migrants find themselves in a highly vulnerable situation, at the mercy of smugglers who facilitate their transport through the desert to and within Libya and across the Mediterranean Sea. Their irregular status exposes them to significant risks as they are forced to travel along difficult routes and using dangerous means of transport. In many cases, these journeys end in disaster, with the deaths of family members, friends and fellow travelers. Regardless of their legal status, the experiences of irregular migrants are characterized by a lack of protection by the state. Once detained, they risk detention and ill-treatment, and some even face the difficulty of racism from state officials as well as from the Libyan society at large. It is, however, difficult to enumerate or obtain exact figures of irregular migrants from Sub-Saharan African, particularly, Ghana to Europe since such irregular migrants mostly resort to clandestine or fraudulent means to get to Europe which sometimes is not noticeable or traced.

The GIS has indicated that the Brong Ahafo Region is the main source region of irregular migration from Ghana to Libya and beyond to Europe. In order to understand the sharp increase in migration across the Mediterranean Sea by Ghanaians, this research will investigate the underlying causes as well as Ghana's measures in addressing it from 2008 to 2017. This is because historically, Libya was a destination country for migrants and refugees from sub-Saharan Africa and other Arab countries due to the economic opportunities it presented and liberal migration policies. Consequently, the country developed a reputation as an attractive destination. However, the political stability and a decrease in economic opportunities after the fall of the Gaddafi regime made Libya a gateway to Europe.

1.1   Statement of Problem

Aspiring migrants who cannot fulfil the requirements to migrate through legal channels often resort to irregular means.[28] Over the years, many young, talented and energetic youths have risked their lives through irregular migration to Europe in search of greener pastures. Lack of or limited knowledge, peer and family influence and frustration with limited social and economic resources are among the different contributing factors for the adoption of this practice.[29] These irregular migrants avoid authorized border crossings or stowaway in order to hide from border authorities.[30]Although unauthorized border crossings often entail serious risks for migrants, including death, journeys are frequently carried out in hazardous conditions that endanger migrants' safety, and if apprehended by border authorities, migrants are liable to be repatriated to their home countries.[31] Some studies have also revealed that unauthorized routes are used by migrants who cannot afford the high cost of forged documents usually provided by criminal organizations/individuals for a safe journey, as is the case with maritime routes to Europe.[32]

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Irregular migration, an issue of significant importance due to the risks associated encountered by the migrants, the security threat to both receiving and sending nations as criminal organizations used money from these activities to engage in other criminal activities, such as terrorism. Additionally, since the majority of the irregular migrants are considered youth, sending states such as Ghana are deprived of their resources and capabilities towards their development. Since the early 1990s, millions of Africans have attempted to cross the Mediterranean to reach various European countries each year.[33] Some of these migrants are victims recruited by merciless and unscrupulous traffickers and smugglers.[34] Notwithstanding the numerous media reports on the plight of irregular migrants, some young Ghanaians continue to seek greener pastures in European countries such as Italy, the Netherlands, Germany and Spain with Libya as a main transit country.

International migration which is ubiquitous across the globe is supposed to ensure a smooth movement of people from one region or state to the other in order to achieve the desired purpose without causing a negative impact on the resident region or country.[35] Europe has become one of the most preferred destinations for migrants from Sub-Saharan Africa, particularly Ghanaians, and as such migrants sometimes use unapproved routes to get to Europe.[36] The situation of irregular migration of Ghanaians to Europe creates several challenges which include but not limited to the spread of diseases, terrorism, joblessness, deportations if found alive, sometimes loss of lives along irregular routes and other security risks.[37]

Ghana is one of the sub-Saharan countries most affected by the phenomenon of irregular migration. The trend has caused the region to lose great potentials which could stay and support

the call for development in the region. The dangers of using this route for migration were augmented in the aftermath of the Libyan revolution of 2011.[38]

Various Ghanaian governments to reduce irregular migration have introduced numerous social intervention policies and programmes which aim at improving the general wellbeing of its citizens. These include the Capitation Grant, National School Feeding Programme, the National Health Insurance Scheme, National Youth Employment Programme, Metro Mass Transit System, Livelihood Empowerment Against Poverty (LEAP) programme among others.

Further, the Government of Ghana (GoG) in collaboration with other international institutions has developed some strategies aimed at reducing irregular migration. For instance, GoG in collaboration with the International Organization for Migration in 2007 established a migration unit in the Ministry of Interior to effectively manage irregular migration. Further, IOM in collaboration with the Ghana Immigration Service and the Brong Ahafo Regional Coordinating Council have launched a European Union-Funded Migration Information Center (MIC) in Sunyani in the Brong Ahafo region of Ghana as part of an effort to promote safe and legal migration as well as to facilitate and empower migrants to travel in a legal, voluntary and safe way.

While Ghana has indicated irregular migration as a challenge and has developed the policies mentioned above- and more to help reduce the challenge, it seems Ghanaians continue to take such risks and as the data indicates the numbers have increased. This means, more need to be done in order to reduce the increasing phenomenon of irregular migrants from Ghana to Europe.

Though some scholarly works exist on the efforts of governments from the Sub-Saharan African in curbing irregular migration of their citizens to Europe,[39] limited exploration exists on the topic from the Ghanaian perspective. This dissertation, therefore, hopes to identify and analyze the measures by GoG and partner agencies and to ascertain their potential or otherwise in reducing irregular sub- Saharan migration from Ghana to Europe.

1.2   Research Questions

It is against this backdrop that the dissertation seeks to answer the following research questions:

- What are the causes and nature of irregular migration by Ghanaians through the trans-Saharan to Europe?

- What measures have Ghana adopted towards addressing irregular trans-Saharan migration to Europe?

- How effective are these measures towards addressing irregular migration from Ghana to Europe?

1.3   Objectives of the Study

In pursuit of the above-stated research questions, the objective of this study seeks to:

- To examine the causes and nature of Ghanaians migrating irregularly through the trans-Saharan to Europe.

- To identify and analyze the various approaches and policies of state and non-state actors to curb illegal migration from Ghana through trans-Sahara to Europe.

- To evaluate the effectiveness of these approaches towards addressing irregular migration of Ghanaians through the trans-Saharan and trans-Mediterranean migration.

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1.4   Scope

Irregular migration is frequently characterized by the fact that it occurs "outside the common, authorized means of entering the national territory".[40] Though irregular migration is a global phenomenon, this research will focus predominantly on the increasing phenomenon of irregular migration from Trans Sub-Sahara Africa to Europe, with specific reference to Ghana. Greater emphasis was placed on the strategies and policies (approaches) employed by the Ghanaian Government to curb the increasing flow of irregular migrants to Europe, as well as challenges encountered in the process. In order to understand the sharp increase in irregular migration across the Mediterranean sea by Ghanaians, this research will also investigate the underlying causes as well as Ghana's measures in addressing it from 2011 to 2017. The study selected this period is because historically, Libya was a destination country for migrants and displaced populations from sub-Saharan Africa and other Arab countries due to the economic opportunities it presented and liberal migration policies.[41] However, the political instability and a decrease in economic opportunities after the fall of the Gaddafi regime made Libya a gateway to Europe.[42] It is for this reason that this research will take a critical look at the measures adopted to address irregular migration from Ghana through the trans-Saharan region to Europe in the 6 years period (2011-2017) of the Libyan crises.

1.5   Rationale

The increasing trends of irregular migration in Ghana, despite the efforts of the Ghanaian governments and the International community to curb the phenomenon, calls for a continuous analysis of the situation and to provide possible recommendations which will help reduce

irregular migration. This study, therefore, seeks to assess the measures adopted, by Ghana to address irregular trans-Saharan migration to Europe.

The current challenges of irregular migrating from Sub-Saharan Africa to Europe, with specific reference to Ghana has a rippling effect on the entire international community and the citizens of Ghana as it affects both the National Security and Human Security of Ghanaians. It is, therefore, necessary for all stakeholders including government, public and private organizations, NGOs and other international bodies to pay special attention to policies that will help reduce or curb the increasing phenomenon of irregular migration to Europe, with special focus on Ghana. These policies can only be effective when there is adequate knowledge and information to guide policymakers. Conducting studies of this nature will, therefore, help to inform and draw the attention of policymakers on the need to address all immigration challenges particularly those related to addressing irregular migration. In addition, it will also serve as a source of knowledge and reference material to students and anyone who wants to know more about Ghana's approach of addressing irregular migration to Europe in terms of policy frameworks and strategies adopted by the Government.

The benefit of this study is also to contribute to knowledge in the fields of International Relations and Migration Studies on the viable and proactive approaches to addressing irregular migration from Sub-Saharan Africa to Europe from the Ghanaian perspective. In this vein, it seeks to make recommendations which policymakers at the level of the state and internationally could rely on for formulating and implementing effective interventions to address the challenges of irregular migration.

1.6   Conceptual Framework

The effectiveness of immigration policies has been widely contested. Over the past decades, many scholars have argued that efforts by states to regulate and restrict immigration have often failed.[43] Due to the lack of precision and specification, it remains unclear how migration policies affect migration flows when other forces driving international migration are taken into account.[44] Most empirical models miss out the big picture by focusing on short-term fluctuations on particular migration flows and do not take into account the impact of policies and programmes on the overall long-term migration patterns and trends.[45] As a result, many migration scholars are also sceptical about the abilities of liberal democratic states to control migration.[46] They argue that fluctuations in migration primarily respond to structural demand factors determined by human development, economic cycles, employment and changes in the structure of labour markets are factors which largely lie beyond the reach of policy-makers.[47]

However, Czaika and De Haas, in their "the Effectiveness of Immigration Policies" propose a conceptual framework that provides empirical insights into the way states and policies shape migration processes in their interaction with other migration determinants in both receiving and sending countries.[48]

According to the authors, irregular migration is compelled by specific essential factors which include local market imbalances, inequalities in wealth, and political conflicts in home countries. They argue that these cannot be influenced by migration policies and believe that rather than affecting overall volumes of inflows, immigration restrictions would primarily change how people migrate, such as through the increased use of family migration or irregular means of entry.[49] Furthermore, the argument continues once migration reaches a critical threshold level,

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migration networks, employers, and the migration industry (recruiters, lawyers, smugglers and other intermediaries) facilitate the continuing movement of people.[50]

In order to create conceptual clarity, Czaika and De Haas identified three policy gaps which can explain perceived or real policy failure. These include the discursive gap, the implementation gap and the efficacy gap. The discursive gap, they explain, is the substantial inconsistency between discourses and actual migration policies in the form of laws, regulations, and measures on paper. While this gap may reveal many double standards in the eyes of many, gaps between what is planned and practised are common in public policy and should therefore not be automatically equated with policy failure.

Discursive gaps can be explained in the following factors; firstly, it is influenced by the targets and agenda of various interest groups such as business, trade unions and civil society groups and is often the result of a compromise at the end of the political process. Secondly, various political, economic and international legal constraints limit the policy options, particularly in liberal democracies. Thus, international and national human rights and refugee laws put limits on the extent to which liberal democracies can restrict inflows and rights of family migrants and asylum-seekers, respectively. Third, migration discourses are often of a general, broad-sweeping nature (fighting irregular migration, zero immigration, comprehensive immigration reform and attracting talent), whereas in practice migration policies often target specific categories of groups of migrants.

