

Equal Partnerships

African Intermediary Cities as Actors and Partners in Urban Migration Governance



Partnerships in
Kumasi, Ghana
2023

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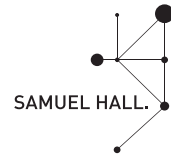
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Equal Partnerships

Africa is witnessing an ongoing transformation from rural to increasingly plural urban societies. While this transformation has been well-documented, the focus of scholarship and practice has been predominantly on human mobility towards and into major urban areas and capital cities. In contrast, intermediary cities, the in-between the rural and the metropolitan, have been largely absent in academic and policy debates. The Equal Partnerships project explores the opportunities and challenges of collaborative, urban migration governance in African intermediary cities. The project was jointly developed and is implemented by the Friedrich-Alexander-University Erlangen-Nürnberg, the city network United Cities and Local Governments of Africa (UCLG Africa), the German Institute of Development and Sustainability (IDOS), and the social enterprise Samuel Hall. Supported by the Robert Bosch Stiftung, the project works in cooperation with six intermediary cities in East, North, and West Africa. Through participatory research, workshops, and networking formats, the project brings together local, national, and international actors to develop practical impulses and policy recommendations to co-shape multi-stakeholder partnerships for urban migration governance in African intermediary cities.



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Glossary

Migration

The Equal Partnerships project works with a broad definition of migration, understanding a migrant as any person “who moves away from his or her place of usual residence, whether within a country or across an international border, temporarily or permanently, and for a variety of reasons.”¹ This broad definition proved helpful for working in partnership with African intermediary cities that experience a wide range of migration movements at times classified under umbrella terms such as “mixed migration”² or “transnational mobility.”³

Intermediary Cities

Building on research conducted by the Cities Alliance,⁴ the Equal Partnerships project moves beyond a definition of secondary/intermediary cities based predominantly on city size often considered to range between 50,000 and 1 million inhabitants.⁵ Instead, we combine demographic aspects with a city’s connectivity and status. We, therefore, use the terms “secondary” and “intermediary” interchangeably, as they refer to different city aspects: The cities on which we focus our research are intermediary in the sense that they link capital cities with smaller towns and rural areas through flows of goods, ideas, funds, and people. At the same time, these cities are secondary regarding economic status, municipal capacities and resources, as national development strategies for urban planning have for a long time prioritized capital cities.

Multi-stakeholder Partnerships

Multi-stakeholder partnerships can be defined as “voluntary initiatives involving governments, intergovernmental bodies, civil society, the private sector and other stakeholders in pursuit of a common goal or commitment.”⁶ Equal Partnerships research shows that approaches striving towards equal participation of stakeholders need to include a broad range of partners in the initial development stage, remain open for new actors as the cooperation evolves and continuously review roles and responsibilities of each stakeholder within the partnership.

(Urban) Migration Governance

Migration governance entails an “interdependent set of legal norms, policies, institutions, and practices to administer, regulate, and mediate activities and relations within defined socio-political entities, whether states, administrative regions, cities, or corporate bodies.”⁷ Urban migration governance takes an urban setting – such as a town or city – as the defined socio-political entity.

1 IOM 2023. About Migration. <https://www.iom.int/about-migration>.

2 IOM Migration Data Portal 2023. Mixed migration. <https://www.migrationdataportal.org/themes/mixed-migration#:~:text=Definition,seeking%20better%20lives%20and%20opportunities>.

3 Van Hear, N. 2011. Policy Primer: Mixed Migration Policy Challenges. https://migrationobservatory.ox.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/2016/04/PolicyPrimer-Mixed_Migration.pdf.

4 Cities Alliance 2014. Taking a Closer Look at Secondary Cities. <https://www.citiesalliance.org/newsroom/news/spotlight/taking-closer-look-secondary-cities>. 2019. Connecting Systems of Secondary Cities: How Soft and Hard Infrastructure can foster Equitable Economic Growth among Secondary Cities. https://www.citiesalliance.org/sites/default/files/2019-07/Secondary-Cities-Book-Brief_v2.pdf

5 UCLG n.d. Intermediary cities. <https://www.uclg.org/en/agenda/intermediary-cities>.

6 Bester, A., and Hermans, L. 2017. Multi-Stakeholder Partnerships: Implications for Evaluation Practice, Methods and Capacities. <https://nec.undp.org/sites/default/files/2021-07/Multi-Stakeholder%20Partnerships%202017.pdf>.

7 Global Migration Policy Associates (GMPA) 2017. Governance of Migration: a context note for reference in current national and international processes and discussions. <http://globalmigrationpolicy.org/articles/governance/Governance%20of%20migration%20Context%20Note%20rev%20GMPA%20jun2017.pdf>.

List of acronyms

DOVVSU	Domestic Violence and Victim Support Unit
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
GIZ	[German] Organization for International Cooperation
IOM	International Organization for Migration
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
UCLG Africa	United Cities and Local Governments of Africa
UNHCR	United National High Commissioner for Refugees

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Key findings and recommendations

Kumasi is an interesting case as far as managing and designing migration policy at the city-level is concerned. It is the capital the Ashanti region of Ghana, one of the most economically and politically important regions in the country, and a hub of business and migration.

Geographically, it links the coastal cities and the capital Accra to the north of the country. It is also a hub for migrants arriving in Ghana from neighboring Economic Community of West Africa States (ECOWAS) countries like Nigeria. However, in comparison to cities that are known internationally for hosting migrants and refugees, the discussion around migration policy in the context of Kumasi is fairly limited. This makes it an especially interesting case for understanding how a city administration deals with migration when migration itself is not a primary policy issue for the city.

In the case of Kumasi, where migration is an integral part of the life of the city, social services and informal social networks play key roles in managing and supporting people on the move. In cities hosting people who fit into a specific legal or protection category, like officially registered refugees, the UN Refugee Agency (UNHCR), NGOs, and representatives of development and humanitarian agencies are likely to play a greater role in providing services to migrants and refugees. In Kumasi, there are not significant numbers of refugees and cross-border migrants can come and go visa-free due to the ECOWAS freedom of movement agreement. In this case, migrants have a legal right to be in Kumasi, and since migration is not a front-and-center policy issue, municipal services and various local actors provide social, health, and protection/safety services to migrants.

Throughout this case study, we will refer to the processes of migration governance and management in Kumasi as being ‘organic’. The terms of ‘formal’ and ‘informal’ in a setting where there is no statutory migration policy are not analytically useful. What we see in Kumasi are networks of city agencies, non-government community actors, and established networks of people who work in the transportation industry working in concert to support internal and cross border migrants. The porters at the bus station and the individuals in religious organizations who serve as a link between Kumasi city authorities and migrants are not ‘informal’ actors - indeed, they play a defined role in the organic process of migration governance in Kumasi.

For development agencies, national government organizations, and city-level actors wishing to coordinate on migration policy issues, it can be a challenge to find the right avenues for contact. Based on the results of our interviews, we offer the following policy suggestions for engaging with at the city-level on migration and refugee policy

For city and municipal-level actors

- In Kumasi, there is a significant amount of internal migration, as people in rural parts of northern Ghana travel to Kumasi to find work outside the growing season. Over time networks of tribal representatives have established informal organizations that help newly arrived seasonal migrants find shelter and work after arriving. The main bus station is the main hub of internal migration activity, and informal tribal networks are the trusted link between municipal services and seasonal migrants.
- Migration has been organically managed by city-level social, police, and health services, largely because the demographic groups these offices interact with contain migrants. In order to formally engage on the topic of migration, and connect with national and international resources, Kumasi city should develop a formal migration strategy that identifies the municipal offices that serve refugees. This would also serve as a mechanism for donors to link migration resources to, thus improving funding and coordination with national and international actors.