The implementation gap is the difference between strategies on paper and their actual implementation. Some rules and regulations are not always or only implemented because of practical, planning or budgetary constraints or as a consequence of corruption, ignorance or subversion. Politicians, civil servants or private companies (e.g. asylum caseworkers, border agents, or public or private institutions processing work visa requests) often have considerable discretion in the way they implement policy.

Finally, the efficacy gap reflects the degree to which the implemented laws, regulations, and measures have the intended effect on the volume, timing, direction and composition of migration flows. This efficacy gap is another source of policy failure as policy efficacy is constrained because migration is driven by structural determinants in both home and host countries as well as the internal dynamics of migration networks and systems. This explains why irregular migration often continues despite the restrictions and measure put in place to control it.

This conceptual framework was considered for this work because it will enable the study to assess the character and effectiveness of immigration regulation policies and adequately clarifies the misunderstanding between policy discourses, policies on paper, policy implementation and policy impacts. Additionally, the study's emphasizes on formulated and adopted policies provide a good base to assess policy effectiveness. Finally, the concept proposes that policies significantly affect the targeted migration flows, but they crucially fail to assess the relative importance of policies in comparison to other migration determinants, including non-migration policies.

1.7   Literature Review

Various authors have written extensively on the causes and measures adopted in addressing irregular migration. It is in this vein that some of these works are reviewed in this section to show how they contribute significantly to this particular study and also identify their major gap(s) which necessitates for this study.

Liska Wittenberg argues that the surge in the increasing number of migrants and refugees fleeing persecution, violence, poverty or war to cross the Mediterranean Sea to Malta and Italy have been defined by images of children, women and men being pulled out. [51] In recent years, she posits, there has been a sharp increase in scope, scale and complexity. Consequently, limited options for regular movement have left both refugees and migrants with little choice but to undertake risky, clandestine journeys resulting to refugees and migrants increasingly fleeing together, seeking the same transit and destination points, using the same means of transportation and travelling the same routes.[52] To her, this increase in mixed migration is having a wide-ranging impact on countries of origin, transit, and destination. Transit countries are not only overwhelmed by the fast-growing number of people crossing their borders but also, like destination countries, are grappling with the short and long-term challenges of managing and accommodating an increasingly large number of refugees and migrants.[53]

The weakness of this paper is the over-emphasis on push factors such as violent conflict, persecution, political instability, human rights violations, chronic poverty, and luck of livelihood and educational opportunities in countries of origin. She also fails to admit that most of the

migrants embark on this journey with the sole mindset that they can achieve economic success only when they travel abroad despite the opportunities available to them in their home countries. However, this paper is relevant to this thesis as it highlights the need to address the migration crises at its source by identifying and responding to the factors that cause people to flee and move onward. It also explores the factors influencing mixed migration trends along the Central Mediterranean route and how best to manage mixed movements towards Europe.

Koser proceeds on the stance that irregular migration is a great challenge for states and expose migrants to insecurity in addition to vulnerability. To him, most states have nevertheless failed to manage or control irregular migration effectively or efficiently. It is therefore required of states to generate new, more effective and coherent approaches to address the issue of irregular migration, which will recognize both concerns of states in this respect and the need to protect the rights of irregular migration.[54]

At the same time, it is essential to be realistic about expectations as irregular migration is likely to continue in the foreseeable future, although it may be possible to reduce its scale. [55] One reason is that the forces that determine the scale of international migration are powerful (for example growing disparities in the level of prosperity and human security experienced by different societies) and the ability to modify them is very limited.[56] He also postulates that irregular migration is often described as constituting a threat to state sovereignty and thus argues that states have a sovereign right to control who crosses their borders and that by undermining that control irregular migrants, therefore, threaten sovereignty.[57] To him stopping irregular

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migration is fundamental to reasserting full sovereignty and in more extreme cases, irregular migration has also been perceived as a threat to state security.[58]

Koser's work is limited by the fact that the classification of any issue as a security threat has significant implication in terms of laws, norms, policies and procedures and It is also used to just to just detention, surveillance, deportation and more restrictive policies such as denying asylum seekers access to safe countries. It is relevant in understanding the nexus between national security and human security national security and human society concerning the determinants of government policies and its effectiveness.

Angenendt argues that in combating irregular migration, government face three main difficulties: First, this form of immigration, more than others, demands that the state should be capable of taking effective action. This is a test of its authority and legitimacy, and it also raises questions of the relationship between state, society and human security. Second, irregular migration is confronted with competing interests in the receiving countries.[59] It is also connected to different goals and expectations in the countries of origin and transit states that are often very difficult for the governments involved to identify and balance.[60] Third, the scope of political options available to governments for dealing with irregular migration is constrained by a multitude of legal and situational factors. [61] As a result, the efforts of many governments around this issue threaten to founder on the wide gap between their will to action and the actual options.[62] A weakness of Ardents work is his advocacy for receiving countries to eliminate deficits in the human rights protection of irregular migrants. This is because, despite their illegality, irregular migrants are also humans and deserve to be protected. The work is relevant to this study since it

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examines irregular migration from a global perspective. It efficiently explains the reasons why migration has become a global problem and defines the concepts that are central to the issue. The study also provides an overview of current trends and addresses the challenges and risks associated with irregular migration and describe various strategies of governance used at the national level to control irregular migration.

Tanle argues that the main motive for migrating is economic, but both Techiman and Nkoranza Municipalities are important agricultural and commercial areas which even attract migrants from the three northern regions to settle there for farming and/or trading.[63] This implies that agriculture has not been made more attractive to young school leavers in these two Municipalities which perhaps explain why some of them tend to migrate abroad for greener pastures.[64] He argues that the unattractiveness of agriculture to young school leavers could be due to some factors. First, the removal of subsidies from agricultural inputs and equipment by the government as recommended by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) implies that one needs high capital to be able to engage in commercial agriculture as a business enterprise.[65] The second problem is difficulties in getting access to land for commercial agriculture due to the unfavourable land tenure system, and lastly, the absence of a ready market for agricultural produce could hamper the desire of young people to engage in agriculture as a source of livelihood and/or business venture.[66]

The weakness of Tanle's work is that he fails to recognize that the youth are not only faced with the challenges he mentioned but that the youth are also influenced by family and friends who return from various foreign countries and are perceived as better people than the locals who have

not been abroad. They are also attracted by their lavish lifestyle and change in their social status; hence these youth are less attracted to the primary vocation in the area. This research is relevant to this study as it is a critical study of the Brong Ahafo region of Ghana, a region with the highest number of Ghanaians who travel through irregular means. It provides tangible reasons why most youths in the country prefer to travel irregularly as compared to regular means.

Hein de Haas in his work, *Irregular Migration from West Africa to the Maghreb and the European Union: Overview of recent Trends,* asserted that irregular migration from Sub-Saharan to Europe is not recent phenomenon as purported in most literature.[67]

To him, irregular migration by Africans to Europe began in the 1990s when North Africans begun to use the crossing of the Mediterranean Sea as an irregular route of getting into Europe, following the introduction of visa requirements by some European countries, particularly, Spain and Italy before entering such states. This illegal migration route of entering Europe later caught the attention of other Africans including migrants from Sub-Saharan Africa who also try navigating the Mediterranean Sea or using Libya as an irregular route of getting into Europe, sometimes characterized with dire human security consequences including deaths and human right abuses mostly by smugglers and traffickers.

Hass revealed that comparatively irregular migration of North Africans, particularly Moroccans to Europe is on the increment as compared to illegal migrants from Sub-Saharan Africa to Europe.[68] He notes that most irregular migrants from the sub-Saharan Africa particularly, West Africa end up settling in Libya, especially during the regime of Gadhafi, than they will wish to

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continue their journeys to Europe. He posits that to curb the increasing phenomenon of irregular migration from Africa to Europe, most European countries developed or adopted strict and stiffer immigration policies and intensified border controls which rather had had series of unintended side effects in the form of increasing violations of migrants' rights and a diversification of trans-Saharan migration routes and attempted sea crossing points.[69]

Haas, therefore, concluded that the only way to completely curtail or mitigate irregular migration from Africa, including Sub-Saharan Africa to Europe will be by sealing off the long Saharan borders and the African and European coastlines, which is practically impossible.[70] Towards this end, he recommended that there should proper and effective cooperation between European and African governments concerning immigration policies towards curbing the increasing phenomenon of irregular migration from Africa to Europe and the dire humanitarian consequences which characterizes the phenomenon.

In their studies, *Migrant smuggling: Irregular migration from Asia and Africa to Europe*, Triandafyllidou, Anna, and Thanos Maroukis identify that there has been increasing phenomenon of irregular migration in recent times from Africa to Europe.[71] They attribute the phenomenon of increasing irregular migration from Africa to Europe to migrant smuggling due to the social relational among smugglers, migrant smuggled and international organization of the smuggling networks both in Africa and Europe. They identify that the major of routes of irregular migration of smuggled migrants is often through Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia and Libya to Spain, Italy and Malta.[72]

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Triandafyllidou and Thanos establishes that though Italy, Spain and Malta have developed strict immigration policies to curb the increasing phenomenon of irregular from Africa to Europe, the relation order between smugglers and smuggled people and the degree of agency of the migrant in the whole process have been the major challenge to mitigating the irregular migration from Africa, including Sub Saharan Africa to Europe.[73] Towards this end, they recommend that addressing migrant smuggling is the first to addressing irregular migration from Africa to Europe.[74]

Alice Bloch & Milena Chimienti in their study, *Irregular migration in a globalizing world,* shows the continuous and changing patterns of irregular migration over time and space. They identify that irregular migration since the 1970s has been from the global South to the East mainly due to economic crises and increasingly repressive political policies that featured predominantly in the global South.[75] On the basis of dynamics or changing pattern of irregular migration across the globe, Bloch and Chimienti establish that preponderance of cheap labour that was provided to receiving states by sending states maintained the status quo of irregular migration before the Millennium. However, after the Millennium, increasing globalization with dire transnational organized threats across the international system necessitated that individual states tighten their immigration policies to help curb or address the increasing phenomenon of irregular migration and the dire humanitarian crises which characterized the phenomenon. They posit that the negative human security threats which characterize irregular migration necessitated the need for intensified Human Rights Activism for irregular migrants to treated fairly in recipient states.[76] However, what pertains, in reality, is that international agreements such as the Dublin Regulations have rather limited the human rights of irregular migrants and have

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contributed significantly to the dire humanitarian and security threats which bedevil irregular or illegal migrants.

To effectively address the global phenomenon of irregular migration, Bloch and Chimienti recommend that there are some gaps in the literature which should be given greater attention, to inform policy directions and decision making towards clumping the situation. These gaps include paying attention to the longer-term effects of irregularity. They, therefore, suggested that longitudinal approaches are needed in order to have a greater understanding of the human and social costs of being an irregular migrant and of the effects of irregular migration on the economies and policies of 'sending' and 'receiving' countries. They also called for greater attention towards the relationships between irregular migrations, non-state allegiances such as international smugglers networks, as well as citizenship and human right issues of irregular migrants. Finally, Bloch and Chimienti emphasized the need for serious scholarly attention towards comparative cross-national researches on irregular migration to identify the similarities and differences in the phenomenon in various parts of the world, to inform the best approaches or measures to tackle or address the phenomenon and its associated consequences.