For development agencies

- Secondary cities like Kumasi can be hubs of migration, even if migration is not a primary policy issue for the city. In the case of Kumasi there is a very high volume of short- and long-term migration, both internal and cross-border, but this all takes place as part of the normal life of the city.
- The national government's immigration services may not play an appreciable role in managing migration in secondary cities. This makes it challenging to find links to local government policy partners for migration policy projects, though donors can look to municipal service providers and informal NGOs as entry points into local communities where migrants reside with the help of regional membership organizations like United Cities and Local Governments Africa, which have diplomatic accreditation in African countries.
- Tread lightly; in Kumasi, and cities with similar migration governance dynamics organic processes are already in place for working with and supporting migrants. Development actors should work to support what already works instead of replacing organic migration governance systems with new processes.

For international organizations

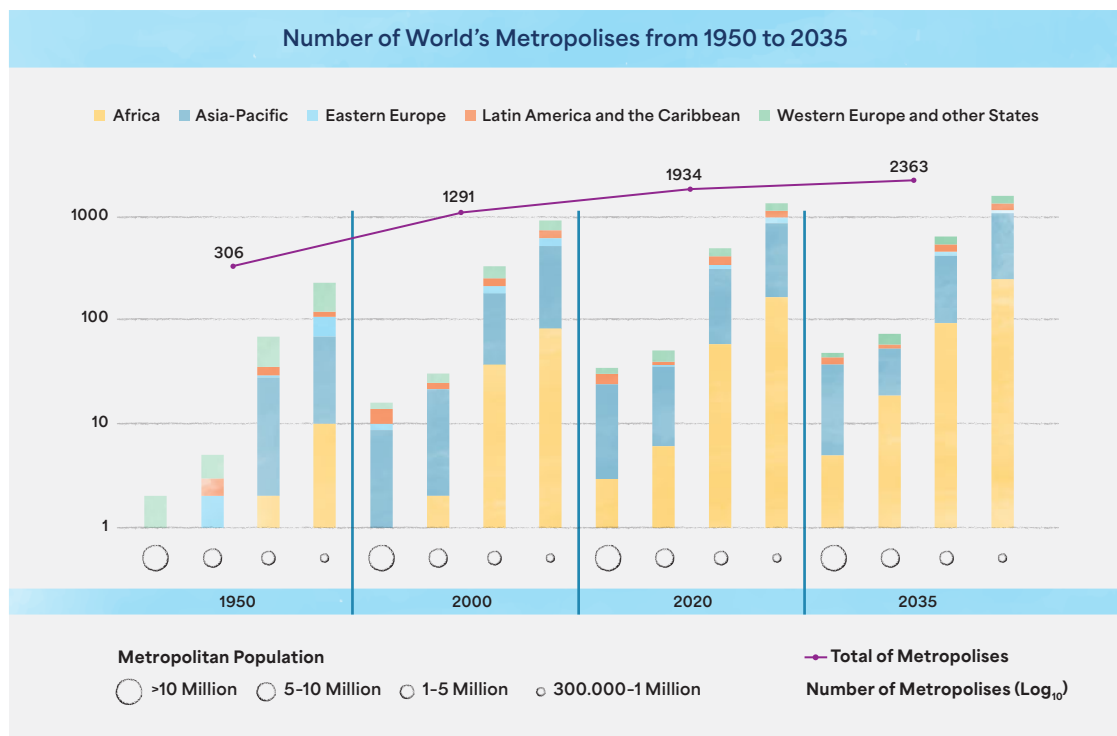
- Regional visa-free or open border arrangements, such as the ECOWAS agreement, generally lead to safe, regular migration across borders into secondary cities. Continued support for visa- and passport-free regional migration policies can help prevent the over-bureaucratization of city- and municipal-level responses to migration.
- Exploitation and trafficking in Kumasi remain prevalent. In Kumasi, responding to issues like sex trafficking and exploitation of youth migrants falls to municipal social services and the local police anti-trafficking unit. These are not the traditional agencies that development and international organizations coordinate migration policy with, but at the city level in Kumasi they represent the main contact points for migrants who have been abused or exploited.
- International organizations, particularly those with city or urban planning mandates like UN-HABITAT should prioritize working directly with cities like Kumasi, and indeed already has experience working in Ghana at the national and local levels.⁸

1 Introduction

1.1 Urban migration governance in African intermediary cities

Africa is witnessing an ongoing transformation from rural to increasingly plural urban societies. While this transformation has been well-documented, the focus of scholarship and policymakers has been predominantly on human mobility towards and into major urban areas and capital cities. In contrast, intermediary cities, the in-between the rural and the metropolitan, have been largely absent in academic and policy debates. Addressing this gap becomes increasingly important,⁹ as African cities with 1 million or less inhabitants already account for the highest relative share among African cities – a trend forecast to continue in the future (figure 1).¹⁰

Figure 1. Intermediary cities dominate African cityscape (Source: UN Habitat 2020)



⁹ Stürmer-Siovit, J. and Morthorst Juhl, L. 2023. Migration in African intermediary cities: why multi-stakeholder partnerships are key to inclusive action. <https://oecd-development-matters.org/2023/03/30/migration-in-african-intermediary-cities-why-multi-stakeholder-partnerships-are-key-to-inclusive-action/>.

¹⁰ UN Habitat 2020. Global State of Metropolis. Population Data Booklet. https://unhabitat.org/sites/default/files/2020/09/gsm-population-data-booklet-2020_3.pdf.

Both natural population increase and human mobility contribute to the growth of African intermediary cities. These cities constitute central spaces for mixed movements driven by processes of urbanization, socioeconomic transformation, and environmental stressors, as well as conflict and persecution. Though not always intended as final destinations, persons on the move may consider intermediary cities more accessible – financially, geographically, and socially – than capital cities.

As intermediary cities, thus, gain in importance as places of origin, transit, destination, and return, African local authorities are increasingly confronted with key issues of mixed migration and are further directly impacted by (inter)national policies. Due to their proximity to local communities, local authorities have the potential to shape inclusive approaches for migrants, refugees, and local populations. However, developing local strategies often proves challenging to local authorities, since national or international actors holding official mandates for migration and displacement rarely consider them (equal) partners, and they are often not equipped with sufficient resources and capacities to play an active role. This creates knowledge and cooperation gaps between local, national, and international actors addressing urban migration and displacement on the ground, and in policy dialogues. To address such challenges, some local authorities have started seizing opportunities for engaging in multi-stakeholder partnerships, bringing together local, national, and international actors working on questions of migration in African cities.

1.2 *The Equal Partnerships project*

The Equal Partnerships project explores the opportunities and challenges of collaborative, urban migration governance with African intermediary cities. The project was jointly developed and is implemented by the Friedrich-Alexander-University Erlangen-Nürnberg, the city network United Cities and Local Governments of Africa (UCLG Africa), the German Institute of Development and Sustainability (IDOS), and the social enterprise Samuel Hall. Supported by the Robert Bosch Stiftung, the project works in cooperation with six intermediary cities in East, North, and West Africa: Garissa in Kenya, Gulu in Uganda, Kumasi in Ghana, Oujda in Morocco, Saint Louis in Senegal, and Sfax in Tunisia. Through participatory research, workshops, and networking formats, the project brings together local, national, and international actors to develop practical impulses and policy recommendations to co-shape multi-stakeholder partnerships for urban migration governance in African intermediary cities.

This case study report is structured as follows: Section 2 presents the research methodology with a specific focus on case study selection, data collection and research limitations. Section 3 presents national and local migration dynamics and policies. Section 4 discusses partnerships approaches in Kumasi and zooms in on cooperative actions, challenges and prospects. Section 5 summarizes key findings and provides policy recommendations to strengthen multi-stakeholder partnerships on urban migration governance in Kumasi.