The above scholarly works have significantly contributed to the topic under study by revealing the causes, the nature and extent of irregular migration, particularly from Africa, including Sub-Sharan Africa to Europe. The also reveal the dynamics or changing patterns of irregular migration across, as well as some favorable factors which instigate irregular migration particularly from the Sub-Sharan Africa to Europe. The review also indicated some strict immigration policies and border control measures adopted by some receiving states, which

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sometimes violates the human rights of irregular migrants in the attempt to curb irregular migration. However, most of these scholars have paid limited attention to approaches adopted by sending countries in general but particularly on governments in the Sub-Sharan Africa, Ghana towards curbing irregular migration to Europe. Addressing this limitation of the current state of literature is a major focus of this thesis. From the perspective of Ghana as a major sending country, the following research will contribute to knowledge on the sending countries approaches towards curbing irregular migration and demonstrate that sending states equal partners and participants in the global search for ending the negative effects irregular migration as well as finding measures for promoting dignified opportunities for migration. Additionally, by focusing on the sending states measures of curbing irregular migration, this thesis will be contributing to increasing the scholarship on the limited studies on the effectiveness policies adopted by countries in Africa in addressing challenges of human movement across the continent and into Europe.

1.8   Sources of Data and Methodology

This section focuses on the research methodology adopted in this study. It consists of the data collection and analyses and discussions on the limitations of the study.

1.8.1   Data Collection Methods

Data collection is one of the most essential aspect of any research studies. Naveen distinguishes that research exploration can be directed with various techniques, however every research depends on the information which is dissected and additionally clear up to get data.[77] The study used both primary and secondary data.

1.8.2 Primary Data

The study collected primary data through two main sources. First, the use of Key Informant Interviews to collect primary data from individuals with knowledge and expertise about irregular migration, Second, the use of Government of Ghana policies and various programs aimed at addressing irregular migration from the country in general and specifically through the trans-Sahara to Europe. The study also included data from non-state actor's which seek toaddress irregular migration from Ghana.. The study adopted the key informants interviews as major resources for the primary data mainly because the current study is an analyses of policies formulated and implemented by state and non-state actors and thus limited on the discussions about the the consumers of the approaches adopted and implemented by the state and non-state actors. Thus irregular migrants or returnees do not form part of the population for this study.

To this effect, the researcher interviewed scholars/experts who have written on the phenomena from the Ghanaian perspective, and this included Dr. Mary Boatemaa Setrana and Prof. Steve Tonah both at the University of Ghana and from the Centre of Migration Studies and Sociology department respectively. Additionally, officials of the Ghana Immigration Services (GIS), the main GoG Agency for Migration, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration and officials from the IOM, the main non-state actor partner of the GoG concerning issues/policies related to migration in and out of Ghana were interviewed. Convenience sampling which involves working with the most accessible participants[78] was used. In all, a total of eight experts and professionals were interviewed for the study.

The interviews were conducted face to face with a semi-structured interview guide. The study's use of a semi-structured enabled the research to have open-ended questions to enable the expert clearly articulate their views on the topic and opened it up for a conversation where the researcher could probe further for clarification.

The second major source of primary data used in this study included policies, documents and reports on adopted and implemented programs by Ghana and IOM in addressing irregular migration from Ghana. These also included statements from officials during the period under review as well as official reports, government policy documents and legislations on the topic. Most of these were retrieved from the website of the Ghana Immigration Services, the IOM-Ghana website. Others were shared with me by the key informants interviewed since they were not public domain due to the challenge of keeping up-to-date website or issues of documentation challenges with the respective organization.

1.8.3   Secondary Data

The secondary data refers to the existing data that has been obtained from other researchers and has been published previously.[79] Regularly, the secondary data is more basic and simpler to be gathered as it can be gotten from the different courses, for example, books and web. This research utilized secondary data mainly from scholarly research, newspaper features and articles online reports, magazines and some reported speeches of government representatives as well IOM representations.

1.8.4   Research Approach & Design

The study relied extensively on qualitative research methods for data collection and analysis. The study utilized an exploratory and descriptive research designs. These methods helped in providing extra information where limited information exists and also helped in identifying gaps in existing literature. Exploratory research was utilized because of its adaptability. Exploratory design regularly depends on auxiliary research, for example, auditing accessible writing or information and furthermore leading inside and out meetings, contextual investigations and pilot thinks about.[80]   This design helps in formulating a more precise problem statement.[81] The descriptive design also helps in investigating a social phenomenon without explicit expectations.[82] The descriptive design was utilized to set up certainties and connections by portraying into detail, the interest of Ghana in addressing the irregular flow of migrants from the country to Europe. Finally, the study used, unstructured interviews in a one-on-one setting were the principle essential information accumulation technique utilized to gather information from some immigration officials and experts in policy-making and implementation as well as researchers with rich experience and had intimate firsthand knowledge on the topic under study. The study relied on respondents' words and narratives which form part of the main features of a qualitative study. An interview guide was designed and used to keep the interviews focused as well as address the research questions and objectives. The interviews were also recorded and transcribed for the study.

1.8.5   Data Analysis

The study utilized Thematic Analysis which is a type of qualitative analysis to analyze the data acquired.[83] It is used to analyze classifications and present themes (patterns) that relate to the

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data. It illustrates the data in great detail and deals with diverse subjects via interpretations.[84] The interview data is usually analyzed using thematic analysis to obtain the patterns based on the objectives and the conceptual framework of the study.[85] Therefore interviews were transcribed and relevant words, phrases and sentences considering how they were expressed, and were labeled into codes such as limited time, financial constraint, and misinformation etcetera. The codes were deduced depending on the repeated activities and processes and opinions and issues explicitly stated by the interviewee as important. These codes based on the exploration of the relationship were further grouped into categories. Some of the codes considered not essential and redundant were dropped. The categories were further regrouped into themes such as awareness creation, inadequate funding and logistics, the socio-cultural economic interest of irregular migration, informal organisations among others, resulting in the findings of the study.

1.9   Limitation of the Study

The study was faced with a major challenge of limited scholarly works related to the specific case study. Most of the existing publications on migration focus on factors promoting irregular migration, causes and effects of migration. There was, therefore, a significant challenge in obtaining scholarly publications on the effects of measures adopted in curbing irregular migration generally from sending countries in Africa and specifically from Ghana.   To mitigate the effect of the limited secondary sources on the data collected and findings, the study   used narratives from the interviews and other primary data sources such as policy/technical documents to fill these missing gaps. Additionally, very few scholars have focused on Ghana's policies, and during the time of the study, some were unavailable to share their views. However, their insights

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were included through the study's use of their publications which formed majority of the secondary data.

1.10 Organization of Chapters

The research constitutes of four chapters: Chapter One is the Introduction which includes the background, Statement of problem, Research questions, objectives of the study, Scope, Rational, conceptual framework, literature review, sources of data, study methodology, ethical considerations and limitation of the study. Chapter Two presents an overview of routes, causes of irregular migration peculiar to Ghana as well as global, EU and Africa's interventions towards curbing the phenomenon. Chapter Three focuses on the examination of measures by the GoG and other international instituting in curbing irregular migration in the country. Finally, Chapter Four presents the summary of findings, conclusion and recommendations.

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CHAPTER TWO

AN OVERVIEW IRREGULAR MIGRATION THROUGH THE TRANS-SAHARAN TO EUROPE AND POLICY INTERVENTIONS

2.0   Introduction

The phenomenon of irregular migration is an international security threat which is not only restricted to Ghana. Chapters 2 of the study present an overview of routes, causes and nature irregular migrants from the trans-Sahara to Europe and also examine the Ghanaian context. Also, the chapter will identify and discuss interventions adopted and implemented by the EU and AU and ECOWAS towards addressing irregular migration.

2.1   Routes of trans-Saharan migration

Migrants take different routes in order to reach their destination in European countries, and the main migratory routes are the Western African route, Western Mediterranean route, Central Mediterranean route, Western Balkan route, Eastern Mediterranean route and Eastern Borders route. [1] However, for the purpose of this research the focus will be on the Central Mediterranean route. This route is most frequently used by migrants from West African countries including including Ghana, Ivory Coast and Nigeria, Senegal, Niger, Mali and Guinea.. [2] Europe's increasingly restrictive immigration policies and intensified migration controls have led to a growing reliance on overland routes, although migrants who can afford it make at least part of the journey to North Africa by aeroplane. [3]

The Central Mediterranean route through Niger is the most prominent route to North Africa and Europe. [4] Agadez in Niger, is the main centre for smuggling to the North and Migrants found on

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this route are from all over West Africa. From Agadez, there are two main routes North either through Libya or Algeria: The route to Libya moves from Agadez to Dirkou, Seguidine, Madama, Tummo and often ends up in Sebha. It costs around USD 150-200. The route to Algeria moves from Agadez to Arlit, Assamaka and In-guezzam and often ends up in Tamanrasset for about USD 100. From tamanrasset, migrants move with smugglers and continue either through the desert to Libyan border or continue up north to Morocco. The journey to Morocco passes through Ghardaia and then Oran, Maghnia and over the Moroccan border into Oujda and Nador.[5]

The Central Mediterranean Route through Mali is an alternative to the Nigerien route and is often followed by Malians and migrants from the Atlantic coast of Africa, including Senegalese, Gambians and Guineans.[6] This route, although still active, has suffered from the conflict in North Mali that triggered more irregular and unsafe journeys. The route often moves from Gao to Borj Mokhtar (Algerian Border) and ends up in Tamanrasset.[7] From Libya, migrants move to either Italy or Malta. Libya is the main departure point for boat crossings to Italy, with 83% of boat arrivals in Italy in 2014.[8]

About 85% of the sub-Saharan Africa diaspora are mostly found in the countries belonging to the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development with the United States, the United Kingdom, and France.[9] The Central Mediterranean Route (CMR) connects the south of Italy to North Africa (Libya) branches into various countries in sub-Saharan Africa.[10] The flow of African migrants reaching Italy had always been modest. However, it started to increase in the early 2000s, in correspondence with the growing restrictions along the Western Mediterranean

route through Morocco and then boomed in 2008.[11] That year, an unprecedented 31,000 migrants arrived in Italy, out of which 23,000 were from Africa, including approximately 6,000 Nigerians, 5,000 Somalis and 3,000 Eritreans.[12] Italy and Libya in 2009 signed the "Treaty of Friendship and cooperation", and its enactment contributed to reducing this flow by more than Half, but then the collapse of the Gaddafi regime in 2011 and the failure of the state-building process in 2014 prompted another upsurge, whose scale was without precedent. Arrivals by the sea in Italy soared substantially in the subsequent years, from about 43,000 in 2013 to 170,000 in 2014, 153,000 in 2015 and 181,000 in 2016.[13]

According to the IOM, the Central Mediterranean from North Africa to Europe is among the world's deadliest and most dangerous as recent data revealed horrifying levels of abuse, and indicated that irregular migrants paid their smugglers beforehand, meaning they were indebted to them leaving them vulnerable to abuse and trafficking.[14] According to the "The Human Trafficking And Other Exploitative Practices Indication Survey, Male And Female Respondents Interviewed Along The Central And The Eastern Mediterranean Route in 2017," the IOM disclosed some direct experiences irregular migrants go through using the CMR. It revealed that several irregular migrants plying the CMR were being held against one's will.[15]