2

Methodology

2.1 *Case study selection*

The Equal Partnerships project works with African intermediary cities that are central hubs for diverse forms of human mobility. At the outset, the project held discussions with a broad range of cities in order to identify urban areas where the local administration and/or local government showed an interest in addressing questions of migration. Throughout the project, this approach served to explore opportunities for multi-stakeholder partnerships in contexts where political will to proactively engage on urban migration governance is present at the local level.

Kumasi is an interesting case study of urban migration governance because migration is an integral part of the city's fabric and history but is not a front-and-center issue in the discourse of Kumasi municipal management. Home to a population of 3.35 million inhabitants, Kumasi is situated in a geographically important area of Ghana, linking the north with the coast and being geographically central to Nigeria to the east and multiple ECOWAS member countries to the west. By virtue of its physical location, migration and the movement of people is integral to its pre- and post-colonial history and contemporary role in Ghana's political and economic life.

However, the concept of formal migration policy in Kumasi is entirely outside the scope of municipal administrative or statutory activity.¹¹ This paradox makes it a fascinating case in comparison to other cities that have migration or refugee response plans and standing links to national migration strategies and international migration and refugee organizations. In effect, Kumasi has been engaged in what we would consider city-level migration governance at least since the colonial period; the pre-colonial Ashanti kingdom would have also had to deal with large volumes of human mobility since Kumasi region was a politically and economically powerful region before the British arrived.¹²

What we see in contemporary Kumasi is something along the lines of 'organic' city-level migration governance. Due to the long history of Kumasi being a hub of human mobility, and the regional openness to migration in West Africa, city-level institutions have evolved over time to engage with targeted demographic groups (e.g. women and children) or social

¹¹ Ghana Statistical Service. (2014). 2010 Population and Housing Report: Migration in Ghana. Pp. 4-22. Accessed 12 June 2023. <https://www.statsghana.gov.gh/gssmain/fileUpload/pressrelease/Migration%20in%20Ghana.pdf>

¹² Arhin, Kwame. (1967). The Structure of Greater Ashanti (1700-1824). *The Journal of African History*. 8(1), 65-85.

needs (e.g. public health), and in the process have engaged with migrants contained within these demographic groups or service seekers. Most of the migrants that the city works with are either internal, so they receive the services citizens receive anyway, or are ECOWAS citizens from other West African countries who have the right to reside in Ghana. For this reason, the patterns of movement, and applicable migration laws are different than one would expect to see in a city engaging with a specific legal category of mobility such as seeking asylum.

Figure 2. Map of Ghana with Kumasi marked. (Source: USGS)¹³



Migration in Kumasi is largely seasonal and economic and in great parts, a domestic issue.¹⁴ In this context, it is up to the city to meet migrants' social, health, and protection needs, and to attempt to bring in resources from the national and international levels. The selection of Kumasi, and the choice to select a secondary city in Ghana, were driven by national and local factors. Ghana as a country is an important actor in West African regional policy, and a member of the ECOWAS agreement. This has significant implications for Ghana's national migration policy and means that at a national level politically migration is a key topic. Indeed, there is a great deal of migration within and across Ghana's borders, so the issue is salient for the national government. This national context is important for understanding the role of secondary cities in managing migration and migration policy.

¹³ USGS. (2014). Case Study: Urbanization and deforestation in Greater Kumasi area. Accessed 17 April 2023. <https://eros.usgs.gov/westafrica/case-study/urbanization-and-deforestation-greater-kumasi-area>.

¹⁴ Ghana Statistical Service. (2014).

While migration is an important national policy issue, at the city level it is not part of the policy discourse but nevertheless very present in city actions. Migration is essential to the city's cultural, political, and economic fabric. This manifests as internal seasonal migration, as people come from the north during the fallow season to find work in the city, and across borders as people from other ECOWAS countries travel to and through Kumasi.

Cross-border migration includes everything from labor seeking to trafficking, and the city manages all of this through its core social and law enforcement services. In Kumasi, migration governance is almost entirely handled by city authorities with little to no support from the national government or international organizations. It is a case that allows us to ask: What happens when migration is just a regular part of the life of a city, and the municipal authorities just manage it like any other aspect of city governance?

2.2 *Fieldwork and data collection*

The Equal Partnerships project draws on three forms of data collection: (i) desk review of literature on urban migration governance, (ii) key informant interviews (KIIs), and (iii) a half day workshop. Unlike the other cities in the Equal Partnerships project, Kumasi has no formal migration policy or city plan and thus interview data in some ways is limited in richness. To make the case more tangible we include a selection of visual images to show where migration governance and management takes place, and how these 'informal' spaces are central to engaging with migrants even if they blend into the urban ecology of the wider city.

Literature review: To frame the case conceptually we use a desk study of relevant literature on Ghana's national and regional migration policy, as well as historical analysis of Kumasi's politics and economy to understand why migration is central to the life of Kumasi city.

Key informant interviews: The project created a mapping of local, regional, national, and international actors addressing different forms of internal and international migration in Kumasi. In parallel, the research team conducted 13 semi-structured key informant interviews with a broad range of stakeholders. The interview tool itself was standardized across all cases, with modifications made so that it was appropriate for the context. The sampling technique, which used a hybrid purposeful selection and snowball sampling technique,¹⁵ was chosen in order to give the researchers scope to use their background knowledge of city administration as a starting point for selecting initial interviewees. The mapping and interviews served to gather information on cooperation structures and gaps, the motivations, and reservations of different actors to engage in cooperative action, and the roles of the local government in different partnership structures. Prior to each interview, interview respondents were informed about the Equal Partnerships research project. They also received information about data protection compliance, handling of their personal data and were requested to provide verbal and written consent to participate in the interview.

¹⁵ Palinkas, L., Horwitz, S., Green, C., Wisdom, J., Duan, N., & Hoagwood, K. (2015). Purposeful sampling for qualitative data collection and analysis in mixed method implementation research. *Adm Policy Ment Health*. 42(5), 533-544.

Local workshop: In cooperation with a local researcher, the project team organized a workshop for 25 participants in February 2022. The workshops offered the stakeholders identified in the mappings an interactive space to develop (1) a two-pager with concrete next steps for building multi-stakeholder partnerships in Kumasi as well as (2) a number of policy recommendations addressed to national and international actors.

Research limitations: The research approach taken in Kumasi is not generalizable to other cities since the data collection process was designed to be specifically tailored to the conditions of the city. Interview methods are useful in understanding the unique qualitative factors that affect migration policy in Kumasi, and while the overall project was designed to draw out comparable findings between case study cities, the results from Kumasi are unique to the city. A challenge that arose with the interviews was drawing out longer, rich responses to questions. The following section provides information on contemporary migration policy in Ghana, with a focus on national and regional dynamics that shape overall trends in internal and cross-border migration. We then zoom in on Kumasi as a secondary city, its geographic, political, and economic role in Ghana, and its nature as a migration hub. From there we further outline the conceptual frame of our guiding question, how migration is in municipal contexts where there is a great deal of migration but very little migration policy discourse.