Also, some work in these transit countries without getting the expected payment or are not even paid at all for their labor. Some irregular migrant women were also being forced to work or perform activities against their will into sexual work and prostitution as well as dancing and entertainment activities in bars.[16] They are being approached by some people with offers of an arranged marriage and also experience severe physical mistreatment, physical violence and

suffered from hunger and thirst.[17] In some instances, both male and female irregular migrants are threatened with sexual violence and raped during the journey groups managing non-official detention centers or by external men allowed to enter.[18]

In the Mediterranean from 2014 to the end of May 2016, 9,492 people were estimated to have died or are thought to be missing. Within these total numbers, more than 20 incidents since 2014 have each resulted in over 100 deaths, totaling 6,406 dead and missing. All these incidents took place along the Central Mediterranean route.[19] These large shipwrecks cause more than half of all deaths in the Mediterranean, with overloading of the boats, rather than bad weather, being thought to be a significant causal factor.[20]

Irregular and clandestine migration in the Mediterranean basin, of which Libya is part, is not a new phenomenon and has its long history. Certain Mediterranean countries were known to be the starting points for such migration, but Libya was not included, even though the country has coastal towns, which are suitable for migrating to Europe.[21] Until the discovery of oil, Libya was with no natural resource assets and was one of the poorest countries on the continent. \this resulted in Libyans crossing the border to neighboring countries than vice versa; in other words, the situation was more of emigration rather than of immigration.[22] However, as time passed and Libya's economy began to expand, the number of both legal and illegal migrants grew larger and became more diversified.[23] Also, Gadhafi's policy of Pan-Africanism resulted, among other things in an open door policy whereby African nationals were allowed to enter Libya without visas between 1998 and 2007. Sub-Saharan Africans flocked to Libya in large numbers to work in agriculture, construction and other menial labor such as cleaning. However, political

instability following the overthrow of Muammar Gadhafi and the start of the Arab Spring in North Africa in 2011 generated a significant increase in migration flows and made Libya a point of departure for people attempting to make the perilous sea journey to Europe.[24]

2.2 Factors Influencing Irregular Migration from Ghana

The study as part of its fundamental objectives sought to identify peculiar factors influencing irregular migration in Ghana. The following sub-sections are a presentation of the study's findings on the factors influencing irregular trans-Sharan migration from Ghana to Europe.

2.2.1 Socio-cultural factors

According to Setrana, her research among Ghanaians revealed that "usually individuals who embark on irregular migration have the innate nature to migrate."[25] These individuals who migrate irregularly believe that one needs to migrate to add some status to his or her being. They also seek spiritual assistance from some deities, Imams and Pastors who support them in prayer so they can embark on these perilous journeys. Aside from their stung religious believes, these people also believe they are exceptional in that they have a different destiny from those who lose their lives in the course of the journey.[26]

In the Nkoranza and Dormaa Ahenkro districts, for instance, most people grow up to see their fathers and uncles migrating illegally, and they (i.e. uncles and fathers) have been successful so they must also do same.[27] The chain migration effect further influences irregular migration as the returned migrants' sway people because of their lifestyle upon their return.[28] Despite the risks associated such as death, abuses and detention, many people believe it is a matter of luck and

fate. Therefore, they embark on the journey to try their luck since they do not see any hope and believe it is better out there than in their country.

Irregular migration is also caused by family, peer and societal pressures which influence these young people to travel irregularly. For instance, there is the cultural perception one can only be successful only when he travels outside the country. Also the societal rating for success is the ability of one to travel to a western country and so for the young ones even before they complete Senior High School, their family might have sold some family properties to be able to finance their trips in order to try their luck as they are positive and hopeful that once they get out there, things will be much better economically for them and their families.[29]

2.2.2   Misinformation about trans-Saharan Migration

Some of these irregular migrants are mostly victims of false information[30] and are convinced by the half-truths told by their relatives who went abroad through irregular means and returned back home. Upon their return to Ghana, the locals only see the designer shoes and bags and are ignorant of the dirty and demeaning jobs they do and the dangerous environment they go to work in. They see them changing euros and dollars and eating lavish foods, and that is what they are attracted to and causing them to travel by irregular means.[31] On the other hand, some of the youth are aware of the risk involved with irregular migration to Europe. However, they think they are exceptional, and they have the destiny to fulfil. Thus, the fact that some people are dying does not mean they will also die. This is because they believe they have a different destiny from those who have died. Some also believe that their destiny is to be successful in other countries so they need to migrate.[32]

In some cases, some of these irregular migrants are made to believe that Tripoli and Milan are so geographically close that if there is a soccer match in Milan and a goal is scored in favour of Milan, the shouts and screams of joy can be heard in Tripoli.[33] Some are also misled into selling their personal and business properties such as cars to embark on this irregular journey with the hope of being able to make that amount of money and even more in a matter of weeks when they get to Europe.[34]

2.2.3   Lack of Economic Opportunities

The perception of inadequate opportunities in the country is another major factor influencing irregular migration in Ghana. Also, there are not much recruitment opportunities for unskilled migrants. Usually, the categories which are being accepted by the western countries are the skilled migrants which among other professions include doctors and nurses. Most often, educated people do not go through these irregular means. They go through the regular channel of acquiring a visa and end up overstaying their allocated time making them irregular migrants. However, there are little opportunities for skilled migrants to travel regularly. Unlike first when Italy used to recruit unskilled labor from Ghana to work in their tomato farms, recently there are no such opportunities for the unskilled migrants.[35]

2.2.4   Strict Visa application processes

It must be noted that some irregular migrants have tried several times to go to Europe regularly but the expenses involved coupled with the frustration of visa application deters them. For instance, they travel from Nkoranza all the way to Accra to contract middlemen (also known as agents) to acquire a passport and the visa on their behalf which usually proves futile. This is

because they are unable to meet the high standards and requirements set up by the western countries and are denied the opportunity to travel therefore, they see the irregular medium as an easy route to get to Europe.[36]

In the end, they tell themselves that if they had taken off irregularly, they would have reached Libya and proceeded to Italy. A lot of them believe it's a matter of money as they can buy or bribe their way through. Hence, they think it is better to pay their way through than to waste their time chasing the legal process.[37]

2.2.5   Poverty

One major cause of irregular migration is poverty. These people embark on this dangerous journey to seek a better life and greener pastures.[38] Further, those returned irregular migrants further influence the people because of their seemingly rich lifestyle upon their return back home despite all the problems they go through. In the course of their dangerous journey, some die, some are injured, and some are detained yet many of them are successful. This has incited these young people as they believe it is a matter of luck or fate. They try their luck since they do not see any hope in their country and believe that life abroad is much better.[39]

2.2.6   Lack of Agricultural Facilities

Most irregular migrants come from the Brong Ahafo region, Greater Accra region and the Ashanti Region. Unlike the other two regions, agriculture in the Brong Ahafo is the main source of income for people[40] and therefore challenges in it cause people to travel irregularly.

There is a lack of post-harvest equipment and factories to process what they produce. There are no silos for storage of harvested crops, and all these pushes them to embark on irregular migration. In Ghana, there is less use of sophisticated machinery and farming processes causing low yields, and in some instances, family farm lands are even not available for farming as they have been sold by family heads.[41]

2.3 Global Interventions towards addressing Irregular Migration

Though irregular migration is associated with some major transnational threat which necessitates collective global efforts in tackling it, there is much difficulty in obtaining accurate statistics on global irregular migrant victims.[42] Nevertheless, it is generally agreed across the international system that irregular migration includes the process of crossing borders without the request travelling documents or violation of the conditions for entering another country or region.[43] Globally, most irregular migration cases remain unknown, and as such only, approximately 0.4% of victims of irregular migration are estimated to be identified.[44] This is because most victims of irregular migration do not seek official protection or are expelled once detected, while others are terrified to testify against their exploiters such as traffickers or smugglers or unable to escape exploitation.[45]

According to the Global Report on Trafficking in Persons by the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC), children and youth make up almost a third of all irregular migrant victims worldwide, with women and girl constituting about seventy-one per cent (71%) of trafficking victims.[46] The statistics suggest that children, women and girls are at great risk to threats of global irregular migration and must, therefore, be given greater attention in terms of dealing with

the global threat. However, most victims of irregular migration across borders who do not meet their expectations or are not easily welcomed at the recipient countries rather tend to resort to either in prostitution or domestic labour as a way of survival or means of proving their worthiness to granting a stay in the recipient countries.[47]

Even though irregular migration is a global transnational threat, it is most predominant in sub-Saharan Africa, and Asia and the Caribbean.[48] This implies that Africa is not only a region of origin as most literature purports, but also other regions in the Caribbean and Asia also constitute regions of the transit of irregular migrants. Consequently, extra or more interventions or efforts need to be channeled to addressing the phenomenon of the increasing phenomenon of irregular migration in these regions.

Asia and America also gained some international recognition for the destination of illegal or irregular migrants due to the increasing phenomenon of human and drug trafficking.[49] The main irregular route for illicit drugs and human trafficking into Central America and Asia has been identified to be Afghanistan while the Caribbean such as Columbia, Venezuela, Mexico, Jamaica and Belize are connected to North America in terms of irregular migrants for drug trafficking.[50] Additionally, with regards to illicit human and drug trade, a range of irregular routes exists across the Sahel: from the coastal countries into the Sahel and onwards towards Europe.[51] Unfortunately, Walker reveals that the experiences of other irregular or illicit transit states, such as Tajikistan, Turkey, and some states in West Africa such as Ghana, Guinea-Bissau, Senegal and Nigeria demonstrate that, over time, the deleterious effects of irregular migration due to increasing illicit drug trade will not to come to an end sooner as expected by some states and

international community, rather irregular migration will continue to increase on a global scale due to the increasing phenomenon of human trafficking and illicit drug trade.[52]

Though irregular migration dates far back to antiquity, its discussion in international discourse became prominent when feminists including Josephine Butler raised concerns about involuntary prostitution under the term 'White Slave Trade.'[53] The term connotes the abduction and transport of white women through illegal routes to for prostitution and as such attracted greater international concern which engendered a vigorous campaign, media coverage and establishment of anti-white slave trade organizations, as well as international and national legislations to combat it as evident in modern times against human trafficking.

The enormity of threats posed due to the phenomenon of irregular migration across the globe, including sexual abuses, exploitations and sometimes deaths, suggests that no single country can effectively address the canker alone by relying on its resources, immigration policies and security personnel. Therefore, there was a need for collaborative efforts through international cooperation among states to effectively respond to the ensuing global threat. Based on the ideas of International Cooperation, initial global efforts or attempts to address irregular migration took its roots from the International Agreement adopted in France in 1904. This was known as *The International Agreement for the Suppression of the White Slave Trade,* which was later revised in 1910. This agreement created a global impact by helping to address the fraudulent or abusive recruitment of women for prostitution in another country through illegal routes. [54] This means initial global efforts for addressing irregular migration concentrated predominantly on women and girls.

However, in 1921, a meeting under the auspices of the League of Nations led to the revision of both the 1904 and 1910 Agreement, to include the trafficking of boys and men into the International Agreement for the Suppression of the White Slave Trade.[55] The global impact of the 1921 Agreement was that it created awareness that irregular migrants were not only women and girls as boys were also being trafficked through illegal routes to other countries and regions. Therefore, states were incited to also give greater attention to men and boys in addressing irregular migration. Following this, *The Convention of Slavery, Servitude, Forced Labour and Similar Institutions and Practices* was also adopted by the League of Nations in 1926 to help address the global menace of human trafficking by paying particular attention to irregular migration. This Convention was aimed at preventing and suppressing the slave trade, as well as taking measures towards complete abolition of slavery in all forms in a progressive manner.