3

Migration dynamics in Kumasi

3.1 Migration policy in Ghana

The ECOWAS protocol on free movement is key to understanding cross-border migratory movements in Ghana broadly. We address this first because a domestic whole-of-government migration policy in Ghana was only instituted in 2016 – prior to this, Ghanaian laws aligned with the ECOWAS protocol. The ECOWAS protocol allows free movement of people across West African countries. Whereby West African citizens can enter and stay in any West African country for 90 days¹⁶ stays beyond 90 days need approval from relevant authorities in each nation state.¹⁷ However, despite this provision irregular migration patterns exist where some migrants have crossed West African borders without relevant documentation (e.g. passports) and others have over stayed the 90 days allowed without a visa. There are also incidences of bribes and extortions at the borders that contribute to these irregular migration patterns.¹⁸

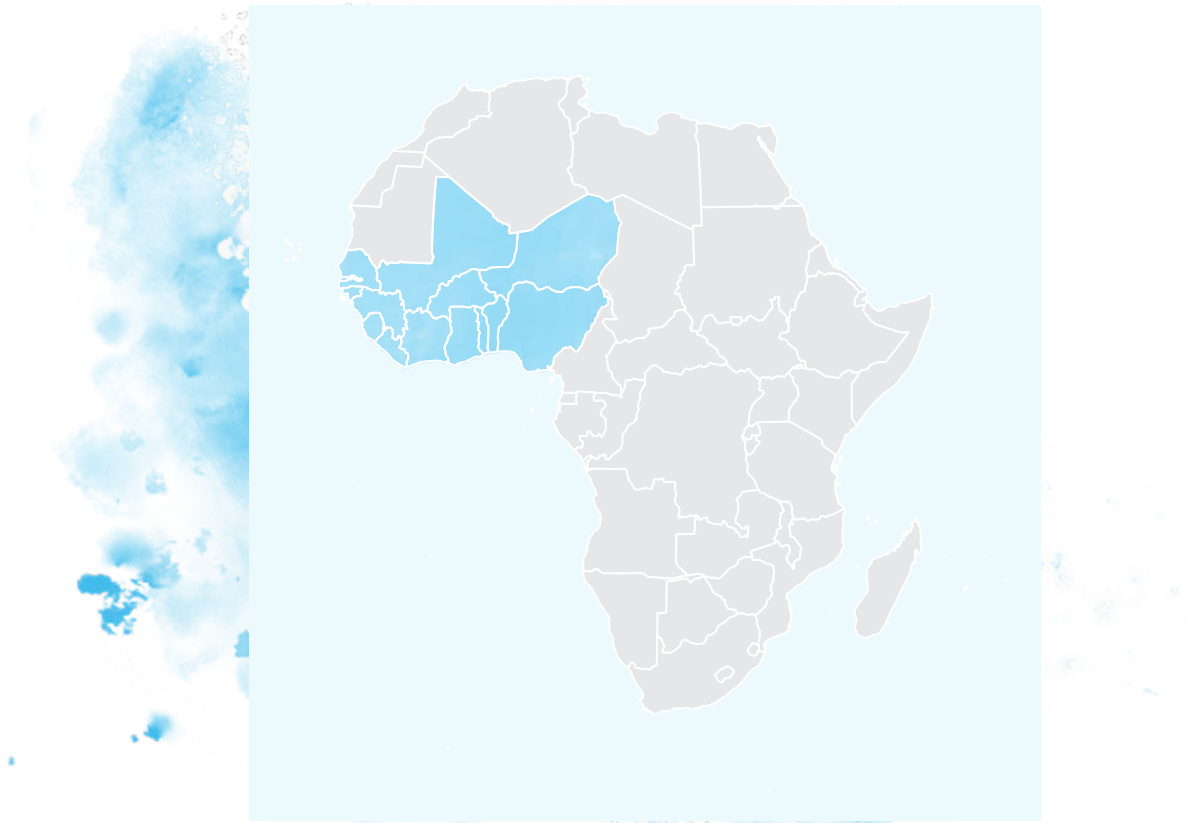
Regional policy level: Ghanaian national migration policy exists within the regional context of the ECOWAS Common Approach on Migration. In order to understand how the recent national migration policy was developed, and by extension to understand how migration governance takes place at the city level, we start with the ECOWAS agreement. ECOWAS is a regional organization of West Africa states that share historic, social, economic, and security interests. The members of ECOWAS are Benin, Burkino Faso, Cabo Verde, Côte d'Ivoire, The Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea Bissau, Liberia, Mali, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone, and Togo.

¹⁶ Garba, F., & Yeboah, T. (2022). Free Movement and Regional Integration in the ECOWAS Sub-Region. In *Migration in West Africa: IMISCOE Regional Reader* (pp. 19-34). Springer International Publishing Cham.

¹⁷ Awumbila, M., Benneh, Y., Teye, J., & Atiim, G. (2014). *Across artificial borders: An assessment of labour migration in the ECOWAS Region*. Brussels: ACP Observatory on Migration: Awumbila, M., & Torvikeh, G. D. (2018). Women on the move: An historical analysis of female migration in Ghana. *Migration in a globalizing world: Perspectives from Ghana*, 171-189.

¹⁸ Yeboah, T., Kandilige, L., Bisong, A., Garba, F., & Kofi Teye, J. (2021). The ECOWAS free movement protocol and diversity of experiences of different categories of migrants: A qualitative study. *International Migration*, 59(3), 228-244.

Figure 3. Maps of ECOWAS region member states.



While largely an economic agreement, the ECOWAS Treaty of 1978 laid out rules for freedom of movement and residence for all citizens of ECOWAS countries moving within the bloc.¹⁹ Citizens of member states are considered citizens of the ECOWAS Community, and thus were afforded the ability to travel within the bloc without visas, reside within the bloc without residence permits, and to work and participate in economic activities in Community member countries.²⁰ According to the 1978 Treaty this would be implemented through bilateral agreements between each of the member states. The revised treaty, signed in 1993, grouped the movement and residence rules under Chapter X of the agreement, which includes cooperation on political affairs, judicial and legal affairs, and regional security.²¹ The revised treaty included an explicit clause requiring members to adopt national migration policies that would align with and support the overall aims of the revised agreement.²²

External policy factors, particularly regarding donor interests, influence domestic migration policy in Ghana. At a regional level, EU migration and refugee policy is often at odds with freedom of movement rules in agreements like the ECOWAS treaty. To remedy this there have been calls from think tanks and NGOs to formalize seasonal and circular rules for migration from Ghana and finding ways to lower the costs of sending intra-regional remittances.²³ Particularly for Ghana, which has a large number of its citizens working in other ECOWAS

¹⁹ ECOWAS. (1975). The 1975 Treaty of the Economic Community of West African States. <https://ecowas.int/wp-content/uploads/2022/06/THE-1975-TREATY-OF-ECOWAS.pdf>. Accessed 17 April 17, 2023.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ ECOWAS. (1993). ECOWAS Revised Treaty. ECOWAS Commission; Abuja. <https://ecowas.int/wp-content/uploads/2022/08/Revised-treaty-1.pdf>. Accessed 17 April 17, 2023.

²² Ibid. 36.

²³ Arhin-Sam, K., Fakhry, A., & Rietig, V. (2021). Ghana as the EU's Migration Partner: Actors, Interests, and Recommendations for European Policymakers. DGAP Report No. 7. Berlin: DGAP.

countries, this could be a significant boost to its economic development aims.

National policy level: Ghana launched its National Migration Policy in 2016, with the aim of creating a national legal framework for managing complex, interlinked migration issues.²⁴ The policy itself is wide-ranging, covering all aspects of human mobility including regular intra-ECOWAS migration, return and reintegration of Ghanaians returning from abroad, border control and anti-trafficking measures, refugee issues, and cross-cutting issues such as migration and climate change.²⁵ Given the breadth of topic and issues covered by the National Migration Policy, there is an ongoing effort to have ministries develop sector-specific migration governance plans.

While Ghana has a long history of immigration and emigration, formal domestic migration policy is relatively new. Externally, Ghana is party to a number of international agreements including:

- The 1951 Refugee Convention
- The 1967 Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees
- 2018 The UN Global Compact on Migration
- 2018 The UN Global Compact on Refugees

Among the plans set out by the Ministry of Employment and Labour Relations is the National Labour and Migration Policy 2020-2024.²⁶ The policy is primarily focused on leveraging labor emigration and immigration to achieve long-term economic development goals. This includes focusing on supporting circular migration and encouraging the return of Ghanaians from the diaspora who can bring skills back to the Ghanaian labor market, as well as coordinating opportunities for citizens within the ECOWAS community to participate in Ghana's economy and ensure the rights of labor migrants working in Ghana. Along with internal policy, there have also been efforts to use the National Migration Policy as a way to formalize strategies for diaspora outreach and strengthen cultural links back to Ghana as a home country.²⁷

3.2

Migration context of the city of Kumasi

Regional, domestic, and development politics all have effects on migration at the city level. The ECOWAS treaty means that a city like Kumasi, sitting at the hub of multiple transit routes within Ghana and across Ghana's borders, is going to be a hub of migration. Given its role in Ghana's industrial, agricultural, and extractive sectors, and its history as an economic hub and political capital of the Ashanti region, it is also an urban region that is attractive to migrants.²⁸ The following section outlines the history of Kumasi and the role of migration in the city's life. Because migration is not topically central to contemporary administrative or political debates at the city level in Kumasi, the city's political and economic history is where we look to understand how migration has shaped the city economically and administratively.

²⁴ Government of Ghana. (2016). National Migration Policy for Ghana. Accessed 17 April 2023 https://www.mint.gov.gh/wp-content/uploads/2017/06/National_Migration_Policy_for_Ghana.pdf; IOM. (2016). Ghana Launches National Migration Policy. <https://www.iom.int/news/ghana-launches-national-migration-policy>. Accessed 17 April 17, 2023.

²⁵ Ibid.

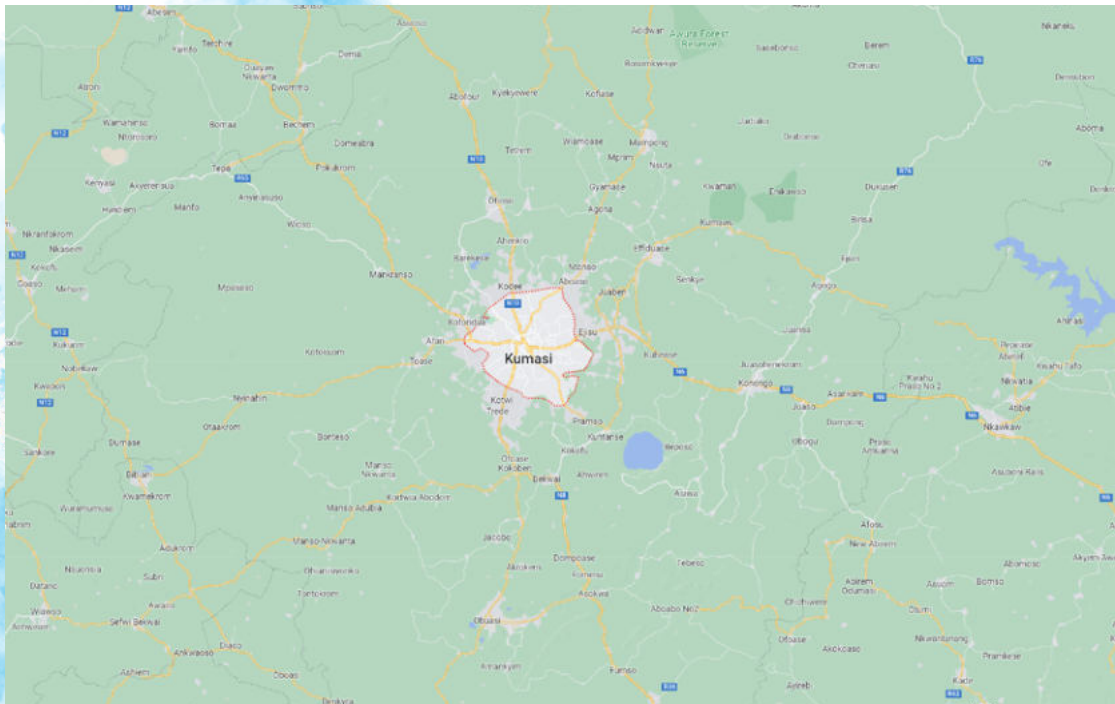
²⁶ Ghanaian Ministry of Employment and Labour Relations. (2020). National Labour Migration Policy, 2020-2024. <https://cms.uq.edu.gh/sites/cms.uq.edu.gh/files/National%20Labour%20Migration%20Policy%20.pdf>. Accessed 17 April 17, 2023.

²⁷ Kandilige L., Teye J., Vargas-Silva C., and Godin M. (2022) Migration-relevant policies in Ghana. MIGNEX Background Paper. Oslo: Peace Research Institute Oslo. www.mignex.org/gha. Accessed 17 April 17, 2023.

²⁸ Amoako, C., & Korboe, D. (2011). Historical development, population growth and present structure of Kumasi. Future of the tree: Towards growth and development of Kumasi, 35-54.

Kumasi has a long pre-colonial history as the capital of the Ashanti Empire and region, and that history and culture remain relevant to how the city views itself within the wider polity of Ghana. Ashanti political culture and the Ashanti Empire itself have been mapped back to the 1600s and Ashanti regional identity is an important part of Kumasi's history as a city and as an economic hub that people migrate to.²⁹ This political history goes hand in hand with regional economic factors that make Kumasi central to the economy of Ghana and make it a hub of migration. Mining, timber, manufacturing, and energy are all economic sectors where Kumasi plays a key role, with gold mining having a long history in the region.³⁰ Ashanti Goldfields Corporation's Obuasi mine is near Kumasi, and after a merger with AngloGold became AngloGold Ashanti. It is one of the largest gold mining firms in the world, and still runs the Obuasi gold mine 60km south of Kumasi. In purely economic terms, the manufacturing and extractive sectors in Kumasi and the Ashanti region are a natural pull factor to the city including illegal mining activities.³¹ According to a participant, "the Indians are here, the Lebanese, and the Chinese more because of the glamsey (illegal mining)".³² Along with industry, Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology is in Kumasi, making higher education another reason to migrate to Kumasi.

Figure 4. Roadways and highways into Kumasi. N8, N6, N10, and N12 are key highways linking Kumasi to the south, north, and west of Ghana. (Source: Google Maps)



Industry and geographic location are important, but transport infrastructure is required to make a city accessible to migrants. In this respect, Kumasi sits in the central meeting point of Ghana's major highways. The N6 and N8 highways connect Kumasi to Accra and Cape Coast to the south, the N12 connects it to the west of the country, and the N10 is the main corridor to the entire north of Ghana including Tamale and across the border into Burkina

²⁹ McCaskie, T.C. (2007). Denkyira in the Making of Asante c. 1660-1720. *The Journal of African History*, 48(1), 1-25.

³⁰ Cobbinah, P. B., Gaisie, E., Oppong-Yeboah, N. Y., & Anim, D. O. (2020). Kumasi: Towards a sustainable and resilient cityscape. *Cities*, 97, 102567.

³¹ Afriyie, K., Abass, K., Frempong, F., Arthur, B., & Gyasi, R. M. (2023). The dynamics and livelihood implications of illegal mining in Ghana: A critical assessment. *Geographical research*, 61(1), 32-43.

³² KII 8

Faso. The centrality of Kumasi within the Ghanaian highway network and its role as a hub of economic activity foregrounds the findings about the importance of Kumasi's bus station as a space where organic activities by non-state actors to manage migration take place.