From the 1990s onwards, human trafficking and illicit drug trade became more pronounced and prevalent on the global scene. These were accompanied greatly by irregular migration and as such became major agenda in international programmes. This was due to increasing globalization, poverty, conflict and wars and natural disasters which induced forced migration, sometimes involving trafficking of persons. Consequently, the subject of irregular migration and human trafficking became a primary agenda on the international front including the World Conference on Human Rights in Vienna in 1993, and the World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995.[56] The 1993 World Conference on Human Rights in Vienna let to the promulgation of the need and urgency of states to promote and protect the fundamental human rights of persons including preventing the phenomenon of human trafficking as well as take urgent measures and policies in addressing irregular migration across the globe.

Subsequent to the above, the UN General Assembly, at beginning of the Millennium adopted *the UN Protocol to Prevent, Suppress, and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children and the United Nations Protocol against the Smuggling of Migrants by Land, Sea and Air* to help address the increasing global phenomena of human trafficking.[57] These Protocols were to give support to states and international organizations which reflected in almost all national, sub-regional and international policy frameworks and Conventions, as measures to addressing global irregular migration crises.

Subsequently, there have been considerable efforts made to combat global irregular migration phenomena, especially from Sub-Saharan Africa to Europe. These include improving awareness and knowledge about the humanitarian and security crises created due to irregular migration, as well as effective policy formulation and implementation aimed at addressing the global irregular migration threats. Ultimately, there have been significant cooperation at the national, regional and international levels among local community activists, researchers, media, nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), governmental actors and international institutions, to help clump down the global threat of irregular migration.

International Organizations such as the IOM, UNODC and ILO have liaised with governments and regional bodies to formulate and implement policies towards preventing global irregular migration. The media, through coverages and news broadcast and educational institutions through researches have also helped to expose the enormity of human security and humanitarian threats posed by irregular migration especially from Sub-Saharan Africa to Europe to put

governments and international organizations such as the UN on their toes, towards taking effective and urgent measures towards addressing the global crisis.

2.4 EU policies to address Irregular Migration

The few non-Europeans who came to Europe before the 20th century did so as slaves (or in other forms of servitude) and once the slave trade ended, very few migrated to Europe.[58] The 20th century, however, proved to be a time of unprecedented migration from Global South countries, especially from African to Europe. Migration to Europe from the South grew for reasons related to war, decolonization, labor demand, asylum, economic wellbeing and education. [59]

Irregular migration to Europe is a phenomenon that has grown in recent years as legal migration methods have diminished[60] and its control has been a long-standing concern for the European Union, since the adoption of the Tampere Agreement in 1990 and reaffirmed in the Stockholm Programme for the EU in the area of freedom, security and justice. [61] Since 1999 the European Union has consistently attempted to form policies and measures that in one way or another manage and effectively govern mobility towards and within the European Union. Nonetheless, recent events of huge number of migrants approaching the shores of the European Union through the Mediterranean have breathed a new air of urgency into the EU regarding the "management" or governance of irregular migration into the region.[62]

In light of increasingly selective immigration regulations since the 1970's and evermore restrictions about asylum, there has been a substantial increase in irregular migration across Europe. [63] Public awareness of the ongoing irregular migration crises in Europe began in 2007

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with the highly publicized case of migrants off the cost of Malta being left clinging to a tuna net for days. [64] The incident, in which the captain of the fishing vessel refused to let the migrants aboard his boat, drew widespread criticism and turned public attention to the Mediterranean crisis. The twenty-seven migrant men were ultimately saved, but the situation highlights the ongoing climate towards migrants in Europe. The Drowning of three hundred and sixty-six migrants on 3rd October 2013, less than a mile off the Italian island called Lampedusa, was also highly publicized. The increasingly frequent occurrence of such tragedies forced European leaders to begin examining their migration policies.

Reducing irregular migration constitutes an important element within the EU's overall approach to effectively balance and manage migration flows, within a common immigration policy framework at EU level. [65] Within European policy, there is a central focus on return, as well as on border control, although specific legislation also focuses on stay/work.[66] Articles 77 to 80 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU) outline the European Union's legal basis for measures on border checks, asylum and immigration.[67]

Further, two main policy documents, the European Pact on Immigration and Asylum and the Stockholm Programme, which was adopted by the European Council in October 2008 and December 2009 respectively, reiterated the policy's importance of addressing irregular migration.[68].In 2011, the Global Approach to Migration and Mobility (GAMM) was introduced and outlined preventing and reducing irregular migration and trafficking in human beings' as one of its thematic pillars to ensuring a migrant-centred approach to migration policy.[69]

Also, the European Union has adopted a multidimensional response, which is being organized under the 2015 European Agenda on Migration.[70] This Agenda encompasses four main parts that focus on reducing the incentives for irregular migration, improving border control, developing a common European Union asylum policy and strengthening legal migration.[71]

The EU also built on the 2015 Valletta Agreement to implement its agenda on migration in Africa and its key areas include addressing the root causes of migration, enhancing the protection of migrants and asylum seekers through maritime operations, tackling the exploitation and trafficking of migrants, improving cooperation on return and readmission and establishing and organizing legal migration channels.[72] In June 2016, the EU launched a Partnership Framework to mobilize and further emphasis EU actions in these areas [73] Under the Framework, the EU agreed on tailored compacts with third countries that outline financial support and development of policy tools that will support local capacity-building for border control, asylum procedures, counter-smuggling and reintegration efforts.[74]

Also, the EU Emergency Trust Fund for Africa was established to address the root causes of migration, finances projects that create employment opportunities, support basic services for local populations and support improvements in overall governance, as well as projects that improve migration management. [75] Also, the EU created the European External Investment Plan to promote sustainable investment in Africa and tackle some of the root causes of migration.[76]

2.5   Interventions Regional blocs in Africa to address Irregular Migration

In Africa, most youths migrate to Europe sometimes through illegal means with the hopes of changing family stories or destiny, when they return as better people to come and transform the family's economic prospects.[77] Adepoju shares insight on the pattern and dynamics of irregular migration, particularly in Sub-Saharan Africa.[78] He mentions Ghana, Benin, Burkina Faso, Mali, Nigeria, Mauritania, and Togo as countries as countries of transit for irregular migrants to Europe.[79] For a better understanding of the phenomena of irregular migration in Africa as well as some interventions to curb the phenomenon is compartmentalized into the various sub-regions in Africa.

The flows of irregular migrants from East Africa are predominantly inter and intra-regional but also directed increasingly towards the Gulf States and Europe.[80] Unlike Central Africa where the majority of irregular migrants are children and youth, in East Africa, the majority of irregular migrants are rather women. Most women from Ethiopian use irregular routes through Tanzania and Kenya in order to swerve Ethiopia immigration policies which are very strict on curbing irregular or illegal migration of its citizens.[81] Consequently, these women who become victims of irregular migration end up being abused in Lebanon as domestic workers. Also, women and girls from South Asia and India are believed to migrate through illegal routes to Kenya.[82] This shows that East Africa does not only serve as a source of origin but also as a destination for victims of irregular migration.

In Southern Africa, irregular migration is usually intra-regional and takes places from and to almost all the countries in the region and outside the region.[83] Just like Central Africa, Southern

Africa serves as a major destination for most irregular migrants from other parts of Sub-Saharan Africa than will prefer Europe, which comes as a daunting task for them to get there.[84] However, other irregular migrants from Eastern Europe, China and Thailand also find a route to South Africa through illegal routes.[85]

Concerning the West-African sub-region, irregular migration is usually predominant in children and happens both internally and among the states in the region.[86] Nigeria records the highest number of irregular migration cases in terms of both origin and destination in the sub-region.[87] However, some irregular migrants from Nigeria also migrate to Turkey, Iraq and Tajikistan.[88] Aside Nigeria, Ghana and Senegal also record a high number of irregular migrants in the region.[89]

However, as international recognition of irregular migrant victims increases, especially in cases related to women and children, international treaties have played a key role in irregular migration in Africa. The Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, especially women and children, supplementing the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime [the Palermo Protocol] entered into force on 25th December 2003, has provided a definition and useful guideline for law reform in Africa.[90] Most countries in Africa have ratified the 1989 UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC). Also, in the framework of the Africa-EU Strategic Partnership, the Ministerial Conference on Migration and Development adopted the Ouagadougou Action Plan in Tripoli in 2006,[91] has led to adoption and implementation of policies by most governments in Africa to ensure that irregular migration is effectively tackled, as a way of addressing developmental challenges on the continent.

Some countries have had to deal with the challenge and have considered the ratification of some related international conventions. However, the process is very slow.[92] Corruption in enforcing laws or judicial systems has obstructed law enforcement since it creates a lack of trust and confidence in the judicial system and hence could deter victims from exposing the act. The existence and fear of Stigmatization is also a major factor that hinders the exposure of irregular migration, which makes the victims susceptible to the phenomenon.

Irregular migration which is prevalent in sub-Saharan Africa also has its tolls in West Africa.[93] There are several factors that account for irregular migration in West Africa, and Ghana, to be precise. Some of these relevant factors include poverty, the tradition of migration, demand for sexual exploitation and child labour.

Member states of ECOWAS under the prevention part of the framework of UNODC executed the project "Assistance for the Implementation of the ECOWAS Plan of Action Against Trafficking in Persons."[94] Therefore, in 2001, ECOWAS introduced the Declaration and Plan of Action to Combat Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children. ECCAS and ECOWAS adopted a joint bi-regional Cooperation Agreement and Plan of Action to Combat Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children.[95] This project helped to strengthen the capacity of the member states both financially and in terms of personnel to implement the ECOWAS Plan of Action towards preventing irregular migration in the region. The UNODC also supported the project by publishing a training manual for ECOWAS countries to use as reference material and in training activities on issues of addressing irregular migration and human trafficking.[96]

The nature and pattern of irregular migration as evident in Ghana usually involves children than adults. Consequently, girls from Nigeria, China, Burkina Faso and Cote d'Ivoire are more likely to be subjected to forced prostitution upon their arrival in Ghana through illegal or irregular means. Although efforts have been made by the Government of Ghana in addressing the crisis of irregular migration in Ghana, it does not fully comply with the minimum standards for the elimination of the phenomenon due to limited resources. Ghana is therefore ranked or considered a Tier Two country for making progress in complying but not fully complying with the minimum standards for the elimination of irregular migration yet. Some of the efforts made so far to address the prevalence of irregular migration in Ghana includes enforcements of laws to prosecute and convict offenders who are caught trying to sneak out of the country through illegal or irregular means.

With regards to the prevention of human trafficking in Ghana, the Government of Ghana demonstrated renewed efforts in this regard. It conducted irregular migration and anti-trafficking education campaigns and workshops on preventing the phenomenon in the country.[97] Through a partnership with international organizations and other states, experts and government officials regularly spoke on the negative consequences of irregular migration on radio talk shows and on television.[98] The Ghana Immigration Service also maintains a task force responsible for patrolling the borders and ports to expose crimes related to irregular migration.[99] Notwithstanding all these efforts, there is a dearth of scholarly exploration in terms of the policies and strategies adopted by the Government of government in addressing irregular migration from the country to Europe. Towards this end, the next chapter is devoted to the

analysis of the role of the Government and state institutions in preventing irregular migration of

Ghanaians to Europe.