Figure 5. Kumasi bus terminal. (Source: Authors)



The usual things one finds at a large bus station are visible – buses, vendors, the boarding and waiting area. Bus stations and markets in Kumasi function organically as a migration governance space, where porters, local leaders and everyday people from religious organizations link people on the move with relevant services in the city of Kumasi.³³

3.3

The role of a city in migration policy when migration is not a policy issue

Up to now we have presented a description of a secondary city that plays a key historical, political, and economic role in Ghanaian politics and economics. However, many secondary cities are important political and economic hubs, and people move to and from them regularly. What makes Kumasi interesting as a case study of urban migration governance?

What we see in Kumasi could be described as a city engaging in migration management in a context where migration policy is not a front-and-center issue. In Ghana, a comprehensive national migration policy still remains quite new and was developed at the national level to

reflect national and regional policy agendas. Given the short period of time since the 2016 National Migration Policy went into effect, the absence of a clear migration governance strategy at the city level suggests that the local implementation of the policy is far from achieved. At the city level, the authorities in Kumasi are not engaging in formal migration policy even though their offices and agencies are de facto engaged in migration response.

Over time the agenda to have national ministries come up with their own specialized policies for governing migration where it is relevant to them should hopefully lead to policy diffusion down to the level of relevant city authorities who have formal relationships with national ministries. However, without that multi-ministry or whole-of-government apparatus in place, Kumasi is left to allocate its municipal resources to meet the needs of internal and cross-border migrants who take up residence in the city.

3.4 *Migration dynamics in Kumasi*

Mixed movement patterns are visible in the city of Kumasi. Interview participants highlighted inter-regional movement of people to the Kumasi area from countries like Mali, Chad, Burkina Faso, Niger and Nigeria.³⁴ Among these are people driven by conflict situations, economic and climate-related issues. At the same time, Kumasi attracts migrants from the northern region who come to the city to pursue work as head porters – called *kayayei(s)* locally. While there are male and female head porters, the women head porters are especially prominent within the city and experience peculiar vulnerabilities.³⁵ Hence, the main migrant issues that most local actors engage with are those that affect women and children.

Figure 6. Market stalls used by migrants as temporary shelters. (Source: Authors)



34 KII 3, KII 11, KII 13

35 KII 2, KII 4, KII 7, KII 9, KII 11

Some migrants from the northern region e.g. the Kayeyeis, migrate to Kumasi temporarily as a means of livelihood diversification.³⁶ Others, e.g. the Zongo community in Kumasi have migrants that have settled more permanently.³⁷ The Zongo community hosts migrants from the Northern part of Nigeria, and some other West African countries who engage in commerce in the city and have lived there for decades.

This community of people are well integrated into the city and speaks Hausa, the predominant language of this group of migrants, which can be heard spoken around Kumasi. According to an interview informant, Hausa interpretations are offered by the government's broadcasting service when communication is to be held in local languages. Furthermore, the historical presence of migrants from neighboring countries in West Africa in Kumasi is also characterized by the presence of tribal chiefs that represent migrant communities.

A key informant stated:

“

*For instance, when you transport passengers from Niger to Kumasi, you are bringing them straight to Zongo where [the] Nigerien sub-chief is... they know where they are residing. So, it's not a big deal at all.*³⁸

These chiefs play a role in welcoming new migrants by providing shelter and support especially for migrants with limited resources.³⁹

3.5 *Influence of migration movements on the city*

Positive and negative influences of migration movements are observed in the city of Kumasi. Kumasi being a major part of the wider Ashanti region is a major center of commerce. Migrants contribute to the local economy through their engagement in economic activities, e.g. in trade of agricultural and manufactured goods. At the same time, there are issues of concern associated with migration to the city. For example, city residents and authorities expressed concern on the rise of beggars around the city's center. There is growing concern that “begging” has become a “business” of sorts, with claims that children and the disabled are brought across the border to the city to beg on the streets of Kumasi as a means of generating money.

An interviewee stated:

“

*... in the daytime, they come to our streets and communities to beg... these are infringements of our laws so it's our duty to enforce. Our duty is to protect any child within this state who is subject to such an abuse, so we begin to liaise with the relevant state authorities and these migrants have been deported to their home countries.*⁴⁰

³⁶ KII 11

³⁷ KII 7, KII 9

³⁸ KII 7

³⁹ KII 7

⁴⁰ KII 3

At the same time, gendered dimensions of migrant issues are of concern to actors. Incidences of trafficked adolescent girls mostly from Nigeria have been recorded, sometimes with promises of formal employment in the city.

According to an interviewee, some migrant girls are told:

“

*... let's go [to] Ghana if you go [to] Ghana you'll get work. Somebody tells them, if you go to Ghana, you can get office work.*⁴¹

He went on to say, "... many of the Nigerian girls are educated." So-called job "agents" send unknowing victims across the border from Nigeria to Kumasi. Furthermore, Kakayei's and other women migrants in general sometimes face vulnerabilities associated with domestic violence and abuse. In addition, teenage pregnancies among some female migrants in Kumasi is another source of vulnerability.⁴²

Overall, city actors face the challenge of providing social services and support to migrants e.g. healthcare, shelter, education, legal services, etc.

⁴¹ KII 9

⁴² KII 2

4

Partnership approaches for urban migration governance

4.1 *Distribution of competencies (and funding) between the local, regional, and national levels*

There is no formal department responsible for migrant issues in Kumasi. Services that support migrants (internal and external) are administered on an ad-hoc basis. This is partly because authority on migration, especially for migrants from outside Ghana is under the responsibility of the national government and national agencies like the Ghana Immigration Service. However, several city departments engage on migration issues as the need arises. For example, on health service provision a key informant stated:

“

*... in terms of health delivery, we have our health services that they access. There are some that somehow somehow have formed something like slums that through our outreaches we know there are certain group of people who are there... for health we go and provide children immunization services that they require or any other minor ailment.*⁴³

In cases where issues are beyond the scope of local or regional units, these issues are re-directed to relevant national bodies e.g. Ghana Immigration Service and the Anti-Trafficking Unit of the Ghana Police Service. An interviewee stated:

“

*We work through the organizations because they have been given the mandate to do it. For example, if it comes to rescue, my department cannot [intervene directly] at the moment. I hear there are children roaming about here, the first thing I do is report to the appropriate quarters – the anti-human trafficking unit, DOVVSU and together with them, take action on that.*⁴⁴

43 KII 4

44 KII 1

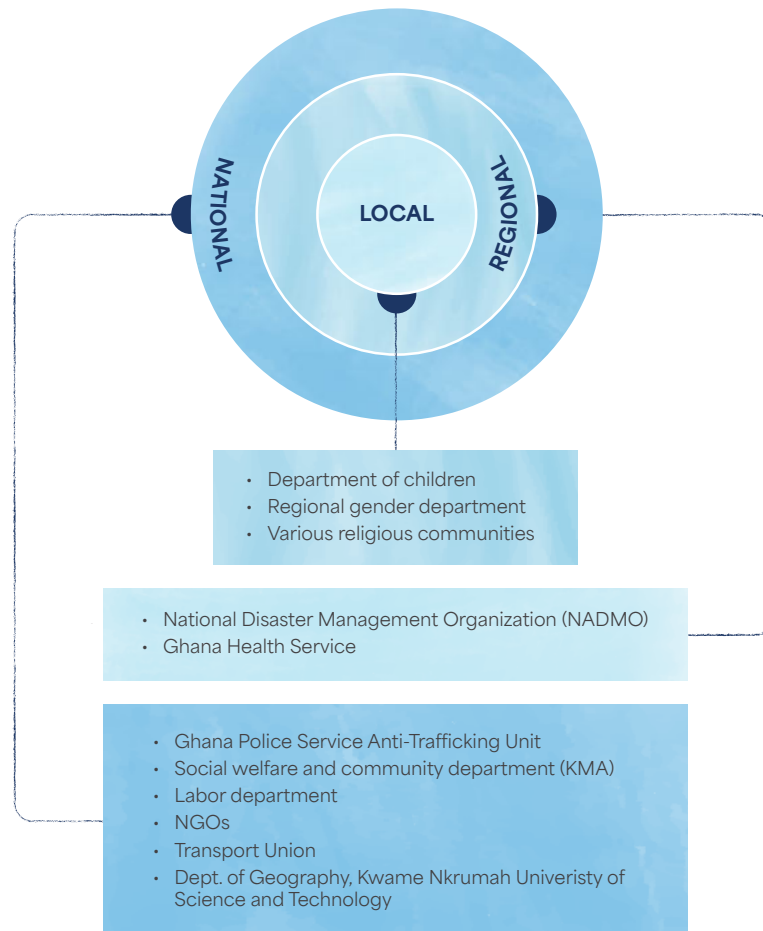
This ad-hoc approach to migration governance in the city, especially as it concerns international migrants, means that in some cases interventions are short term. For example, there is short-term shelter provision for migrant women and children in partnership with NGOs prior to voluntary repatriation.