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CHAPTER THREE

AN ASSESSMENT OF THE EFFECTIVENESS OF GHANA'S MEASURES TOWARDS IRREGULAR TRANS-SHARAN MIGRATION TO EUROPE

3.0   Introduction

This chapter entails the analysis of data and discussion of findings of the study. Thus, it seeks to identify various policies of both state and non-state actors to curb irregular trans-Saharan migration from Ghana to Europe and to analyze the effectiveness of such measures. First, the chapter outlines the measures and policies developed to address the situation. Then using the conceptual framework of migration policy effects and effectiveness by Czaika and De Haas, the various measures are assessed to gain empirical insights into the way states and non-state actors shape these measures and how effective these measures are.

3.1   Ghana's measures in curbing irregular migration

The Ghana Immigration Service (GIS) was established by the Immigration Service Law, 1989 (PNDCL 226). It is generally responsible for the control and movement of people to and from Ghana. The major law under which it operates is the Immigration Act 2000, Act 573 and the Ghana Immigration Amendment Act 2012, Act 828 on migrant smuggling and trafficking enactments relating to migration and border security.

The GIS is under the Ministry of Interior, is the main agency responsible for international migration both from and into Ghana. It has been established as the Agency under the Ministry of the Interior to advise and to ensure the effective implementation of all laws and regulations about immigration and related issues.[1]

3.1.1 Sensitization and Education of the Public by the Ghana Immigration Service

The interviews conducted with officials from the GIS and some academics indicate that Ghana's primary measure towards addressing irregular migration, in general, is a policy of 'education and sensitization'. Sensitization is to make someone or a group of people aware of an issue and also to be responsive to certain ideas, events, situation, or trend and is used to address serious problems and aims at bringing about behavioural and attitude changes.[2] Sensitization tools include radio programmes, television, focus group discussions, awareness talks, a door-to-door campaign and drama.[3]

The GIS which is the main Migration Agency of the government of Ghana generally organizes community sensitization programmes in areas that have high rates of youth engaging in irregular migration.[4] They organize public forums, workshops with stakeholders and also use theatre performances to depict the challenges and dangers associated with irregular migration in sensitization programs. Most of the programmes have focused on the Brong Ahafo Region as it is the region where most irregular migrants from Ghana originate.[5] The strategic use of theatre is adopted to both entertain and educate the audience and usually has an appeal to the youth who are the target of these programmes.[6]

To determine the outcome of the programs, the GIS has a monitoring and evaluation of the sensitization programmes which is headed by the Regional Commander of the Brong Ahafo region. Also,, monthly, quarterly and annual reports are sent to the Policy Planning Monitoring and Evaluation Department for scrutiny of the projects. Auditors also come in from time to time

to check whether government funds were appropriately handled. Funding of GIS scarcely comes from the resources Service and predominantly from joined projects with the IOM.[7]

Furthermore, interest groups, opinion leaders, assemblymen, as well as religious and traditional authorities, play a vital role in the sensitization programs. Community leaders are usually engaged because in most cases communities are quite sceptical about interacting with outsiders and therefore these leaders and local representatives aid in reaching out to the community. They usually are looked up to by the rural folks as significant leaders of the community and are therefore highly respected. Before these sensitization programmes begin permission is usually sought from them, and when they buy into the idea, they give their full support and encourage their people to partake in the sensitization programmes.

3.1.2   The National Migration Policy

Ghana like other developing countries acknowledge the significance of the socio-economic role of migrants. Thus, migration is seen as essential to the development and for poverty alienation. The critical role of migration for Ghana's development necessitated the need for an all-inclusive, national strategic framework and policy on migration to help manage issues relating to migration for sustained national development.[8]

The National Migration Policy (NMP) therefore represents an attempt to provide a comprehensive framework to manage migration for Ghana's sustainable development and has been developed based on several policy frameworks such the Constitution of Ghana and the Ghana Shared Growth and Development Agenda II (2014-2017).[9] It is also anchored within the

context of the 2006 African Union (AU) Strategic Framework for Migration and the 2008 ECOWAS Common Approach on Migration and addresses the different migration streams mainly found in or affecting the country, internal, intra-regional as well as international.[10]

 The NMP was formulated by the Government of Ghana, in consultation with the Inter-Ministerial Steering Committee on Migration (IMSCM), steered by the Ministry of the Interior with support from the Centre for Migration Studies, University of Ghana, and supported from the start by various stakeholders including the International Organization for Migration (IOM), the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and the European Union (EU). [11]

However, even though the NPM was launched in 2016, it has not been implemented. Also, the National Migration Commission which will be the mandated body to spearhead the implementation of the policy has not been set up.[12]   Some institutions such as the IOM design programs in line with the NMP recommendations and draw from the policy to implement some projects and programs.[13]

3.2   Ghana's partnership with International Organisations and NGO's

With the different dimensions of irregular migration emerging as a result of globalisation, Ghana has collaborated with international organisations such as the International Organisation for Migration (IOM), local Non-Governmental Organisations, Religious groups and other Civil Society organisations in order to deal effectively with the fast-growing phenomenon of irregular migration. Ghana together with other actors and institutions hopes to fight irregular migration in an era of increased global mobility. In 2011, Ghana in collaboration with the Office of the United

Nations High Commission for Refugees collaborated with IOM in evacuating Ghanaians in Libya to the various points of embarkation to be airlifted about 16,822 Ghanaians were evacuated from Libya more than the anticipated 10,000.[14] Thus about 1,455 evacuees from the Libyan-Egyptian border were airlifted through Cairo, 8,505 from the Libyan-Tunisian border through Djerba, 6,862 from Tripoli and 129 returned to Ghana by road. The evacuees included 132 women, 96 children, two mentally-ill men, more than 90 freed prisoners and eight on death row.[15]

3.2.1   The International Organisation for Migration - IOM

The International Organisation for Migration (IOM) has been active in Ghana since 1987 and has contributed to the Government of Ghana's efforts to manage migration effectively through a wide variety of projects and programmes.[16] In Ghana, the mission has a wide range of activities, including voluntary return and reintegration, migrant health, counter trafficking and counter-smuggling, border management, safe migration, global health security, travel services for migrants, migration and development, emergency assistance and capacity-building on all relevant migration issues.[17] It manages migration for the benefit of all and operates in four thematic areas which include facilitation of migration, managing migration for development, forced migration and regulating migration.[18]

The IOM help facilitate the migration processes for individuals who wish to migrate. For instance, they have the Canadian Visa Application Center (CVAC) where the IOM receives visa applications and send them to the Canadian Embassy. This is done to facilitate safe, legal and humane migration.[19] In terms of managing migration, the IOM implements projects such as the

Temporary Return of Qualified Migrants (TRQM), where highly qualified Ghanaian nationals residing in the diaspora are invited home to take up key positions in health, economics, political administration, finance, education, and public service to contribute to the development of Ghana. The TRQM provides an avenue for professionals from the Ghanaian Diaspora to share their professional experience acquired and also expose the modern ways of undertaking activities in their various sectors.[20]

In regulating migration, the IOM works closely with the GIS to ensure effective boarder management. For instance, under the Ghana Integrated Migration Management Approach (GIMMA), which was a joint project between the IOM and the GIS, the GIS was resourced both in capacity building and logistical support to enable them to perform their roles effectively.[21] Moreover,, with Forced migration, the IOM provides support to persons affected by natural disasters. For instance, in 2013, the IOM provided non-food items to some victims of flood in Tamale.[22]

The IOM also implement some programmes aimed at supporting the institutional capacity-building needs within the country. It has also facilitated the return of highly qualified African nationals including Ghanaians residing in the diaspora to contribute to the socio-economic development of Ghana by returning home to take up key positions in priority sectors including health, education, economics, finance, public service and political administration.[23]

IOM Ghana has also been involved in migrant resettlement (refugees) and the movement of various migrant groups for family reunification and other opportunities to various countries throughout the world.[24] However, it expanded its activities to include counter-trafficking,

assisted voluntary return and reintegration, migration and development, migration policy, migration health and labour migration.[25]

3.2.2   Ghana Integrated Migration Management Approach (GIMMA) by the IOM

The Ghana Integrated Management Approach (GIMMA), a collaborative project between the IOM and the GIS was carried out in 2016, to migration management uses a comprehensive, transparent and coherent approach to migration and border management processes.[26] The GIMMA project utilizes three main strategies comprising of capacity building for officials at the forefront of migration management, information campaign and alternative livelihood identification and the establishment of a national database for effective migration-related policy-making activities.[27]

The overall objective of the project, which was funded by the 10th European Development Fund (EDF) of the European Union, is to contribute to the Government of Ghana's efforts to manage migration effectively through the establishment of an integrated migration management approach.[28] The project purposely aims to enhance the institutional capacities of GIS to implement effective migration management measures, increase the awareness of potential migrants on safe and legal migration and provide alternative livelihood options, and strengthen the national migration data management system.[29]

3.2.3 Establishment of the Migration Information Bureau (MIB) and the Migration Information Centre (MIC)

The IOM and the Ghana Immigration Service (GIS) in 2008 established the Migration Consultation Center (MCC) which was under in the GIS Brong Ahafo Regional Command. However, based on a stakeholder meeting under the GIMMA project, it was realized that the MCC was not patronized by the public as it was intended therefore it was renamed to the Migration Information Center based in Sunyani, Brong Ahafo region and with its mother unit as the Migration Information Bureau which is located at the GIS regional office in the Greater Accra region.

The MIC and MIB, funded by the EU aim to facilitate and empower migrants to travel in a legal, voluntary and safe way as well as offer a neutral venue for potential and actual migrants to obtain accurate and reliable information on legal migration procedures and required documentation as well as the risks of irregular migration.[30] The EU through the IOM continues to work with Ghana's central and local authorities and civil society to manage migration, avoid unnecessary deaths and suffering and offer concrete alternatives to emigration for people seeking to migrate.[31] The establishment of the MIC and the MIB plays a vital role in curbing irregular migration as it helps the GIS to effectively educate both potential migrants and migrants on the importance of migrating legally as well as the dangers of irregular migration. These centres provide counselling services to both returned migrants and individuals who wish to migrate. [32]

People who want to migrate also go there to inquire information about the location of some embassies and high commissions as well as how visas can be obtained. Others also enquire about the currencies spent in the particular country they want to visit.[33] It must be noted that the MIC

apart from providing information on legal means of migrating also addresses irregular migration by sensitizing the communities in the Brong Ahafo region on migration-related issues and also advised them on how to embark on legal migration.[34]