Beyond the scope of “limited power” on migrant issues is the subject of limited funding, resources, and capacity. Due to the absence of a formal structure for migration governance in Kumasi, there also is no specific funding allocation for migration issues. According to a participant, “[the] government does not have funds for migrants”.⁴⁵ The lack of funds and resources limit the ability for city authorities to make migration governance a priority. For example, lack of vehicles for monitoring, enforcement, and operations were raised some actors.⁴⁶

4.2 Partnership approaches

Partnerships are key to providing migrants with support and access to services. Partnerships in Kumasi involve coordination across regional and metropolitan departments. Partnerships also include cooperation with non-state actors.

Figure 7. Actors in migration governance in Kumasi. (Source: Authors)



⁴⁵ KII 5

⁴⁶ KII 3, KII 5

4.3 *The Social Welfare Department as a coordination hub*

In Kumasi, the social welfare department of the metropolitan assembly is the most central department involved in addressing issues pertaining to vulnerable groups. This by extension flows to migrants when the need arises. Per their mandate, departments and agencies are expected to bring cases involving vulnerable groups to their notice before intervention. The social welfare department handles such cases directly or refers them to other relevant entities. The three core responsibilities of this department cut across – “family and child support, justice administration, and community care services”.⁴⁷

Kayeyei’s in particular receive support to access health services through Ghana’s National Health Insurance Service Scheme (NHIS), although an interview with a non-state actor suggests that migrants either lack knowledge of the insurance provision or are hesitant to apply.⁴⁸ Furthermore, the social welfare department performs outreach services to Kayeyei’s, they also facilitate temporary shelter for children in partnership with NGOs in the city, as well as partnering with the labor department on child labor issues.

On engaging with migrant issues, especially migrants from outside Ghana, the social welfare department partners with agencies like the Ghana Immigration Service and the Police Department. Here, the emphasis is not on integration but on providing temporary support and protection (especially for children), and eventual deportation by relevant authorities as applicable. The social department also supports the implementation of the LEAP development program of which internal migrants are beneficiaries.⁴⁹

The Regional Children Protection Committee

Coordination of partnerships on migrant issues occur across vertical and horizontal lines. The Regional Children Protection Committee is a formal avenue with about 30 organizations that work on issues concerning children. Members consist of government departments and some NGOs. In a recent committee meeting, migrant issues were tabled to the immigration representative on how to control entry of migrants because of an observed increase in the number of migrant children.⁵⁰ However, across interview participants engaged in this process, there is mixed perception of the success of this committee. Albeit there are, areas lauded to be beneficial and others that require strengthening. For example, some participants value the opportunity for information sharing. Others opine that the right people with relevant responsibilities do not always attend. A weakness of the committee shared by a few interviewees is that issues raised are not always addressed in a timely manner. In addition, lack of power among actors on migration issues and limited resources stifle successful interventions.⁵¹

Several other actors engage on migration governance in Kumasi – other city departments, regional departments located in the area, religious entities, NGOs and CSOs.

⁴⁷ KII 3

⁴⁸ KII 9

⁴⁹ LEAP stands for Livelihood Empowerment Against Poverty which is a poverty reduction program in Ghana that provides cash transfers to low-income people that meet a pre-defined criteria.

⁵⁰ KII 1

⁵¹ KII 10

4.4 Cooperation achievements

There have been some positive outcomes from partnerships across actors on migration-related issues in the city. Through partnerships, social services delivery to migrants has taken place. On health services, there has been NGO engagement with a private hospital in Kumasi to support health screenings and sensitization in Kumasi's informal settlements, which has benefitted migrants. Health awareness campaigns and referrals for insurance cards towards migrant communities have been coordinated by NGOs and a hospital. Temporary shelter provisions, support for abuse and trafficking cases, general social work, repatriation, and reintegration of migrants have been implemented through cooperation between NGOs, the anti-trafficking unit of the police service and the social welfare department. NGOs, the social welfare department and the Domestic Violence and Victim Support Unit of the police service have addressed domestic violence-related cases in Kumasi which sometimes involve migrants. An NGO in Kumasi partners with international donors to offer daycare services too. The anti-trafficking unit of the police service sometimes coordinate with the IOM and the National Agency for Prohibition of Trafficking in Persons and Other Related Matters⁵² (NAPTIP) on the return and reintegration of trafficked Nigerian girls.

4.5 Cooperation challenges

While some departments and agencies cooperate on issues of migration in Kumasi, others do not. This section presents central challenges that limit or prevent cooperation.

Limited flexibility to address situations on the ground

Lack of flexibility with formalized systems of operation affects cooperation among actors on migration issues. On one hand, cooperation between local departments and international development partners follows strict reporting requirements. The rigid reporting templates can be cumbersome for some city-level departments. The lack of flexibility with reporting complicates the activities of local departments. In other cases, for local leaders without formalized structures, there are limits to their partnerships with city authorities or other actors.⁵³ Informal engagements are often possible but only to a certain degree. Whereas some of these local leaders have extensive knowledge, experience, and access to migrant communities in ways that are beneficial for migration governance in the city.

Top-down programming

Vertical cooperation emerged as a challenge to migration governance in Kumasi. A decentralized system of governance means that vertical cooperation is key to address issues of concern. Often times migrant targeted programs are designed at the national or regional level, with city departments as implementers. Hence, "...policy makers can be far from problems", affecting the ability to adequately deal with problems faced by migrants.⁵⁴ This type of decentralization has the effect of offloading the activities of migration governance down to the city government, but does not come with requisite processes for transferring the hu-

⁵² NAPTIP is a Nigerian agency responsible for fighting trafficking.

⁵³ KII 9

⁵⁴ KII 5

man and financial resources to the city level to support this work.

Limited access to (inter)national funding

Furthermore, there are limits to accessing funds directly from external donors because memorandums of understanding on migration-related programs are often initiated and signed at the national or regional levels.⁵⁵ This can affect the decentralization of funds to cities that enable them address issues affecting migrants.⁵⁶ As of now Kumasi does not have an official city or municipal migration strategy so there is no official policy to link national or international funds and agreements to.

Cooperation gaps between civil society, academia, and local authorities

In addition, there is need for increased and better engagement with non-state actors e.g. transport unions, NGOs, civil society and academia on migrant issues. For example, there is limited engagement with the transport unions on issues of trafficking even though it is a major issue in Kumasi. Other concerns that emerged from interviews include lack of action on suggestions made by NGOs. This could be because the city authorities attempt to address the issues formally without direct connections to the issues on-ground. An interview participant highlighted this:

“

... they [city actors] don't come to the field... I don't see action.⁵⁷

'Politicizing' migrants, especially the kakayei's, hinders cooperation between non-state actors and state actors.⁵⁸ Furthermore, there is limited engagement between city authorities and academia on migration.⁵⁹ Hence, the absence of communication channels between actors curtails knowledge exchange.

⁵⁵ KII 5

⁵⁶ KII 3, KII 8

⁵⁷ KII 9

⁵⁸ KII 7, KII 9

⁵⁹ KII 12

5

Conclusions and recommendations

Kumasi is a fascinating case study of urban migration governance because migration is an inherent part of the fabric of the city, but not a focus topic of official city policy. Nevertheless, there are many ways that organic networks of city authorities, NGOs, and tribal community leaders de facto engaging in migration governance. In comparison to cities that have been dealing primarily with refugee protection and integration, where there are established national laws and international organizations involved, it takes time for a relatively new national migration policy to diffuse through national ministries and down to the relevant regional and municipal partner agencies. This is especially true since up to now Ghana's national migration policy has not been formally adopted across all ministries, save the Ministry of Employment and Labour Relations. Over time, as national ministries adopt sector-specific strategies for supporting national migration policy linkages between the national government and city authorities when it comes to managing migration should be organized and put into statutory documents so that there is a legal basis for linking national ministry migration strategies to partner offices at the city level.

However, while it takes time for national policy to trickle down to the city level, regional ECOWAS policy has played an active role in making migration a policy issue for Kumasi. While internal migration is often handled by tribal leaders based in Kumasi with connections to communities in the north of Ghana, cross-border migration into Kumasi includes trafficking and people moving who are at risk of exploitation. Because of this, the city has been using its social services and law enforcement capacity to meet the needs of migrants from countries within the ECOWAS region. This is being done without specialized expertise in migration policy, as city officials and workers provide municipal services for migrants in the same way they would be provided for long-term residents.

Close the gap between national policies and local actions

What we see in the case of Kumasi is a gap between the current migration governance activities the city is engaged in, and the formalization of those policies between the city and national levels. This gap should theoretically close on its own over time as Ghana's national migration strategy is implemented across all ministries as planned, but it will be important to keep the organic aspects of city-level migration governance intact. Kumasi is unique among the Equal Partnerships case studies for having networks of actors engaged in migration governance without any official policies or statutes in place calling for this. While bringing national policy into contact with city-level migration governance activities can unlock further resources for city authorities, it is also important to recognize that the wheel does not need to be reinvented: new resources made available through greater legal and policy alignment should enhance the organic processes that exist instead of replacing or replicating them.

Strengthen international support for city actors

Bridging the gap between Kumasi's entirely local approach and the resources that international actors can bring to enhance what the city is already doing is important. This includes external support with coordination of local services, both official and informal, capacity building so that city-level actors can enhance the work they are already doing with migrants and finding ways to provide greater financial and material assistance to the city in its efforts to manage migration.

One key challenge is that migration policy in Ghana is handled at the national level, even though migration governance takes place in cities and local communities. This means that in many cases international actors such as IOM and bilateral development agencies primarily partner with and share resources with the national government. An international actor directly engaging with city authorities on implementing domestic migration policy would be unusual, but in a city like Kumasi it makes sense for agencies to work directly with city authorities on capacity building. Organizations like UCLG Africa (UCLGA), which have diplomatic accreditation and a mandate to support cities as transnational actors, can serve as interlocutors between cities, national governments, and international development actors.

Expand city-to-city peer learning

Cities across Africa can be each other's best resources for improving city-level migration governance as well. Kumasi has done a great deal of 'learning by doing' when it comes to migration management and support by virtue of being a city where large numbers of people come and go. For city officials, 'migration governance' is the daily routine of providing city services to people who are not long-term residents. Cities that have larger concentrations of refugees though have more experience dealing with international organizations like UNHCR, and international NGOs that specialize in refugee response. Kumasi can be a resource for building municipal competencies in working with migrants, while Kumasi can learn from cities that have experience working with and soliciting support from international actors and organizations.

Build multi-stakeholder partnerships bottom-up

A final recommendation is for the international migration policy community: When engaging with a city like Kumasi, it is imperative to understand that things do not need to be 'fixed'. As shown in the results section there is already a great deal of work being done by formal and informal actors in the city to support migrants. These competencies may not represent formal migration policy activities, but they represent deep local knowledge of the social, political, and economic dynamics of migration to and from Kumasi. Indeed, many organizations in the city noted that what is needed are financial and capacity building resources to do this work better. International actors can play a convening role in helping bridge gaps between city-level actors, and between the city and national government as the 2016 national migration policy is formalized across different national ministries. Partnerships that recognized the equality of cities alongside national, regional, and international actors in setting sustainable, modern migration policy will be critical in supporting freedom of movement across Africa.

Annexes

1. Actor mapping Kumasi

Table 1. Actor mapping Kumasi

Name	Level of governance	Topics	Target groups	Partners
Public Actors				
Department of Children	Regional level	Child protection	Children	UNICEF
		Help children return back to origins (referral)		Government of Ghana
		Convene the regional child protection committee		DOVSU
		Community engagement e.g. I WILL campaign		Kumasi Metropolitan Assembly Moslem community NGOs and CSOs Ghana Police Service - Anti-trafficking unit Ghana Immigration Service Labor department
Ghana Health Service	National level	Health screenings	Women, children	Kumasi Metropolitan Assembly
		Awareness campaigns		Social Welfare Department NADMO Ghana Immigration Service
Ghana Police Service Anti-Trafficking Unit	Local Level	Support trafficked migrants to return	Trafficked migrants	Ghana Immigration Service
		Liaise with partners to provide temporary shelter for migrants prior to return		NGOs Social welfare
		Liaise with partners to support returnees with skills training for reintegration		IOM
		Anti-trafficking campaigns		National Agency for the Prohibition of Trafficking in Persons (NAPTIP)

Labor department	Local level	Awareness campaigns on irregular migration out of Ghana Monitoring and enforcement of labor laws	Internal Migrant workers	Defense for children international Ghana Immigration Service Ministry of Foreign Affairs Social Welfare Children department Defense for Children International IOM GIZ Local Radio Stations
National Disaster Management Organization (NADMO)	National level	Humanitarian assistance after “disasters” Liaise with private sector entities for assistance	Communities affected by disasters	Regional office Kumasi Metropolitan Assembly Radio stations Emergency service Health directorate Physical planning department Private entities
Regional – Gender department	Regional level	Sensitization Collaborate with social welfare to provide shelter	Women and children	NGOs DOVSU UNFPA
Social welfare and community department (KMA)	City level	Support internal migrants Refer cases to appropriate departments/ agencies Implement national development programs e.g. LEAP Address child abuse cases Implement state policies	Vulnerable groups e.g. aged, women, children, persons with disabilities	NGOs Ghana Immigration Service Ghana Police Service NHIS DOVSU Labor department

NGOs, Civil Society Actors, Faith Based Actors				
NGOs	Local level	Implementing partners for city departments, private institutions and international organizations Awareness campaigns Connect migrants in need with resources Advocacy	Migrants (internal and external)	Kumasi Metropolitan Assembly Social welfare department Children department Gender department International donors e.g. IOM Private hospitals
Religious communities (Muslim and Christian)	Regional level	Provide food to migrants Temporary shelter	Men, Women, Children	Donors (citizens)
Transport Union	Local level	Drivers transport migrants within Ghana and also migrants from across the border Some bus companies partner with government agencies to repatriate migrants in voluntarily return cases but also for deportation	All migrants	Kumasi Metropolitan Assembly (provide information to them on request) Regional National Motor Traffic Transport Department (MTTD) Road Safety

Academic actors				
Department of Geography, Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology (KNUST)	Local Level	Research on migration and urbanization dynamics in Kumasi and the Ashanti Region	Research community	N/A

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Equal Partnerships

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