3.3   Civil Society Organisations

Some churches and civil society organisations, as well as NGOs, are involved in curbing irregular migration as they try to dissuade people from travelling irregularly.[35] Knowing the dangers of irregular migration, some Non-Governmental Organisations including the Italian Volunteer for International Development (VIS), together with the Don Bosco Youth Network West Africa and the Salesians of Don Bosco from the Catholic Church of Ghana have embarked on numerous interventions in the country including public sensitization, awareness creation and advocacy campaigns to enlighten the Ghanaians especially the youth on the dangers involved in irregular migration.[36] The Research and Counseling Foundation for African Migrant (RECFAM) conducts nationwide campaigns to fight irregular migration and human trafficking to and from Ghana.[37] During these campaigns, they call on the Ghanaian youth to be mindful of irregular migration and avoid people who try to deceive them that they can assist them in traveling to live a better life as they might end up squandering their money and putting them at all kinds of risks.[38] The African Development Organisation for Migration (AFDOM) also works to reduce poverty and irregular migration among youth. Subsequently, it launched a programme to support poultry farmers and interested individuals to improve upon the local and exotic poultry production.[39] As a result, AFDOM, in collaboration with the European Commission and the United Nations Joint Migration and Development Initiative, has introduced the Sankofa Family Poultry project on a pilot basis, to strengthen smallholder poultry production to reduce poverty

and irregular migration among the youth.[40] The Sahara Hustlers Association is an NGO committed to helping and educating Ghanaians about the dangers and travails of irregular migration through the desert. They usually embark on public campaigns in churches; market places Senior High Schools and other religious gatherings to sensitie people against illegal migration.[41] They also work in collaboration with the GIS, Passport Office and other anti-human smuggling and trafficking organisations to educate prospective irregular migrants on the challenges associated with irregular migration.[42]

3.4   Challenges of Implementing Sensitization and Educational Programmes

Fighting irregular migration from Ghana has been affected by a myriad of challenges which usually affect the overall objectives of curbing irregular migration. Some of these challenges include the following:

3.4.1   Limited Interest

According to the Ministry of Gender, "most Ghanaians are disinterested in sensitization programs and do not take irregular migration campaigns seriously".[43] Similar observations were recorded in the interviews conducted for this study. For example, the official of GIS indicated that they also encounter such challenge when they organize sensitization programmes as they will have to go round the communities to gather people.[44] Telling the youth in the Dormaa Ahenkro district in the Brong Ahafo region for instance to attend sensitization programmes whiles they have to go to their farms makes it quite challenging and a major challenge.[45] In some stances, the youth are reluctant to attend sensitization programmes, so the use of theatre is

employed to capture the attention of the people in order to relay the messages which are aimed at educating to the public on the dangers involved in irregular migration.

3.4.2   Inadequate Funding and Logistics

Unlike the IOM which is funded by donors such as the European Union, the GIS ha limited funding for sensitization programs. This can be attributed to inadequate financial allocations made to the Ministry of Interior. The Ghana Immigration Service, as well as the Ghana Police Service and the Ghana Prisons Services, are security agencies which fall under the Ministry of Interior and funded primarily by the country's budget. In 2016, the budgetary allocation to the ministry to be distributed among the various services was GH1.3 billion and was inadequate.[46] However, in the financial year ending 31st December 2017, the allocation was increased to GH1.571 billion, yet it remains inadequate to improve the effectiveness and efficiency of the ministry and its agencies.[47]

The GIS is also faced with logistical constraints such as the inadequate supply of vehicles, communication equipment, acute shortage of office and residential accommodation, vehicles, weapons for the Border Patrol Unit and other operational facilities which hampers its operations hence the effectiveness of the service.[48] Consequently, most GIS projects are in collaboration with other International Non-Governmental Organisations such as the IOM and the EU in order to be funded by them. Otherwise, funding will have to be drawn from the limited resources of the GIS which is already inadequate.[49]

3.4.3   Socio-cultural and economic interest of potential irregular migrants

One major challenge militating against the sensitization programmes is the overwhelming desire of most Ghanaian youth to pursue the socio-cultural and economic interest of migrating notwithstanding their knowledge of the dangers ahead. In that, these young Ghanaians think there are no other options for making a living in the country than to travel irregularly to Europe and therefore no matter how they are educated or informed about the dangers associated with irregular migration they will not be deterred from embarking on the journey. These prospective irregular migrants get to know the risks involved through sensitization campaigns, and yet they go ahead to migrate irregularly because they believe they do not have any other option.[50] Many of these young people who embark on irregular migration feel there are not many opportunities in Ghana and have no hope of becoming successful in the country. They believe there is not much to do in the country. The youth have lost interest in farming activities. In educating them on the dangers of irregular migration, they tell you that poverty is pushing them to go because if they stay in Ghana they will die out of it and if they happen to go they may also die anyway so they prefer to go and die out there than to stay and die out of hunger.[51]

Moreover, they believe they will not die there because they have a strong spiritual backing so they will go and will return back as much better people and indeed they do come back even though some die.[52] This lack of attitudinal change is a significant setback to sensitization programmes as it makes the objectives of sensitization less effective because it defeats the primary objective of causing a change in the attitudes of this individual.

3.4.4 Informal Organisation of Irregular Migration

Controlling of irregular migration tends to be much difficult as a result of its informal nature. Coupled with the country's porous borders, targeting Ghanaians embarking on irregular migration has been challenging. Irregular migration is usually not formally organized. It is an informal organization partly championed by returned migrants. Also, travelling within West Africa is not a crime as a result of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) Protocol on free movement in the sub-region. This implies that one can travel within West-Africa without a visa. At the border, it is difficult to identify persons intending to travel irregularly and regular migrants as some may be genuine traders whiles others may pose as such. As a result, agencies responsible for curbing irregular migration find it difficult to track their movements.

3.4.5 Limited time frame for IOM projects

The IOM is project oriented. In Ghana, it implements its projects and programmes in coordination with various ministries and Departments. Thus to address migration issues in the areas Migration policy and research with the Ministry of the Interior (MoI), Labour migration with the Ministry of Employment and Social Welfare (MESW), Migration and development with the Ministry of Private Sector, Trade, and Industry (MPSTI), Counter-trafficking with the Ghana Police Service, Department of Social Welfare and Districts Assemblies, Assisted voluntary returns with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration and Civil Societies Organisations, Migration health with the Ministry of Health (MoH) Border management with the Ghana Immigration Service (GIS) and Information campaigns on irregular migration with the GIS and various CSOs. Being project-oriented the IOM schedules, it projects on a timeline to

capture the primary aim of what it seeks to achieve. This implies that its projects have a time frame within which it is implemented; therefore, when the project ends then it means that all that is to be done also ends. It is imperative to understand that in curbing irregular migration and for sensitization to be effective, there is a need for consistent and sustainable projects. Therefore the limited time frame set is a major setback for its effectiveness. [53] For instance, under the GIMMA project, which was a three year project (2014 - 2017) had three main objectives encompassing capacity building, information outreach, migration data management and is implemented in support of the draft National Migration Policy and GIS Strategic Plan and now that GIMMA has ended, it means that all the objectives which include information outreach have also ended.[54]

3.5   Assessing the Effectiveness of Government Policies and Interventions

Various scholarly debates have shown that part of the debate about immigration policy effectiveness is the result of unclear definitions of effectiveness and the frequent confusion between policy effects and policy effectiveness.[55] There is a clear distinction between the term effectiveness and effect in that whiles effectiveness pertains to producing a decided, decisive, or desired effect, effect is the power to bring about a result, therefore the key difference between effectiveness and effect is that the former is linked to the desired effect and the latter to the actual effect.[56] Accordingly, the term effectiveness brings about a relation to policy objectives which expands an evaluative and subjective dimension to the analysis of migration policy effect. In other words, a policy may have an effect, but this effect may be judged too small to meet the stated policy objective or may even be in the opposite direction to the intended effect.[57]

Czaika Mathias and De Haas's conceptual framework of migration policy effects and effectiveness was used as it identified three policy gaps which explain why states measures adopted to curb irregular migration fail. These three gabs include the Discursive Gap, the Implementation Gap and the Efficacy Gap.

3.5.1   The Discursive Gap

The discursive gap posits that government policy fails because it is influenced by some interest groups such as trade unions, businesses and civil society groups resulting in a compromise. Thus in forming policies, there are competing interests, particularly in democratic states. This seemingly tag-of-war to influence the outcomes of migration policies may compel governments to either avoid adopting harsh immigration laws or to turn a blind eye to irregular migration. This competition alone cannot explain the gap between the often harsh migration rhetoric and the often more watered-down policies on paper, but it shows that the objectives of policies are not singular, but simultaneously serve competing interests and objectives. [58]

However, Czaika and De Haas propose that in some instances, it is useful to view migration policy as a subject of discursive coalitions which is the idea that all stakeholders in such a coalition agree upon a common, publicly stated definition of a situation or a policy objective.[59] For instance, various stakeholders may come to a consensus to combat illegal migration from Africa to Europe. However, the formation of a discursive coalition around such belligerent rhetoric does not necessarily imply the genuine sharing of a system of values or beliefs, since each stakeholder is focused on the pursuit of its interests. A discursive coalition may, therefore,

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unite actors with opposing views on the interests they intend to promote, but who agree on the cognitive frame and the institutions to manage their conflict.[60]

In assessing Ghana's measures about the discursive gap, the research findings ascertained that measures formulated and implemented to address irregular trans-Sharan migration from Ghana to Europe fall within the discursive coalition. Thus even though sectional groups or organisations in the country may champion their interests, they all come into consensus when it comes to irregular migration. For instance, the NMP was formulated by a wide range of stakeholders who came together to design the policy despite their varying needs and interests. Civil society groups in Ghana are interested in addressing issues of irregular migration as well as sustainable return migration and therefore are interested and participate in programs such as capacity building to aid them to understand the nature, scale and recent evolution of irregular Ghanaian migration.[61] Sensitization, for example, is not influenced by the intentions and agenda of various parties and interest groups such as business, trade unions, and civil society groups, nor the result of a compromise at the end of the political process. [62]

The establishment of the MIC and MIB was a first developed by the GIS and started as the MCC. The MCC was initially the brainchild of the GIS and was to serve as a consultation centre for interested persons who wanted consultation on migration issues however after a series of consultations and reviews with stakeholders it was realized that the MCC was under-resourced. The IOM, therefore, came to assist the MCC through its GIMMA project and resourced the centre. The GIS initiative of curbing irregular migration has also been supported and assisted by various NGO's and civil society groups. This clearly shows that the involvement of the IOM and

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other NGO's, as well as civil societies, does not hinder Ghana's aim of curbing irregular migration, instead, it supports the efforts of the government in order to achieve its aim.

It is noteworthy that Ghana as a state has the primary responsibility to protect its citizens and curb irregular migration; however, several civil society groups have taken up the challenge. Using sensitization, it is hoped to address the menace of irregular migration. Yet, there are no formal rules for implementing sensitization programmes. Most civil society groups use various means and methods that best suit their logistical abilities and capabilities. The state is not able to manage and monitor their activities as they should because it is logistically handicapped. In some, cases, the efforts of these civil society groups are applauded as they are in line with the state's objective of curbing irregular migration from Ghana. Even though the country has in place programmes and several policies which aims to help the social well-being of its citizenry and hopefully deter individuals from embarking on the dangerous journey, stake holders are much more vigilant and play very active roles by raising awareness on irregular migration. Being aware of the fact that a single intervention cannot tackle irregular migration, the country falls on collaborations with other organizations to facilitate their programmes.

3.5.2 The Implementation Gap

The implementation gap is a source of possible real policy failure, and in most cases, it is practically impossible to measure the degree to which policies on paper are implemented. [63]The implementation gap is the discrepancy between policies on paper and their actual implementation. While some rules and regulations are not or only partly implemented because of practical, planning, or budgetary constraints or as a consequence of corruption, ignorance, or

subversion, stakeholders often have considerable discretion in the way they implement policies. This implementation gap seems to be particularly significant when a large degree of discretion and assessment is involved in policy implementation.

About the implementation gap which explains that government policies fail because there are differences between the actual policies on paper and what is implemented, the study found that sensitization programmes are designed by officials and stakeholders who have in-depth knowledge and expertise about the situations on the ground in the target areas. The implementation gap also maintains that some rules and regulations are not or only partly implemented because of practical, planning, or budgetary constraints or as a consequence of corruption, ignorance, or subversion. Instead of politicians, civil servants, or private companies often have considerable discretion in the way they implement policy.[64] The study identified that significant discretion and assessment is involved in the formulation and implementation of sensitization as the primary measure adopted.[65] It must also be noted that the extent to which written policies are implemented varies widely and depends on varying factors such as the religion of the community, financial and human resources available among others.[66] Consequently, the programmes designed according to how best it can appeal to more people to participate in various programmes. [67]

Currently, the NMP which gives an explicit and clear direction on how the various issues affecting migration can be addressed and has been specially designed as the umbrella policy to address the inconsistencies in various measures to curb irregular migration has not been implemented. The study found that even though the NMP has not been implemented, some

institutions have drawn from the policy to implement some programmes. The National Migration Commission which is the body to spearhead, the implementation of the NMP, has not been set up. As it stands now several initiatives to tackle migration issues are scattered in different government documents and without the appropriate coordination. As a result, there are no laid down rules for programmes aimed at curbing irregular migration from Ghana to Europe, at guiding civil societies and NGO's. Thus civil societies and the NGO's involved organize various programmes such as sensitization and outreaches when they deem fit or are capable. As a result, there are various sensitization programmes which sometimes create duplication and overlapping of such programmes. The organization and implementation of these programmes are devoid of government's inputs because there are no clear-cut recommendations, guidelines or procedures. Therefore, civil society organisations draw their programmes unguided from the policy, and this has led to duplication of programmes in the target areas.

3.5.3   The Efficacy Gap

The efficacy gap reflects the degree to which the implemented laws, regulations, and measures have the intended effect on the volume, timing, direction, and composition of migration flow. Assessing the gathered data from this research, the efficacy gap which affirms the hypothesis of this dissertation which is Ghana's measures adopted in curbing irregular migration are inadequate and less operative.

This is because considering the discursive gap, interest groups do not influence changes in measures adopted by Ghana to curb irregular migration and rather, they assist the country in diverse ways to champion the cause of cubing irregular migration. Also considering the

implementation gap, it can be said that the main measure adopted by Ghana to curb irregular migration is through sensitization and educational campaigns admonishing the Ghanaian youth not to embark on irregular migration, and that is what is actually implemented.[68]

However, the efficacy gap to a large extent explains why sensitization as the main measure adopted by Ghana to curb irregular migration has not been adequate. This is because sensitization has not had the intended effect on irregular migration flows out of the country. The messages delivered does get to the people, and this can be said due to the kind of questions they ask and the feedback delivery. However, most of them have made up their mind that, that is the way to go. For sensitization to really change the mindset of these people, it should be sustained over some time.[69] This is because, even though with sensitization the real message is relayed to them for them to know the truth and what actually goes one in the course of the journey, the mentality of the people is that irregular migration is the way to go.[70] What further limits the effectiveness of sensitization is that some people who have embarked on this irregular migration have actually tried to go to Europe severally but have failed due to the frustrations and expenses involved and therefore encourage others to go irregularly.[71] Also, the media which can help in sustaining sensitization and highlighting the opportunities is more interested in political issues rather than informing the people about the negative consequences associated with irregular migration, leaving ignorant or less informed.[72]

3.6   Conclusion

The study tried to evaluate the effectiveness of the measures adopted by Ghana to curb irregular sub-Saharan migration from Ghana to Europe. The results showed that there had been various

measures employed to address irregular migration which includes the use of sensitization. Also, although the NMP has been passed, it has not been operationalized. There is also the establishment of the MIC and the MIB which aims at providing adequate information to persons who wish to migrate. These measures mentioned above play key roles in addressing the challenges of irregular migration.

However, it must be noted that sensitization and education, is an essential measure to be promoted. This is because the NMP is yet to be fully operationalized and the MIS and the MIB are not easily assessable to potential migrants because they are located in capital cities like Accra in the Greater Accra Region and Sunyani, in the Brong Ahafo region and, this may hinder other potential migrants who wish to travel. The use of sensitization, therefore, encourages increased involvement, and it is an appropriate way to address the target communities, and it provides access to information about the effects of irregular migration. Nevertheless, it appears that curbing irregular migration is not the priority of Ghana as a country. Thus, the study discovered that even though these policies and measures has been put in place, limited efforts has been put into facilitating the progress of these measures. Irregular migration is a problem of national importance and the means of addressing it demonstrates its priority on Ghana's agenda. Therefore, it can be concluded that the measures adopted by Ghana to address irregular sub-Saharan migration has not been effective because the primary measures used has not been properly managed to result in its inability to achieve the objective for which it has been established.

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CHAPTER FOUR

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

4.0   Introduction

This chapter presents the summary of findings, conclusions as well as recommendations.

4.1   Summary of findings

The phenomenon of irregular migration through the Sahara and the Mediterranean has gone a long way into imparting the lives of Ghanaian youth. With high hopes, these Ghanaian youth risk their lives in this dangerous journey in search of greener pastures and better livelihoods. The objectives of this research were to identify the causes of irregular migration from Ghana to Europe, analyze various policies of both state and non-state actors to curb irregular migration and to evaluate how measures to manage trans-Saharan migration have affected current migration patterns.

The findings of this research with regards to the first objective which is about the causes of irregular migration disclosed that irregular migration is generally caused by socio-political factors such as ethnic, racial, cultural persecution warfare, extreme destabilizing conflicts, religion and threats of conflict. Many individuals from sub-Saharan Africa who embark on irregular migration are basically economic migrants and are predominantly searching for better opportunities. Further, ecological factors as climate change has had significant impacts causing droughts and famine and demographic factors in which most African countries have a large section of its population in youthful age.

It was also revealed that irregular migration in Ghana is affected by some of the general causes of irregular migration mentioned above. However, the causes of irregular migration in Ghana are characterized by socio-cultural believes and happens to be a requirement in some areas in order to be accepted or recognized as a successful person. It is also characterized by misinformation where people are misinformed about the perilous journey through the Sahara Desert and on the Mediterranean Sea as well as the demeaning jobs irregular migrants do in Europe. Also, limited or inadequate opportunities in the country coupled with stringent visa application processes were found as a deterrent to people who want to travel or migrate to Europe and therefore to avoid being denied visas and to be denied the opportunity to travel to Europe; they embark on the irregular route of migration.

Further, poverty and lack of agricultural facilities also cause irregular migration in Ghana. Ghanaians are economic migrants who are not only in search of greener pastures but are also influenced by the prestige associated with people who have been abroad. Also, lack of adequate agricultural equipment, silos and factories to process the harvested crops possess huge challenges to these young farmers, therefore, making agriculture which is the predominant occupation for these young people unattractive causing them to migrate irregularly.

In assessing the various policies of both state and non-state actors towards addressing the problem ofirregular migration, the study identified sensitization and education as the main policy tool used by both state and non-state actors. It was also revealed that the state embarks on sensitization programmes mostly in collaboration with the International Organization for Migration as a result of inadequate financial and logistical support. These sensitization

programmes include showing documentaries about what irregular migrants go through on the Sahara Desert and the Mediterranean Sea, drama and information campaigns where individuals who have gone through irregular migration share their experiences. In addition to the above, other non-state actors such as churches and Non-governmental organisations (NGOs) also embark on sensitization to educate the public on the dangerous nature of irregular migration to Europe.

The third and final objective of this dissertation which sought to evaluate how measures to manage trans-Saharan and trans-Mediterranean migration patterns showed that sensitization is a very important tool because it provides and furnishes the people with adequate information about the dangers associated with irregular migration.

Despite the essential nature of sensitization, quantifying or measuring its effectiveness may not be immediately measured as it would take a period (years) to be able to evaluate its actual impact. However, with the feedback and immediate outcomes attained from interviews conducted, it can be concluded that sensitization plays a significant role in influencing people to abstain from irregular migration.

4.2   Study's Conclusion

Although sensitization goes a long way into informing the people about the negative consequences associated with irregular migration and to deter people from choosing that means of travelling to Europe, it is significantly challenged. This is because for sensitization to be effective, it needs to be sustained. Since the GIS lack the adequate financial and appropriate

technical support and the IOM is also project oriented, sensitization as the major tool used by both the state and non-state actors fails to be efficient as it ought to be.

Therefore, this correlates with Czaika and de Haas's efficacy gap in their conceptual framework which reflects the degree to which the implementation policy has had on the intended effect on migration flows. In that sustaining sensitization as the main policy tool has been limited and therefore reducing the intended effect.

4.3   Recommendations

Based on the findings of this research, the following recommendations have been proposed to help address the challenges in curbing irregular migration from Ghana to Europe through sub-Saharan Africa and the Mediterranean.

- **Ghana needs to adopt long term Education and Sensitization Programs**

There is a need for continuous sensitization programmes because discontinuities in such programmes which forms the primary medium of curbing irregular migration from the country lead to the fading of the information and education given to the people who still believe in travelling irregularly and underestimate the tragedies and difficulties associated with it. Also, the need for ongoing sensitization must not be left with the GIS alone. The various District Assemblies from the prime areas where irregular migration is predominant should be involved.

- **Provision of adequate agricultural facilities**

The youth who usually embark on irregular migration are predominantly from agricultural areas. Therefore in addressing the less sophisticated nature of agriculture in Ghana, there is the need for government to provide opportunities in the agricultural sectors. In the Brong Ahafo region, for instance, the main occupation there is farming, and therefore there is the need to provide postharvest amenities to aid the farmers to sell, store or process their farm produce. Also, the government's promise of one district one factory and planting for food and jobs should be operationalized as it can also help in reducing irregular migration because it is employment related. It should also be targeted at rural areas where the youth do not have jobs as these policies may give them a reason to stay in their country.

- **Provide adequate funding to the GIS**

One major challenge hampering the effectiveness of the GIS is inadequate funding. There is, therefore, an imperative need for the GIS to be adequately funded and provided with the needed logistics which will help facilitate their role as an agency responsible for addressing irregular migration from Ghana. There is also the need for a periodic capacity building which will inform them about the latest trends and modus operandi of these agents of irregular migration.

- **Government should accelerate the processes of Implementing of the National Migration Policy**

The National Migration Policy was launched in 2016 but has not been implemented. There is an imperative need of its implementation as it provides adequate guidelines as to how to manage the irregular migration from the country. It is a document which was compiled by stakeholders who

are effectively involved in the issues of migration and would, therefore, be very useful when its implementation commences.

- **Formalize migration for unskilled labour in the country**

There is a need for the state to engage in bilateral and multilateral agreements for unskilled labour. There have not been formal recruitment opportunities for unskilled migrants in the European Union, and unfortunately, the categories of people who embark on irregular migration through the Sahara Desert and the Mediterranean Sea are the unskilled Ghanaians. The country may, therefore, enter into bilateral and multilateral agreements on labour migration that would allow the people with no skills or have some kind of craft experience to also embark on migration.

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